

# African Politics and Policy

Newsletter  
n.21 January 2017

## Political Development, not military action

If they weren't a sad indication of the lack of leadership and of the low levels of good governance that African countries have experienced for too many, the recent events in the Gambia would be rather entertaining: a President loses an election and accepts defeat first, refuses then to step down, and finally engages in a war of words with ECOWAS.

Some commentators, discussing the Gambian situation, suggested that ECOWAS should remove Jammeh with a military action, lock him up in a Senegalese jail, and then put him on trial.

Commentators like Jeneral Ulimwengu consider military intervention under the aegis of some super-national entity as the only viable solution to address African governance issues.

But, I fear that these solutions (military action, arrest, trial) do not solve much, are not practical in the long run, and may leave behind a wide range of negative consequences. Military intervention may be used to remove a bad leader, but fails to address the issue of why bad leadership emerged in the first place. Second, military intervention cannot be carried whenever there is a leadership problem because that may require way too many interventions. Third, the fact that a country's problems are solved by an external force and not by a domestic one, may prevent a country from learning how to solve its own problems effectively.

Hence, I fear, a very different kind of thinking is necessary to address good governance issues and the lack of good political leaders in Africa. It is the lack of properly developed institutions that explains why elections in Africa, instead of contributing to the stabilization of African countries, have strong destabilizing effects. It is the lack of properly developed institutions that allows too many African presidents to stay in power much longer than anyone should. It is the lack of properly developed institutions that makes succession in power so problematic.

Hence, if we really want to address and possibly solve Africa's governance problems, we need make sure that African institutions are properly developed.

Africa needs less military interventions, more political development, and better institutions. The day that African journalists, intellectuals and opinion-makers become aware of this simple truth, it will be much easier for African countries to go back on the right track.

Riccardo Pelizzo

### This issue

Political Development P.1
Togo P.2
Zimbabwe P.3
Nuer and Cattle P.4
Congo-Kinshasa P.5
Tanzania P. 6
Announcements P. 7

### Liberia: government and traditions

Local Pro-culture organization has criticized Liberian government for not promoting traditional culture and values.

One of the most criticized area is the government's preference of foreign medicine over traditional in its incorporating to the national health delivery system.

*Pro-culture Liberia* also noticed, that important cultural and traditional shrines, memorial places and monuments had been destroyed across the country.

## Tourism and the economy of Togo

By Riccardo Pelizzo

In an article on tourism and employment in Togo, Abel Kinyondo and I noted that Togo was one of the poorest countries in the world, that its socioeconomic problems had been exacerbated by the sociopolitical crisis that plagued the country from 1990 to 2006, that Togo had lost many of its skilled workers in the period and that the development of the tourism industry could play a crucial role in ameliorating the economic conditions in the country .

In our paper we noted that as tourism receipts over time became a larger percentage of Togo's export and as exports became an increasingly larger share of the GDP, tourism became an increasingly more important economic engine for the country. It stimulated the economy, it created business opportunities and it created employment. From 2001 to 2010, the number of Togolese people employed in the tourism sector increased by 318 per cent.

The reason why tourism was such an important economic engine is easy to explain. From 2001 to 2011 the number of tourist arrivals increased by 526 per cent, from 57000 arrivals in 2001 to 300000 arrivals in 2011. And, as a result, as Togo became a more attractive tourism destination, the tourism industry grew- creating employment, business and wealth opportunities for the country and its citizens.

The new data, made available by World Bank, sustain the conclusions that Abel Kinyondo and I had reached. Tourism continues to represent an increasingly larger share of Togo's exports. It was 6.1 per cent in 2009, 8.1 per cent in 2010, it peaked at 12.3 per cent in 2011 and it stabilized at 11.7 and 11.6 per cent in 2012 and 2013 respectively. In the same period, exports have come to represent a larger portion of the GDP—from 37 per in 2009 to 52.7 per cent in 2013.

Even in this case, the expansion of the tourism sector has been by and large driven by an expansion of the demand for tourism in Togo. The number of tourists going to Togo kept increasing and peaked in 2013—when the number of international tourism arrivals was 9 per cent larger than it had been in 2011. Hence, one is tempted to conclude that as the number of tourists increases, the tourism industry grows and the country prospers.

This conclusion is correct in principle, but less so in practice. The demand for tourism in Togo, as evidenced by the number of international arrivals, is highly volatile. After reaching 300000 units in 2011, the number of arrivals in 2012 declined by 21.7 per cent, grew by 39.1 per cent in 2013, and declined once again in 2014 by 13.7 per cent. Given this volatility, tourism does not represent yet a reliable engine for sustained economic growth. To ensure that the tourism industry could reliably contribute to the economic development of the country, the tourism industry has to become less volatile. If the government and its experts find a way to curb and possibly eliminate this pernicious volatility, they will create the conditions for a tourism-driven economic growth and socioeconomic development.

### APP celebrates achievement

We are proud to announce that we have readers from 142 countries. Our readers come from: Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bermuda, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Republic), Congo DRC, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibuti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jersey, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kosovo, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Latvia, Lesotho, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, South Africa, South Korea, South Sudan, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, USA, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Vietnam, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

## Opposition is not serious

By Steven Machaya

Zimbabwe's path towards democratic transition, it seems has been entrusted to an opposition that lacks maturity and seriousness. It is close to twenty years since the MDC made its grand entry into the political arena and though a lot but not enough has been done to bring about regime change, the opposition seems to be taking things for granted, especially now with issues to do with the much anticipated coalition. The opposition did well to support Temba Mliswa in the Norton by-election even though Mliswa later on turned against them (and seems to be gravitating towards the party that he formerly belonged to). While the opposition feels cheated, the lesson to be drawn from the Norton experience is that it is possible for the opposition to present a united front against ZANU (PF), with a respectable chance to unseat the ruling party. The Bikita West by-election is yet another chance for the opposition to offer the ruling party serious united opposition. While it looks like an isolated election, it is wrong for the two parties to trivialize it, to reduce it to a bargaining spring board because the outcome of this election, like the Norton by-election is a projection of what is likely to happen in 2018.

Of interest is the recent decision by ZimPF to field a candidate for the 21 January Bikita West parliamentary by-election and MDC-T's decision not to support its ally's candidate, Kudakwashe Gopo. Indeed it was high time the new opposition party really had a taste of an electoral contest that translates into numbers, in terms of votes. MDC-T's refusal to support ZimPF is understood to be stemming from two dimensions. According to the MDC-T for coalition negotiating expediency, ZimPF must stand on its own; demonstrate its singular popularity without leaning on the MDC-T. If ZimPF loses the by-election, it will also mean a weakened negotiating position with the MDC-T for it will have demonstrated its inability to command a respectable following. If it wins the by election,

that will be enough for it to approach the negotiations from a position of strength. Either way, the process of formulating a strong coalition will be further made complex. Secondly, ZimPF's candidate of choice is a controversial figure, implicated in former atrocities against the opposition in 2001, in which an MDC member was allegedly killed. Didn't ZimPF have a better choice? Putting together a coalition of the two opposition parties is not going to be an easy road and the two parties have to present candidates whose past histories will not force a divided vote.

However, the decision not to support ZimPF is self destructive in that a ZimPF loss in this by-election is equally a loss for the MDC-T. This is because people will interpret ZimPF's loss as a pointer to the opposition's general performance come 2018, (the very reason MDC-T has refused to directly participate in the current by-elections because losing to Zanu pf in by-elections could be damaging image wise for 2018). MDC-T's decision to support an independent against ZimPF's candidate is interpreted as two parties fighting against each other yet talking coalition formation which is contradictory. ZimPF's victory in this by-election will strengthen the two parties especially as a coalition. What's important is the message behind that victory to the general electorate in view of the 2018 general elections.

The two opposition parties should be seen by the electorate to be working together rather than against each other for them to be taken seriously. People do not vote for the opposition simply because the economy is bad, but they want to vote for an opposition that is organized, that shows leadership potential.

## Nuer People and their cattle

By Kristina Bekenova

The photos by Tariq Zaidi show how important cows are for Mundari people of South Sudan and their cows.

This deep bond that unites these people and their cattle has long been documented by anthropologists.

The best example, in this respect, is represented by *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* published in 1940 by Sir Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, English anthropologist, based on his several trips undertaken at the request of the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1930s.

In this book, Evans-Pritchard provides a very interesting insight into the relationship between Nuer people and the cattle, their dearest possession. In order to understand the culture, political and social structure of the Nuer tribe Evans-Pritchard's advice is "cherchez la vache".

First, it should be noted that according to the indigenous animal classification, cattle is "homestead animals", i.e. "made up of collection of intimately connected humans and animals". It means that cows and ox are "particularly regarded as having a dignity and integrity of psyche" (Buxton, 1968: 39). They are endowed with personality, distinctive character, thus, having an identity.

Cattle for the Nuer people are not only important from the perspective of social (relations with neighboring people), economic and religious perspectives, but it rather plays an essential role on a deeper emotional and aesthetic levels.

Because of the special position the cattle occupies in the Nuer life, to kill them wantonly is very dangerous. According to Nilotic people beliefs, the animal killed in anger or in the greed for meat can release a vengeful power 'nyok' that can harm the culprit's children (Buxton, 1968: 39-40). The diet of Nuer people is highly dependent on milk, millet and includes fish, wild roots, fruits and seeds. The meat is the meal of the festivals, rituals and ceremonies, and on these occasions only "desire for meat is shown without shame" (p. 25) and as local proverb says, "the eyes and the heart are sad, but the teeth and the stomach are glad" (p.25). Even the happiness and well-being of the family is not counted in the amount of meat the cow can give, but rather of milk:

in Nuer eyes the happiest state is that in which a family possesses several lactating cows, for then the children are well-nourished and there is a surplus that can be devoted to cheese-making and to assisting kinsmen and entertaining guests (p. 21).

The high dependence of the Nuer on cattle, including the economic and dietary value, importance of skin, urine,

dung as raw materials, allows to observers describe it as 'parasitic'. However, at the same time, the cattle itself might be called as 'parasite of the people':

They [Nuer people] build byres, kindle fires, and clean kraals for its comfort; move from villages to camps, from camp to camp, and from camps back to villages, for its health; defy wild beasts for its protection; and fashion ornaments for its adornment. It [cattle] lives its gentle, indolent, sluggish life thanks to the Nuer's devotion (p. 36).

If to put aside that man knows physical and behavioral peculiarities, ancestry and progeny of each of his herds ("some know the points of its forebears up to five generations of ascent"), the most striking evidence of importance of cattle in the life and determining element of these people's worldview could be seen in personal names and the vocabulary the Nuer use to refer to cattle, herding, dairy work, etc. Evans-Pritchard identified that the dominant interest has shape the language the people use.

Naming cow/ox is a very responsible task that requires a very profound knowledge of the physical and behavioral peculiarities of the beast. The name includes colours and the way they distributed on the body ("there are at least a dozen terms describing different combinations of only white and mouse-grey and there are a similar number of terms for a combination of white with each of the other colours", p. 44). The second point that taken into account is that some colours in their shape could remind animals, birds, reptiles, and fish, and this association is also reflected in the name. Another prefixes to the name might include the shape of horns, age and sex of the animal. A man usually takes the name of his favourite ox, the women – of the cow she milks, and these names are used in greeting each other, between age-mates, in songs.

The cattle is not only something that can inspire for poetry and songs, can cheer the Nuer up as soon as he starts describing his favourite ox, but also is the main reason of Nuer's hostility and aggressiveness expressed in desire for neighboring cattle. The Nuer explain it by the following legend:

Man killed the mother of Cow and Buffalo. Buffalo said she would avenge her mother by attacking men in the bush, but Cow said that she would remain in the habitations of men and avenge her mother by causing endless disputes about debts, bride-wealth, and adultery, which would lead to fighting and deaths among the people.

But, in spite of cattle being often 'an apple of discord', Nuer will never stop caring about their dearest beasts, will forever talk about the shape, colour and horns of their beloved ox, will as ever before contemplating while their herd is eating grass or milking, and will keep defining his daily diurnal activities based on the cattle needs.

## Interview with Belamy Paluku, the Foyer Culturel de Goma , DR Congo



APP: How was born the idea to organize the Goma Cultural Center?

Belamy: The idea of creating the Cultural Centre in Goma was born from a meeting between artists from Goma and Belgian educational artists visiting the region. After a show mounted together, we became aware of the need to have a framework for meeting, exchanging, training and promoting artists. The project is part of the bilateral cooperation between the DR Congo and Belgium. Thus, with the agreement of the government, the charges are covered by the Belgian association En Avant Les Enfants (<http://www.enavantlesenfants.com/>), funding from Wallonia-Brussels International.

APP: What projects/activities does your center organize? What are your main achievement and disappointments for the moment?

Belamy: The main projects of the Foyer Culturel de Goma are the training of young people in the arts, the promotion of artists and their works, the supervision of children in extra-curricular activities, and the opening to a scientific culture for the benefit of youth. Among our achievements are organization of the freestyle session with the artists of the city for exchanges on themes based on the social realities of the region, the activity is called Djembe Freestyle and brings together 15 to 20 rappers a week; organization of an international music festival called AMANI FESTIVAL which means PEACE., the three-day festival brings together 33 local, regional and international artists, 33,000 festival-visitors, local and international press, 60 NGOs and local associations, 600 volunteers from the city itself and elsewhere; the supervision of 150 young people in the arts training until gradually making a career; and making impact on the image of the region throughout the world presenting a living culture beyond war and natural disasters.

Our disappointments are: lack of cultural policy at national level; lack of resources necessary for the development of activities in the long term; difficulty in selling artists and their works at their true value; political and security instability which jeopardizes the activities from time to time.

APP: What is the idea behind to organize Sanaa Weekend? What are the feature of this event's program?

Belamy: The idea behind Sanaa Weekend is to bring together culture lovers on a regular basis to promote artists and provide healthy entertainment for children, youth and adults. 10 groups of artists, including singers, dancers and comedians get together every Saturday. The artists perform on stage between 3pm and 6pm. Each one thus reaches to cover 10 or 15 minutes of performance.

To be part of the program, artists come to the office at the beginning of the week and request a space in the program. For those of the first experience, auditions are held. For others there are free dates. Once confirmed, we organize with them 2 rehearsal sessions with a team of musicians who have volunteered for this program. Thus, artists have the opportunity and experience to perform with a complete team of musicians, a good presenter, good music material, a suitable sound and an important public. This event is free for the public and the speakers are all volunteers.

APP: The motto of the Center is "we live and learn the art through dialogue, the joy and peace". How successful is the dialogue between the center and the community in learning the art?

Belamy: First, there is a dialogue between those who learn throughout the course; there is a dialogue between the learners and their trainers; and there is a dialogue through the exchange of ideas between the artists and the organizers of activities. Sometimes, through social networks and radio and TV broadcasts, exchanges with the public. The great success we had with regard to the dialogue was observed during the first edition of the Amani Festival, which organized in a period of strong tensions between the ethnic groups of the region and between the countries of the Great Lakes region. A strong xenophobia was noticeable until the time of celebration with artists from different ethnic groups and regions. However, immediately afterwards, as by a miracle, there was an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and appreciation in the city.

APP: You mentioned "because of the history of colonization and independence in DRC, we feel a sort of dependence on outsiders". How does the center help to overcome this dependence? What are the new values you want to educate in young Congolese?

Belamy: The great struggle is to get young people to be masters of their destiny: making the first step in change, not waiting for others. There is also the spirit of entrepreneurship in order to produce and manage resources rationally, contrary to the spirit of mendicity and dependence that has been observed for a while. We also strive to create a sense of general interest of building together.

APP: Congo-Kinshasa is famous for its talented musicians and artists. Could you please tell us about the state of art and culture now in DRC?

Belamy: Our country has a very rich culture and is full of talents. We note, however, a cultural development inadequacy in the country, both internally and internationally. Despite being an inspiration to many African countries, the DRC is incapable of keeping its place in the great race that is currently taking place on the African musical scene.

I can say that it is due to the absence of a cultural policy, the involvement of competent authorities and state services, a functional industry and a formalization of the rights of artists on the one hand. On the other hand, one suffers from a kind of isolation. There is little circulation of Congolese artists around the world and we receive less artists from elsewhere. There is a heavy abuse of works, a lack of investment and promotion in the field, and a lack of adequate infrastructure.



## Magufuli and Free Press

When Magufuli ran in the elections, there were several reasons why he represented the most appealing option. He could secure Tanzania's stability, he could reform and transform a ruling party that many felt had lost touch with Tanzanian society, and he was truly committed to fighting corruption and promoting good governance.

After the elections, Magufuli gave the impression that the promotion of good governance and the fight against corruption should be implemented at all cost—even at the cost of constraining and repressing the democratic space.

Parliamentary sessions were no longer broadcast, Parliament was at times treated as a nuisance, and the press became the target of increasing criticisms and attacks.

While journalists and parliamentarians can be criticized for how they do their respective job, when a President becomes so disrespectful of Parliament and the Media as institutions, his commitment to democracy becomes rather dubious. No democracy can exist without a free press and without a parliament—which is why dictators silence the former, and shut down the latter.

While we have been very supportive of the good governance agenda of President Magufuli, we cannot possibly support his increasing anti-democratic tendencies. Good governance must be promoted and democracy must be preserved because neither one can be sacrificed to promote the other. Democracy without good governance is ultimately unsustainable, while good governance without democracy is at best sterile and at worst positively dangerous.

If Magufuli could keep this lesson in his heart, he'd do a much better service to Tanzania and to Africa as a whole.

Riccardo Pelizzo

## Uganda: reverse side of Chinese Presence

The first and only research Institute carrying out animal research in Uganda – the East African Trypanosomiasis Research Organisation built in 1956 and renamed in 1976 into National Livestock Research and Resource Institute, has been destroyed in preference for mining minerals at Osukuru hills.

The land surrounding the Osukuru hills have already become Chinese 'factual property' and used for agricultural purposes: planting bananas, sunflower, maize, etc. According to the local rumors, the Chinese are assumed to build a new institute as a compensation.

## Kenya: Lake Kenyatta is in danger

One of the beautiful lakes of Kenya, the lake Kenyatta is on the edge of extinction: from a length of 12 km today remains less than 7 km, the depth that used to be more than 4 meters today is less than two meters. Among the main causes of shrinking of the lake are the farming activities, agriculture and cattle, on the key waterways in Mukuru; drilling of boreholes in the catchment area; and seizure of lands close to the lake by tycoons

Because of the increased salinity, hippos and fish can no longer be sustained in the lake. More than 15 hippo carcasses, shells of thousands of dead snails lay are over the dry areas of the lake.



## AFRICA ART FAIR 2017

From February 24 to March 5, 2017, at the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town will be held Africa's First Fully Curated International Art Fair On The Continent.

<http://thatartfair.com/>

**APP Newsletter**  
**ISSUE 21 January 2017**

## Collaborators

### of the Newsletter of African Politics and Policy

Kristina Bekenova, correspondent African Politics and Policy.

Steven Machaya, correspondent, Zimbabwe.

Riccardo Pelizzo, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Public Policy, Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan



### Afriart Gallery, "Constructs"

From January 13 to February 3, Afriart Gallery is displaying an exhibition by Ugandan semi-abstract multi-media artist Ronex Ahimbisibwe, "Constructs".

Block 56, Kenneth Dale Drive  
Off Kira Road – Kamwokya  
P.O.BOX 5961, Kampala

African Politics and Policy

