

African Politics and Policy

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Editorial

Dreams have fascinated political leaders for centuries. and many of them, from Caesar to de Gaulle had their dreams interpreted. Freud developed a technique for the interpretation of dreams. Some of people are dream readers, other are dream divers, and most of us are simple dreamers.

The great thing about dreams though is that dreaming is free. Because our dreams cannot be controlled but also because we do not have to pay for them, though we may have to pay to realize them.

But I see we are going off the tangent.

Politicians have often an unrealistic sense of reality. People say that politicians are detached from reality because they do not know what people like you and me have to go through in our daily lives. Maybe so. But I fear that politicians are detached from reality simply because are dreamers. They dream of things yet to come, they dream of thing that will never exist, and they dream of a reality that is real only in their dreams. Sometimes, in their dreams, they see a future that looks attainable in a dream, but which is much harder, if not impossible to reach, in the real world.

The reader may wonder why we digressed so much about dreams. Well, it is because we read the news today. We read that Rwanda plans to increase by 7 times its mineral revenue between now (2017) and 2024– <http://allafrica.com/stories/201710020022.html>

Seven times in seven years, in a world in which trade is declining, and most of the largest economies are giving signs of slowing down is unrealistic, it is just a dream.

And, as Disney's Cinderella knew so well, a wish is a dream your heart makes, when you're fast asleep...

Riccardo Pelizzo

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Elections in Kenya

After the August 8 elections, after the results were announced, after a Supreme Court ruling nullified the results of an election that the international observers and the press had regarded as one of the cleanest, fairest, most transparent in Africa's history, Kenya's electoral drama has not reached its end.

A new chapter is written nearly on a daily basis. The new page of this saga pertains to Kenya's electoral body, which has not only become rather dysfunctional, but which has also become the theater of vicious internal feud that may compromise its ability to manage the elections that will be held on October 17.

While the actions of the Supreme Court represent an important step towards deepening and consolidating Kenya's democracy, the bickering between the parties, and the tensions within the electoral body, may erode the legitimacy of democracy and elections and have, as a result, a potentially devastating impact on Kenya's political life.

The Private Sector and Economic Reforms in North Africa

By David FELSEN

Of concern to policy-makers in North Africa is the need to bring about economic reform to enhance opportunities for growth in the region. Fostering a more vibrant private sector and strengthening small business is critical in this regard, as is reinforcing market ideals and generating government support for entrepreneurial initiatives.

The recent 2017 report produced by the World Economic Forum, entitled *Accelerating Economic Reforms in the Middle East and North Africa: A Private-Sector Perspective* brings together academics and business executives who share insights and prescriptions concerning different issues facing the private sector in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.

The WEF report highlights some key priorities for the region, including building more effective public-private partnerships, enhancing the efficiency of national labor markets, simplifying and bringing about greater transparency to the process of creating private sector companies, reducing government red tape across the region, and promoting more effective and accountable systems of corporate governance.

A good example concerns labor market challenges. MENA and Sub-Saharan countries have been identified as regions that show significant labor market inefficiencies as compared to the higher income OECD countries. Moreover, the North African countries Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco all ranked below the MENA and sub-Saharan averages in this category. Labor market inefficiency hinders the emergence of a more robust private sector. North African countries need to focus on reforming political, economic and social institutions to better permit a more competitive labor market.

Another critical issue concerns the relatively low level of private sector entrepreneurship in the region. North African countries lag behind in the area of entrepreneurial activity, specifically the creation of new businesses. According to the WEF report, it takes an average of 35 days and requires 10 distinct procedures to start up a business in Libya (a situation obviously

exacerbated by the current strife in the country). In Algeria, it takes an average of 22 days and 13 procedures to start up a company. The MENA region as a whole requires, on average, 19 days and 8 procedures to begin a business, which is well above figures recorded in other regions. For instance, to start a new business in the rich country OECD group, on average, it takes about 9 days and 5 procedures, while in South Asia the number recorded is 16 days and 8 procedures.

All in all, the data in this report point to the fact that North African political and business leaders must continue to work to improve the economic potential of the private sector. In attempting to achieve their economic goals, the region clearly needs to solve a number of critical issues. These include bringing about greater security to the region, enhancing government accountability and trust, enforcing respect for contracts and property rights more vigorously, and building more durable institutions within these societies. It is only within a stable environment, one built upon trust between the public and private sectors, that markets can flourish and individuals can feel empowered to engage in creative and entrepreneurial endeavors.

Tourism, development and inequality: the case of Tanzania revisited

By Riccardo PELIZZO and Abel KINYONDO

In 2015 we published an article , which incidentally ended up being one of the most downloaded articles in *Poverty and Public Policy* [1], in which we argued that in spite of a remarkable growth of the tourism sector in Tanzania, the development of the tourism industry had failed to reduce inequality and poverty.

In our analysis we suggested that there were three basic reasons why the tourism industry was not able to distribute the wealth that it generated. The first reason is, as we learned in our discussion with government officials, if vertical integration. Tour operators use their charter flight to bring tourists to Tanzania, they used their own means of transportation to carry the tourists to the resorts that they owned, and none of this or very little of this contributes to the local economy. The second reason is that profits are either not made in Tanzania (a foreign tour operator sell to a foreign tourist a package and no money comes to Tanzania) or, if they are made in Tanzania, are then repatriated. The third reason that we identified was the fact that the salary for those who work in the tourism industry is consistently lower than salary earned by any other type of workers—a problem that is further exacerbated by the fact that the women, who are the majority of tourism workers customarily make twenty per cent less working in the tourism sector.

We reached these conclusions on the basis of the data that we were able to analyze and that covered the 1995-2011 period.

What do the new data tell us?

They tell, fundamentally, that our analysis was correct then and is still correct now. The growth of the tourism sector does little to alleviate poverty, salaries for tourism workers are still the lowest and women are still paid much less than men.

Tanzania needs to secure better salary conditions for those who wish to work in the tourism sector, it should secure that some of the profits are made and reinvested here and should take steps to reduce the incidence of vertical integration. How? Following the advice that we once received from the director of common affairs from the Ministry of Tourism of Togo who told that us that tourism can trigger pro-poor growth under two conditions: more tourists and the development of a system of smaller, locally owned, hotels that would keep in the country the money that is currently repatriated. This solution could work for Togo, and could work for Tanzania too.

[1] Available at [http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/\(ISSN\)1944-2858/homepage/MostAccessed.html](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)1944-2858/homepage/MostAccessed.html)

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Cultural policy in Africa: from liberation to an institution and development

By Kristina BEKENOVA

Appeared in the end of 19th century as a government practice to regulate the cultural activities of its citizens in European countries, cultural policy is now becoming one of most debated issues in African countries. The critical need to develop it (Nigeria), to renew and update it in accord with current realities (Tanzania), to interconnect it with state's development (South Africa) are only few examples of the ongoing discussions in the continent.

What is the cultural policy? What are the purposes of it? How has the approach to culture as a 'weapon to fight colonial cultural oppression' changed?

Cultural policy is, first of all, a reflection of the socio-political development of a country. During the 1960s culture in Africa served to the ideas of liberation and was used as "decisive weapon in the fight for liberation and against colonialism, racism and apartheid". That period of African history produced the ideas of Negritude and Pan-Africanism (Léopold Sédar Senghor, Birago Diop, David Diop, Jacques Rabemananjara, Mongo Beti, Ferdinand Oyono, Tchicaya U Tam'si, etc.).

After African countries got their independence, the cultural policy was expressed in the necessity to develop institutional, administrative and financial infrastructure: departments of arts and culture, theatre (1962: Cameroon, 1975: Zambia), publishing houses, museums, traditional dance groups (1967: Burkina Faso), universities and faculties of arts (1959: Senegal, Ivory Coast; 1962: Ghana, Nigeria, etc.).

In the end of 1990s and the beginning 2000s, as sustainable economic development and ambivalence of globalization (the urgency to preserve national culture and identity, on the one hand; and the necessity to be integrated into global intercultural communication, on the other) became critical and essential, the new situation forced African countries to develop a different approach to culture.

The growing interest in culture was expressed in African countries' decision to design their own cultural policies (in addition to given/giving constitutional recognition to culture) not in oral form, but as writ-

ten-down comprehensive documents, which varied in forms: white paper (Mauritius), plan (Angola/draft;), programme (Senegal), framework (Chad, Lesotho) or policy (Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda). These documents were prepared in cooperation with several international organizations such as the Observatory of Cultural Policies in Africa (OCPA) which had been established exactly with the aim to help African countries to develop their cultural policies (2002)

The International Federation of Arts Council and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA), the Spanish development organisation Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID); the Arterial Network in Senegal (2007), and many others participate in shaping African culture policy.

An analysis conducted by IFACCA reveals what are the cultural priorities that cultural policies should address. Most of the respondents (90%) identified preservation, promotion and conservation of cultural heritage and memory as a priority, slightly more than two-thirds of the respondent (68%) identified arts development, promotion and support as a priority, international and regional promotion, cooperation and exchange was viewed as a priority by 61% per cent of the respondents, while 58 % of the respondents regarded the creation of infrastructure and cultural institutions as a priority.

As African understanding of culture shows, the cultural policy has become an increasingly a decisive factor in country's consolidation, an instrument to improve country's image, to boost tourism potential, to establish cultural ties with other countries, but moreover, there is an understanding that culture is a strategic element of country's development. As was noted by Riccardo Pelizzo in his essays "Culture is a Key" and "A Culture-Based Approach to Development", Africa's recognition of culture as direct and indirect stimulus to economic growth, development, political stability makes the continent as a model for other developing countries.



In spite of some legislature and financial grants improvements, there are many problems, technical as well as political, that should be overcome: from the lack of basic art instruments to the lack of local recognition and appreciation, appropriate financing, copyright laws, and to the weakness of the institutions, etc. Moreover, using culture for a greater extent as 'image-maker' is fraught with one-arts-sphere development at the expense or marginalization of other creative expressions – Nigeria put all efforts to develop cinema industries, South Africa's language policy neglects some languages, while Liberia destroys traditional values. Worst of all using culture only for its economic value would lead possibly to

losing its aesthetical value and indigenous features. So while arts may yield some kind of developmental dividends, they may do so at the risk of losing their purity.

As noted by many academic and cultural leaders, Africa is a continent of huge creative potential, it is a continent of emotions and spiritual wealth. With greater vision and political will to implement all great ideas proclaimed in international conference papers as well as in the national documents, Africa can make a significant contribution to world of culture and aesthetics, especially taking into account the revived global interest in Africa.

Socially-engaged contemporary art in Africa

By Kristina BEKENOVA

It is very difficult to talk and to understand contemporary art. It is one thing to get an aesthetic pleasure from the artworks that now classified as traditional (masks, statuettes), classical (Ben Enwonwu), or those that combine/revive tradition and modernity (Victor Ehikhamenor, Victor Ekpuk); and it is quite different feeling when you see the art by contemporary artists, which is no longer restricted by the concepts of beauty, harmony and high ideals, by technique (a painting or sculpture) chosen by the artist.

Art has become a medium for an artist to express himself and to show his/her own artistic vision, his/her way of constructing relations with culture, and with the environment that surrounds him/her. Since art has come to be valued more for the ideas by which it is inspired or by the concept it wants to communicate, art has come to play an increasingly political role.

Artists make an increasing use of installations, combining and mixing techniques and performances, relying on metaphorical analogies and so on. To gain a neo-phenomenological understanding of art as a reflection of certain epoch, as a relation between humans and their place in the world, one should look at the situation in which African artists create their own artworks.

Violence and instability in Lesotho, devastating civil wars in South Sudan, food emergency in Ethiopia, political post-election tensions in Kenya and Angola, deterioration of political climate in Tanzania and Malawi, violence and unemployment in Congo, increasing HIV rate among African adolescents, growing number of health outbreaks and emergencies across the continent, huge number of displaced people because of political turmoil, civil war and natural disasters, non-livable conditions of cities, and so on...

There are so many problems and issues that could be displayed, denounced, criticized in the works. And some of them do. Some emphasize environment (Yinka Shonibare), other focus on gender and femininity (Uhirwa Diane, Meriem Bouderbala), while other focus on violence and conflicts (#AnaTaban artists), or identity and searching for roots (Lady Skollie), or blackness (Simone Leigh), or despair of today's life (Ka Zenzile), as well as on many lesser social evils from xenophobia (Gerald Machona) to consumerism (Xenson, El Anatsui), from poaching (Alexandra Spyrtatos) to migration (Peterson Kamwathi, Karo Akpokiere) and displacement (Ruby Onyinyechi Amanze), from globalization (Abdoulaye



Diarrassouba) to the digitalization of culture (Williams Chechet), and so on.

As we see, the number of socially engaged artists and projects in Africa is significant. The #AnaTaban, the South Sudanese team that brought together musicians, poets, designers, artists, painters and cartoonists, shows that by being witnesses of the current problems and by widening the borders of art, artists can inspire (and contribute to) social change. Citing Manasseh Mathiang, campaign leader, “art is an essential tool to bring about positive change, dissemi-

nation positive information, through art you can easily influence individuals’ thinking... people [could be] inspired, encouraged or challenged by our various art work... and an inclusive dialogue process [could be developed] which will allow the citizens to speak out on various issues that they find to be troubling to them.” Art and culture could serve not only aesthetical purposes, but also could be a powerful and important instrument to achieve social, political, cultural and environmental values.

Readers from 169 countries!

We are happy to report that our readers now come from 169 countries.

They come from: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bermuda, Bhutan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Republic), Congo DRC, Costa Rica, Cote d’Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibuti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, French Polynesia, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jersey, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kosovo, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Qatar, Reunion, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, South Africa, South Korea, South Sudan, Spain, Sri Lanka, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tanzania, Thailand, Timor Leste, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, USA, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Vietnam, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

La storia di due mondi

By Riccardo PELIZZO

Per alcuni, l'università italiana è in crisi, e, per corroborare questo punto di vista si ricorda che i concorsi sono truccati, i neo assunti sono incompetenti, i finanziamenti non bastano, gli studenti sono scendenti. Per altri invece, quelli dell'università italiana sono minimi, e per supportare questa posizione si ricorda che abbiamo università eccellenti, i nostri docenti insegnano bene, che ci sono eccellenze riconosciute internazionalmente, e che noi italiani siamo uno dei popoli più colti al mondo.

In questo dibattito, si trascura, invece, un fatto fondamentale e cioè che l'università gode di buona salute solo nella misura in cui c'è una domanda di sapere e, a parere di chi scrive, non è detto che ci sia una tale domanda (di sapere).

Negli Stati Uniti, per esempio, si rimprovera all'università di non fornire un'educazione o una formazione che faciliti l'ingresso nel mondo del lavoro o che qualifichi professionalmente, col risultato che si è registrato un calo nelle iscrizioni universitarie, che ci si aspetta una diminuzione crescente negli anni a venire, e che si teme che tremila università possano chiudere i battenti a causa delle poche iscrizioni.

Se anche in Italia, dove i trend statunitensi finiscono sempre con l'arrivare, si dovesse registrare un calo di interesse per l'educazione terziaria, con annesso calo delle iscrizioni, anche l'università italiana si potrebbe trovare in crisi.

Curiosamente, mentre nel nord del mondo le università – tranne ovviamente quelle antiche, ricche e prestigiose – sono un po' in crisi o sono in una crisi che potrebbe aggravarsi nei prossimi anni, il Sud del mondo ci offre un quadro diverso: c'è una enorme (e sempre crescente) domanda di sapere a cui, la classe politica risponde creando o cercando di creare ottime università.

Una quindicina d'anni orsono chiesi ad un docente, olandese, della Singapore Management University perché ci fosse venuto e lui mi rispose che è un fatto molto raro, pressochè eccezionale, poter essere uno dei docenti fondatori di una università perché le università non nascono tanto facilmente. Bologna ha i suoi

929 anni, per cui, dal 1088, nessun professor bolognese (eccetto quelli che andarono qualche anno dopo a fondare l'università di Padova,...) ha fondato una nuova università.

Quindici anni dopo, invece, di università nel Sud del Mondo ne sono nate: governi e filantropi, dall'Africa all'Asia centrale, hanno creato numerose università che, una volta create, si sono messe a fare ricerca e attività didattica per un numero sempre crescente di studenti. Le organizzazioni internazionali, che si preoccupano di promuovere lo sviluppo, a loro volta hanno fatto investimenti ingenti per migliorare varie università del Sud del Mondo.

Per cui, nel Sud del Mondo oggi, abbiamo una crescita sia quantitativa che qualitativa della realtà accademica, cosa che, a sua volta, comporta la creazione non solo di classi dirigenti sempre più preparate, ma che pone anche le basi per la ricerca, l'innovazione, e lo sviluppo socio-economico.

Cosa comporta tutto questo? Che il Sud del Mondo possa fare notevoli progressi nel ridurre il divario dal Nord del Mondo da un punto di vista culturale, che possa porre le premesse per una crescita economica sostenibile, che possa fare progressi sulla strada dello sviluppo, e, subordinatamente, possa arrivare a modificare i termini del suo rapporto con il Nord del Mondo. E quel tramonto dell'Occidente, di cui aveva parlato Spengler un centinaio di anni fa e che finora si era riusciti a rallentare/evitare, finirebbe col compiersi.

Tramonto dell'Occidente — le dimensioni demografica ed economica

By Riccardo PELIZZO

La cosa mi era venuta in mente verso la fine del 2009. Stavo tornando a casa, dopo una cena con i colleghi, con un mio collega più giovane, quando gli dissi di aver l'impressione che noi fossimo -anche lui era di qualche anno più giovane di me – la prima generazione da molto tempo -dal medioevo?- che non sarebbe riuscita diventare più ricca della generazione precedente. E' una novità storica assoluta, osservai, e credo che sarà interessante vedere come le nostre società risponderanno a questo nuovo, strano fenomeno.

Le nostre società, ma non il mondo nel suo complesso, perché il mondo va avanti anche se l'Occidente rallenta, si ferma, o regredisce.

Ma non vi è dubbio che l'Occidente si stia avvicinando sempre più e sempre più velocemente al suo Tramonto. Le economie dei paesi occidentali continuano inesorabilmente sul cammino di una crescita economica sempre più lenta e difficoltosa, faticano a creare impiego permanente che equivale a dire che faticano a creare occupazione tout court perché un impiego saltuario che impedisce all'individuo di fare progetti che vadano al di là dell'immediato è un impiego che, dal punto di vista sia della progettualità individuale che da un punto di vista sociale, non serve, non conta ed è come se non esistesse. Il precario permanente non è mai in condizione di fare dei progetti, non si sposa, e non fa figli.

In un articolo recente, apparso su il Foglio (<http://www.ilfoglio.it/esteri/2017/09/29/news/nel-mondo-un-abitante-su-tre-sara-africano-allah-batte-malthus-154728/>), si parlava di un rapporto dell'On secondo cui l'Europa perderà 33 milioni di persone da adesso al 2050, e ne perderà più di sessanta milioni fra il 2050 e il 2100. Il calo demografico colpirà anche l'Italia, dove la popolazione passerà dai 59 milioni di persone che abbiamo attualmente a 47 milioni—un crollo del 20 per cento.

Le premesse per questo tracollo demografico, che andrà di pari passo con l'invecchiamento della società, il crollo dei consumi, e la conseguente contrazione dell'economia, sono di lunga data. Chi si occupa di sviluppo socio-economico sa che nelle società più

avanzate si fanno meno figli: si studia più a lungo, si entra nel mercato del lavoro più tardi, ci si sposa e si mette su famiglia quando si è più in là con gli anni, per non dire di quelli che fanno meno figli sia per non dover sacrificare il lavoro e la carriera o per non mettere a rischio il benessere socio-economico e il tenore di vita appena raggiunto. Questo è tanto vero che in tutti i paesi sviluppati, tranne forse i soli Stati Uniti, il progresso, la modernizzazione, lo sviluppo comportano una minore fertilità.

La questione della fertilità e su come questa influisca sullo sviluppo è spesso discussa anche sulla stampa, dove politici, analisti, giornalisti dicono, per esempio, che l'Africa deve ridurre la fertilità per potersi sviluppare. Ragionamento forse sbagliato perché non tiene conto del fatto che si fa meno figli perché si è più ricchi (come società) e non si diventa più ricchi perché si fanno meno figli. Ma il ragionamento è potenzialmente sbagliato, pericoloso, e con conseguenze potenzialmente devastanti, per un secondo motivo e cioè che scoraggiando la fertilità pone le premesse per l'invecchiamento della società. E una società vecchia può solo morire.

Nel caso italiano, lo società è invecchiata, è già vecchia, e la precarizzazione del lavoro ha tolto, e continua a togliere, alla nuove generazioni, qualsiasi incentivo a fare progetti, sposarsi e fare figli. Per cui non nascendo nuovi bambini, quando i milioni di anziani passeranno a miglior vita, la popolazione italiana crollerà. E qualcosa di analogo si verificherà anche nel resto dell'Europa e, più in generale, in Occidente.

Per cui, il tramonto dell'occidente si verificherà prima di tutto su base demografica. L'Occidente conterà meno, perché, numericamente ci saranno meno occidentali sia in termini assoluti che in termini relativi.

Al tramonto su base demografica si accompagna il tramonto economico. Se si guarda a come sia cambiato in Francia, Italia il tasso di crescita economica, si vede come questo sia rallentato costantemente dal 1960 in poi. Man mano che i due paesi progredivano da un punto di vista socio-economico, trovavano difficoltà sempre maggiori a sostenere il tasso di crescita precedente, e, conseguentemente, il tasso di crescita



economica ha subito un costante rallentamento.

Da un certo punto di vista, il rallentamento economico è il risultato del successo economico precedente. E' più facile far crescere una economia piccola (in termini di reddito pro capite) che un'economia sviluppata. In un paese in cui il prodotto interno lordo pro capite è di 300 dollari all'anno, un incremento di soli 30 dollari, corrisponde ad una crescita del 10 per cento, in un paese come l'Italia in cui il PIL pro capite è sui 30000 dollari, un incremento di 30 dollari ammonta ad una crescita dello 0,1 per cento. Per cui, la crescita economica è stata per certi versi una vittima del suo successo.

Ma vi sono altri fattori, domestici, regionali, e globali che hanno influito sul rallentamento delle nostre economie e qui ci limitiamo a menzionarne due

Innanzitutto, la fine della guerra fredda, ha considerevolmente ridotto la rilevanza strategica dei partner europei. Per cui, nella misura in cui, gli Stati Uniti hanno sostenuto le economie europee anche, se non esclusivamente, in funzione anti-sovietica, con il finire della guerra fredda, finisce la necessità di fornire un tale sostegno, che, venendo, meno contribuisce a rallentare delle economie che negli anni pregressi aveva invece stimolato.

In secondo luogo, le nostre economie rallentano, perché con la globalizzazione, con la liberalizzazione dei mercati, con la delocalizzazione della produzione, l'Occidente non ha esportato solo capitali e tecnologia (che negli anni precedenti avrebbero prodotto benefici socio-economici a livello locale, cioè in Occidente) ma ha esportato anche la domanda di forza lavoro—rimpiazzando la forza lavoro occidentale, con quella di altri paesi dove il costo del lavoro è inferiore.

Per cui si capisce che se il capitale che in passato veniva investito in Occidente, dove produceva crescita economica, viene portato altrove, ovvero, per lo più, in Oriente; se la delocalizzazione delle imprese deprime il tasso di occupazione in Occidente ma lo stimola altrove, come ad esempio, in Oriente dove porta anche la tecnologia; si capisce perché mentre l'Occidente Tramonta, l'Oriente ri-sorge.

Non era detto che dovesse andare necessariamente così. Quando si decise di permettere la liberalizzazione dei mercati e il libero movimento dei capitali finanziari, lo si era deciso per varie ragioni: in primo luogo

perché apriva la prospettiva di profitti, precedentemente inimmaginabili, per i detentori del capitale e, in secondo luogo, perché apriva la prospettiva di sviluppo socio-economico per i paesi in via di sviluppo. Come abbiamo visto prima 30 dollari rappresentano una crescita del 10 per cento in un'economia in cui il PIL pro capite è di 300 dollari, ma non in una in cui il PIL pro capite è 30000 dollari. Per cui si pensava, essendoci maggiori possibilità di crescita nei paesi in via di sviluppo, il capitale che in ultima analisi si preoccupa solo di moltiplicare sé stesso, andrà nei paesi in via di sviluppo garantendo profitti agli investitori e la crescita ai paesi in via di sviluppo. Ma, nei primi anni successivi alla liberalizzazione dei mercati, i maggior beneficiari della maggior libertà di movimento finanziario sono stati gli Stati Uniti e non i paesi poveri. Perché il potenziale investitore che deve decidere dove investire il proprio capitale non guarda solo al possibile ritorno ma guarda anche al rischio, per cui, per lui, è meglio investire in un paese che cresce un po' meno ma che è pressochè senza rischi che investire in un paese in cui il rischio è alto.

Ed è qui il momento in cui l'Occidente si dà la fatidica zappa sui piedi.

Perché l'Occidente si mette a promuovere il buon governo, riduce il rischio che fin lì aveva tenuto lontani gli investitori dai paesi in via di sviluppo, e subisce una emorragia di capitali che aveva pensato bene di autorizzare.

Con lo spostamento di tecnologia, capitale e produzione, l'Occidente pone le premesse per il proprio tramonto economico, che rappresenta la seconda vera, importante dimensione del Tramonto dell'Occidente.

Diary of a Togolese Student

By Romualda STORMY NAKAMURA

My desire to study in Germany after my Baccalaureate was born, when following a competition in my high school designed to endear the German language to many younger people, I had the opportunity to discover the country and take courses with other young people from all over the world and who had won the same contest. I liked the little that I have seen and experienced of the Germany during this stay. A country full of opportunities and good conditions for studying. People who love a work well done and respect those who stand by their work and their effectiveness.

My decision was made; I'll be back in Germany to continue my studies after high school. In order not to taint the progress that I made at the level of language, I enrolled in Germans courses. This is how I got after several months of course the certificate which later helped me to obtain my visa.

Two years after my trip I was getting my Baccalaureate. But contrary to my initial project, due to some financial problem I couldn't go directly after my success in the tray. It's only 3 years after studying law in the University of Lomé chaotic system, that I had – through my uncle – the opportunity to enroll in a German University to continue my studies. The process of obtaining my student visa has taken an additional year. Despite the stress and worries that had dotted the procedural period, I finally got my visa and thus was the first important step towards my goal.

So, two years ago, I came to Germany, full of uncertainty and hope, to earn degrees that will determine my future life. I knew that the path would not be easy, as I would find myself alone, without my family, without great financial means, in a country whose language and culture is rather different from mine. But happy to finally get to the work. As a result of my registration at the University I had to redo language courses provided by my university and get a European standards language diploma attesting that I had the level of understanding necessary for study in a German University. Very quickly I realized that, as the only African student of my class I had to prove

myself. Indeed, the stereotypes are rooted in the memory of most people and I had to show that not only I was smart and up to standard, but that I was in no way similar to the stereotype. Over time and thanks to my good grades, I saw that people started looking at me in a different way, and that I had won not only the respect of my peers but also that of my teachers. After two semester of classes I could get my degree and the following semester I was accepted in one of the best German universities.

I'm doing a double major in political science and communication and it takes a lot of work. The German school and University System is the opposite of the Togolese/African system. It is a well-structured and organized system that offers to the student freedom handling the learning materials at the student's discretion, while demanding self-discipline. Going to class and taking notes is not enough to be successful at the end of the Semester, as it is the case in most African universities, which lack the necessary infrastructures to allow the student to do research. In Germany only personal work and research carried out as a result of the course allow one to be better prepared for exams. This is why African students, who are not really well prepared, must first adapt to the situation and put a lot more effort to be at the same level as their fellow Europeans. Slowing down some of them in their progress.

Another problem for African students in Germany is the financial. While German students receive some help from the state and can benefit from the BAfög, which is a loan from the State that you receive each month in the form of scholarship and must repay in small part if after graduation you find a work, African students don't receive any aid or scholarship from their country of origin. Added to the pressure due to the renewal of the residence permit, which is either all the years or every 2 years according to the city, and for which African students must not only bring their transcript to show that they're moving well in their studies but also the Bank certificate proving that they have again the 8000 and a few euros available on one



account blocked. Most of African parents are unable to provide this amount each year to their children, which is why they must find small student jobs to pay their fees and also have some savings to renew their visas. And in many cases, of course, African students send some money home to help their families in Africa whose conditions are often rather miserable.

This situation is difficult for African students, because although every student, has the right to work a specific number of days in the year, it is not always easy to find a job and combine it with the studies, while ensuring that the studies won't suffer. Unfortunately, that's what happens in some cases, odd jobs will eventually take over the studies, they are gradually abandoned and the student ends up losing sight of her objective which is to ensure a future by earning a good university degree. Which is sad, because the abandonment of studies necessarily leads the student to the next problem, which is that of the deportation. Indeed, one of the requirements for the renewal of the student residence permit is the justification of its averages by transcript. But by going less and less to the University, it is clear that the student cannot succeed in the exams. And once he is no more advancing in these studies the residence permit is not renewed and a letter is sent to ask the student to leave the country. This push many students to flee their place of residence for fear of being arrested, and living in illegality, others sank into depression and some who can afford it pay and have white marriages, whereby they get a permit from definitive stay.

Personally I am a person who adapts easily to a new environment— I also had difficulties at the beginning, but I had the support of the people who have helped and facilitated my adaptation. So I can say I finally find some stability. Germany is a country with a stable and efficient political system. It is a country that provides extensive social support — children from birth and up to their 25 years receive each month money of the State, school is free till University and the unemployed also receive each month of the State's money. So we can say that the German economy, which survived the economic crisis of 2009, is stable and benefits the population.

The country has become very cosmopolitan, after the disasters of the 1st and 2nd world war, the country is

trying to open up to the world and to prevent the same mistakes in the future. The country wants to shine as a country of diversity and acceptance where everyone is welcome. As an example, with the current refugee crisis which has among other things become a problem, Germany wanted to show its willingness to help other peoples and these families fleeing the atrocities of the war. But yet you notice more and more that this people are afraid of all that is different, that is other than the European standards. The more and more growing importance of political parties as the AFD which is a modern Nazi party is proof of that. It is understandable that the Germans are afraid that their company, their manners, their standard of living change and they lose their perks because of the large numbers of foreigners coming into their country and also the risk of attack that is growing. What is actually too bad, it is that people do not cultivate to learn a little more about the world and what that happens out of their bubble other than what the media want their say. I've been seeing people from different nationalities, but it is in this country that the word racism took a real sense to me. I'm not only talking of discrimination to get a job or rent an apartment, but hate clearly expressed because my skin color is different. Unfortunately, this is characteristic of most of the countries around the world. I also remember that a classmate had asked me not by wickedness but by ignorance: "why in Africa people are all skinny with a big belly?". And instead of being angry as it would have been the case of several African compatriots, I took the time to explain that Africa is a continent composed of several countries (because many do not know) and it is from countries where people do not find to eat these images are coming. And to my image Africans are not thin with big belly. And others who ask me about wild animals, as if I was close to them on a daily basis, while the only ones I've ever seen were in a Zoo, I answer that our countries have paved roads, that we have buildings and that we do not live in the forest.

I find it sad that the only images of Africa in the Western media, are those of war, famine and safari, and that people reduce us to it without seeking to learn and grow. It is time that people come out of their comfort zones, learn and understand that what is different is not necessarily bad. Germany is a beautiful country with a lot of advantages but also a lot of deficiencies.



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