

The Continent

with Mail & Guardian



A marriage of inconvenience

Kenya's president turns on his deputy

The show must go on

The pandemic is all-consuming. Even if you do not yet know anyone who has had Covid-19, the dramatic emergency measures implemented by governments all over the world mean that all of our lives have already been touched by this unprecedented public health crisis - and its knock-on impact on our economies.

We may never return to life as we know it. And yet, even in these strange times, there are some things that we can rely on: where there are politicians, there will be politics.

Even as his administration is desperately trying to prevent the spread of the virus, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta has found the time to make potentially decisive moves against his main rival, William Ruto - who also happens to be his deputy president. Our cover story this week (p13) explores the latest falling out of these foes-turned-friends-turned-foes again, and what it means for Kenya's future.

Elsewhere, the coronavirus has done nothing to halt the march towards contentious elections in Burundi - never mind that large campaign rallies may put the health of voters at risk. And in Ethiopia, the government is pressing ahead with its plans to fill up the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, a massive hydroelectric project that may permanently alter the geopolitical balance of the region (p10).

**Some things we can
always rely on: where
there are politicians,
there will be politics**

For those in power, the pandemic is also an opportunity. As Winston Churchill supposedly said: "Never let a good crisis go to waste." For the rest of us, it means we need to be watching our leaders closer than ever before. ■

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Martial artist: In its corruption case against Africa's richest woman, Isabel dos Santos, Angolan prosecutors presented this passport scan in evidence. Except it's an obvious fake: the passport numbers don't match, and the signature belongs to Kung Fu legend Bruce Lee. This brings their entire case into question, Dos Santos says (Photo: supplied)

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Inside:

- **Books! Books! Books!** All the best lockdown reads (p11)
- **ON THE COVER:** Kenya's week of high-stakes political turmoil (p13)
- **Opinion:** Raila Odinga on why the US and Europe need to step it up (p22)
- **Economics:** Must Mozambique really pay back its dodgy loans? (p25)
- **PLUS** reporting from South Sudan, Tanzania, Lesotho, Nigeria, Ethiopia and more

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In the headlines

It's been another eventful week across the continent as nations continue to grapple with the realities of Covid-19.

Samira Sawlani

Burundi

The pandemic is complicating things in Burundi, which is pressing ahead with elections on May 20. In a letter to the East African Community, the country said the organisation was welcome to send observers, but unfortunately they would have to be quarantined for 14 days, thereby missing the polls. Convenient.

Perhaps the government is just protecting people from the virus — and also from the World Health Organisation, whose officials it summarily expelled this week. But with packed-out rallies suggesting social distancing is not high on its agenda, the ruling party has encouraged citizens to go about their normal lives because “God loves Burundi”.

Tanzania

The Covid-19 policy in Tanzania, meanwhile, might best be described as:

“Each man for himself and God for us all.” It hasn't updated figures on cases and deaths since April 29, and critics suspect a cover-up. The US embassy has warned its citizens to stay home, noting hospitals are overwhelmed (and the US is well-placed to judge, given its own difficulties in containing the pandemic).

Zambia has closed its border with Tanzania, and other countries are reporting cases of Tanzanian truck drivers testing positive. To top it off, President Magufuli missed this week's East African Community summit, prompting speculation that he's ghosting fellow leaders. If you were among those asking #WhatWouldMagufuliDo, the answer seems to be “not much” (apart from testing goats and papayas for the virus).

Kenya

From across the border comes another episode of Keeping up with the Kenyans, as President Kenyatta's Jubilee party and Gideon Moi's Kenya African National Union draw ever closer in their “dynastic merger”. Speculation on where this leaves Deputy President William Ruto is distracting from floods that have left more than 200 people dead and 800,000 displaced.

Angola

Not to be distracted is Angola's Isabel dos Santos, fighting allegations of corruption that have seen her assets



Bright spot: A baby mountain gorilla seen at the Bwindi Impenetrable Forest in Uganda (Photo: Lorena de la Cuesta/SOPA Images/LightRocket via Getty Images)

frozen in Portugal and at home. On social media she claimed a “false passport” in her name — signed by martial arts legend Bruce Lee! — was evidence of a plot against her.

Madagascar

In Madagascar, President Andry Rajoelina continues to defend his Covid-19 “cure”, despite failing to provide any evidence that it actually works. He says the WHO and other critics are disparaging it because “it’s from Africa, if a European country had discovered it, there would be no doubts”. Hmm.

Senegal

Meanwhile, less controversial inventions are emerging from Senegal’s Ecole Supérieure Polytechnique, where students have designed machines to

help with the coronavirus response, from sanitiser dispensers to robots that take your temperature.

Mauritius

Machines might not be needed in Mauritius, though, which has gone more than 15 days with no new Covid-19 cases and all its patients have already recovered.

Uganda

And if that is not enough to cheer us up, Bwindi National Park in Uganda reported the birth of two baby gorillas on Mother’s Day.

Some rare bright spots there, to cap a week where politicians have been tempting fate and risking lives. But at this stage, we’ll take whatever good news we can get. ■

South Sudan

South Sudan eases lockdown - just as cases start to rise

David Monodanga

In Juba, South Sudan's national lockdown was not especially well-observed. Weddings and funerals continued as normal. Few people stopped shaking hands - culturally, if you don't shake someone's hand then you have not properly said hello.

This may explain why cases of Covid-19 in the country have surged in recent weeks: from just 55 cases at the end of April to 236 cases on 16 May, and four deaths.

Given the spike in infections, it may seem like an unlikely time for the country to relax its lockdown. But that is exactly what the government has done this week: easing restrictions to allow more businesses to operate, while resuming domestic and international flights. Juba is now more or less back to

normal.

The government's coronavirus task force has been reluctant to publicly explain its rationale for this decision. It has, however, confirmed that it has ordered a batch of Covid-Organics, the herbal beverage which Madagascar's president claims can both prevent and cure Covid-19.

"[President] Salva Kiir has written to the president of Madagascar and we are expecting a response soon," information minister Michael Makuei told *The Continent*. Madagascar's government is yet to produce any evidence to support its claims about Covid-Organics efficacy. A spokesperson for the health ministry said that Covid-Organics would have to be tested before it is tried on patients or the public.

So far, South Sudan's unity government - which includes President Kiir's bitter foe, Vice-President Riek Machar - has been unusually united in its policy towards the pandemic. But not all citizens are convinced.

"Junubin [South Sudanese] still don't know anything about this deadly disease, they think it's a joke," said Zaida Ibrahim, a resident of Juba. "The task force has to get tough...or else we are yet to see the worst." ■

Tanzania

Night burials, secret statistics

A reporter in Dar es Salaam*

Last month, Tanzanian President John Magufuli was telling citizens that three days of prayer would be enough to defeat the coronavirus. At roughly the same time, coffins were being secretively buried at night in cemeteries in and around Dar es Salaam.

These small, secretive funerals are a far cry from how Tanzanians usually bury their dead: in public, in daylight, and among large crowds of mourners.

When videos of these night burials began emerging on social media - lit only by motorcycle headlight, and with pallbearers wearing full protective gear - many Tanzanians assumed that the government was trying to cover up the death toll caused by Covid-19. Tanzania's elected leaders have consistently downplayed the threat posed by the virus, and have refused to implement stringent measures - such as lockdowns and travel bans - seen in most other countries in the world.

But Dar es Salaam regional commissioner Paul Makonda has a different explanation. He said that the

coffins were empty, and the videos were a plot by people with bad intentions, designed to make Tanzanians panic about the coronavirus.

Elias*, a resident of the Kondo area near where the night burials took place, told *The Continent* that the regional commissioner should say this to the relatives of those buried at night.

When questioned by reporters, health minister Umyy Mwalimu said that there would be no more night burials, and that family members would be allowed to participate in funeral preparations.

Tanzania has refused to release official updates on Covid-related cases

Since April 29, Tanzania has refused to release any official updates on Covid-related cases or deaths (the last count stood at 509 coronavirus cases, 21 deaths). This week, the World Health Organisation pleaded with the government to issue accurate statistics, while the US Embassy in Tanzania issued an extraordinary statement saying that the disease has spread much further than is being reported: "All evidence points to exponential growth of the epidemic in Dar and other locations." ■

*Names withheld for security reasons

Nigeria



Lagos needs your help!

Africa's biggest city is crowd-sourcing its coronavirus policy - to mixed reviews.

Aanu Adeoye

After Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari lifted the lockdown orders for Abuja, Lagos and Ogun, a sense of normalcy has returned to the nation's economic capital.

Bus stations are packed. There are long queues outside banks. Social distancing measures are an afterthought, and the ban on interstate travel has also been consistently flouted.

Lagos is the epicentre of Nigeria's Covid-19 outbreak, with more than 40% of cases occurring in the state. Authorities are rightly concerned that relaxing the rules could lead to a spike in infections. Governor Babajide Sanwo-Olu has openly mulled the possibility

Back on the bus: Lagos eased restrictions on vehicle movements this month after a 6-week lockdown
(Photo: Adeyinka Yusuf for Anadolu Agency)

of reimposing another lockdown if residents continue to ignore the rules.

The state government has also asked for advice from an unusual quarter: Twitter.

In a Twitter poll, the government asked: "Considering the level of compliance with government's directives on limiting the spread of Covid-19 in a Lagos State, should the State Government impose another lockdown or not?"

71,176 votes had been cast at the time of writing. 49.7% of voters voted for the "LOCK-DOWN" option. Under Nigeria's first-past-the-post voting rules, a clear victory seems imminent. Unusually for a Nigerian vote, nobody so far has challenged the legitimacy of the results.

But some have questioned whether social media should really be involved in such a momentous decision. "I am amazed indeed embarrassed at this tweet. Someone must be playing a prank. This is a serious decision to be made being trivialised. Sad," wrote one Twitter user. Another responded: "We are in a democracy my brother, that's how issues should be handled in a democracy." ■

The Week in Numbers



Cloud coverage:
Mozambique will be the second African market, after Kenya, that Loon launches in
(Photo: Loon)

20 kms

The distance above sea-level that new internet balloons will hover in Mozambique. The balloons – made by Loon, a unit of Google's Alphabet – will provide internet connection in the hard-to-reach provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. They are expected to be deployed in a few months' time.

400

The number of people who will soon be going home to Zimbabwe from South Africa. The Embassy announced that a generous donor organised buses for those who could not afford a bus ticket.

18

The number of months an Italian woman in Kenya was kidnapped before being set free this week.

62

The percentage of private businesses in Togo that have reportedly been able to keep their employees working and payrolls intact despite the coronavirus pandemic.

23 000

The number of refugees who have been forced to flee to Niger from Nigeria since April due to several acts of rebellion in northern Nigeria. Niger reportedly hosts over half-a-million refugees from Mali, Burkina Faso and Nigeria.

May 20

The date of Burundi's presidential election — which is expected to be much closer than anticipated.

\$10.7-million

The amount of money that will be saved after Namibia's President Hage Geingob banned government officials from buying new cars for a period of five years. The money will be redirected into the country's Covid-19 response. Geingob also put an additional limit on high-level politicians' monthly fuel consumption.

98

The age of a woman discharged from hospital in Lagos after recovering from coronavirus.

Tensions rise as Africa's largest dam becomes a reality

Simon Allison

Power play: The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is yet to generate any electricity, but has already caused plenty of diplomatic tensions (Photo: Eduardo Soteras for AFP)

After nearly a decade of construction, the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is near completion. Built on the Nile River, it will be the largest hydroelectric project in Africa, with a capacity of 74 billion cubic metres of water.

That's a lot of water. So much, in fact, that it is going to take years to fill the dam. Just how many years, however, is up for debate.

Ethiopia wants to begin filling the dam this rainy season - which usually begins in June - and complete the process in six years. When it is operating at full strength, the dam will double Ethiopia's electricity output.

Its downstream neighbours, Egypt and Sudan, are pushing for a much longer timeline - anything from 12 to 21 years. They are worried that if the dam fills up too fast, the water level of the Nile River will drop, leaving less water available for their own crops and hydroelectric plants.

Negotiations on this have been long and fraught. At one point, Egypt - which relies on the Nile for 90% of its water needs - even threatened to bomb the dam. And as the rainy season approaches, these talks are only becoming more contentious.

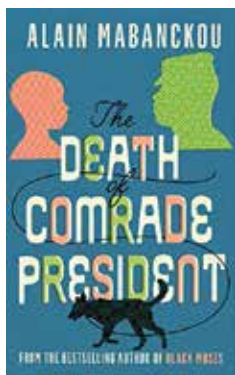
Last week, Egypt wrote to the United Nations Security Council and asked it to intervene. On Tuesday, Sudan's government refused to sign a deal for the partial filling of the dam, saying that there were still too many technical and legal issues outstanding.

If the three countries don't reach an agreement soon, then tensions are likely to rise. "Without careful management of the Nile waters dispute, Ethiopia and Egypt, Africa's second- and third-most populous countries, risk moving further toward confrontation. Sudan, in the midst of its delicate political transition, would be dragged into the fray," said the International Crisis Group. ■



Our best lockdown reads

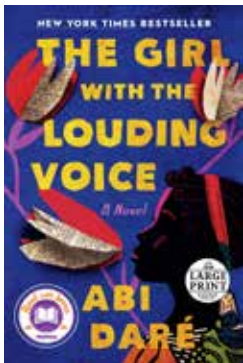
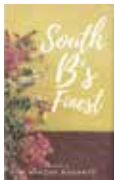
For those of us fortunate enough to have the time, opportunity and means to catch up on our reading during lockdown, books have been a source of comfort, inspiration and resolve. We thought we'd share our favourites with you. **Samira Sawlani**



PRESENT FROM THE PAST

Every time a new book by Alain Mabanckou is published, one wonders how it could possibly be better than its predecessor, yet somehow it always is. A master of satire, Mabanckou sets his books mainly in the People's Republic of Congo of the 1970s, brilliantly combining wit, comedy and tragedy. His latest offering *The Death of Comrade President* is no different.

In this follow-up to *Tomorrow I'll be Twenty*, we continue to see the world through the eyes of 13-year-old protagonist Michel as he navigates his often hilarious postcolonial childhood. Things take a serious turn however when President Ngoubai is assassinated: suddenly no one is safe, and our hero finds himself in the midst of the madness.



LOVE AS PROTEST

The latest novel from Zimbabwe's Irene Sabatini captures the impact of political violence on everyday lives. Set during the Mugabe era, *An Act of Defiance* is at its core a love story, reminding us that not even matters of the heart are spared when it comes to big man politics.

If you have an affinity for short stories, we suggest *Nairobi Noir*. Edited by Peter Kimani, this collection from Akashic Books features some of Kenya's best writers, and captures the beauty, horror and mystique of Nairobi. Another perspective on life in Nairobi is found in *South B's Finest* by Makena Maganjo — an incredible read about former and current residents of Malaba Estate, and how their lives twist and turn amid political and economic upheaval.

For something more light-hearted, consider Frances Mensah-Williams. After the success of *From Pasta to Pigfoot* and its sequel *Second Helpings*, she returns with *Imperfect Arrangements*. Focusing on three best friends in Ghana, this is a story about the challenges that come with friendship, love and relationships, and the search for that "happily ever after".

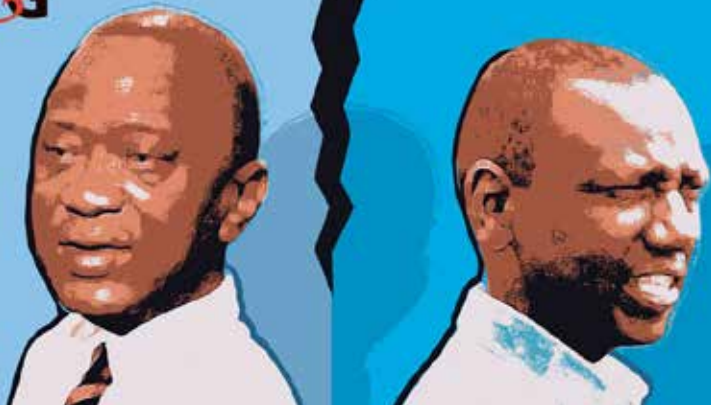
A DETERMINED DEBUT

Great novels bring to the forefront stories that otherwise go unheard. At the centre of Abi Daré's debut *The Girl with the Louding Voice* is 14-year-old Adunni who, through a series of events, finds herself working as a maid in Lagos. Though this may be a work of fiction, it reminds us of the challenges around child marriage, violence against women and exploitation of domestic workers. And yet it is also a story of hope and of determination.

On the Young Adult front is the magnificent new novel *The Colours that Blind* by Rutendo Tavengerwei, about 15-year-old Tumirai, who dreams of making Zimbabwe's Olympic swim team.

Finally, we dare not let *The Shadow King* by Maaza Mengiste escape your attention. Set during Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s, this is about war and women who take up arms. It is about memory, and the importance of telling our own histories. It is unforgettable. ■

M&G



Trouble in State House

With elections around the corner, the uneasy alliance between Kenya's president and his powerful deputy is hanging by a thread. **Waihiga Mwaura**

They say a week is a longtime in politics. This week, in Kenya, every day has felt like an eternity.

It is no secret that there has been a growing divide between Kenya's fourth president, Uhuru Kenyatta, and his deputy William Ruto. During their first term in office (2013 to 2017), the pair displayed enviable chemistry and unity of purpose - not least in facing down the International Criminal Court until all charges against them were dropped (the charges related to Kenya's post-election violence in 2007, when they were on different sides of the political divide). Sometimes they even wore matching

attire.

But over the last two years, since their re-election, the relationship between Kenyatta and Ruto has become increasingly tense. They have even disagreed on high-profile government initiatives, such as how to fight the war on corruption; and whether the president's flagship Building Bridges Initiative - an ambitious project to reform Kenya's legislation - is really the best way forward for the country.

When the coronavirus pandemic hit Kenya in March, these divisions became even more pronounced. While President Kenyatta, guided by his closest allies, was



Friends no more: A woman poses for a photograph between cardboard cut-outs of Kenyatta and Ruto, during the president's inauguration ceremony in Nairobi in 2017
(Photo: Yasuyoshi Chiba for AFP)

at the forefront of directing the response, the Deputy President was nowhere to be seen. This fuelled speculation that the President was considering moving against Ruto - potentially jeopardising Ruto's long-held ambition of ascending to the top job in the next election in 2022.

Over the last two years, the relationship between Kenyatta and Ruto has become increasingly tense – they have disagreed on high-profile government initiatives

This week, that speculation appeared to become reality. First, news emerged on Sunday of a secretive electoral

alliance between the ruling Jubilee Party and the once-mighty Kenya African National Union (Kanu), which ruled Kenya from independence until 2002. President Kenyatta's father, Jomo Kenyatta - also Kenya's first president - founded Kanu. There is another dynastic link: Kanu is now led by Gideon Moi, the son of Kenya's second president and Kanu stalwart, the late Daniel Arap Moi.

The alliance was controversial because one faction of the Jubilee Party seemed to know nothing about it. That faction is aligned with Ruto. Some of Ruto's supporters within the party have already challenged the alliance at the Political Parties Disputes Tribunal, arguing that it is not in line with Jubilee's Constitution.

On Monday, the plot thickened. President Kenyatta hosted a meeting of Jubilee Party senators. Senators from Kanu attended, but the Deputy President and his allies were missing in action.

On Tuesday, things got even more serious when key Ruto allies were removed from positions of power. Both Senate Majority Leader Kipchumba Murkomen and Majority Whip Susan Kihikawere defrocked and replaced by other senators.

On Wednesday, Jubilee Secretary-General Raphael Tuju began a disciplinary process against five senators who did not attend that meeting on Monday - a process that could end up in their expulsion.

For the unlikely, but so far very successful, political marriage between Kenyatta and Ruto, this appears to be the end of the road. As the *Daily Nation* noted in an editorial this week: "The centre cannot hold and chaotic divorce is inevitable."

The Handshake

The collapse of Kenyatta and Ruto's alliance became inevitable on 9 March 2018 - the moment that Kenyatta entered into another alliance, this time with his bitter political rival Raila Odinga. Although Kenyatta and Odinga and their respective supporters had hurled insults at each other throughout the messy 2017 election season, they announced then that they were putting their differences aside. This moment became known throughout Kenya as "The Handshake".

Kenyatta and Odinga - without much or any input from Ruto - put together a joint committee to generate solutions to nine problems that have plagued Kenya since independence, including ethnic antagonism, divisive elections, and the

lack of a national ethos. This committee's major contribution has been the Building Bridges Initiative, which spent 18 months collecting ideas and feedback from Kenyans across geographic and social divides.


"The centre cannot hold and chaotic divorce is inevitable"

Thanks to the coronavirus pandemic, momentum on the Building Bridges Initiative has now stalled. But between it and the Handshake, the damage to the relationship between the president and his deputy had already been done.

For students of Kenyan politics, Ruto's troubles comes as no surprise. The second-in-command position has historically been a poisoned chalice. Kenya has had 11 vice-presidents in its history. Only two - Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki - have gone on to occupy the presidency. The rest have been derailed by controversies and political backstabbing.

But don't expect this deputy president to go down without a fight. William Ruto rose from relative obscurity to national prominence, and has been tenacious and ruthless in his ascent to power. Kenya can expect him to show the same qualities as he fights for his political life. ■

Waihiga Mwaura is the host of Newsnight on Kenya's Citizen TV



SO, YOU THINK YOU'RE A REAL PAN-AFRICAN?

Take this quiz to find out
how well you really know
our continent

Photo: Kelly Sikkema/Unsplash

1 Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka is first cousin to which Nigerian musical icon?

2 In Kiswahili, what does the first name of Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta mean?

3 What country is referred to as 'The Smiling Coast'?

4 Which South African president made the famous 'I am an African' speech in 1996?

5 What currency is used in Tunisia?

6 In which country will you find the

Etosha Pan?

7 What is the capital of Chad?

8 Some Rastafarians believe in the divinity of which Ethiopian Emperor?

9 What is the People's Republic of Congo known as today?

10 The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights is in which city?

11 Which country's flag features a crested crane?

12 Who wrote the novel *Half of a Yellow Sun*?

How did I do?

WhatsApp 'ANSWERS' to +27 73 805 6068 and we will send you the answers immediately.

0-4

"I think I need to start reading more newspapers."

5-8

"I can't wait to explore more of this continent."

9-12

"No colonial borders will ever hold me back."

How to bury the dead - to protect the living

Kiri Rupiah

The images stayed long after the Ebola pandemic had passed. Hazmat suits, face masks, steel-toed boots and gloves. The burials conducted by solitary unidentifiable figures on mounds of freshly dug soil.

The handling of the dead during West Africa's Ebola pandemic was one of the main modes of transmission of the disease. Now, in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, mortuaries around the world have had to adapt their body management systems, much like West African nations did with the Ebola virus.

Stephen Fonseca, a regional forensic coordinator for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Africa, says death is an essential part of healthcare preparation — someone has to handle the deceased and they too need to be prepared for any eventuality.

This means everyone involved in handling bodies has to take extra precautions. At the same time, Fonseca adds, communities have to be included in the creation of funeral plans, so that they comply with any new precautions

- especially when these might conflict with existing cultural practises.

Professor Jeanine Vellema, the chief specialist in Forensic Pathology Service of South Africa's Gauteng province, deals with bodies all the time and is pragmatic about Covid-19. Vellema has written a guide for how staff can deal with bodies, while avoiding infection.

The same rules apply as with other bodies, with some additions: for example, any body suspected of dying of or with a Covid-19 infection must be decontaminated and disinfected before being placed in two sealable body-bags.

These rules, when followed properly, are so effective at preventing contamination that Vellema feels that her mortuary is safer than most public spaces. "We are more likely to contract the disease in a supermarket than here," she said. ■



Grave concern: Funerals - like this one in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo - are a major source of transmission for Ebola
(Photo: John Wessels for AFP)

Investigation

Why does one hospital take up almost 30% of Lesotho's health budget?

Pacalinah Kabi

The Queen 'Mamohato Memorial Hospital in Maseru, Lesotho, built by the Tšepong consortium, has been plagued by spiralling costs. Meanwhile, cancer patients must still travel to South Africa for treatment (Photo: Thabelo Monamane/Lesotho Times)

More than a decade ago, the Lesotho government signed a billion-rand contract to build and manage what would become the country's only specialist hospital. Today, the facility accounts for almost a third of the country's entire health budget, according to documents seen by Bhekisisa / the *Lesotho Times*.

To build the 425-bed Queen 'Mamohato Memorial Hospital, the government contracted Tšepong (Pty) Limited — a company comprised of South African hospital giant Netcare and mostly local partners. As part of the public-private partnership, Tšepong would also build an additional clinic and refurbish three others.

Government put up almost R840-

million for the project. The Development Bank of Southern Africa loaned Tšepong (Pty) Limited another R1.4-million, according to a 2013 report by the United States-based University of California San Francisco.

The World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC), which encourages private-sector development in the Global South, advised the country on the deal.

The project was supposed to herald a new era in healthcare financing in Africa. More than a decade later, the partnership may have improved the quality of care in Lesotho. Still, many experts agree the country lacked the capacity to manage the hospital's ballooning costs and the

contract generally.

The original 2007 tender for the hospital put the project price tag at R500-million. By the time the government unveiled a financial model for the final project, the figure had more than doubled, argues Mark Hellowell, director of University of Edinburgh's global health policy unit in a 2019 BMJ Global Health paper.

Tšepong's fee also rose from R180-million to R255-million during final negotiations, according to Hellowell and international charity Oxfam's Anna Marriott.

Today, the Lesotho government can't keep up with payments to Tšepong. As of March, Netcare said the government owed the consortium R700-million. The Lesotho Minister of Health Nkaku Kabi did not respond to requests for comment.

Repayments on Tšepong's loan from the Development Bank of Southern Africa are also billed to the government.

Oxfam has called on the IFC to take responsibility for the serious flaws in the public-private partnership contract.

World Bank representative Omer Ramses Zang Zidjou says the international organisation has been assisting the government since 2018 to address challenges.

Meanwhile, as of 2015, only two full-time Lesotho ministry of health employees managed all outsourced contracts, which accounted for more than half the total health budget that year, Hellowell says.

Without oversight, the country was unable to utilise performance-based



First of its kind: Queen 'Mamohato Memorial, a public-private hospital, was built to replace Lesotho's former main public hospital (Photo: Thabelo Monamane/Lesotho Times)

clauses in the Tšepong' contract that would have allowed it to, for instance, impose penalties where services fell short. This made it difficult to figure out if Lesotho was getting value for money with the contract even as the costs of Queen 'Mamohato Memorial Hospital spiralled.

But there was one saving grace. Tšepong's contract requires it to ensure the hospital is accredited by the Council for Health Service Accreditation of Southern Africa. The organisation is the only internationally recognised healthcare facility accreditation body in sub-Saharan Africa.

According to Hellowell's research, in 2013 the Queen 'Mamohato Memorial Hospital became the first public sector hospital in sub-Saharan Africa to obtain this accreditation outside South Africa. ■

Pacalinh Kabi is an IJHUB fellow. This story was produced by the Bhekisisa Centre for Health Journalism in partnership with the Lesotho Times. Subscribe to the Bhekisisa newsletter <http://bit.ly/BhekisisaSubscribe>.



Laduuuuuma: Siphwe Tshabalala scored Bafana Bafana's first goal of the 2010 World Cup in their first match of the tournament against Mexico

(Photo: Clive Rose/Getty Images)

The goal that shook the world

Luke Feltham

Siphwe Tshabalala remembers the first goal of the first World Cup on African soil. And so he should - because he scored it.

Nearly a decade ago, more than 80,000 fans were packed into Johannesburg's Soccer City to watch South Africa take on Mexico in the first group game of the 2010 World Cup.

After years of tireless planning and anxious anticipation, the moment had finally arrived. All eyes were on the hosts:

would the perennial underachievers stumble under the world's gaze?

55 minutes of tight, albeit entertaining, football, produced no goals. And then it happened.

Five seconds was all it took to turn a routine interception into a neat midfield triangle and a sublimely weighted through-ball from Teko Modise. Siphwe Tshabalala, raring down the left, latched onto it. He took one touch into his path before fiercely unleashing with his in-step. The hapless Mexican keeper stood no chance.

That the Kaizer Chiefs winger was able to find the opening without hesitating is perhaps the most remarkable thing about the goal. "There was not much time to think because the speed on the ball was very fast and I was going fast as

well,” Tshabalala recalls now, a decade later. “But I knew that the keeper was off his line. At first I thought of just lobbing it over, but on second thought I just unleashed a powerful shot. I connected well with the ball, the technique was perfect ... everything was perfect.”

The English commentators were as ecstatic as the crowd. “Tshabalalaaa!” screamed Peter Drury, his pronunciation not as half-arsed as the usual fare from his British colleagues.

Co-commentator Jim Beglin, who had a bit more trouble with “Shabagalala”, enthused that if Brazil had produced that sort of ruthless passing we’d be “raving about it for ages”. He’s not wrong – that is the type of football we’d expect from the very best in the world. Thanks to the goal, South Africa was in Brazil’s bracket, if only for a moment.

After wheeling away from a stunned Mexican defence, and

with adrenaline surely surging through his body, Tshabalala still found the composure to join his teammates on the touchline for what would become a famous, and much replicated, celebration.

“It was bound to happen. The confidence was there, the belief was there,” he says. “We used to practise the

celebration in training. We knew that moment was going to come.”

South Africa conceded a sloppy equaliser in an anticlimactic finish to the game, and the team did not make it out of the group stages. But nothing can erase the sheer joy of that moment.

“I’ve scored so many beautiful goals, important goals, from childhood until today, but that one will always stand out. Because the world was watching, the stakes were high – it was a big moment for South Africa and Africans. It will always be the best and one for the archives. People still talk about it. Just today someone texted me about the goal,” Tshabalala says. ■



Iconic: Tshabalala’s goal guaranteed his place in the history books - and he still gets asked about it on a regular basis (Photo: Getty)

The United States and Europe cannot abandon their leadership roles now

Today, the whole world stands where Europe was in 1945. Europe recovered then thanks to massive international assistance. That same attitude of cooperation and solidarity is needed now more than ever before. Raila Odinga

When I arrived in Germany for my studies in 1962, West Germany and virtually all of Europe were in the middle of a major reconstruction to repair the damage of World War II. The determination to keep fascism out of Europe, and the fear of a third world war, jolted the free world into action to save Europe from destitution.

So much help got pumped into West Germany that about a decade after the war, one would have been forgiven for believing that it was Germany that had won World War II. It was not European money that repaired Europe. It was America's leadership, through the famous Marshall Plan, that got Europe back on its feet again.

Today, the whole world stands where Europe was in 1945. The world finds itself in the middle of a grim and disruptive pandemic. Strangely though, while humanity learnt from the 20th century

Wars and crafted an international system to deal with their consequences - and to avoid similar devastation in the future - we have responded to Covid-19 as if there has been no precedent.

After the initial shock, countries are weighing up reopening their operations, including international travel and tourism. This move needs to be accompanied by a new resolve: that the international system that emerged from the devastation of World War II should be strengthened, not undermined. The world has no alternative to the United Nations and its support bodies like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Health Organisation; and to ideals like international security, free markets and democracy. Cooperation, coordination and solidarity should guide the search for vaccines and cures for Covid-19.

At the end of World War II, the role

of saving Europe and, by extension, the world, passed on to the United States, who - together with the Soviet Union - liberated West Germany. The US then went ahead to provide the money to rebuild Europe and proceeded to craft an alliance (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, or NATO) to help defend Europe. America at that stage showed what is possible when nations cooperate in a spirit of enlightened self-interest.

The US, in tandem with Europe, can once again bring the world to one table and lead it into recovery and reconstruction. Collectively, they have the experience, the technology and the institutions to lead this process: if they can summon the will and a sense of debt to the world. Now, more than at any time since World War II, an alliance that brings the entire world to one table to address the health and economic consequences of Covid-19 and to chart a path for tackling similar crises in the future is needed.

With leadership at the global level, the post Covid-19 reconstruction period could be the start of something interesting, just like the Marshall Plan led to the formation of NATO and the institutionalization of support for liberation from colonialism.

The US offer of help for Europe came with the requirement that nations get their act together. In Africa, that is a debate already underway. The idea that this continent must act in unison to strengthen its systems with regard to food security, healthcare, infrastructure development, intra-Africa trade and

governance is taking root. For instance, the third African Sovereign Wealth and Pension Fund Leaders Forum Covid-19 Roundtable just agreed to redouble efforts to facilitate infrastructure co-investment partnerships with African governments and development finance partners.

The US, in tandem with Europe, can once again bring the world to one table and lead it into recovery and reconstruction

The group has its focus on industrial infrastructure related to the African Continental Free Trade Agreement, as well as healthcare and agriculture sectors. In other words, Africa is already organizing itself for post-Covid, just like the rest of the world.

But Africa has more issues to be put on the table. It's going to be extremely problematic for Africa to service its debt and finance reconstruction and recovery at the same time. There is therefore a need for bilateral and multilateral discussions into debt write-offs and rescheduling for Africa. These efforts require financial, political and diplomatic backing on a global scale. More importantly, they need broad global agreement on how nations are going to relate and transact business post-Covid-19.

In this regard, Covid-19 arrived at the wrong time. In recent years, we have

seen nations that led or benefited from a globalized approach to world problems retreat from the international stage. These include the current 'America First' movement in the US and the 'Vote Leave' campaign that led to the United Kingdom pulling out from the European Union.

There is a need for bilateral and multilateral discussions into debt write-offs and rescheduling for Africa

While much has been made of this trend, history tells us that a rethink of such positions is always possible in response to emerging circumstances. We know, for instance, that both Democrats and Republicans campaigned on the platform of "America First" in the 1916 presidential election, even as World War I raged in Europe and other parts of the world.

However, on 2 April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson - despite embracing the 'America First' motto during his campaign - went before a joint session of Congress to seek a declaration of war against Germany, arguing that "the world must be made safe for democracy".

That realization and change of heart needs to be a guide amid the devastation of Covid-19. It is still possible for the present administrations in Europe and the US to rethink and re-engage with

the world. After all, even at the end of World War II, the US was reluctant to involve itself in Europe. When President Harry Truman started pouring money into Europe in 1947, nobody could tell whether he would be re-elected in 1948 (he was).

With no end or cure in sight, and little knowledge of where the pandemic goes from here, the world is calling for a change of mindset. Instead of withdrawal, we need engagement on a global, not national scale - no matter what the slogans that leaders used to win power might say.

Although all nations have been devastated by this pandemic, that should be a reason for all of us to think beyond our borders, not to retreat. With this disease, no nation is safe as long as one nation is under attack. This is more so as we consider reopening our economies, including international travel and commerce. Those who have in the past advocated the global system, and those who have benefited from it, must once again champion it, expand its reach and oversee a uniform return to good health for the world.

The US and Europe must therefore not build walls to keep the world out. They have to provide leadership, using the institutions firmly under their control, and experience gathered from previous, similar crises. ■

Raila Odinga is the African Union High Representative for Infrastructure Development in Africa. He was Prime Minister of Kenya from 2008 to 2013.

Must Mozambique pay back its hidden debt?

The country's Constitutional Court says no.

Simon Allison

Between 2013 and 2014, Mozambique's government guaranteed more than \$2-billion in debt from lenders in Europe. The money went to three Mozambican companies, and was meant to be spent on buying new tuna fishing boats, developing shipyards in the capital Maputo and boosting the country's maritime security.

A couple of things were strange about the deal. For one thing, the government never declared the full amount of the loans, which were shrouded in secrecy. For another, few of the intended projects ever materialised, and those that did were not fit for purpose (like the fleet of sub-standard tuna fishing boats which are still rotting in Maputo's harbour).

Eventually, forensic investigators exposed this hidden debt, along with allegations of corruption that implicated some of the most senior figures in Mozambique's government — as well as the European banks which facilitated the deal, including Switzerland's Credit

Suisse and Russia's VTB.

This has led to messy legal proceedings in Europe, the United States, South Africa and Mozambique. In the meantime, however, Mozambican citizens are still on the hook to pay off the debt — but not everybody thinks they should have to.

In recent years, campaigners in Mozambique and the United Kingdom have argued that the money should not

be paid back because the loan deals were illegal under Mozambican law. Last week, Mozambique's Constitutional Court agreed with them.

The court said that at least two of the deals in question — totalling more than \$1.4-billion — were unconstitutional. As a result, it ruled, the state is not liable to repay the debts.

This ruling could set an important precedent for countries and lenders who have taken on or extended debt in suspicious circumstances. The case is far from over, however; the ruling is certain to be challenged in the UK, which has jurisdiction over the original deals. ■

The ruling could set an important precedent for other countries



The Big Picture

Ring of power: Just east of Cairo, construction is continuing on a brand-new city that will, once complete, become Egypt's capital and the seat of government. For now, the new city is rather unimaginatively known as "New Administrative Capital", but is expected to be formally named before the government moves in. The ambitious building project is thought to cost in the region of \$58 billion, and is one of a series of mega-projects unveiled by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi designed to create jobs and drive investment.

(Photo: Khaled Desouki for AFP)

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