

African journalism. October 31 2020

US  
ELECTION  
SPECIAL

# The Continent

with Mail & Guardian



What on  
Earth are they  
doing over there?

(Illustration: Nzilani Simu)

---

# Seeing through the illusion of empire

---

One of my favourite memes depicts a cat in denim overalls, standing on his hind legs, staring out of a window with the caption: “What on Earth is going on over there?” We have all been that cat lately, looking at United States politics.

The success of empire has always been an illusion, and the US is no exception. Prosperity is concentrated in a small swath of society and projected around the world, while the daily realities of inequality and exclusion are hidden behind simplistic narratives and promises that there will be more room at the table if everyone works a little harder.

But even the most sceptical among us are startled at how quickly the US illusion has crumbled in the past four years. The coronavirus has exposed inequalities in healthcare and wealth distribution, affirming that the biggest and most expensive military in the world

means nothing to a virus. The near-daily corruption exposés show that no state is immune to the excesses of power, and power needs to be constantly held accountable. Indeed, these four years remind the world that democracy is work, and requires vigilance.

We have gathered some amazing African voices to observe the upcoming US election and help us reflect on what it could mean. But we took it a step further and invited many of them to reflect in their own languages. We wanted to give as broad a range of African communities as possible a chance to dialogue together. We think we’ve assembled a great starting point for African communities to both teach and draw lessons from the challenges facing US democracy today.

Njooi, shiriki nasi tukifafanua kinachoendelea kule Marekani. ■  
— Nanjala Nyabola

---

## Share real news

*The Continent* is free to read, and free to share. We have no delivery trucks or roadside newspaper traders: we rely on you, our readers, to disseminate our newspaper. If you like our journalism, please share it with your friends and family - not indiscriminately, but with people and networks who you think might value the work that we do.



# Welcome to the US election special

One way or another, what happens in America next Tuesday is going to impact every one of our lives. That's why we've taken a short break from regularly scheduled programming to put together this special edition of *The Continent*. We've asked some of the best writers and analysts on this continent to tell us exactly what is going on, and what might happen next.



This issue is guest-edited by Nanjala Nyabola. She's a writer and political analyst based in Nairobi, Kenya, and the author of *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era is Transforming Politics in Kenya* (Zed Books, 2018). Look out for her latest book, *Travelling While Black: Essays Inspired by a Life of Travel* (Hurst, 2020).

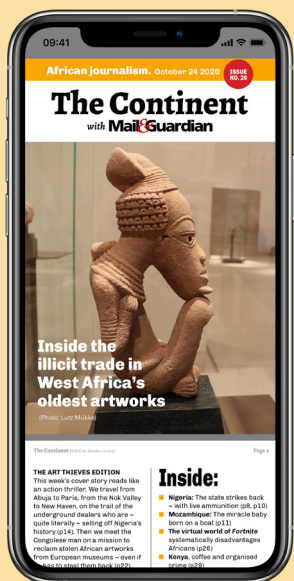
## Inside:

- **John Githongo** on watching the empire stumble (p5)
- **Nigerians love Donald Trump.** Why? (p19)
- **Foie gras & French Champagne:** Ouattara on the eve of the Ivorian election (p15)
- **Sadza, chakalaka and Joe Biden** at America's only Zimbabwean restaurant (p25)

**PLUS:** Comment and analysis from **Ange Kasongo** in Lingala, **Cláudio Silva** in Portuguese, **Kumi Naidoo**, **Ngime Epie** in Cameroonian Pidgin, **Ayodeji Rotinwa** in Yoruba, **Rosebell Kagumire**, **Rashid Abdi** in Somali, **Elnathan John** in Nigerian Pidgin, **Athandiwe Saba**, **Akainde Kwayu** in Swahili, **Patrick Gathara**, **Reem Abbas** and **Census Lo-Liyong** in Arabic, **Nasser Weddady** and **Thierry Uwamahoro** in Kirundi

# FREE DELIVERY EVERY SATURDAY

**The Continent** is an award-winning weekly newspaper designed to be read and shared on WhatsApp. It showcases the best of African journalism. And it's free.



Get your copy delivered to your phone or inbox every Saturday. And if you like what you read, forward it to your friends, family and colleagues – not indiscriminately, but only with people who might appreciate it.



## HOW TO SUBSCRIBE

**Email:** [TheContinent@mg.co.za](mailto:TheContinent@mg.co.za) with 'SUBSCRIBE' in the subject box

**WhatsApp:** Save +27 73 805 6068 on your phone, and send us a message saying 'NEWS'

**Share real news.**

**The Continent**  
with Mail & Guardian

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# The decline and fall of an empire



COMMENT  
John Githongo

**A**fricans have watched with disconcerted fascination as the American democratic process chugs towards a problematic election at the start of November.

For many African countries, America's democracy was the gold standard, particularly for those returning to political pluralism after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Indeed, many constitutions across the continent resemble America's in design, and US agencies are important actors in advising governments across the continent in the management of elections.

The US has also used a range of anti-corruption instruments – such as the Magnitsky Act and the state department's increasingly infrequent opinions, cautions and threats to regimes and administrations around the world – to push countries to adhere to standards of human rights, good governance, transparency and accountability modelled on American standards.

For many corrupt authoritarian

regimes, the realisation that they are on the radar of the prosecutors for the Southern District of New York has traditionally been a powerful threat.

Times have changed.

The Trump administration has removed key oversight mechanisms such as inspectors-general in assorted US government departments; and, as elections loom, disgruntled civil servants increasingly publicly express discontent with corruption in the administration.

The corruption and conflict of interest that American officials warned against in developing countries clearly has a serious foothold in the US as well. The manipulation of voting rules to disenfranchise voters – especially people of colour – is called 'voter suppression' in the US, but is identical to election rigging in the developing world.

The compromising of the postal service just before an election where voting by mail will be all the more important because of the Covid-19 pandemic is electoral interference.

Unfortunately, America's lapses are being broadcast into homes and onto phones all over the world, validating the undemocratic acts of the authoritarian regimes they have taken a stand against.

The result is a more corrupt world and the important realisation, in many developing countries, that we are on our own. This is not necessarily a bad thing. ■

*John Githongo is the head of the Inuka Kenya Trust, and an award-winning anti-corruption campaigner.*

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

**People wait** in line at an early voting site in Chicago, Illinois, on October 1, 2020. More than 69-million US voters have already cast their ballots in person or by mail, a stunning figure equal to half the total turnout of the 2016 election. For the first time in US history, it is likely that more people will have voted before the election than on election day itself. So far – in 16 of 19 states that release these statistics – the early votes are favouring the Democratic Party and Joe Biden. This advantage may be cancelled out if more Republicans vote in person on election day, as is expected. Either way, one thing is almost certain: this will be the highest ever turnout of any US election.



Photo: Kamil Krzaczyński/AFP

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Donald Trump atatoli «Yezu Kristu nde Mokonzi!» po abenda ba kristu ngambo na ye

*Evangelical Christians are one of Donald Trump's core constituencies. And his appeals to a higher power resonate in some African churches, explains journalist and author **Ange Kasongo**, writing in Lingala.*



**N**a boleki na ye na sanza ya zomi na Caroline du Nord, moko ya ba engumba na kati ya Etats-Unis, Donald Trump asakolaki ete kondimela tata Nzambe eleki bokebi banso na ntina ko telemela bokono oyo ya Covid-19. Maloba maye ebenda ngambo na ye baponomi ya ba kristu babengi évangélistes meke, yambo milulu pona kolendis na maponami misila mikolo ekoya.

Na nzela ya bilili etelami na bato ebele na Internet, Trump azolendis se kolendis bayi mboka na maloba maye: «Mingi-mingi eza te kolata masque to te, oyo bokoki ko sala ya motuya eza se kosenga nde lisungi ya Mokonzi», wana azolakisa mapata na mosapi na ye.

Eza mbala liboso te Donald Trump aleka na nzela ya Liloba Nzambe po abenda bato ngambo na ye, asala obe bongo na maponami ya 2016. Aza na elikya ekosimba lisusu.

Azokoba se na bilili bina na koloba:

«Moto moko ayebisi nga ete nazali moto ayebana makasi na mokili mobimba, kasi na yanolaki ye ezali lokuta, ezali nga te: «Moto oyo ayebani mokili mobimba ? Ezali bobele Yesu Kistu!»

Mangomba ya ba kristu ba ndimelaka ete, Yezu Kristu se nzela ya libiki. Kondimela ezali eloko ya motuya oyo ezali lokola fungola pona ko fungola bikuké ya mitema ya ba christu po ba nzima yo na makambu na bango.

Na bilili misusu na nzela ya YouTube Trump alakisa na mokolo ya zomi na moambe na sanza ya zomi, muana ekolo America moko azotatola: «Koyoka Trump kosakola “Yezu nde Mokonzi” elalisa nga neti muana moke!»

Na mikili Africa, mangomba ebele ya ba kristu, mingi-mingi baye batelemela bosopi zemi na likoki ya baye balinganaka mibali na mibali to basi na basi to pe droits ya ba homosexuels, batikala kosepeka soki moke te, yambo Trump aya, na mokonzi Barack Obama. ■



# Finding my faith in Trump's America

**From the heady days of Obama's inauguration to everyday fears of living while black, **Jakki Kerubo** has had a front-row seat to a period in US history where the gloves came off — and so did the mask**

**W**hen President Barack Obama was elected president of the United States in 2008, I travelled to Washington DC with friends to attend his inauguration. Bundled up in ski-quality leg and hand warmers beneath layers of clothes, and in winter boots, we drove to DC early – before the barricades went up – and crashed at a friend's nephew's dorm room at George Washington University ahead of the big day.

The cold, hard dorm floor was worth it: I was witnessing history. I was not yet an American citizen. I only became one three weeks after Obama's re-election, so I had not voted for him. And while I had read works by James Baldwin, Martin Luther King, and WEB Du Bois my

understanding of the Black experience in America was limited.

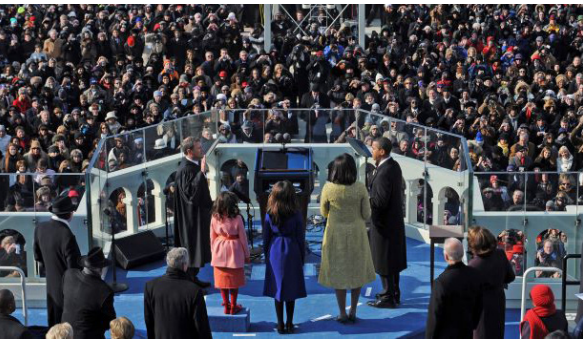
Non-Americans often ask me what it has been like to live through President Trump's administration after the heady years of Obama. The answer, for me, is complicated. Raised in a strict Christian home in Kenya, my faith aligned my political beliefs with those of the American Republican Party.

In 2002, I had migrated to America yearning for the kind of opportunities I didn't think were possible in my home country, like getting a job through merit and not by corruption. The Republicans' conservative views, particularly in areas of fiscal responsibility and so-called family values, resonated with me.

Still, watching Fox News night after night, I was discomfited by the daily segments featured by hosts like Bill O'Reilly. They were often anti-immigrant and consistently attacked Black celebrities. Perhaps because I held a tight tension between my faith and my native culture's subjugation of women, I wanted to be unbound. I couldn't stomach the Republican Party's obsession with overturning *Roe vs Wade*, the court case that paved the way for legalised abortion in the US, and their desire to dictate women's choices.

I spent the years leading up to Obama's presidency untangling the traps of my faith and expanding my palate to allow for a diversity of ideologies in life, politics, and policy. Even though it felt forced





**Truth serum: Barack Obama is sworn in as the 44th president of the United States on January 20, 2009.**

(Photo: Stan Honda/AFP)

to identify with one party or the other, I still believed in America's diversity, that regardless of faith or race or other distinguishing characteristics, there was a fair, moral, human centre where we could all thrive. I opened myself to her stained history and grasped onto hope.

President Obama was a beauty emerging from America's dark past. The tide seemed to be turning, heading toward a utopian democracy. But his years turned out to be difficult ones for me in terms of personal political growth. Perhaps part of it was simply timing – I believe it takes about a decade for an immigrant to fully grasp America's racial lens, to comprehend how embedded racism is in her institutions and culture.

Trumpism emerged shortly after President Obama took office. Republicans continued to question the President's birthplace, with Trump — mostly just a reality TV star at the time — leading the charge. Michelle Obama was called an “ape in heels” and their children were ridiculed for wearing short skirts to a turkey pardon.

These larger political divisions spilled

over on a personal level. I was overlooked for promotions. A doctor tested me for HIV without my consent (it's illegal in New York) because I was African. And the indiscriminate killing of Black folk by police made me fearful that a bullet would shorten my life. There never were heady Obama years for Black people; the racist underbelly arose mightily and made him America's truth serum instead.

This election, I can't imagine ever experiencing political joy like I did with my friends as we swayed to Mary J. Blige's rendition of *Lean on Me* at Obama's inauguration. I'm hardened.

Truly, I yearn for a day when America has a diversity of ideologies, where we recognise that few of us fit within the narrow definitions of the two parties.

So I live in New York and I vote local, believing my representatives might listen, sometimes. And when it all becomes too much, I cross the street to Brooklyn's Grand Army Plaza and join angry, tired New Yorkers to demand better.

That's where I find faith, now. ■

*Jakki Kerubo is a writer based in Brooklyn, New York.*

# Magufuli gets a firmer grip on Tanzania in contentious re-election

Simon Mkina in Dar es Salaam

If the official election results are anything to go by, incumbent John Magufuli is on course for a landslide win in Tanzania's presidential election. So far the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party has won 218 of the 220 parliamentary seats declared, including some in which they were clear underdogs. Freeman Mbowe, chairman of the main opposition party Chadema who has led the opposition in parliament for a decade, lost his seat; as did ACT-Wazalendo leader Zitto Kabwe.

The CCM candidate Hussein Mwinyi was also declared president of the archipelago of Zanzibar, which is part of the union of Tanzania, winning 76% of the vote according to the Zanzibar Electoral Commission. His main rival, Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad, was arrested on election day along with other opposition party officials, and at least nine opposition party supporters were allegedly shot dead by security forces in the run-up to the vote.

The results have been sharply criticised by almost everyone except the ruling party and its supporters. "It is like the polling day, October 28, was just a cover-up for

what the government, state security and electoral bodies had already decided," said Azavery Lwaitama, a university professor.

The main opposition candidate for president, Tundu Lissu, has strongly rejected the results. "Whatever happened yesterday was not an election," he told journalists on Thursday, citing widespread irregularities. "It was just a gang of people who have just decided to misuse state machinery to cling to power."

Lissu said police had prevented opposition party agents from accessing polling stations for hours, which is when the alleged rigging occurred.

The vote has been strongly condemned by the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate. "Before a single ballot was cast, Tanzania's polls were marred by violence and repression. Reported irregularities during yesterday's vote and arrests today of opposition leaders are unacceptable and erode the country's democratic progress. Tanzania's leaders must be held accountable," it said. ■



**High alert: The day after the vote, Zanzibar's riot police were deployed to contain an opposition protest.**  
(Photo: Marco Longari/AFP)

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Enfraquecendo instituições à moda americana

*In Angola it's usually the opposition party that cries about fraud before, during, and after the elections. And rightly so. In the United States it's the opposite: the incumbent is actively denigrating his own country's institutions even before a single vote is cast, writes Angolan blogger and analyst **Cláudio Silva** in Portuguese.*



**A**s eleições em Angola são tudo menos livres e justas. Há sempre acusações de fraude e a vontade real dos cidadãos não é respeitada. Isto é um facto. Mas pelo menos não são as eleições americanas. Pelo menos isso. Fala-se bastante sobre os americanos – muitos são arrogantes e acham que o mundo gira à volta do seu imperialismo – mas nem aquele povo merece eleições assim.

Enquanto que em Angola são os partidos na oposição a falar de fraude, antes, durante e depois das eleições, nos Estados Unidos é o próprio incumbente a gritar fraude antes mesmo do pleito começar. É a única pessoa na história a reclamar de fraude mesmo depois de “ganhar” as eleições anteriores. As aspas são propositadas. Estamos habituados ao governo americano lançar dúvidas sobre as eleições angolanas e africanas no geral, mas nunca antes vimos o governo americana a abalar a confiança e a lisura das suas próprias eleições. A ironia disto é mesmo de rir, mas rir às gargalhadas.

A postura actual da presidência dos

Estados Unidos é de tal modo assustadora que nem se pode mais comparar com o processo eleitoral angolano.

**É a única pessoa na história a reclamar de fraude mesmo depois de “ganhar” as eleições anteriores**

Não há memória de um presidente denegrir activamente as instituições do seu próprio país. Cá em Angola a fraude é feita de forma sofisticada: O incumbente nunca menciona sequer a palavra e todos os seus bajuladores e colaboradores fingem que nada vêem. Angola é um país de instituições fracas e líderes que se acham fortes e que sistematicamente retiram a pouca competência das instituições que ainda existem...os Estados Unidos é um país com um líder extremamente fraco que tenta a todo custo retirar a legitimidade de instituições que regra geral funcionam minimamente bem. É obra. ■

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

**Joe Biden addresses** a socially-distanced campaign rally in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 27, 2020. The Democratic presidential candidate is currently leading in most major national polls. As of Friday, the *New York Times's* current polling average gives an advantage of nine percentage points (+9). This, however, is not the whole story, because America's archaic 'Electoral College' system means that candidates can win the popular vote and still lose the election (see Clinton, Hillary; and Gore, Al). But dig a little deeper and the news is still good for Biden. He is leading in key swing states such as Florida (+2), Georgia (+2) and Pennsylvania (+6). If these polls are right, Joe Biden will be the next president of the United States. Then again, they've been wrong before (see Clinton, Hillary).



(Photo: Jim Watson/AFP)

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Neither candidate is taking climate change seriously



**COMMENT**  
**Kumi Naidoo**

**T**he climate crisis has and will fundamentally change this earth. It's been called the single greatest threat to human life, and yet the issue has only been afforded a few softball questions in the US presidential debate, which both candidates catastrophically failed – and in fact refused – to address.

It is revealing that the first question on the topic wasn't, "What are you going to do to solve the climate crisis?" It was, "What do you believe about the science of climate change?"

There are multiple reasons why climate issues have not taken a more prominent role in this US election cycle. Firstly, the Covid-19 pandemic has overwhelmed people. It has dominated the political discourse and is rightfully treated as a high priority. The fact that there is a Covid sceptic in the White House only adds to the urgency.

Secondly, the Trump administration

has continually pushed their climate denial agenda. They have tried to discredit the science to the point where we are questioning the premise of climate change before even speaking about it in detail. And while the Democrats have tried to push climate change back on the table, they have not pushed as hard as they have for other issues. The lack of prioritisation is evidence of a lack of political will to put up a stronger, more robust fight for real, effective climate and environmental policies.

Lastly, the climate change issue is deeply rooted in our current global neoliberal economic systems. The Republican Party has been trying to keep climate change off the agenda for years as its leaders have notoriously been recipients of campaign contributions by massive fossil fuel-producing companies.

Donald Trump received the highest amount of donations from oil and gas companies in the 2020 election cycle (close to \$2-million). Even he knows not to bite the hand that feeds him.

**Republicans receive significant campaign contributions from fossil fuel companies. So do Democrats.**

But Joe Biden's campaign received close to \$800,000 from oil and gas companies too. Mainstream Democrats are far too wedded to the current neoliberal economic systems to be our





**Digging in: Coal miners at a Trump rally in Pennsylvania (Photo: Saul Loeb/AFP)**

champions in the struggle for our future.

Biden has explicitly said he does not support the “Green New Deal”, and his running mate Kamala Harris has stated that they will not ban fracking. Although Biden’s climate policy is better than Trump’s non-existent one, it doesn’t get anywhere near the type of real change needed to address the crisis.

This wilful ignorance by the US leadership will result in a rapidly increasing rate of greenhouse emissions by companies that will face little to no opposition to their destructive practices.

This, in turn, will deepen the climate crisis, leaving our children to face a world where resource conflicts are commonplace, and where soil erosion and desertification increasingly force people from their homes.

The consequences of not acting are too great to let our politicians, in the US or elsewhere, get away with inaction. ■

*Kumi Naidoo is the global ambassador for Africans Rising for Justice, Peace and Dignity. He was previously the secretary general of Amnesty International and the international executive director of Greenpeace.*

# On Saturday, polls open in Côte d'Ivoire

**But President Ouattara's  
third term has already  
been rejected by the  
opposition**

**Leanne de Bassompierre  
in Abidjan**

**O**n the eve of Côte d'Ivoire's presidential election, President Alassane Ouattara and his ministers entertained journalists over lunch at his residence in Abidjan. Under a large gazebo in the garden, guests were treated to a feast of foie gras terrine, fillet medallions in pepper sauce and truffled potato puree, all washed down with French wines and champagne.

Ouattara was in high spirits, and First Lady Dominique Ouattara was a gracious host, making sure all the guests had enough to eat. The genial atmosphere was in stark contrast to the mood in the rest of the country, where political tensions – precipitated by Ouattara's decision to run for a third term in office – are rising.

The 78-year-old is facing Bertin Konan Kouadio, 51, an independent candidate who received less than 4% in the last vote. Ouattara's former ally, ex-president

Henri Konan Bédié, 86, and former prime minister, Pascal Affi N'Guessan, 67, will appear on the ballot paper, but have asked their supporters to boycott the vote. They claim that Ouattara's re-election would be unconstitutional.

Ouattara's main pitch to voters is his track record on the economy, which has grown by at least 7% since 2012, his first full year in office. "Amid all these political talks, at the end of the day, who is going to bring the country to the next step? He is the guy compared to all the other ones," said Patrick Achi, the secretary-general in the presidency, in an interview with *The Continent*. "Without hesitation, I don't see any other candidate who has the chance of beating him."

Opposition leaders see things differently. This week, former president Laurent Gbagbo broke his silence in an interview with TV5Monde, warning that the West African nation is headed for "catastrophe" if its political leaders don't settle their differences before the vote.

"Ouattara is wrong. He isn't respecting the constitution," Gbagbo said. "This needs to be stated clearly." Gbagbo has been living in Belgium since his acquittal on charges of crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in January 2019, but awaiting the outcome of the prosecutor's appeal. He triggered a five-month conflict when he refused to concede defeat to Ouattara in 2010.

That civil war left more than 3,000 people dead or missing and crippled the





**Rule of three:  
Supporters of  
incumbent President  
Alassane Ouattara  
take part in a rally in  
Abidjan ahead of the  
presidential election.**

(Photo: Sia Kambou/AFP)

economy.

The other notable player observing from the sidelines is ex-speaker of Parliament and former rebel leader, Guillaume Soro. The 48-year-old was convicted in absentia in April 2020 of embezzlement and money laundering. That led to his exclusion from the voter register, and ultimately disqualified him from running for office. He's lived in France since December.

The opposition parties' call for a boycott of the October 31 vote will probably backfire, resulting in low turnout among its supporters and giving Ouattara "an easier path to victory," Eurasia Group, a New York-based risk consultancy, said in an emailed note.

The road to elections was marred by sporadic incidents of violence since Ouattara's August announcement that he would seek a third term, reneging on an earlier promise to step down and hand over to a new generation. But the sudden death of his chosen successor, Amadou Gon Coulibaly, triggered what he called a "force majeure" prompting him to run again.

Government has blamed the

violence on the opposition's call for civil disobedience in the worst-affected area, Dabou, where at least 16 people were killed within three days earlier this month. Opposition estimates pin the death toll at more than double that across the country.

The electoral commission has confirmed the state would be reinforcing an estimated 35,000 security agents expected to be deployed to secure the day of the vote as some polling stations were vandalised and voting materials destroyed in recent weeks.

"The reality is that Côte d'Ivoire's October 31 presidential elections will be more closely aligned to the 2015 ballot than the 2010 election," said Ryan Cummings, a political analyst and director of Signal Risk, a political consultancy. "The appetite for political violence is low outside of home constituencies of the opposition leaders," he said.

Even so, fears of post-electoral violence remain, with ICC prosecutor Fatou Bensouda calling on political actors and their supporters to show restraint.

Some 7.5-million voters are registered to vote, with polling stations scheduled to close at 6pm local time. ■

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Trump ei lass too want tite for chair like some presidents for Africa?

*Donald Trump has already accused his opponents of trying to rig the election. This may be a pretext for hanging on to power, argues Cameroonian writer and translator **Ngime Epie**, writing in Cameroonian pidgin. For veterans of authoritarian votes in West Africa, the warning signs are all too clear.*



**P**eople for America go choose dia president on Tuesday 3 November 2020 and na former Vice President Joe Biden and President Donald Trump di fight de chair. De trouble na say Trump don blow trumpet say if yi loss election yi no go shake for dat chair because Joe Biden and yi people dem di plan for cheat. *Los Angeles Times* be call for some big man for Trump ei campaign team wey yi hide yi name and de man tok wit power for yi voice say dem “must fight if [dem] suspect any tif”.

Trump ei lass too want tite for chair like some presidents for Africa? For here results di stay for commot because we di take wa time for count votes. And wen results commot, some one party go deny de results, say dem don tif vote. De president go deny for commot for chair and den fight go start. Dis election bad fashion don happen for Cameroon, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire, and plenty oda countries and na de same road America

want pass dis year.

Because of de new sick, Coronavirus, wey ei dey outside now, some people for America go send dia vote na trou post office but Trump don deny dis voting style because ei di bring tif. Some journalist for *The Guardian*, Lawrence Douglas, di even imagine say ei fit take like one month for count all votes especially de post office one dem. Trump say yi no fit gree.

**Dis election bad fashion don happen for Cameroon, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire, and na de same road America want pass dis year**

As election di near, people dia heart di only cut because no man no know wetti fit happen if President Trump deny for commot for chair. Some group of big people from de two parties don already start hold meeting for check sense for de matta. Trouble dey for big compound! ■

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Kilode ti awon ara Nigeria fẹran Ogbeni Trump?

*Why exactly is Donald Trump so popular in Nigeria? Religion has a lot to do with it, argues journalist and editor **Ayodeji Rotinwa**, writing in Yoruba. So does money.*



**B**otilejẹpe awon idiyele itewogba Alakoso Donald Trump kere ni ayika agbaye, o tun jẹ olokiki ni Nigeria. O ti fi ofin de iwe iwolu lori awon arinrin ajo Nigeria. O tọka si awon orile-ede pelu Nigeria bi “awon orile-ede ibibo”. O ti şe awon asoye eleyameya nipa awon eniyan alawo-dudu ni Amerika, eyiti o pelu olugbe orile-ede Nigeria-Amerika to tobi pupo.

Şibe, awon ara Nigeria fẹran Ogbeni Trump.

Ohun akokọ lati mo nipa gbajumo Trump ni Nigeria, ni esin. Nigbati o kede ni olubori, okan ninu awon oluso-aguntan olori ni orile-ede Nigeria so pe o bori nitori awon onihinrere jumọ şokan fun. Ko şe pataki pe o şe abuku awon Musulumi, awon obinrin, ati awon ara Mexico. O şe afihan idakeji pipe ife ati ifarada ti o ye ki awon Kristiani ma she. Awon ile ijosin Evangelical Amerika ati awon adari won jẹ olokiki pupo ni Nigeria. Odun merin ati opolopo awon abuku lehin naa, awon ihinrere ti Nigeria lemọ si okunrin won. Awon ara Nigeria tun fẹran Trump nitori won gbagbo pe o duro fun asajuwon

won, awon iye Kristieni. Gegebi won, Barack Obama ti jẹ ki awon eniyan to nife si awon eyan eya bi tiwon (ti a'n pe ni awon ara LGBTQ) fe ati pe o n pa gbagbo awon igbekale Kristieni ti won nife mo pelu ona ominira re. Trump ti o korira pupo si awon eto transgender ni won rii bi o duro pelu asaju, awon iye Kristieni, ati pelu won.

Idi miiran ti awon ara Nigeria fi wuyi fun Trump, pataki lara awon okunrin, ni owo. O gbagbo pupo pe kii eyan to le di iru olowo beyen o gbodo şe nkan ti o to ati pe gbagbo eyan ni lati bowo fun. Ni Nigeria, k'eyan lowo lowo ni akoko ati ipari. Nitorina, ko si nkan ti Trump ba se, ti o ba se nkan ti o da, awon ara Nigeria ma fowo si, tori o je olowo. Boya o jẹ awon ogun isowo pelu China tabi yiyo kuro ninu awon adehun iyipada oju-ojo, o rii bi okunrin nla, şeşe awon ipinnu lile.

Ti Trump ba bori saa keji, die ninu awon omọ orile-ede Naijiria yoo ni igbadun igbala re. ■

*Ayodeji Rotinwa is the Deputy Editor of African Arguments*

# Number 45's West African cheerleaders

If it were up to Nigerians to choose a US president, Biden wouldn't stand a chance against Trump

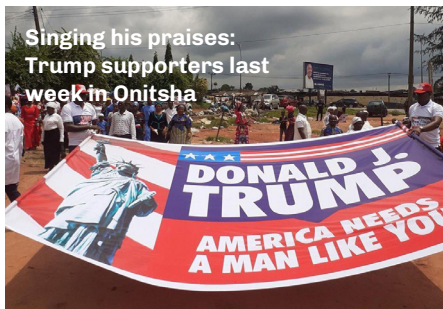
Shola Lawal

**C**lad in white and blue, in the same shades as the Israeli flag, his supporters thronged the streets of the city, waving American flags and holding high placards that read, "Make America great again" and, "President Trump: America needs a man like you".

These are scenes from a pro-Trump march in Onitsha, a city in Nigeria's southeastern Anambra state, where the majority are Igbo and Christian, and where some believe themselves to be linked to Israelites.

He may never know it, but as President Trump fails to impress at the polls in the United States, die-hard fans in the populous West African country he once categorised as a "shithole country" continue to rally for him.

"I like him because he forces people to stay in their country and build it instead of running to America for green pasture," says Osita Obeta, 30, a pro-



Singing his praises: Trump supporters last week in Onitsha

Trump electrician in Asaba, an hour from Onitsha. "You cannot go to another person's country and take all they have."

Pro-Trump sentiments in African countries like Nigeria have grown since Trump won the 2016 election. His outspoken nature and conservative leanings draw him support from these most unlikely quarters. A majority in Nigeria and Kenya, both very religious countries, have confidence in Trump to do the right thing regarding world affairs, a 2020 survey revealed.

The racist rhetoric of the 45th president of the United States may have given Obeta pause, but God forbid that former vice president Joe Biden take his place, he says.

There are as many reasons to love Trump as there are groups who love Trump in Nigeria, where half the population is Christian and where many align with the Republican Party's religious and conservative positions.

A small community of Igbo Jews in the country's south who believe they are descendants of ancient Israel see Trump's

aggressive support for present-day Israel – particularly his recognition of Jerusalem as the capital – as something akin to leading them back to the promised land. It is said in this community that exiled Israeli tribes roamed the earth and settled in southeast Nigerian towns like Umuleri and Arochukwu, and that the word “Igbo” is itself a corruption of “Hebrew”.

Then there is the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), a group in southern Nigeria pushing for secession. On the morning after the Brexit referendum, when president Trump took to his Twitter page to tweet in support of self-determination for the United Kingdom, he unknowingly signalled to Biafran activists that he might support their cause too.

In November 2016, after President Trump was voted in, 200 MASSOB members gathered in an Anambra church for thanksgiving. They prayed that Trump would bend the will of Nigeria’s President Muhammadu Buhari (aka “Pharaoh”), to grant Biafra freedom. After all, as one cleric said, “it was the prayers of the Biafrans that stopped Hilary Clinton from winning the presidential election”.

Nigerian clerics, among them big names like Pastor Chris Oyakhilome, also form a good portion of Trump’s cheer team abroad; just like evangelical Christians are a key component of his base at home. Trump is compared by some to a modern-day messiah conquering a world descending into immorality and damnation.

His tough stance on gay rights and abortion and his scarcely-hidden

Islamophobia have won him major points in these conservative circles.

Trump played well to that base when he questioned President Buhari on “Christians who are being murdered in Nigeria,” choosing a non-nuanced approach to a complicated conflict brewing in the country’s middle belt.

“Trump is the modern-day Cyrus,” Archdeacon Emeka Ezeji of Missionary Christ Anglican Church, Enugu southeast Nigeria, told the BBC earlier this month, referring to the biblical Persian King who conquered Babylon and freed Jewish captives. “God is saying ... he’s my servant who will do my will.”

Even as the American vote nears and President Trump’s tone grows a tad desperate – “Will you please like me?” he pleaded at a recent Pennsylvania rally – his Nigerian supporters remain undeterred.

It appears to matter little that President Trump has not shown equal love to Nigeria. Though his administration did overturn an Obama-era arms embargo on Nigeria, it has also barred Nigerian migrants – the highest-achieving immigrant group in the US – and lobbied to keep Nigerians from top positions in the World Trade Organisation and the African Development Bank.

In Onitsha, the white-and-blue-clad crowd – members of the Living Christ Mission Church – are still singing the president’s praises, carrying banners that read: “Trump 2020: Keep America Great”. ■

*Shola Lawal is journalist and filmmaker based in Lagos.*

# Borat's back, but America may be beyond satire

**Kwanele Sosibo**

**S**asha Baron Cohen's new work as Borat walks in the heavy boots of its successful predecessor, released 14 years ago during the George W Bush administration. The timing of its resurrection is telling, perhaps suggesting that a film of this nature would never have had the same bite were it lampooning Americans in the time of Barack Obama.

Its central premise is that Borat, the fictitious journalist from Kazakhstan, is handing over his supposedly underage daughter to the United States as some kind of diplomatic booty.

The setup shows how Cohen is interested in unmasking patriarchy as it manifests in the US and other parts of the world. If these men treat women so poorly, he seems to ask, how can they be entrusted with running the country or creating a just society?

This is what the now-infamous Rudy Giuliani skit seems to be about. In the movie, the former mayor of New York and current Trump personal attorney seems to be prepared to go all the way with Borat's daughter (Maria Bakalova), who plays an underage reporter in one of the closing scenes.

Controversy has erupted over just what

the scene depicts, with the film's audience seeing a Giuliani fishing in his pants – or tucking in his shirt, as he insists – as he lies down on a bed.

Whatever your interpretation of that particular scene, Giuliani's lack of propriety is obvious from the moment the interview commences.

Elsewhere, the skits tend to reach for relatively low-hanging fruit. The general approach seems to favour crass provocation and easy humour. Still, Cohen's ability to attain the proximity needed to film some of the film's more volatile scenes is impressive. That stuff looks easier to pull off than it really is.

But perhaps the film's main problem is that America has plumbed such depths that it is becoming tough to satirise its descent without being dragged down to the bottom right alongside it. ■



*Borat Subsequent Moviefilm: Delivery of Prodigious Bride to the American Regime for Make Benefit Once Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan is available on Amazon Prime Video.*

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Lessons from Uganda's first female vice president

**It is exciting to imagine Kamala Harris in the White House. But in many ways her real fight will have only just begun.**



**COMMENT**  
**Rosebell Kagumire**

**A**fter four excruciating years of President Donald Trump, the November 3 election is for many a chance to reset expectations of what being presidential should be. Given that Trump has consistently attacked sexual and reproductive rights, both in the United States and around the world, the election is particularly significant for defenders of women's human rights.

It is also interesting for women political candidates, who have typically had a hard time getting ahead in US politics. Most prominently, Kamala Harris is running as the vice-presidential nominee for the Democrats, four years after Hillary Clinton's unsuccessful presidential bid. As a woman of colour, she represents

multiple marginalised groups. But even if the Democrats are elected, it would be far too early to celebrate.

Women have often been used to consolidate power in authoritarian regimes. Uganda appointed its first female Vice President in 1994. Dr Specioza Wandira Kazibwe was a surgeon who served till 2003. A woman on the ticket appealed to voters who were slowly embracing women's rights in public life. President Yoweri Museveni managed to capture the zeitgeist, and gained accolades and deals from various powers that he used to consolidate and retain power. He is now in his 35th year in office.

So US voters should remember that getting a historic first isn't enough. A single marginalised voice in a position of power doesn't necessarily shift power towards those groups.

Even so, inspirational appointments broaden political imaginations. Should the Democrats win, it will take work and vigilance to make Harris's appointment count. When we celebrated Kazibwe's appointment in 1994, we had no idea that the country would stagnate on women's rights for decades to come.

The moment counts only when there's continued pressure on the powers that be to deliver real change. ■

*Rosebell Kagumire is a feminist writer from Uganda and editor of African Feminism (AF).*



## US ELECTION SPECIAL

**Kamala Harris in** a quiet moment before speaking at a campaign rally in Phoenix, Arizona. The current Senator from California – and would-be Vice President of the United States – was a distinguished prosecutor before joining politics. When she joined Joe Biden as his running mate, she became the first woman of colour on a US presidential ticket. Donald Trump has tailored his verbal attacks accordingly. Speaking to a crowd of supporters in Pennsylvania on Wednesday, he said: 'Kamala. Kamala. You know, if you don't pronounce her name exactly right, she gets very angry at you.' At that rally in Phoenix, Harris said America has a 'long history of powerful folks trying to make it difficult for other folks to vote' but that it doesn't have to be this way. 'They know that when we vote, things change.'



(Photo: Ariana Drehsler/AFP)

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Trump Wuxuu Liddi Ku Yahay Dimoqoraadiyada Caalamka

*The United States is meant to be one of the most democratic countries in the world. But that's not what it looks like from Somalia, writes analyst **Rashid Abdi** in Somali.*



**W**adanka Mareeykanka waa wadamada dunida oo gu caansan xagga dimoqoradiyada. Hanaka dimoqoraadiga Mareeykanka ee liberaaliga ah oo kudhisan nidaamka suuqa xorta ah wuxuu hada jiraa 200 oo sanadood. Shacabka iyo dowlada Mareeykanka waxay, had iyo jeer, ku faanan in ay hormuud ka yihiin dimoqoraadiyada ay na istaahilaan in lagu daydo.

Tan iyo intii uu xilka hayay Donald Trump waxaa dimoqoraadiyada Mareeykanka ku yimid dib u dac, taaso sumcadiisi dhaawac weyn u geysatey. Trump wuxuu badalay siyaasadii arimaha dibada soo jirtey muda dheer, taaso oo Mareeykanka uu ku taageri jiray uu na ku qobcin jiray dimoqoraadiyada caalamka. Wuxuu Madaxweyne Trump taas ku badalay siyaasad cusub oo ugu magacdaray: America First; taaso oo looga gol leeyahay in muuhimada qoowaad lasiiyo maslaxada qaranka.

Miisaniyadii loo qoonday jirey kobicinta iyo taagerada dimoqoraadiyada caalamka ayuu Madaxweyne Trump ka jaray Wasaarada Arimaha Dibada. Isbedelkan wuxuu durbadiiba saameyn

weyn ku yeeshe xirirka Mareeykanka iyo wadamada caalamka. Trump wuxuu xiriir dhow la yeeshe dhowr wadamadood oo ey hogaamiyaan madax ku can baxay diktatoriyad iyo caburinta shacabkooda.

Waxaa wadamadan ka mid ah Masar, dowladaha khaliijka sida Sacuudiga, Imaaradka, Bahrain, iyo kuwa kale oo farabadan. Trump wuxuu dhiiri gelay diktatoriyada, jab weyn na u geystay hanaaka dimoqoraadiyada caalamka. Soomalida jecel nidamka dimoqoraadiyada waxay aad oo ga xumaadeen isbedelada Trump. Waxaa tan usii dheer in Trump uu had walba aflagaadeyn iyo cay uu ku hayo Soomalida iyo xukuumada Soomalia.

Waxaa shaki lahayn in mowqifka Trump uu dhaawac weyn ugeystay hanaanka dimoqoraadiyenta Soomalia. Soomalida badidood waxay aad oo gu raja weyn yihiin in uu Joe Bayden ku guuleysto doorasha ka dici doonta Mareykanka bisha Novembar. Waxay ku han weyn yihiin in taasi ay soo ceelin doonto kaalintii Mareykanka uu ku lahaa kobicinta dimoqoraadiyada dunida, taaso hada dayacsan. ■

# Peri-peri and sadza to the rescue

**When disaster hit their community, the owners of the only Zimbabwean restaurant in America turned the venue into an emergency soup kitchen – then Joe Biden rang**

**Simon Allison**

**T**here were not many people in the audience at the final presidential debate, held in Nashville, Tennessee, last Thursday. To supplement the campaign staffers and family members, each candidate was allowed to bring two guests.

True to form, Donald Trump went for celebrity appeal, inviting his friend and former pro golfer John Daly as well as the musician Kid Rock, who has been actively campaigning for the president.

Joe Biden took a different approach. He invited Zwelibanzi Moyo-Williams and Leonardo Williams, the owners of Zweli's Kitchen, which is thought to be the only Zimbabwean restaurant in the United States.

They were contacted the day before the event by a Biden staffer, who asked



**No plates like home: Zweli's Kitchen serves up southern African classics to appreciative American customers.** (Photo: Zweli's Kitchen)

them how fast they could make their way to Nashville. They live in Durham, North Carolina, so they rented a car and drove overnight to get there. "It was surreal," Moyo-Williams told the *Mail & Guardian*. "We were sitting with his wife, Dr Jill, and his granddaughter, and we had some really nice conversations with them."

Moyo-Williams grew up in Bulawayo, but moved to the US 20 years ago to study hospitality and tourism. She met her husband, Leonardo, at college, and they created a happy life together, but there



**Out of the frying pan: Zwelibanzi Moyo-Williams and Leonardo Williams were Joe Biden's guests at the final presidential debate**

was always something missing – the taste of home.

“I missed home. Growing up back home in Zimbabwe, I used to love to cook a lot. Traditional food. When I came to this country it was so difficult for me to try to explain the flavours to people. Everytime I would make food for someone, they were uncomfortable with it. They were uncomfortable seeing me eat sadza with my hands. But when they tried it they really liked it,” she said.

In 2018, the couple opened Zweli's Kitchen, serving southern African classics like peri-peri chicken, oxtail stew, magwinya and chakalaka. Boerewors, made specially for them by a Zimbabwean who owns a butchery in rural North Carolina, is a big hit. It sells for \$16, with two sides.

The restaurant received rave reviews in the local newspaper, the *News & Observer*. It noted the similarity between southern African cuisine and comfort

food from America's Deep South, which is closely linked to the African-American community.

In January this year, disaster struck the Durham neighbourhood where the restaurant is located. A spate of mysterious illnesses in a public housing complex was traced to increased levels of carbon monoxide, and the complex was evacuated overnight. Suddenly, more than 700 people were homeless – and they needed to eat. “We own a restaurant,” explained Leonardo Williams. “So we used our restaurant to feed the community.”

Over the course of several weeks, they served 47,000 meals to families in desperate need. It was this community service that attracted the attention of the Biden campaign.

The couple have urged their community to vote in the upcoming election – regardless of who they are voting for. ■

# The Trump Administration keeps targeting African immigrants

Joe Penney

**O**n October 13, US Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) handcuffed 57 Cameroonian and 28 Congolese immigrants, took them out of Prairieland Detention Center outside Dallas, Texas and forced them on a charter flight from a small airport in Fort Worth, Texas. The flight, a Boeing 767 operated by Omni Air International, flew to Douala, Cameroon, and Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo, before returning back to the United States.

Among the Africans deported were men who had been tortured by ICE officials while in detention to get them to sign their own deportation orders, men who had gone on an extended hunger strike to protest their racist detention conditions, and two women had potentially been operated on against their will by a doctor known as the “uterus collector” at Irwin County Detention Center in Ocilla, Georgia.

Most of the Cameroonians on the flight were Anglophone Cameroonians who were afraid that Paul Biya’s government would imprison or kill them upon their return to Cameroon, one of the detainees’ relatives told *The Continent*. ICE deported them even though five members of Congress, including the

head of the department of homeland security committee and the chair of the congressional Black caucus, sent two letters to ICE’s director specifically asking them to halt the deportations until a full investigation into the abuses had taken place.

While the October 13 deportation flight was especially violent, it is part of an overall strategy of the Trump administration to target African immigration, which was increasing in the years before he came to office. The Trump administration restricted immigration from a quarter of the African continent through his Muslim and African bans. In the run-up to the November 3 election, immigration advocates say ICE has rapidly increased deportations of African and Haitian immigrants.

An increase in African asylum seekers to the US began in 2015, when the European Union began a severe crackdown on African migration via the Mediterranean Sea. The EU did this primarily by paying Libyan militias to trap Black migrants in concentration camps and paying for Niger’s military to hunt migrant smugglers in the Sahara Desert.

Africans who might have previously decided to make the journey to Europe instead traveled to Brazil or Ecuador, two states that allowed visa-free entry, and

made the unforgiving overland journey to the US-Mexico border. Thousands of Congolese, Angolans, Nigerians, Ghanaians and Eritreans, and others have sought asylum this way in the past five years, but by far the largest group, according to immigration organisations, are Anglophone Cameroonians.

Though the Trump administration has targeted African immigration for restrictions more than previous administrations, anti-African policies have been a mainstay in the US since the country's founding, which relied on the kidnapping and labor of enslaved Africans. Anti-immigration measures are often bipartisan; Barack Obama's administration deported more people than any other American president.

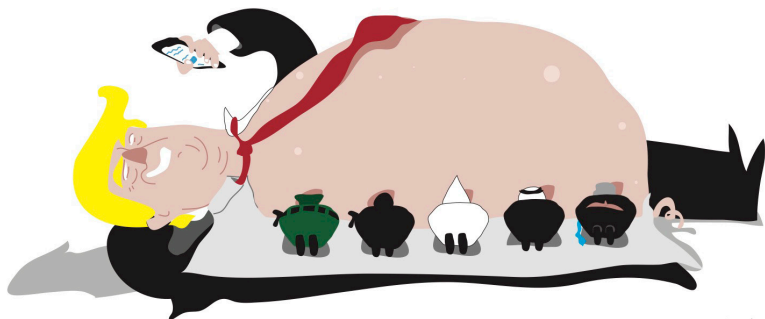
African asylum seekers are often driven out of their countries in part by policies implemented by the US, and those policies are also bipartisan. Cameroonian asylum-seekers, for example, are mainly fleeing

a brutal civil war in the Anglophone regions. The elite Cameroonian military unit that has carried out some of the worst human rights abuses in that war has been trained and equipped by the US and Israel.

As the election approaches, immigration advocates have looked to presidential candidate Joe Biden as their main hope for repealing some of the more pernicious measures passed in the last four years. But Biden's immigration platform has no measures designed to specifically alleviate the concerns of African immigrants. To combat this, immigration advocates like Sylvie Bello, the CEO of Cameroon American Council are pushing for new protections, like Temporary Protected Status for Cameroonian asylum-seekers. ■

*Joe Penney is a journalist, photographer, filmmaker and co-founder of the Mali-based news website and production company, Sahelien.com.*

### Trump's foreign policy







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

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

1. Timbuktu is a city in which country?
2. True or false: ECOWAS stands for the Economic Committee of West African States.
3. Hargeisa is the capital of which self-declared country?
4. Who was the prime minister who became the president when Malawi became a republic in 1966?
5. Was Muammar Gaddafi in power for 39 years or 42 years?
6. The Blue Nile and White Nile are the main tributaries of the Nile river. True or false?
7. What is Tanzania's largest city and former capital city (pictured)?
8. Is Lansana Conté or Alpha Condé the president of Guinea?
9. Roger Milla, Thomas N'Kono and Samuel Eto'o are all former football players from which country?
10. English actor Idris Elba is the son of a Sierra Leonean father and Ghanaian mother. True or false?
11. Which South African comedian is the host of the *Daily Show*?
12. Which Nigerian artist was featured on Drake's *One Dance* and Beyoncé's *Brown Skin Girl*?

## 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

"I am the African Dream"



## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Na Who Go Tell America?

*America has always taken it upon itself to tell other countries when they are getting it wrong. But who is going to tell America? This might just be a job for the Nigerian ambassador, suggests **Elnathan John**, writing in Nigerian pidgin.*



I rememba wen our former president Goodluck Jonathan tok say, if pesin like politician steal plenty moni, America go know. Plenty of us dat time bin laff. We tok say Goodluck Jonathan dey fear America. Some of us tok say maybe na becos im hand no clean. E no shock many of us wen we hear say Goodluck no win election for 2015 becos to tok true, many of us no like how evritin bin dey spoil. (Abeg no remind me say we jump from frying pan enta fire with Oga Muhammadu Buhari. Liv dat mata for anoda day).

Now America get deir own election. If America go know if bad tin wan happen anywhere, na who go know if bad tin wan happen for America? De president wey dem get now, e get as e be. E no be like any of the oda president dem. E no get shame for mout. Na wetin dey im mind im dey tok and tweet. Weda na bad tin or na good tin. If America go know wen oda kontry pipo dey do anyhow, if America dey send deir ambassador go put mout for oda kontry dem election, na who go put mout for America own? Na who fit send deir ambassador go tell oga Donald say, abeg bros, dis way wey una dey talk



(Photo: Saul Loeb/AFP)

no pure at all? If America no know, na who go know?

Trump na old man. The oda man wey wan become president im sef na old man. For Africa we dey quick tok say our leaders dem don old finish. Joe Biden if e win, go be de president wey old pass as e first become president. 78 years. I like de English word wey dem dey use call pipo wey dey dat age: septuagenarian. De first time wey I hear de word, laff wan kill me. I bin tell one of my friend say de word sound like say dem dey describe snake skin. My friend tell me say na only my ear dey hear dat one. Im tok say na “octogenarian” dey make am laugh. E tok say dat word dey make am think of

tomato wey don dey spoil. If Biden win, e go become octogenarian for im first term. If America wey dey put mout for plenty kontry deir mata, dey tell pipo say make dem give youth dem chance, na who go tell America say, e get as e be make kontry wey big like America no see anybody put for president apart from pipo wey dey dance for domot of 80 years.

Biden and all im political party pipo dem don dey warn Oga Donald say make e no try spoil de election. Dem ask am say, if e no win, make e tok am now say im go carry im load comot for White House. Oga Donald no gree o. For say na Nigeria now, American ambassador for don open mout tok say, “ah bros, na democracy be dis o, we no go support person wey no want comot if e no win election o”. E no even tey wey evribodi gather force Goodluck Jonathan make e touch ground swear say if Buhari win im go jeje pack im load go im village. America dem tok say na so e be for democracy. If de oga

patapata for America no gree tok as dem force us to tok before election, na who go send their ambassador go warn Oga Donald?

As I dey follow wetin dey happen for Nigeria, shame dey catch me. I dey see how our own president dey do like say pipo life no mata. E scata protest, even kill pipo wey enta street to just tok say make SARS police dem no dey kill young pipo. In fact wen Oga Muhammadu decide say im wan finally open mout tok to im pipo wey dey beg am to tok for nearly two weeks e no even gree say im kill pipo for street tokless of to apologize or to tok say justice go follow. Na so Naija pipo come start to dey joke for Twitter say ah, as Naija don spoil finish, e be like na only to japa remain. Pipo dey joke say abeg make pipo wey get American and European passport dem come marry dem carry dem comot. Some Naija pipo even put picture of their American passport to follow laff. And now even de America sef e be like say, if dem no careful dem too go start to japa from dere. Imagine say you run comot for Naija come go get American passport and dem go vote Oga Donald again. Where you wan japa go? Na double wahala be dat na. If I be Naija ambassador, na wetin I for go tell Oga Donald be dat. I for tok say, bros, abeg respect dis democracy small, because e go bad if all una pipo dey japa like our pipo dey japa, and Canada no go contain us all. I go beg am make e no spoil Canada for us. ■



(Photo: Jim Watson/AFP)

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Even if Trump loses, the damage is done



**COMMENT**  
**Athandiwe Saba**

**I**n 2018, United States President Donald Trump made disparaging remarks about migrants from “shithole countries”, referring for the most part to African nations. Now that comment feels deeply ironic as the US heads into what can only be described as a flawed presidential election on November 3.

Trump, with a complicit Republican Party, has resorted to every possible dirty trick to swing the vote in his favour.

He has repeatedly undermined mail-in voting, claiming falsely that it leads to widespread fraud – despite this method having been used successfully many times before. According to a study by the Brennan Centre for Justice, the overall rate of voter fraud in the US is less than 0.0009%.

Not only has Trump cast doubt on the veracity of mail-in voting, he has also hobbled the postal service by forcing changes to its mandate, including reduced funding, just months before the poll.

Were this to happen in other countries,

especially in a developing country, the tactics used in the past few months in the United States would have cast considerable doubt on both the freedom and fairness of the electoral process.

Trump has repeatedly said there is going to be a fraud “like you’ve never seen”. He has also not committed to accepting the results of the election, effectively rejecting the peaceful transfer of power were he to lose. He has appealed to the Proud Boys, a loose coalition of right-wing zealots, to “stand back and stand by”.

Trump’s America is reminiscent of the dictatorships of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic; Uganda’s Idi Amin; and Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe. At the end of the day, tyrants will be tyrants.

## At the end of the day, tyrants will be tyrants

Even if he is voted out of office, the damage will have already been done. The social fabric of the US has been ripped apart: racism and white supremacy march forward unchecked, black men and women are routinely killed by the police, and riots of utter outrage have plunged several US cities into crisis.

From Africa, this looks to be a failed democracy, no longer the poster country of free elections. And it shows no sign of healing itself any time soon. ■

*Athandiwe Saba is the Mail & Guardian’s News Editor.*

# The only job harder than being president is not being president

Samira Sawlani

The days before an election are stressful, but the nights can be worse – especially for the incumbent.

“Will I lose my palace?” they worry, doing the sums of succession as they stare sleeplessly at the ceiling. “Can I keep the plane? What about all my minions – who will order them to feed human rights activists to the crocodiles when I’m gone?”

In countries with fragile regimes, there’s even more to worry about. Donald Trump, for example, must be losing so much sleep contemplating the horror of potentially leaving office. Just think of the children! Who will throw them in detention centres if he departs? What will become of the bigotry he’s worked so hard to foster? Will the fake tan industry collapse without presidential support?

It’s shameful that our own African Union has failed to offer to help the man out in his time of need, especially considering all the help the US has given the continent in the past.

For example, has the AU even considered threatening sanctions if things don’t go as they’d like? Have they offered to send monitors to help ensure pro-democracy mischief-makers don’t subvert the vote-rigging process?

Perhaps they could send a reminder that “it’s not winning that counts, it’s taking part”, courtesy of President Alassane Ouattara? Opposition candidates in Côte d’Ivoire are boycotting elections unless Ouattara reverses his decision to run for a third term. That must break the president’s heart – imagine getting the country all fixed up for an election and then nobody else turns up. Now the poor man has no choice but to be re-elected unchallenged.

Maybe Trump just needs calm. Alpha Condé could help there, after blessing the people of Guinea with peace and quiet by switching off the internet on election day. All that noise, suddenly gone!

The bliss of an internet “interruption” must be infectious, because Tanzania promptly followed suit, gifting citizens with a holiday from social media on polling day. We’re sure they’re grateful to President John Magufuli for sparing them from the opposition’s tedious complaints about “irregularities, electoral fraud and violence”.

## Let us prey

Like so many great leaders, Trump doesn’t just value human rights, freedom and democracy – he’s also a big fan of tear



**Comic relieved: Schoolchildren all over the continent will be delighted to learn that they are no longer required to be props in the holiday photos of random white people.** (Photo: Freddie Claire/Comic Relief)

gas. He shared a heap of the stuff with protesters during his little trot to church in June, after all.

So maybe he could de-stress by watching footage of Angolan authorities tear-gassing protesters in Luanda this week. He might have a hard time watching the goings on, considering journalists destroyed their footage when authorities asked if they could see it too. So rude. Typical mainstream media, though, hey Don-Don?

Having a plan B might help him relax. Exile is a popular option, which is just a fancy word for a holiday at a friend's house. Unfortunately, Ethiopia isn't on the cards after Trump casually mentioned that Egypt was going to blow up the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, prompting a resounding WTF from Addis.

Another traditional option is philanthropic work. What a pity for Trump, then, that Comic Relief has decided not to send any more C-list celebrities to parade around the continent. The white saviour business sure is tough these days. Whoever will save our children

now, if not out-of-work reality TV stars?

Now, Trump is the BEST at saving children – from their parents and from any hope of a better future. So what difference does it make to him if six children were killed when gunmen stormed a school in Kumba, Cameroon this week? Quite low ratings. School shootings in the US have much higher casualties.

You and I are bothered, though. Distraught, even. It's not something an ironic opinion column can alleviate, no matter how detached we pretend we are. When children get caught between the unstoppable force of revolution and an immovable, objectionable government, it brings our shared trauma into sharp focus.

But if our own leaders aren't losing sleep over children dying, or over the unlikely prospect of being forced to leave office like their ~~fanta-skinned~~ fantastic counterpart across the pond, then what is keeping them up at night?

Could it be us?

*Should* it be us?

How do we sleep at night if it isn't? ■

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Mwenendo wa Kampeni za Uchaguzi wa Marekani na athari zake kwa nchi zinazoendelea

*Donald Trump has eroded America's moral legitimacy. The impacts of this can be felt the world over, argues Tanzanian political scientist Akainde C. Kwayu.*



Hususan baada ya mwisho wa Vita ya Pili ya Dunia, nchi ya Marekani imejenga taswira ya kuwa mtetezi wa demokrasia kwa mataifa mengine. Marekani imeweka kipaumbele usambazaji wa itikadi, mifumo na sera za demokrasia na uliberali. Baada ya Vita Baridi, Marekani ilipata nguvu zaidi ya kueneza itikadi, mifumo na sera hizo za demokrasia na uliberali. Hivyo mwanzoni mwa miaka ya 1990, tuliona nchi nyingi za Afrika zikibadilisha mifumo yao ya kiuchumi na kisiasa kufuatana na ushawishi wa Marekani.

Kwa sababu hiyo, Marekani imekuwa ikiangaliwa kama kinara wa demokrasia. Ingawa taswira ya Marekani imekuwa ikiharibiwa na tabia ya kuingilia na kuvamia nchi nyingine hususan za Mashariki ya Kati, bado Marekani iliweza kujitetea kwa kisingizio cha uenezaji wa demokrasia. Hii ni sambamba na nadharia ya kuwa nchi za kidemokrasia hazipigani. Kwa hiyo, ata kama nguvu itatumika kueneza demokrasia, matokeo yatakuwa ni amani ya dunia kwa kuwa demokrasia itakuwa katika nchi zote na

hivyo hazitapigana. Kwahiyo, Marekani imekuwa ikiangaliwa na wapigania haki duniani kote kama msimamizi na mfadhili wa mapambano ya demokrasia, na imekemea maovu na ubinyaji wa haki za binadamu kwenye nchi nyingine.

Lakini kwa kipindi cha miaka minne iliyopita ndani ya utawala wa Donald Trump, taswira na nguvu ya kimaadili ya Marekani imetererereka kwa kiwango kikubwa. Utawala huu umefanya mambo yaliyopunguza nguvu ya kimaadili ya Marekani kusikilizwa na nchi nyingine. Tabia za Rais Trump na utawala wake zimefananishwa na tabia za watawala wa nchi zisizo na demokrasia. Tatizo hili limezidi kuonekana wakati wa kampeni za Uchaguzi wa mwaka huu. Katika kampeni hizi tumeshangazwa na ukosekanaji wa hoja. Kampeni zimejikita kwenye kushambulia watu binafsi badala ya kujadili sera, itikadi na hoja za msingi. Hii ni hatari kwa demokrasia duniani. Wachaguzi Marekani wanafaa kukumbushwa kwamba kuzorota kwa nguvu ya kimaadili ya Marekani kunahisiwa kwote. ■



## US ELECTION SPECIAL

**Since Donald Trump** became US president, he has made 19 international trips, visiting 24 countries. Not a single one of those visits was to anywhere in Africa. The president clarified his sentiment towards the continent during a meeting with lawmakers at the White House in May 2018, when he referred to Haiti, El Salvador and African nations as 'shithole countries'. Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari was in Washington, DC on a state visit at the time. Trump's wife, Melania, did visit on his behalf, however, on a six-day safari diplomatic tour of Ghana, Malawi, Kenya and Egypt in October that year. She visited hospitals and schools, to 'show the world that we care', she said.



(Photo: Saul Loeb/AFP)



# Malawi judges honoured for fearless justice

Golden Matonga in Lilongwe

**F**ive judges of Malawi's constitutional court who in February nullified the country's presidential elections are winners of this year's prestigious Chatham House award.

The London-based think tank said on Tuesday that the constitutional court judges have won the 2020 Chatham House Prize in recognition of the "courage and independence in the defence of democracy" demonstrated in their historic February 2020 ruling that annulled the May 2019 poll.

Malawi became the second country in Africa – after Kenya – and only the third in the world to nullify a presidential election. Unlike in Kenya, where incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta won the rerun anyway after an opposition boycott, Malawi's opposition, led by Lazarus Chakwera, swept to power on second asking – defeating president Peter Mutharika, who had been declared winner and sworn in for a second term after the first disputed elections.

"At a time when standards of democratic governance are under threat not only in Africa, but in many



**Rule of law: The judges had to deliver their ruling under armed guard.**

(Photo: Amos Gumulira/AFP)

democracies, Malawi's constitutional court judges set an example for their peers across the world by upholding the centrality of the rule of law and separation of powers," Chatham House said.

"Despite high-level bribery attempts and threats, Justice Healey Potani, Justice Ivy Kamanga, Justice Redson Kapindu, Justice Dingiswayo Madise and Justice Michael Tembo – who arrived in court under armed escort and wearing bulletproof vests – delivered their 500-page ruling, which upheld the constitution and defended citizens' democratic rights in the most difficult circumstances."

The initial re-election of Mutharika had triggered widespread street protests. Yet the country's democratic safeguards stood firm. Apart from the judiciary, the country's military and civil society have been praised for safeguarding the country's democracy. ■

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# This is not an 'African' election



**COMMENT**  
**Patrick Gathara**

Ten days prior to the US election, I discussed the mounting threats to US democracy on *The Resistance Bureau* podcast, as well as the lessons it can learn from African countries on conducting peaceful, free and fair polls. It was a surreal experience. After all, we in Africa are more used to taking lectures on good governance from the so-called “developed world” rather than offering them.

For the past six decades, the West has used “Africa” as shorthand for shitholery – that is, kleptocracy, incompetence, incomprehensible tribal conflicts, poverty, suffering, disease, crumbling infrastructure and a chronic inability to conduct credible elections.

Even South African comedian Trevor Noah leaned into this stereotype before Donald Trump’s 2016 election, observing that Trump could be “America’s first African president”.

But of course, the Africa of the Western imagination has always been little more than caricature, an exaggeration of what fails and a downplaying of what works. In fact, many African countries have become increasingly proficient at elections and

peaceful handovers of power. They have made important investments in systems and technology to improve voter registration, combat fraud and secure the vote, and courts are also asserting their independence – two presidential elections on the continent, in Malawi and Kenya, have been annulled in the last three years.

Ironically, many of these improvements in Africa have been achieved with the help of the US, which has energetically promoted uniform democratic standards abroad – even when, as South African academic Dr Sithembile Mbete noted in the same discussion, it does not observe these standards itself.

But as it urged Africans to tame rogue presidents and executives, the US was incubating its own unaccountable overlord at home. As it insisted on free, fair and transparent elections abroad, its own elections were becoming increasingly unfree, unfair and opaque.

Accustomed to seeing itself as the “shining city on a hill” and a model for the rest of humanity, the US has become a victim of its own hubris. In the eyes of much of the rest of the world, its penchant for drinking wine while it preached water has left it staggering drunk, unable to see clearly ahead. ■



This article was produced in partnership with Democracy in Africa. Listen to *The Resistance Bureau* at [www.theresistancebureau.com](http://www.theresistancebureau.com)

# East Africa's forgotten terror victims

**Kenyan and Tanzanian victims of the 1998 attacks on US embassies won't be compensated like US workers – if they receive anything at all**

**Samuel Gebre**

**O**n August 7 1998, twin terror attacks in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam left 224 people dead and more than 5,000 injured. The attacks were perpetrated by Al Qaeda and aimed at the United States embassies in both cities, but the victims were overwhelmingly East African.

Twenty-two years later, some of those victims are about to receive compensation. Under intense diplomatic pressure, Sudan – which at the time hosted Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in Khartoum – has agreed to pay \$335-million a compensation fund set up by the United States. In return, Sudan will be removed from the US list of state sponsors of terrorism, which should pave the way for the removal of economic sanctions.

But the compensation will not be divided equally among the victims

and their families. \$235-million is designated for American citizens, (12 killed, 10 injured), while the remaining \$100-million must be divided between foreign nationals who worked in the embassies (44 killed, 11 injured).

According to the *Washington Post*, the US victims and their families will receive as much as \$10-million each, while most of the other embassy workers will receive about \$400,000. Ordinary Kenyan and Tanzanian victims get \$0.

“I am bitter about this compensation story because Kenyans have gotten the short end of the stick,” said Moraa Bichage, whose mother Rosemary Bichage was severely injured in the blast.

“Kenyans and Tanzanians have been forgotten, no one has ever reached out to us,” Bichage told *The Continent*.

A group representing Kenyan victims is suing the Kenyan government to provide adequate compensation. ■



**Never forget: Margaret Achieng's daughter was killed in the 1998 bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi. (Photo: Tony Karumba/AFP)**

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# التطرف الديني حيفضل من اكبر مهددات اي عملية انتقال سياسي في السودان

*The United States demanded \$350-million from Sudan as compensation for American lives lost in the 1998 East African terror attacks. But it was Sudanese people who suffered the most under the previous dictatorship, argues writer **Reem Abbas**.*



بعد اكثر من سنة من اندلاع الثورة السودانية و بعد سنة و شهرين من وصول حمدوك السودان عشان يمسك رئاسة الوزراء و يكون الحكومة الانتقالية، الولايات المتحدة رفعت السودان من قائمة الدول الراعية للإرهاب بعد ما طالبونا بدفع ٣٥٠ مليون دولار طلعت من عيون الشعب السودان و قوت يومه الما قادر يتحصل عليه.

القروش حتمشي لاسر ضحايا تفجير الناقلات العسكرية الأمريكية الاسمها يو إس إس كول و برضو لاسر ضحايا تفجير السفارات الأمريكية في تنزانيا و كينيا.

و في نفس الوقت، اسر ضحايا تفجير ١١ من سبتمبر داقين جرس و عايزين برضو يمشوا في مسار قانوني عشان يحصلوا على تعويضات من السودان. قدر ما بنحاول نتصالح من ماضينا التعيس و عارفين انو حكومة الانقاذ دعمت مجموعات ارهابية كمية في فترة حكمها و حولت السودان لحوش بتاع تدريب للارهابيين و فتحت ليهم الحدود عشان يتسلحوا و ينتشروا في دول الجوار، برضو حاسين بغبن شديد و احساس انو حنظل ندفع ثمن حكم الانقاذ لسنين طويلة.

زي ما حكومة عمر البشير نشرت الارهاب في العالم، ساعدت في زرعوا في السودان بشكل كبير و لفترة طويلة عشنا في دولة ما فيها آمان بسبب الحروب و التطرف الديني العنيف. في ١٩٩٤، ٣ سودانيين و لبيي عملوا هجوم ارهابي على مصليين في مسجد في مدينة أمدرمان. اكثر من ٢٥ من المواطنين العزل امتلكوا بالسلاح في دقائق.

ما كان في اي عدالة في القضية دي و لحدي وقت قريب، واحد من منفذي العملية الارهابية دي كان بيعع غسل في واحد من اسواق الخرطوم. بعدها بكم سنة، حصل هجوم على مسجد برضو و اكثر من ٢٠ شخص ماتوا و عدد

من الناس اتعوقوا.

في احداث ثانية كثيرة، دا غير الشباب الكثير الخلوا البلد عشان يمشوا الجهاد في الصومال، أفغانستان، العراق و سوريا بدعم من حكومة الكيزان. ما قادرة اتخيل رجوعهم للسودان حيعمل شنو و الاثار على المجتمع حتكون كيف. ما ممكن نتكلم عن علاقة الحكومة الماضية بالارهاب كانوا حاجة منفصلة من مواقع السودانيين و كانوا كانت حاجة صدرنها للعالم لكن ما ضوقنا المرارة بتاعتها. التطرف الديني حيفضل من اكبر مهددات اي عملية انتقال سياسي في السودان. ■

## أفكاري حول انتخابات الولايات المتحدة

When she moved to America in 2018, public speaker and climate change consultant **Census Lo-liyong** was shocked by the racism and political division she encountered there.



هذه الانتخابات الأمريكية هي من احم انتخابات في تاريخ الولايات المتحدة. انتقلت إلى الولايات المتحدة في عام 2018 ولاحظت الحزبان الديمقراطي والجمهوري منقسمين بشدة. مما جعل الديمقراطية صعبة بالنسبة لي. لقد غير الرئيس ترامب سياسات ولوائح مختلفة. أبرز ما وجدتها أن العنصرية لا تزال مشكلة كبيرة في أمريكا في القرن ٢٠. أنا مندهشة من أن الصحة امتياز خاص وليس مسألة حق في دالة متطوره كامريكا . خلقت وفاة القاضية روث بادر جينسبيرج فراغاً في القضاء. إذا شغل الرئيس ترامب في هذا المنصب ، فسيؤدي ذلك إلى تغيير ميزان القضاء ويؤثر على حماية الصحة وقضايا حقوق المرأة. أرى الصراع القانوني للقضاء كصراع بين المؤسسة القديمة وجيل جديد يناضل من أجل احترام جميع الحقوق الفردية بينما يركز الطرفان على التحديات الحالية ، هناك نقص في البصيرة لتطوير نظام التعليم حتى نتمكن من بناء القوى العاملة المستقبلية لدينا. إنني مندهشة أيضاً من صعود منظمات المتشدين البيض بشكل أساسي. ■

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

**US President** Donald Trump arrives for a Make America Great Again rally at Laughlin/Bullhead International Airport in Arizona on October 28, 2020. The president's core message has remained the same: he promised to make America great again as a political outsider in 2016, and after four years in the White House he's still promising to make America great again. At the rally, Trump defended his handling of the Covid-19 pandemic – during which more than 220,000 Americans have died – and said that his opponent would enact harsh restrictions on everyday life. “With Sleepy Joe, there'd be no graduations, no weddings, no Thanksgivings — they're already talking about no Thanksgiving,” he said. Not that anyone should be taking his words at face value. According to the *Washington Post*, the president has made more than 20,000 false or misleading statements since coming to power.



(Photo: Brendan Smialowski/AFP)



## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Three African lessons for America



**COMMENT**  
Nasser Weddady

**A**s the United States heads towards a truly historic election – the future of democracy itself may be at stake, some believe – Africans are looking at incredible yet familiar scenes emerging from America: the fear of a fraudulent election; the risk that one of the parties might refuse to accept the outcome; or even worse, god forbid, violence.

All of these are, sadly, common occurrences on the continent. So maybe in this instance Americans have something to learn from Africans.

Perhaps the first lesson is that an election alone does not solve a political crisis. In fact, it can escalate larger, pre-existing crises.

This is a lesson learned in places like Guinea and Côte D'Ivoire, for example, where votes have led to violence.

For decades, US policy towards Africa has ignored deeper structural problems and treated elections as expeditious solutions, often driven more by geopolitical considerations than the rights or the prosperity of ordinary Africans.

This approach has not worked in Africa, and will not work in America: the US needs to understand that their many internal, structural problems will not be settled by one particular candidate.

A second important lesson is that elections are and should remain a strictly internal affair. Foreign meddling, be it by state actors or non-state actors, is a recipe for disaster as this often subverts the popular will.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Americans must remember that whatever the outcome, peace and stability are preferable to conflict and violence. Conflict-torn societies seldom succeed, and it can take generations to heal these wounds.

## Conflict-torn societies seldom succeed, and it can take generations to heal these wounds

The cheapest and most effective way for Americans to resolve their internal divisions would be for the different political parties to put their country before their party, ensure national cohesion and avoid the election becoming a national tragedy.

And they would be wise to listen to all the advice that Americans themselves spent imparting to Africans. ■

*Nasser Weddady is a Mauritanian-American Middle East & North Africa consultant.*

## US ELECTION SPECIAL

# Kazoza k' uguharanira agateka ka zina muntu muri Afrika

*We can no longer rely on superpowers to uphold human rights and good governance. So we have to start doing it for ourselves, says Burundian democracy activist **Thierry Uwamahoro**, writing in Kirundi.*



**M**u misi iheze, hari abanyamerika bakurikirana ibibazo mpuzamakungu, na cane cane imigenderanire hagati ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika (Amerika) na Afrika, bibabjije igituma ubuserukizi bw'igihugu cabo muri Nijeriya butasohoye itangazo ryo gushigikira abanyanijeriya bagiye mw'ibarabara biyamiriza amabi y'agahomerabunwa igipolisi ntuzavyaha ca Nijeriya kimaze imyaka gikora. Ico kibazo bakibajije kubera bari baramenyereye ko Amerika, nk'igihugu ca rutura, cifadikanya n'abanyagihugu bariko bararenganywa mu mihingo myinshi y'isi, kenshi na kenshi ikagira n'ico ishikirije.

Imyiyerekano iriko ibera muri Nijeriya iriko iba mu gihe Amerika nayo nyene imaze igihe mu myiyerekano igaragaza ihohoterwa igipolisi gikorera abirabure. Iyo myiyerekano yarateye impari za polike zikomeye, mbere hari n'abasaba ko igipolisi cofutwa burundu. Perezida Donald Trump arongoye Amerika, akaba ariko aranitoza aharanira ikiringo ca kabiri, yarerekanye ko ashigikiye abapolisi mugihe uwo bahiganwa asaba ko haba ibiganiro hagati y'abapolisi n'abanyagihugu. Iri tandukaniro k'ukuntu babona ingorane zo muri Amerika rishobora

kuba ari naryo vyatumye uwuharanira intebe ya perezida ku giti c'abademokrate Joe Biden asohora itangazo kubiriko bibera muri Nijeriya mugihe uwo bahiganwa ataco yigeze abivugako. Ivyo arivyo vyose, ibi bihe Amerika iriko iracamwo vyatumye abantu batari bake bagira bati Amerika nta nyigisho igifise iduha.

Nk'abanyafrika, ibi biriko bibera muri Amerika bitubere icigwa. Mu myaka mirongo iheze, hari abatari bake bibaza ko hariho ibihugu vya rutura – i Buraya muri Amerika n'ahandi – bizokwama bihagarira agateka ka zina muntu. Ivyo bigomba guhinduka, maze tukamenyera kwibako. Gutsinda urugamba rwo gutsimbataza intwari zibereye zubarahiriza agateka ka zina muntu bizosaba gukoresha uburyo dusanganywe (nk'uko muri Burukina Faso babikoze muri 2014 canke abanyanijeriya bariko barabikora) hamwe no gufatana mu nda hagati y'abanyafrika. Uburyo bwa none bwo gutumatumanako no guhanahana amakuru buzodufasha muguteranira mu ngata mu bihugu bitandukanye tuvamwo hamwe no guhimiriza amaleta hamwe n'amashirahamwe mpuzamakungu yo k'umugabane wa Afrika guhagurukira ibibazo vy'agateka ka zina muntu. ■



## The Big Picture

**Moment of truth: Voters gather to watch the last presidential debate outside a restaurant in Golden Valley, Arizona. Joe Biden and Donald Trump offer two starkly different visions for America's future. But what both seem to forget is that it's more than just America's future at stake. Like it or not, the American people are about to make a decision that will impact the rest of the world for generations to come. (Photo: Ariana Drehsler/AFP)**

*The Continent is produced with the Mail & Guardian, Africa's leading independent newspaper, and upholds the M&G's strict editorial standards. It is published by the Adamela Trust, a not-for-profit organisation founded by M&G journalists that is dedicated to fostering quality journalism. For queries and complaints, or to make a donation, please contact [TheContinent@mg.co.za](mailto:TheContinent@mg.co.za).*