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The Continent

The president who died alone

O presidente que morreu sozinho

Illustration: Wynona Mutisi

Cover: José Eduardo dos Santos died as he lived: Sowing division, creating uncertainty and saying very little. Under his rule, Angola squandered one of the world's most lucrative sources of fossil fuels, pouring that money into the wallets of his family and allies – many of whom abandoned him the moment he lost power, leaving him ill and isolated in his final days (p13 in English, p16 em português).

Inside:

Farewell (until August)

This is our last edition of Season 6. That's 93 editions, thousands of stories, hundreds of reporters and 27 months of *The Continent* since we began publishing in April 2020. None of this would have been possible without the incredible support of our readers.

We will take a short publication break now to regroup, recover and recharge. We'll also be using the time to advance some of our exciting plans for making the journalism we do even better. We're also improving how we distribute the newspaper, to make sure you get your edition on time.

So we will see you next month for Season 7, during which we'll celebrate the milestone of our one hundredth edition – and keep bringing you world-class journalism from all over this great continent.

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LIBYA

Oil be back: Export ban terminated

The national oil company has lifted the state of force majeure on two major ports and will resume exporting crude oil through them. Force majeure, a suspension of contract obligations under exceptional circumstances, was declared in June, following months of air blockades by groups opposed to one of Libya's two rival governments: the Tripoli-based Government of National Unity. The blockades were supported by strongman Khalifa Haftar, who backed the Government of National Stability in the east of the country.

TOGO

Inroads for Türkiye's 'drone diplomacy'

The Togolese army has received a consignment of Bayraktar TB2 combat drones from Türkiye, according to *Africa Intelligence*. Togo is gearing up for an offensive against Sahel militants who are making southward incursions into its territory from Burkina Faso. The country suffered its first fatal attack from these militants in May, when eight of its soldiers were killed near the northern border, by a militant group linked to Al Qaeda. Earlier, Niger also received about half a dozen Bayraktar TB2 drones from Türkiye.

KENYA

Okutoyi's star rises at Wimbledon

Eighteen year-old Angella Okutoyi has become Kenya's first Grand Slam winner. With her Dutch teammate Rose Marie Nijkamp she won the girls doubles' title at the Wimbledon Junior Championships. Okutoyi and her twin sister, Rose, were raised by their grandmother, Mary, after their mother died during childbirth. Before the tournament Okutoyi said what she wants most is to build her granny a house and get her out of poverty. She also wants to inspire the next generation of Kenyan tennis players.

Photo: Twitter/Okutoyiangella

Photo: Twitter/MitikuKassa4

ETHIOPIA

Relief chief arrested for crisis corruption

The head of Ethiopia's relief and humanitarian operations, Mitiku Kassa, was arrested by the federal police this week. They accuse him of corruption, saying that he colluded with a company owned by his wife to embezzle hundreds of millions of dollars, and sold food and clothing meant for displaced people. The police leaked what they say is evidence of said graft to state-owned media. The World Food Programme estimates that 20.4-million people, including 4.5-million displaced by drought and conflict, need food assistance in Ethiopia.

UNITED STATES

You need democracy! Wait, no, not like that

"This is very much part of the US rule book." That's how a Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson greeted statements by a former White House national security advisor that he had helped plan coups. John Bolton held that role during the rule of Donald Trump. In an interview with CNN, he said "it takes a lot of work". The US is often accused of preaching democracy while helping topple elected governments it does not favour – including post-liberation governments in Africa.

UGANDA

Starvation in 'out of sight' Karamoja

More than half a million people are going hungry in Karamoja, the remote north-eastern part of Uganda that is inhabited by the Karimojong nomadic pastoralists. At least 46 starvation deaths have been recorded according to Faith Nakut, a Karimojong member of Parliament. The government's most visible involvement with Karamoja this year was not a response to the prolonged drought there, but a violent military campaign to disarm Karimojong men who guard their livestock from rustlers and also raid neighbouring communities for cattle.

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GERMANY

Wood in the hood

With high gas prices, heatwaves and drought, Europe is in trouble. Nuclear power plants might not have enough water to cool them. Coal shipments can't make it to plants as rivers dry up. And Russia's war in Ukraine means gas is unaffordable. This month Deutsche Bank started modelling what it would mean if homes in Germany went back to burning wood for heat this winter.

WORLD

Eight billion of us all

The world's population will likely reach 8-billion in mid-November, according to new projections from the UN. It was around 2-billion in 1922. Our numbers are expected to peak at 10.4-billion in the 2080s. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines and Tanzania are the eight countries where increases are expected to be highest.

Photo: Twitter/G5_Sahel_SE

SAHEL

G5 Sahel military union to be revived

Niger's president, Mohamed Bazoum, was in N'Djamena this week to talk to Chadian junta leader Mahamat Idriss Déby Itno, about reviving the G5 Sahel military alliance which Mali pulled out of in May. Bazoum said that the four remaining allies – Burkina Faso, Chad, Mauritania and Niger, will meet soon to agree on a way forward. Déby Itno said he hopes Mali comes back to the group but that's unlikely since the alliance seems poised to continue taking French support, which the Malian junta opposes.

Space

13-billion years ago...

This is what the universe looks like through the lens of the world's most powerful telescope, the James Webb, launched into the sun's orbit earlier this year. This image, of a galaxy that is 13-billion light years away from Earth, is the furthest in both time and space that humans have ever seen.

Ghana

President calls for IMF assistance

Akufo-Addo was adamant about not taking on any more international debt. So why is the president now courting the IMF?

Kiri Rupiah

Ghana, the continent's top gold producer and second biggest source of cocoa, this month backtracked on a policy decision not to borrow from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), saying it is seeking as much as $1.5-billion to shore up its finances.

Amid protests in the capital Accra about the exorbitant cost of living, President Nana Akufo-Addo announced earlier this month that he had authorised the country's finance minister to begin formal negotiations with the IMF. A delegation from the fund arrived in the country last week.

The move is a very public about-face from the administration's previous stance to never again seek IMF assistance.

Akufo-Addo took office in 2017 after campaigning on the idea of "Ghana Beyond Aid" – promising prosperity and growth without international aid. One plan was the introduction of a widely condemned 1.5% tax on electronic financial transactions. The e-levy has yet to generate any significant revenue and has been criticised for putting a further burden on the poor.

The president has also been criticised for not reducing the size of his Cabinet to cut down on state spending.

Ghana's debt is now 78% of its GDP, up by 15 percentage points from 2019. The country's currency, the cedi, is at its weakest since 2015. Food and fuel prices are rising. And only about 2.4-million Ghanaians – of its 13-million strong workforce – are employed in the formal sector and pay income tax.

Ghana's debt is now 78% of its GDP, up by 15 percentage points from 2019.

The West African country last turned to the IMF for support in April 2015, getting a $918-million loan to support its ailing currency and help stabilise the economy. Ghana exited that programme in December 2018. If this deal goes through, it will be the country's 17th IMF programme since gaining independence in 1957. ■

Zimbabwe

Amid rolling blackouts, firewood is more popular than ever

Harare residents have steadily been losing their access to electricity. Now officals are accusing wood vendors of deforestation

Jeffrey Moyo

By 2005, more than 90% of urban Zimbabweans had access to electricity. Since then, amidst the country's economic and governance troubles, the number has decreased to about 86%. This level of access is typical for the region. In South Africa, 88% of urban dwellers have access to electricity, compared with 82% in Zambia and 75% in Mozambique.

But that is no great consolation to the Zimbabweans who once had electricity and now do not.

Access is not the same as actual usage: Outages are rampant in Zimbabwe these days and many people can't afford even the sporadically available electricity.

"I use firewood now for cooking at my home and candles for lighting because even as electricity is rationed more often, I can't afford it and have stopped buying it," said Melisa Chauke, a widowed mother of four, who is also one of this country's underpaid school teachers.

Public servants like her used to be some of the better-off citizens, financially.

This year alone electricity costs in Zimbabwe have twice risen. In January, the Zimbabwe Energy Regulatory Authority increased electricity tariffs by 12.3%. The next hike came just five months later.

Today, you find many vendors on the streets of Zimbabwe's neighbourhoods, pushing carts laden with firewood for sale. Authorities tend to arrest them – officially over their contribution to deforestation. Perhaps also to hide the signs of regression in the country's social services. But since the electricity problem itself has not been arrested, the vendors keep coming.

"Arrests can't stop us; we offer alternatives when many people can't afford electricity or just don't have access to energy because of outages," said 26-year-old Nhamo Chirauro of Mabvuku high density suburb in Harare.

According to the Forestry Commission, Zimbabwe loses 262,000 hectares of forests per annum to deforestation.

The switch to firewood will only make things worse. ■

Gambia

Court to rule on genocide case against Myanmar

In 2019, The Gambia filed genocide charges against Myanmar – a legal first. The verdict in that case is expected next week.

Kiri Rupiah

In August 2017, the Myanmar military began a campaign of massacres, rape, and arson against the Rohingya, a Muslim minority group, in northern Rakhine State. Thousands were killed and over 740,000 people fled to neighbouring Bangladesh.

Just over two years later, The Gambia – with the support of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation – filed a case at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, alleging that Myanmar's ruling junta had committed genocide. The court will deliver its judgment on 22 July.

Establishing genocide under the Genocide Convention requires demonstrating the intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group in whole or in part and proof of the commissioning of genocidal acts.

In *The Gambia vs Myanmar*, the African state alleges that Myanmar's atrocities against the Rohingya people violated various provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide – more commonly known as the Genocide Convention.

The Gambia's filing marks the first time that a country without any direct connection to the alleged crimes has used its membership in the convention to bring a case before the court.

In an interview with Reuters, the country's justice minister Abubacarr Tambadou said he pushed for the move after visiting refugee camps that reminded him of the horrors he encountered while prosecuting cases after the Rwandan genocide.

The case has been complicated by questions about who has the right to represent Myanmar at the proceedings: the military junta, which is in de facto control of the country, or the opposition government-in-exile which claims to be Myanmar's legitimate authority?

It is also unclear what impact, if any, a guilty verdict will have, given that Myanmar is already isolated internationally and the court has a limited capacity to enforce its decisions. ■

Africa's big men and their dodgy degrees

Like children who cry 'the dog ate my homework', many African politicians are unable to prove their academic credentials. But does it even matter?

Pelumi Salako

This week, Kenya's high court dismissed a petition against the candidacy of Johnson Sakaja, a front runner in the contest to be the next governor of Nairobi. Besides Sakaja, in the run up to the country's 9 August elections, at least four other gubernatorial candidates have been accused of submitting forged diplomas to the country's electoral body. One presidential aspirant, Walter Mong'are, was disqualified for presenting fake papers last June.

Across the continent, electoral laws require candidates to have some level of academic achievement. In Kenya, you need a university degree to run for president, governor, or Parliament. In Nigeria, completion of secondary school is required. Cue an often-fraudulent scramble to get school and university certificates or explain away their absence.

In Nigeria, Bola Tinubu, the ruling party's presidential flag-bearer, said he had lost his certificates in a raid during Sani Abacha's regime. Like Tinubu, in the run up to the 2015 elections, the incumbent president, Muhammadu Buhari, also failed to show certificates that proved he had completed high school.

Tinubu's certificate troubles go as far back as 1999, when he was Lagos State governor. Two citizens refuted his claims that he attended a boys secondary school, the Government College of Ibadan, before going on to earn a degree from the Chicago State University. The Lagos State House of Assembly appointed a five-man committee to investigate the matter further, but Tinubu remained in office.

Now Tinubu's filing for the presidential run doesn't even state which primary or secondary schools he went to. In the heated public debates about his education history, his handlers still insist that he got that Chicago State University degree.

Is this fuss worth all this drama anyway? Chris Olaoluwa Ogunmodede,

Cap fits: Bola Tinubu has an honorary degree from the Agriculture University in Makurdu. Photo: Twitter/officialABAT

Percentage of population aged 25+ who at least completed upper secondary school			
Country	**Men**	**Women**	**Men & Women**
Mali	7.8%	3.2%	5.4%
Burundi	7.6%	3.8%	5.6%
Burkina Faso	9%	3.6%	6.2%
Guinea	11.9%	3.5%	7.4%
Mozambique	11.5%	6.2%	8.7%
Madagascar	11%	8.5%	9.7%
Rwanda	11.7%	8.3%	9.9%
Zimbabwe	15.6%	9.4%	12.3%
Cabo Verde	20.3%	19.8%	20%
Congo, Dem. Rep	38.6%	16.8%	27.3%
Egypt	66.9%	67.5%	67.2%
South Africa	76.7%	54.3%	69.7%
Data Source: World Bank			

an associate editor at *World Politics Review*, thinks not. He argues that academic certificates serve no real purpose and "have very little correlation with good political leadership".

"It's time to get rid of them," he says.

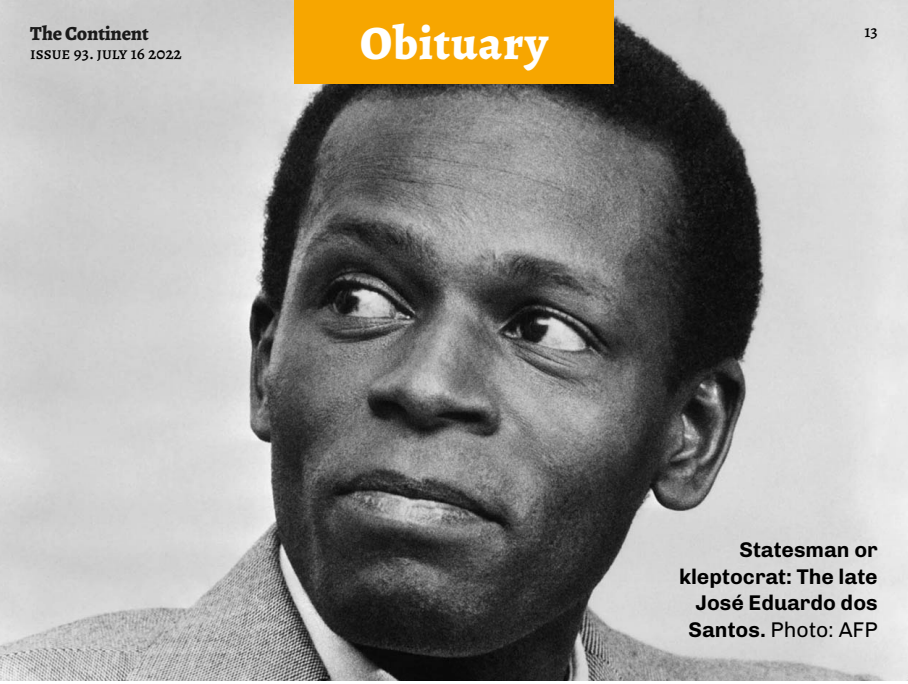
It's rarely acknowledged that these requirements automatically create a ruling class to which only a minority of Africans can belong, given that in most countries for which recent data is available, fewer than 10% of the population completed upper secondary school.

Dr Wanjiru Gichohi, a lecturer at Kenyatta University, disagrees with getting rid of the requirements, saying they are in place to ensure that Africans have leaders who are able to think flexibly around today's complex issues.

Ogunmodede and Gichohi agree on one thing though: Lying about your academic achievements brings into question your suitability for leadership.

"Anyone found to have lied or misled the public about their academic qualifications ought to be disqualified from the process," says Ogunmodede.

Gichohi echoes the sentiment, saying it is the smallest test of integrity and a functional moral sense. ■



Statesman or kleptocrat: The late José Eduardo dos Santos. Photo: AFP

The president who died alone

José Eduardo dos Santos, 28 August 1942 – 8 July 2022

Cláudio Silva

José Eduardo dos Santos was in power for longer than 73% of Angola's 33-million people have been alive. He spent half of his life as president, and he was everywhere: on our banknotes, gazing into the middle distance alongside the founding president; in our homes on the television, always the focus of our nightly news; in our cars on the radio, his few speeches played on repeat; and in our conscience, as he jailed our friends for reading books, had his thugs violently break up anti-government protests, or presided over one of the most corrupt regimes in living memory.

The world in which he came to power was vastly different from the one he left, and he never quite adapted.

His omnipresence was fuelled by an unrelenting cult of personality, but he could also be silent and aloof – a master of deception. One of his biggest accomplishments, however morbid, was the ability to rule Angola through a shadow government entirely of his own making. He effectively rendered the country's institutions obsolete at worst and a mere inconvenience at best, swatting

My Way José: Former Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos, who died last Friday, with his wife Ana Paula. Photo: AFP

aside any challenge to his authority like a mosquito in the summer heat.

He ruled by division and conquest. As Angola became a securitised state in which Dos Santos pitted the intelligence services against themselves, and they all spied on each other, it's no surprise that paranoia took over and perceived threats were created out of thin air. It's also not surprising to see the ruling party, MPLA, currently imploding – by the time Dos Santos was finished, he was the only thing keeping its various factions together.

His own family, some of whom became fabulously wealthy thanks to their proximity to the centre of power, is riven by infighting. Even after his death, it is fighting publicly about what to do with the body, and where to hold the funeral.

What could have been

Dos Santos died on July 8 in self-imposed exile in Barcelona, far from the hospitals and clinics in Angola belonging to a health sector which he actively neglected. He died alone.

He could have died a hero. After our staggeringly vicious and destructive civil war, his reputation was at an all-time high: he had vanquished his arch-enemy in battle. Despite corruption being a scourge in his party, he was seen as the "Architect of Peace" not only for ending the war, but also for sparing opposition soldiers and their leaders. Magnanimously, he integrated ex-enemy soldiers into the armed forces, and let their leaders get on with their lives. Many of his comrades would have done differently.

But the ex-president could not resist the allure of power. From the early 2000s, he kept hinting that he would no longer run for president. But when it came time to quit, he would invent a reason to stay on – to the detriment of both himself and his country.

Had he left office before the 2008 election, he would have been forever

enshrined in Africa's history as a competent leader who steered the country to a market economy after the fall of his socialist experiment; who defeated the rebels and ushered in a lasting peace.

Instead, he engineered a constitutional coup d'etat. Perhaps scarred by our first multi-party elections in 1992, in which neither he nor ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi garnered more than 50% of the vote in the first round, he did away with direct presidential elections, gave himself unchecked powers, and stayed a further decade in office.

During this time, and even before he changed the constitution, Dos Santos squandered the single best opportunity he had to truly develop the country. With the price of oil at an all-time high and with an entire country to rebuild, he chose corruption over development. He chose to enrich himself, his family and his cronies instead of enriching the country and its population. He shirked his responsibility, as a leader, to foster progress in a nation that truly deserved it after decades of war and destruction – and we will feel the consequences for decades to come.

A tarnished legacy

Dos Santos died as he lived: Sowing divisions, creating uncertainty and saying very little. His oldest children are either under investigation for corruption or on trial for the same reason. His eldest son was hit with a five-year jail sentence that is pending an appeal. There is infighting within the family.

His closest associates, known as The Presidential Triumvirate, have just been indicted on corruption charges. His chosen successor, current President João Lourenço, is perceived to have waged a vendetta against him.

Grace fall: Isabel dos Santos, daughter of late former Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos. Photo: Christopher Pike/Bloomberg via Getty Images

Angola, the country he claimed to love, has no strong institutions to speak of, and the economy he managed for close to 40 years remains significantly dependent on oil exports. The opposition party he spared after the war has never been more popular.

This is the Dos Santos legacy. It could have been – it should have been – so much more. His last days of ignominy, spent so far from home, are a fitting coda to a life that fell far so short of its potential. ■

Cláudio Silva is a Luanda-based writer.

Obituário

O presidente que morreu sozinho

**José Eduardo dos Santos,
28 de agosto de 1942 – 8 de julho de 2022**

Illustration: Wynona Mutisi

Cláudio Silva

O ex-Presidente angolano José Eduardo dos Santos esteve no poder há mais tempo que mais de 73% dos 33 milhões de angolanos estão vivos. Passou metade de sua vida como presidente da nação e estava em todo lado: nos nossos Kwanzas, com um olhar aparentemente benevolente ao lado do nosso presidente fundador; nas nossas casas por meio da televisão, invariavelmente o foco dos nossos telejornais; nos nossos carros por meio da rádio, onde os seus poucos discursos eram repetidos vezes sem conta; e na nossa consciência, como quando ele prendeu os nossos amigos por lerem certos livros, ou fez com que os seus caenxes violentassem manifestantes indefesos anti-regime, ou ainda como presidiu a um dos regimes mais corruptos da nossa memória.

O mundo em que ele chegou ao poder era mesmo muito diferente daquele que deixou, e o kota nunca se adaptou.

A sua onipresença era alimentada por um implacável culto à personalidade, mas ao mesmo tempo o ex-presidente era lacónico e distante, um mestre da decepção com poucas palavras. Uma de suas maiores realizações, embora mórbida, foi a capacidade de governar Angola por meio de um governo-sombra inteiramente criado por ele mesmo. José Eduardo dos Santos efetivamente tornou as instituições do país obsoletas, afastando qualquer desafio à sua autoridade como se de um mosquito insurrecto se tratasse.

Zé Du, como era tratado entre nós, governou por divisão e conquista. Na medida em que o país se tornou num estado securitizado em que Dos Santos colocou os serviços de inteligência uns contra outros, onde todos se espionavam entre si, não é surpresa que a paranóia tenha assumido o controle, e que até ameaças fantasmas surgiam do nada e eram tidas como verdadeiras. Também não é surpreendente ver o partido no poder, o MPLA, a implodir – até certo ponto, o ex-presidente era a única força viva que mantinha as várias facções do partido minimamente unidas.

Os próprios familiares do Zé Du, alguns os quais se tornaram fabulosamente ricos graças à sua proximidade com o centro do poder, estão divididos por lutas internas. Mesmo após a a sua morte, a família luta publicamente sobre o que fazer com o corpo e onde realizar o funeral.

Não tinha que ser assim...

José Eduardo dos Santos morreu num exílio auto-imposto em Barcelona, longe dos hospitais e clínicas em Angola pertencentes a um setor que ele negligenciava ativamente. Morreu sozinho.

Poderia ter morrido como um herói. Depois de nossa guerra civil incrivelmente cruel e destrutiva, a sua reputação estava no auge, pois ele havia derrotado o seu arqui-inimigo em batalha. Apesar da corrupção já ser um flagelo no seu partido político, Zé Du era visto como o "Arquiteto da Paz": não apenas por, de certa forma, ter acabado com a guerra, mas também por poupar os soldados e a liderança da oposição. Magnânimo, conseguiu integrar os ex-soldados inimigos nas forças armadas

Duradouro: José Eduardo dos Santos, 2017. Photo: Marco Longari/AFP

nacionais e deixou a liderança da UNITA seguir com as suas vidas. Muitos de seus companheiros teriam feito diferente.

Mas o ex-presidente não resistiu ao fascínio do poder. Desde o início dos anos 2000, ele continuou insinuando que não iria mais concorrer à presidência. Invariavelmente, quando chegasse a hora de sair, inventava mais uma razão para ficar – em detrimento de si mesmo e de seu país.

Tivera ele deixado o cargo antes das eleições de 2008, teria ficado para sempre consagrado na história do continente e não só como um líder competente, que conduziu o país para uma economia de mercado após a queda do socialismo, que derrotou os ditos rebeldes e que instalou uma paz duradoura.

Em vez disso, engendra um golpe de estado constitucional para se perpetuar no poder, sem qualquer plano de sucessão. Talvez marcado pelas nossas primeiras eleições multipartidárias em 1992, nas quais nem ele nem o ex-líder da UNITA Jonas Savimbi obtiveram mais de 50% dos votos na primeira volta, o ex-presidente acabou com as eleições presidenciais diretas, deu a si mesmo poderes faraónicos e permaneceu quase mais uma década no cargo.

Durante esse tempo, e mesmo antes de mudar a Constituição, Dos Santos desperdiçou a melhor oportunidade que teve para desenvolver verdadeiramente o país. Com o preço do petróleo em alta e com um país inteiro para reconstruir, escolheu a corrupção ao invés do desenvolvimento. Escolheu enriquecer a si mesmo, a sua família e seus comparsas em

Sozinho: Dos Santos, que completaria 80 anos no próximo mês, faleceu na sexta-feira em num hospital em Barcelona. Photo: Sean Gallup/Getty Images

vez de enriquecer o país e a sua população. Esquivou-se da sua responsabilidade, como líder, de promover o progresso numa nação que realmente merecia, depois de décadas de guerra e destruição. Até hoje sentimos as consequências desta decisão, e continuaremos a senti-las durante as próximas décadas.

Um legado manchado

O Zé Du morreu como viveu: semeando divisões, criando incertezas e falando muito pouco. Os seus filhos mais velhos estão sob investigação por corrupção ou em julgamento pelo mesmo motivo. O filho varão foi condenado a uma sentença de cinco anos de prisão e por agora aguarda o recurso. Há brigas enormes dentro da família. Os seus associados mais próximos, conhecidos como o Triunvirato Presidencial, acabam de ser indiciados por crimes corrupção. E o seu sucessor escolhido, o atual presidente João Lourenço, é tido como alguém que se quer vingar dele.

Angola, o país que dizia amar, não tem instituições fortes nem credíveis, e a economia que geriu durante cerca de 40 anos continua significativamente dependente das exportações de petróleo. O partido da oposição que ele poupou depois da guerra nunca foi tão popular como o é hoje.

Este é o legado de José Eduardo dos Santos. Poderia ter sido, deveria ter sido, muito mais. Seus últimos dias de ignomínia, passados tão longe de casa, são um desfecho adequado para uma vida que ficou tão aquém do seu potencial.

Cláudio Silva é um escritor e analista baseado em Luanda. É também um empreendedor no ramo de turismo. ■

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All photos: CAF

SPORT

It's the final countdown

The Women's Africa Cup of Nations has been under way this month and will be drawing to a close over the coming days.

Tournament hosts Morocco's Atlas Lionesses beat Botswana 2-1 in the quarterfinals, securing a place in the semis. Zambia's Copper Queens beat Senegal's Teranga Lionesses 4-2 on penalties. Both teams earned World Cup

qualifications for the first time.

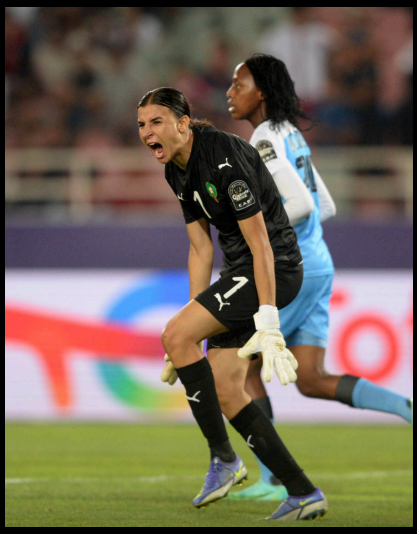
Next, Cameroon's Indomitable Lionesses unsuccessfully took on Nigeria's Super Falcons, losing 1-0.

The Super Falcons are seeking their 12th championship – (or their ninth if you subscribe to the "rebranded" Confederation of African Football's records – it's a long story. Either way they're the winningest team in Africa.)

Banyana Banyana of South Africa then took on Tunisia's Carthage Eagles, beating them 1-0.

The four countries' teams will all compete in next year's World Cup.

Before that however they will first compete for the continental title in the



semifinal games, which will be played this coming Monday, 18 July. Nigeria versus Morocco and South Africa versus Zambia.

The third-place match will be played on 22 July, and then the final on the following day. ■

The (arbitrary) marriage of football and testosterone

The Women's Africa Cup of Nations has been missing some of its brightest stars, in large part thanks to its opaque regulations

Luke Feltham

This year's Women's Africa Cup of Nations (Wafcon) has been marred by the exclusion of Zambia's Barbra Banda, who failed to meet the testosterone requirements for participation.

Depending on which reports you believe, she may share her fate with up to 10 other players. It's hard to know for certain, as it has been suggested some players arranged for their names to be quietly removed for "medical reasons" rather than risk public embarrassment.

But for the gem of the Copper Queens, it's impossible to avoid the spotlight. At last year's Tokyo Olympics 22-year-old Banda became the first player at the games to secure back-to-back hat-tricks. This tournament was to be her star turn on African soil. Instead she has found herself as the subject of questions around CAF's murky and some might say discriminatory gender verification policies.

The Confederation of African Football does not have its own policy on gender verification. It has one line dedicated to such disputes: "In case of protest against the gender of a female player, 'Fifa Gender Regulations' will be applied".

That document came into effect in 2011 and states that "androgenic hormones have performance-enhancing effects" and emphasises that "gender verification is of particular importance". Verification would be determined by testosterone levels. But the prescribed level is not publicly published.

Banda was allowed to compete in the Tokyo Olympics because (in some respects) its policies are different. The Olympic governing body has, however, started testing for high levels of testosterone.

There is a long history of such testing. In the mid 1900s, women under suspicion had to present themselves naked before a peering panel of doctors. Then came the introduction of chromosome testing, which is not scientifically sound. Measuring testosterone is the latest in that flawed lineage to determine "maleness".

In the face of the court challenges that have invariably arisen over the last decade, Fifa has been content to look the other way. But this is changing, driven by the spotlight on swimming federation Fina's new gender inclusion policy.

That doesn't help athletes like Banda, who are in their prime now. ■

Celebrating growing pains

As his latest single tops international charts, Burna Boy's new album explores emotional lows

Wilfred Okiche

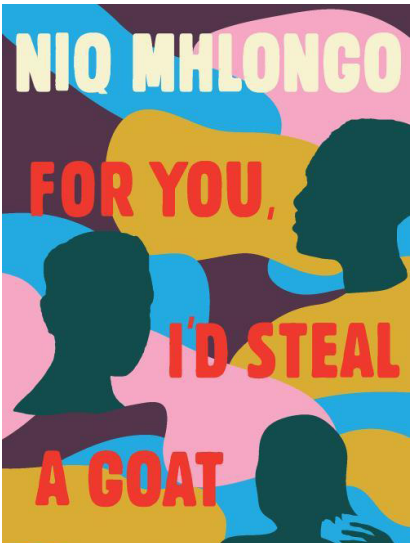
In the decade since Burna Boy – born Damini Ogulu – became a proper superstar, plenty has happened for him personally and professionally. He has become a global avatar for the eclectic, dance-heavy rhythms that characterise the new wave of Nigerian pop music.

He has released five well-received studio albums. He was nominated for back-to-back Grammys (winning eventually in 2021 for his boisterous penultimate record *Twice as Tall*). He even sold out the iconic Madison Square Garden in New York this year. Burna Boy has also had run-ins with the law, and in Lagos has been involved in at least two incidents where his hot-headedness and propensity for hubris have been in play.

With *Love, Damini,* Burna Boy, now 31, is trying to make sense of the breadth of the life that he has lived. Easily his most revealing record, the album has Burna Boy reaching for some of his most personal reflections, even events he is loath to discuss with the media. On hit single *Last Last*, which samples a Toni Braxton hit from the 2000s, he admits to some culpability in the demise of his relationship with British-Jamaican rap star, Stefflon Don. On the album opener, *Story*, he goes back to a violent incident he was involved in while studying in the United Kingdom.

Love, Damini may be the most cynical of Burna Boy's records, however, as he struggles to accommodate his global parade of fans. The songs on the 19-track record are concise, with at least seven of them under three minutes, reflective of the less-is-more ethos of the streaming age. Strategic collaborations with Ed Sheeran, J Balvin and Ladysmith Black Mambazo are obvious attention grabs.

Burna Boy stretches himself thin trying to do too many things at once on this album. In keeping with the tenets of afrobeats – or afrofusion – as Burna Boy chooses to call his sound, the blocks of introspection are paired with busy polyrhythms, percussion drum sets, banging beats and cross-cultural mixes that ensure a jolly good time is had regardless.



Flames of lies and a muddled moral reality

Jacqueline Nyathi

Niq Mhlongo is an award-winning South African writer and the editor of two recent anthologies. He is also a master of the short story, a format African writers excel at. In the wonderfully titled *For You I'd Steal A Goat*, Mhlongo shows off this prowess in 10 stories running the gamut from queer love, through families and their burdens, to ghosts.

I had to settle myself into Mhlongo's authorial voice and style, which is fairly elaborate and a little wordy. Once I did, I enjoyed its distinctness; he brings to his characters a realness and worldliness I came to appreciate. Mhlongo is also not afraid of bringing an ick factor to his stories, so be warned, especially when you read *Ghost Story*, the story of a Malawian immigrant killed in a possible xenophobic attack, which brings all the body horror you could imagine.

I was particularly moved by *Displaced,* about people who were removed by South Africa's apartheid government from Sophiatown in the 1950s. It is very beautifully done, and the twist at the end is heart-wrenching.

I was also astonished, to say the least, to find words from the resignation letter of a former vice-president of Zimbabwe, Kembo Mohadi, preserved in a letter of resignation by a character in one of the stories. In *Fireplace,* MEC Comrade Leadership Mgobhozi, corrupt to the hilt, uses these amazing words: "Digital media, in their hybridity, have been abused by my enemies to blackmail me, but my spirit, like that of a leopard, will never die."

I laughed out loud when I came upon this speech in Mhlongo's book. I wonder if Mohadi would be flattered?

Mhlongo has astonishing range. He also has the ability to hold one's attention while delivering interesting and imaginative plots. High literature this is not – but it is a quick read: I read it over the course of a day.

This was the first time I had read Mhlongo, and it will not be the last. ■

Uber drives a hard bargain in Africa

But the drivers don't get a say, or the benefits gained by their peers overseas

Simon Allison

The Continent's interview with Frans Hiemstra, Uber's General Manager for Sub-Saharan Africa, begins with a half-truth.

"The one thing that is a bit of a pain is how journalists classify or label the drivers when they are writing," says his communications manager Mpho Sebelebele. "They'll say drivers that work for Uber, or Uber drivers, but it's actually inaccurate. The drivers are very specific that they want to be recognised as independent contractors."

Uber says that this claim is based on driver surveys. But publicly – and certainly anecdotally, among all Uber drivers who spoke to *The Continent* – it seems clear that drivers would much prefer to be treated as employees, with all the protections and benefits that come as a result.

However, the global e-hailing company has a major financial incentive to not treat their drivers as employees. If it had to guarantee salaries, give sick leave, and take responsibility for drivers' safety and security, its business model would not be nearly so lucrative.

In some places, drivers have successfully challenged the "independent contractor" label. After a legal battle, some 70,000 Uber drivers in the United Kingdom won the right to be recognised as workers, forcing Uber to roll out holiday pay, a pension plan and a limited minimum wage.

Uber's drivers in Africa enjoy none of these protections, despite their best efforts.

In South Africa, a group of Uber drivers successfully took the company to arbitration to demand recognition as employees, but the judgment was later overturned on a technicality (the drivers had sued the wrong holding company). In March, Uber drivers went on strike in three South African cities, in part to demand workers' rights.

These are rights that Uber has no intention of recognising, as Hiemstra makes clear. "I think we should put the strike in context. So South Africa is the country in the world with the most number of protests," said Hiemstra, adding quickly that this shouldn't take away from its importance. He said that Uber intensified its engagement with drivers as a result of the strike, although "it wasn't necessary to significantly change the game".

In other words: Uber makes the rules, and drivers just have to live with the consequences.

Untapped market

The interview with Hiemstra, conducted via Zoom, is arranged to coincide with Africa Day. It is intended to showcase the company's positive contributions to economic growth and development on the continent. Uber now operates in eight African countries – Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda – and has completed a billion trips in less than a decade. It claims to have offered three million "economic opportunities" in Africa, although it will not comment on the quality or duration of those opportunities.

Its plans for expansion on the continent are aggressive. In May, it added another three Nigerian cities – Kano, Enugu and Warri – to its network, with more still to come. "The growth potential is out of Africa. Essentially the biggest population growth will come out of Africa," says Hiemstra.

If it had to guarantee salaries, give sick leave, and take responsibility for drivers' safety and security, its business model would not be nearly so lucrative.

Hiemstra, who comes from a finance and consulting background, is keen to talk about Uber's social and economic impact in Africa. "We are not just a company that bring you your car, we can bring things to you, we can move you places, and we've been able to leverage that to do good," he says, referencing Uber's vaccine drive which helped 95,000 South Africans access a Covid-19 vaccine.

He also talks up that figure of three million economic opportunities. "That's three million people that would have been unemployed recently. That's something I would love for you to lean in on because it's a great story." This, also, is not quite true: although some Uber drivers may have been unemployed, many left existing jobs for the promise of good pay and incentives.

'It's not something we negotiate'

But when Uber unilaterally changes its pricing and bonus structure, that promise disappears – as revealed this week in a massive leak of company documents. Some 124,000 internal records were leaked by Mark MacGann, one of the company's most senior lobbyists.

The Washington Post, which reported on Uber's growth in Cape Town – which was in part overseen by Hiemstra – said the leak shows "that Uber created working conditions it knew would result in many drivers barely scraping by. Uber incentivised more drivers to sign up than were necessary, shrank driver earnings and built a system that rewarded workers for undertaking routes and schedules that put them at risk of harm in locations plagued by violence."

This is how it worked in practice, according to *The Post*: When Uber first arrived in Cape Town in 2013, it offered drivers a $400 joining bonus and a subsidy of $4 per trip. Once they were

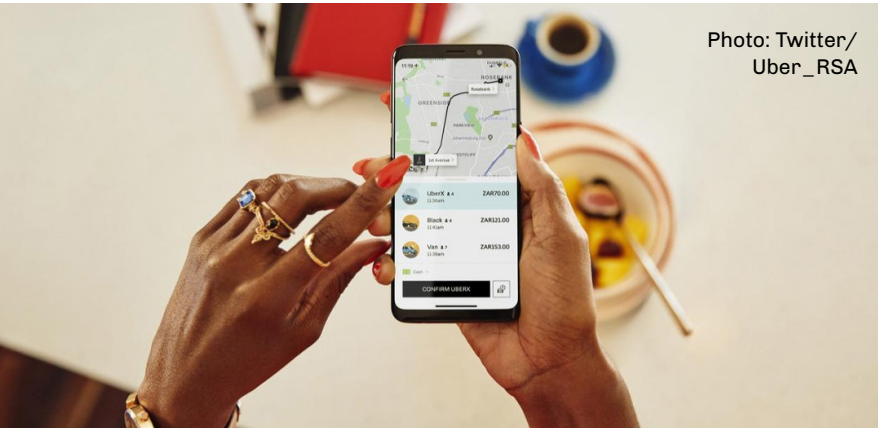


Photo: Twitter/ Uber_RSA

committed – often taking steep loans in order to purchase their own vehicles – Uber unilaterally slashed the subsidy and increased their own commission from 20% to 25%. By 2016, some drivers were earning as little as a third of what they earned in their first year – but had no choice but to keep working in order to pay off their vehicle loan.

In response to follow-up questions from *The Continent*, an Uber spokesperson said: "Earnings do fluctuate as a normal part of the business. They are affected by factors such as seasonality and the macroeconomic environment [cost of living, fuel etc] ... Recently, we have seen driver earnings begin to recover in South Africa.

"In terms of subsidies, when we started in South Africa, we offered incentives and referrals for drivers to join the platform, as is common for any business investing in growth. As the market has matured, we have adjusted these incentives accordingly."

In the interview, Hiemstra refuses to get into specifics about how the company sets its pricing – but once again makes clear that drivers don't have a say. "It's not something that we negotiate with drivers," he said. "We have these economic models, and we have data points that we get from drivers, and that's how we determine the prices."

He said that the company would "in principle" be unable to give drivers a guarantee of how much they could earn.

This is convenient for Uber. It leaves its drivers – sorry, "independent contractors" – carrying almost all the financial risk, while the company gets to take home the majority of the profit.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the model, there is no doubt over its efficacy. It has fuelled the company's rapid growth over the past decade – and, according to Hiemstra, Uber is only just getting started in Africa. "We need to make sure we get our fingers in every single use case. Then we need to be in all the cities." ■

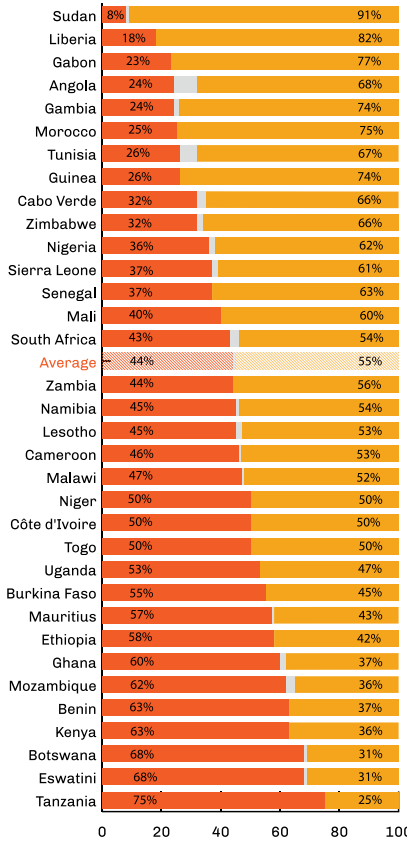
Is Africa's healthcare getting worse?

The past few years have been tough on national health systems around the world. Here's more bad news: For the first time in more than two decades of Afrobarometer research, a majority of Africans say their governments are doing a poor job of improving basic health services.

Growing numbers of citizens report going without medical care, cite health as one of their country's most important problems, say they find it difficult to get medical care, and report having to pay bribes to get the care they need.

On average across 34 countries, 55% of respondents – including majorities in 23 countries – say their governments are doing "fairly badly" or "very badly" at improving health services. Negative ratings are highest in Sudan (91%) and Liberia (82%). Tanzania, Eswatini, and Botswana are bright spots, with more than two thirds of citizens approving of the government's performance. But on average across countries tracked since 2011, negative evaluations have increased by 13 percentage points.

And something other than Covid-19 appears to be at fault. In countries surveyed shortly before the pandemic, performance ratings actually declined by four percentage points *more*, on average, than in countries we surveyed during the pandemic.



Ratings of govt performance in improving basic health services 2019/2021 | 34 African countries

Source: *Afrobarometer, a non-partisan African research network that conducts nationally representative surveys on democracy, governance, and quality of life. Face-to-face interviews with 1,200-2,400 people in each country yield results with a margin of error of +/- two to three percentage points.*

AFRO BAROMETER
Let the people have a say

THE QUIZ

1_The Wassu stone circle monuments are found in which country?
2_ What is the capital of Chad?
3_ What is the demonym for people from Djibouti?
4_What is the name of the southernmost point of the African continent located in Cape Town, South Africa?
5_Thieboudienne is a popular fish and rice dish in six countries in West Africa, can you name any three of these countries?
6_True or false: Egypt is among the five countries that will represent Africa at the 2022 World Cup scheduled for later this year in Qatar.
7_Which African countries made up the Federation of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963?
8_Which Zimbabwean nationalist who led the liberation struggle as the leader of Zapu (Zimbabwe African People's Union), popularly known as Father Zimbabwe, died on 1 July 1999?
9_Which two countries use the name kwacha for their currencies?
10_The birr is the name for Ethiopia's currency, true or false?

HOW DID I DO?

WhatsApp 'ANSWERS' to +27 73 805 6068 and we'll send the answers to you!

0-3
"I think I need to start reading more newspapers."

4-7
"I can't wait to explore more of this continent."

8-10
"A birr in the hand is worth 0.31 kwachas in the bush."

This quiz was submitted by reader Nqwele Dube. If you would like to curate your own, let us know at TheContinent@mg.co.za

The police play a part in South Africa's violence crisis

'Theatre' keeps public in line, not violent criminals

Christopher McMichael

Last weekend, at least 22 people were killed in shootings at South African taverns. In Soweto alone, 16 people were massacred by unknown gunmen, while smaller incidents occurred in other parts of the country.

This shocking violence – which comes weeks after the still-unsolved deaths of 21 teenagers in another tavern in the Eastern Cape – reflects a crisis of social disintegration.

Against a backdrop of chronic unemployment, continual revelations of government corruption, rolling blackouts and environmental disasters, such horrific violence underscores the feeling that the state has no capability – or interest – in protecting its citizens.

Along with killings linked to organised crime, political violence has also sharply increased, with the emergence of armed xenophobic groups, sabotage of infrastructure, and the rioting which rocked parts of the country after the jailing of disgraced former president Jacob Zuma in 2021.

Through all this, one question remains unanswered: Where are the police?

In response to the Soweto killings, Police Minister Bheki Cele – whose tenure has been accompanied by regular accusations of incompetence – has promised to flood the streets with militarised South African Police Service (SAPS) units. This is echoed by the media and academic specialists who maintain that more police are the solution to crime and instability.

However, the belief that the complex political and economic causes of social violence can be simply resolved with more belligerent, kick-in-the-door policing is a simplistic fantasy. For one, the SAPS is hardly a neutral protector.

Alongside officers implicated in assault, bribery, torture and political repression, compromised police are enablers of criminal violence, such as in the case of officer Chris Prinsloo, who sold more than 2,000 firearms to drug gangs, directly escalating street violence. This problem also extends to the country's massive private security sector, with gangs registering front companies to acquire weapons, and guards moonlighting as assassins.

Historically, during apartheid, the police were a highly corrupt force of oppression, designed only to suppress the black majority. Since 1994, the state has failed to fundamentally change this authoritarian logic.

The government's response to high-profile acts of violent crime is to launch police and military clampdowns in townships and informal settlements. These are primarily acts of security theatre, intended to send a message through the media that the state is tough on crime.

In practice, however, it not only leads to increased brutality against the public but fails to address the issues which lead to tavern shootings. Mass unemployment, inequality and predatory state power fuel social hatred, and leave a large pool of brutalised and alienated young people who may be sucked into the criminal underworld.

A general climate of lawlessness is also fuelled by official hypocrisy. Time and time again, South Africans have seen the authorities fail to act against wealthy and powerful people engaged in racketeering and massive white-collar crime.

This encourages the nihilistic sense that society is a free-for-all, where brazenly defying the law is considered the only realistic path to success. A grim deluge of news about state and corporate corruption frankly gives little incentive to follow the rules.

South Africa's policing woes also reflect wider problems. The #EndSARS movement in Nigeria, and recent activism against state killings in Nairobi highlight how, throughout the continent, police act in violent and anti-democratic ways that reflect their origins as instruments established for colonial exploitation.

Across both the global South and North, police and nebulously defined "security forces" engage in intrusive surveillance, mass detentions and political repression. This is legitimated with the claim that they need expanded power to keep us safe from "crime" and "terrorism".

This translates to a form of emotional blackmail. More often, the police defend the unjust economic and political systems which fuel conflict and violence. Rather than acquiring more power and weapons to defend society from dangerous groups, these resources are used to keep the wider public in line.

More often, the police defend the unjust economic and political systems which fuel conflict and violence

There are certain limited ways that the SAPS could stem some of the current killings, such as creating specialised units to stem the flow of illegal firearms. But beyond these measures, SAPS is fundamentally unequipped to deal with the root causes of crime.

South Africa needs to abandon the conservative idea that more police equals less crime. Instead, we need to confront why, three decades after democracy, the country remains an incredibly dangerous shooting gallery where life is cheap. ■

Christopher McMichael is a political and cultural writer based in Johannesburg. His book Shoot To Kill: Police and Power in South Africa *(Inkani Books) will be released in September 2022.*

What goes around...

Continental Drift

Samira Sawlani

In recent months we at Drift have developed an interest in Formula One racing. What is behind this new obsession you may wonder – is it the adrenalin that pumps through our veins as drivers battle it out? Is it Lewis Hamilton's perfect face?

Or is it simply our fascination with flags? Whatever the answer, on race weekends you will find us in front of the TV shouting "Someone Stappen him!" as Max flies around the circuit.

Of-course it would be nice to see a "global" sport have at least one race on the African continent, but that's a discussion for another day. (We see you, Kyalami.)

All the fast cars, hot babes and glitz and glamour – our favourite leaders must surely be on the scene too. Not because they are hot babes, or because they ooze glitz and glamour, or because they are the human embodiment of fast cars (some would barely qualify as a 1983 Ford Escort, but we digress). No. Rather because many of them are insanely competitive about going around in circles without actually getting anywhere.

How else can you explain their "who can stay in power the longest" contest? It's not always great, though, when one of them *does* decide to go somewhere new. This week a group of 49 soldiers from Côte d'Ivoire arrived in Mali, and were promptly arrested, accused of being mercenaries who had entered the country without permission but with a whole heap of weapons and ammo.

The government of Côte d'Ivoire were none too happy and demanded their release, saying they were there as part of a contract with the United Nations.

It probably didn't help an awful lot that the Ivorian minister of communication, Amadou Coulibaly, remarked in local media in Côte d'Ivoire that "in Mali, those who are in power today are soldiers, some of whom are special forces. They know how to overthrow a regime – it's not [done by] tourists arriving at the airport."

We're getting off track

In Formula One it's hardly unknown for the drivers to block each others' path if it looks like they're trying to overtake, but nothing compares to the drama when politicians start trying to bounce each other out of the race.

The barbs being traded between Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto are almost... *almost*... distracting ordinary people from their daily struggles with the rise in cost of living. But people tend not to be swayed by sideshows when they're

struggling to make it through the day. Not even when the sideshow is both a guest star from abroad *and* a fugitive from justice like Burkina Faso's former president Blaise Compaoré, who arrived in Kenya last week to hang out with various leaders – including *Keeping Up With The Coupdashion*'s star, Burkina Faso's interim president Paul-Henri Damiba, despite the fact that earlier this year Compaoré was tried in absentia and sentenced to life in prison for his role in the murder of Thomas Sankara.

What do we make of that, then? In reality/soapie hybrids it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between audacity and complicity, you know?

The rich and the shameless

The format does lend itself to dynastic drama, though. On that front, the family of José Eduardo dos Santos, the late and former president of Angola, is squarely in the spotlight this week. In power for 38 years, Dos Santos fought colonial rule and a brutal civil war. For many, though, his reign will be remembered as one which saw the rich get richer through corruption and nepotism. His immediate family, in particular.

So when he finally stepped down, the Familia Dos Santos probably did not expect to be sidelined by his successor João Manuel Gonçalves Lourenço – yet that is exactly what happened.

Exhibit A: His daughter Isabel, who in 2013 was declared Africa's Richest Woman by Forbes, and had been appointed head of Angola's state-owned oil firm, Sonangol EP by her father

Undone: Isabel dos Santos has been accused of embezzlement in Angola. Photo: Twitter/isabelaangola

was fired from the role. Now she faces accusations of mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds, and her assets in Angola have been frozen.

But the latest drama comes via another daughter, Tchizé, who demanded an autopsy of her father's body after his death last week in Barcelona, claiming "suspicious circumstances". Her request has been granted. We await the results with interest.

But now an argument has broken out around where his funeral should be held, with some of his children saying he must be buried in Spain, not Angola, to avoid a state funeral which would work in favour of Lourenço ahead of upcoming elections.

In politics, as in Formula One, it may well be true that what goes around eventually comes around – unless there's a crash. But I think you might agree that we're maxed out on those, so if there's anything left to say on this it's just...

Stappen. ■

The demagogue who could be Kenya's kingmaker

Michael Ndony

The headlines in Kenya's presidential election race were expected to be made by two men: Raila Odinga and William Ruto. Although many candidates regularly stand for the presidency, in 2013 and 2017 only the top two had a chance, and minor candidates struggled for attention. Things are a little different this time, however, as an unsung candidate – George Wajackoyah of the Roots Party – has shaken things up with outlandish promises and colourful campaigning. But does his message represent a threat to the country's constitution or social harmony?

Although Wajackoyah's chances of winning the elections are negligible, he has introduced a dangerous set of divisive and irresponsible policies. Most commentaries have focused on the Roots Party's high-profile promise to revitalise the Kenyan economy by legalising marijuana, trading dog meat and snake rearing – but these are not his most worrying doctrines.

In its manifesto the Roots Party promises it would suspend parts of the constitution that "do not work", hang corrupt individuals – contradicting the country's current legal system – and "deport idle foreigners".

In blaming foreigners for Kenya's economic difficulties with straightforward racist language, these policies risk inciting the kind of xenophobic violence seen in South Africa

They also encourage the idea that the government can pick and choose which laws to respect, threatening the gains secured under Kenya's 2010 constitution.

Recent opinion polls give Wajackoyah 5% to 7% of the vote in Nairobi. While the Roots Party has little support nationwide, it could prompt the main candidates to adopt some of Wajackoyah's populist policies to maintain support in the capital. It is also not impossible that Wajackoyah could win enough votes to prevent either of the two main candidates from winning outright in the first round.

If this were to happen, his influence would be magnified heading into the second-round run-off election, as a potential "kingmaker", and the threat posed by his candidacy would increase exponentially. ■

Michael Ndony is a senior lecturer at Kabarak University. This analysis was produced in collaboration with Democracy in Africa

The Big Picture

Photo: Olympia De Maismont/AFP

Peachy keen: Twins Maeli and Maela Fofana pose during a portrait session on the first day of the Eid al-Adha, in Burkina Faso's capital Ouagadougou, on July 9. Eid al-Adha is known as the 'Festival of the Sacrifice' and marks the end of the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, Islam's holiest city. A cow, goat or sheep will be sacrificed on the day and meat is shared between family, friends, neighbours and those who do not have.

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