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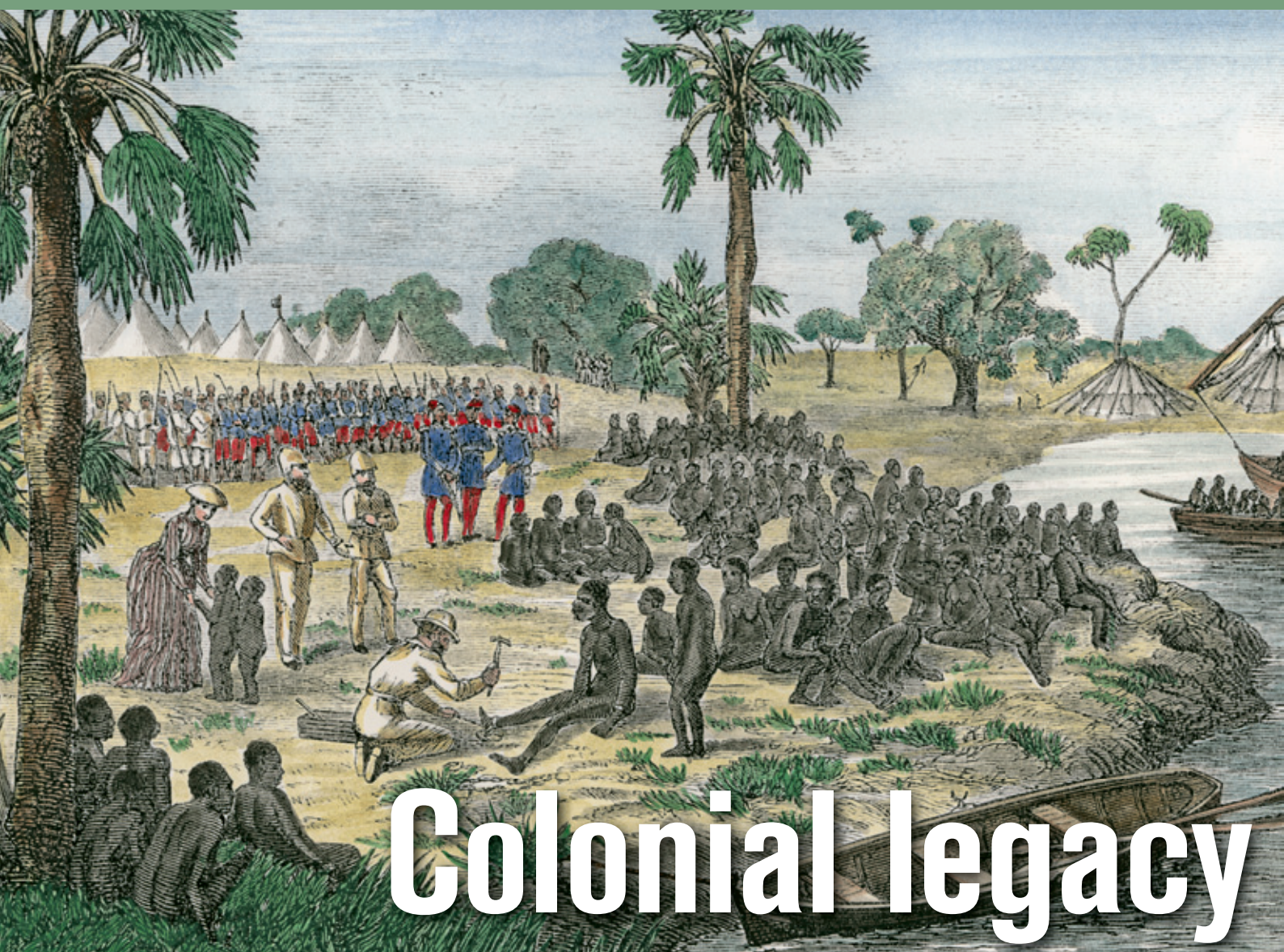
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FOCUS

Colonial legacy

Consequences of the past

The division of Africa by European colonial powers had long-lasting consequences. They are manifested in today's political systems, in economic dependencies and linguistic divisions. However, Africans themselves have to overcome the hurdles left by colonial rule, says Jonathan Bashi, a law professor and consultant in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In West Africa, French troops help stabilise the region, explains Mohamed Gueye, a Senegalese journalist.

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Compensation for former injustice

At the beginning of the 20th century, German soldiers in the colony German South West Africa, which is today's Namibia, committed a genocide. The German government needs to face the core demands of the concerned Herero and Nama people, demands political scientist Joshua Kwesi Aikins, activist of the organisation "Berlin Postkolonial". Activists around the world demand that rich nations pay reparations for slavery and colonialism. Kehinde Andrews, the co-chair of Britain's Black Studies Association, agrees with them.

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Creole on the rise

In the Caribbean, the colonial powers' languages were blended with various African languages, and new languages emerged, the so called Creoles. Today, Creoles are languages in their own right, representing the region's cultures, as Hubert Devonish, professor of linguistics in Jamaica explains.

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Spanish colonial heritage

Spain's colonial rule has left deep marks on Mexico and still shapes society, writes Virginia Mercado, an academic from Mexico. Spanish colonialisation also marks the Philippines, and so does American colonialisation, as freelance journalist Alan C. Robles assesses.

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Room for improvement

In Bangladesh, independence leaders' aspiration for a new legal system that would be up to the nation's needs largely remains unfulfilled. The young state's legal system has yet to be de-colonised. Law scholars Ridwanul Hoque and Arpeeta S. Mizan explain what needs to be done for.

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Mechanisms of oppression

In 1996, it so happened that I went to see the British Museum in London and the Indian Museum in Kolkata (then still Calcutta) within a few months. I keep telling people about it, because the difference was so impressive. The British Museum was a modern facility using all up-to-date tricks to get people interested in its items. The Indian Museum, which in some ways is the colonial era's clone of the British Museum, looked as if nothing had changed since the imperialist power had left.

At the time, I was doing research for my PhD thesis, and the longer I worked on it, the more I came to understand that the difference between the museums actually stood for the difference between the two states concerned. The United Kingdom had modernised and become more inclusive. Progress was apparently much slower in India. Many colonial conventions were still in force, officialdom still used English and masses of people still lived on the margins of society. I am not saying that British colonialism was a blessing. No doubt, it was an oppressive, exploitative system. The depressing truth, however, is that its way of depriving masses of basic rights and freedoms proved so strong and so deeply rooted that it still has not been overcome even today, seven decades after India became independent.

Things tend to be similar in many former colonies. Liberation movements won, but all too often they only replaced the alien elite with a new domestic one. It felt – and still feels – comfortable lying in the former masters' beds, as I recently heard Job Shipululu Amupanda, a young Namibian scholar put it.

The notion of human rights was born in Europe's Enlightenment. These rights are cornerstones of the UN system and have inspired the Sustainable Development Goals. The basic idea is that every person is of equal value and entitled to self-determination. It is an unsettling historical truth, however, that European Enlightenment also went along with colonialism and slavery. Neither is acceptable anymore, of course.

After the colonies gained sovereignty, the former colonial powers soon cast themselves in the new role of benevolent donors, and a few decades later, they felt entitled to giving lectures on issues of governance. Western governments were keenly aware of corruption, human-rights abuses and authoritarian leanings in developing countries, all too often failing to remember that their own predecessors had laid the foundations of misrule.

The hypocrisy was obvious to people in developing countries where most people did not know from first hand experience that countries like Britain had indeed become more inclusive. To many people, the kind of strongman arrogance US President Donald Trump displays today seems to be the global norm – not the exception. After two or three generations of independence, however, it no longer makes sense to keep blaming only the former colonial powers. The current governments must be held responsible too.

Democracy cannot be imposed, but only encouraged from outside. It is up to the people of every country. Getting a grip on the historical truth is healthy. It can help to promote the cause of emancipation in a way that conditional official development assistance (ODA) cannot.

By the way, I haven't returned to the Indian Museum for 20 years. I did recently check its website, however. That it has a website is good, but what I found on it, looked all too familiar.

► You'll find all contributions of our focus section plus related ones on our website – they'll be compiled in next month's briefing section.



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Debate



The Rohingya's exodus from Myanmar

More than half a million Rohingya people have fled from Myanmar. What is happening there is a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing" according to the UN. Bangladesh, the receiving country, is largely left to itself in view of the dramatic refugee crisis, writes Ridwanul Hoque, a law professor at Dhaka University.

PAGE 10

Tribune



A complex undertaking

Climate-smart agriculture (CSA) was developed in response to the impacts of climate change. This cultivation method is now being promoted among smallholder farmers in western Kenya. A team from the Centre for Rural Development (SLE Berlin) has researched what conditions must be in place for implementation to be successful, as team leader Michaela Schaller reports.

PAGE 21

Benin's employment blues

In Benin, masses of people would like to have a job in the civil service. Though the government does not pay well, at least it pays regularly. According to the scholar Karim Okanla, most Beninese people must cope with the constant insecurity of informal employment.

PAGE 16

UN 2030 AGENDA

Data look harder than they are

Bill and Melinda Gates have launched a new annual report series to promote the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This year's edition focuses on health issues.

By Hans Dembowski

"We are launching this report this year and will publish it every year until 2030 because we want to accelerate progress in the fight against poverty," Bill and Melinda Gates state in the introduction. They want policymakers to be guided by the SDGs, which were adopted by the UN in the 2030 Agenda two years ago.

The philanthropist couple has a history of promoting development programmes. The Gates Foundation is involved in the Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria, the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa and the ONE Campaign, which lobbies donor governments to keep their promises (see article next page). In view of plans to slice the official development assistance (ODA) of the USA and "a similar mood of retrenchment" in other donor countries, Bill and Melinda Gates now intend to add yet more pressure.

The Gates Foundation asked experts to assess recent trends for 18 of 232 SDG indicators. It reports that, because of "insufficient data", no precise assessment could be made of the quality of primary education, gender equity and labour productivity in agriculture. The Institute of Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME) at the Seattle-based University of Washington provided most of the analyses included in the publication.

Its graphs show that, while global development has been moving in the right direction in recent decades, humankind is generally not on track to meet the targets set for 2030. The IHME graphs also indicate what results are likely if global development efforts are increased or reduced. The report warns, for example, that the incidence of malaria can rise from currently 29 to 39 new cases per 1,000 people by 2030 "if we regress". On the other hand, they may sink to a mere five per thousand "if we progress".

The publication makes a similar case in regard to HIV/AIDS. The rate of new infections has declined considerably, but this healthy trend became slower as "the sense of crisis dissipated". The Gates Foundation warns that the infection rates may double again by 2030 "if we regress".

The graphs look impressively precise. Unfortunately, the IHME remains vague what exactly it would take to "make progress" or what "regressing" would mean. The IHME experts do not offer any estimates concerning how much money needs to be spent to achieve the best results possible, or precisely who would have to take what kind of action. Without such information, the data are not as "hard" as they appear to be.

The publication includes several brief essays that elaborate some issues in more detail. Moussé Fall, an imam from Senegal, explains why family planning is consistent with the Muslim faith, for example. According to him, "the Prophet of Islam encourages women to space births because they have a duty to breastfeed for two full years". Fall argues that it is okay to use technologies that were unknown in Prophet Muhammad's time, provided they are used in line with Koranic principles.

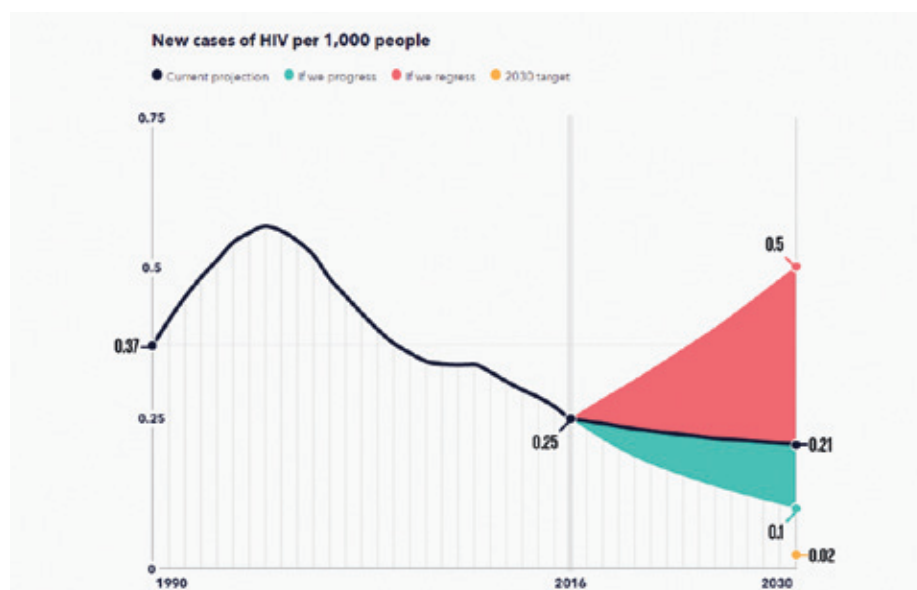
Kesete Admasu, a former health minister of Ethiopia, has contributed an essay on his country's approach to improving maternal and child health. He convincingly points out that awareness raising and community involvement are essential. However, his insistence that all women should give birth in "health facilities" is unconvincingly vague. He probably does not mean full-blown hospitals, but that is not elaborated. In Bangladesh and India, experts warn that, especially in rural areas, there are not enough hospitals to accommodate all women who give birth, so only difficult cases should be referred to hospitals (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/08, p.21, and 2017/09, p.24, and print edition 2017/09-10, p.30 and p.28). Given that Bangladesh's track record on maternal health is impressive and that the country is more prosperous and much more densely populated than Ethiopia, it is hard to see why its rural health infrastructure should be worse than Ethiopia's.

The new Gates Foundation series serves a worthy cause, and its first edition offers some interesting information. In order to contribute substantially to rigorous development debate, however, the next editions must become far more detailed.

LINK

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation: Goalkeepers – The stories behind the data 2017.

<http://www.globalgoals.org/goalkeepers/datareport/>



Worldwide HIV infections.

AID

Indispensable public sector

Global official development assistance (ODA) reached the record level of \$ 140.1 billion in 2016. Nonetheless, the ONE Campaign, which is backed by some of the world's leading philanthropists, argues that the quality of aid is in danger. For example, the ODA share flowing to the least developed countries (LDCs) is declining. Moreover, most donor governments are still not living up to the old pledge of spending 0.7 % of GNP on ODA.

By Hans Dembowski

ONE publishes an annual assessments of global aid. The series is called Data Report. The guiding idea is to hold donor governments accountable. This year's report shows that only six members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Develop-

supporting refugees in their own countries rose in particular to \$15.4 billion (almost 11% of global total ODA). Three of the six OECD members that reached the 0.7% goal only did so because of refugee expenditure. Germany was one of them, and ONE praises its Federal Government for the promise to stay in the 0.7 % range even as domestic refugee costs are set to decline in the future.

As ONE argues, money spent on refugees in OECD countries is spent well, but should not count as ODA. The reason is that it hardly contributes to improving the lives of people in the world's poorest places. To alleviate poverty and contribute to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), ONE wants ODA flows to go to the LDCs. Their share of global ODA, however, has declined from about one third in 2013 to

for Development Conference in Addis Ababa in 2015.

ONE sees "a crisis in domestic resource mobilisation in Africa". African governments' total domestic revenues are reckoned to have dropped by almost 24 % since 2012. The reasons, according to ONE, include low commodity prices, large informal sectors and complex tax as well as illicit financial flows, weak administrative capacities and corruption. The ONE authors demand that African governments shore up their act and spend larger shares of their budgets on the important sectors of health, education and agriculture. At the same time, sovereign debt levels are said to be rising once more.

The report notes that FDI is largely bypassing Africa. In 2016, the continent only attracted less than three percent of global FDI. Compounding the matter, a mere six countries accounted for 75 % of the FDI inflow to Africa's LDCs and fragile states. In ONE's view, ODA can be used to improve the business climate in order to attract investors. The report warns, however, that private finance cannot take the place of public investment. ODA is said to remain "vital as a concessional resource for the most vulnerable countries, which struggle to raise sufficient domestic resources".

ONE calls itself a "campaign and lobbying organisation". The term is correct, but it does not reveal that ONE is largely driven by mega-rich philanthropists. The board members includes billionaires as well as people who are either related to or work for the American billionaires Warren Buffett, Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg, Michael Bloomberg and George Soros. The board also includes Mo Ibrahim and Aliko Dangote, two very successful African entrepreneurs.

The individual most popularly known for his ONE involvement is probably the Irish rock star Bono. In spite of his counter-culture image, ONE actually represents a world view that is shared by some of the world's richest persons. It is important to note that they consider public-sector spending indispensable for making markets work properly.

LINK

ONE Campaign: The 2017 Data Report – Financing for the African century (includes several donor-country profiles).

<https://www.one.org/us/data-report-2017/>



Bill Gates and Bono.

ment (OECD), an association of donor governments, fulfilled the 0.7 % promise last year. Since the combined aid level for all OECD nations is a mere 0.31 %, ONE insists that ODA must more than double.

ONE appreciates that global ODA increased by 7.4 % last year, but emphasises that the sums donor governments spent on

28 % in 2016, whilst stagnating in real terms. According to ONE, "the quality of ODA is under threat".

Apart from ODA, the report also considers developing countries' tax revenues and the foreign direct investments (FDI) they attract. This approach is in line with the decisions made at the global Financing



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The screenshot shows the Facebook profile of 'D+C Development and Cooperation'. The page header includes the name and a search bar. The cover photo is a vibrant image of a building with a blue sign that reads 'EL PARAISO'. The left sidebar contains the profile picture (a logo with 'D+C' and 'Development + Cooperation'), the page name, handle '@developmentand.cooperation', and navigation links for Home, Posts, Photos, About, and Community. The main content area features a post from 17 hours ago with the text '#Colonial #past Will legal action bring about the recognition of genocide? Herero representatives have filed a claim at a New York court against Germany.' Below the text is a photo of a group of men in traditional Herero attire. The right sidebar displays statistics (176,507 likes and followers), a 'Community' section, and a list of pages liked by this page, including 'ONE', 'South African Institut...', and 'Translocal Resilience...'.



FAIR TRADE

A drop in prices is hurting cocoa farmers

The living conditions of cocoa farmers depend on a variety of factors. The world market price of their product plays an important role, but so do their education level, the sustainability of their operations and marketing. Chocolate producers have imposed voluntary commitments on their industry. But they should also adhere to the UN's Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.

By Linda Engel

Small farms in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana together grow about 60 % of the world's cocoa. Most of these family operations only have a few hectares of land. Many smallholders live under the poverty line, and often their children must work on the plantations as well.

The situation has become even worse since the end of 2016, when the world price of cocoa dropped sharply. Edward Akapire from Fairtrade Africa emphasises how important this price is: it determines not only how much farmers invest, but also whether they can send their children to school, for example. According to Akapire, young people are not interested in cocoa farming at the moment.

The industry is under additional pressure because it anticipates a bottleneck in cocoa production in coming years. One problem is that the trees only bear good quality beans for a few years. As a result, farmers have to plant new trees regularly and wait several years for them to bear mature fruit. Therefore, only a portion of their trees are bringing in money at any given time. Investments take a long time to pay off. Many stocks in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire are considered too old.

One way that major chocolate producers have reacted to these issues is by imposing voluntary commitments. These companies are largely unknown to ordi-

nary people buying a bar of chocolate, but they dominate the business of processing the tropical fruit. For example, the world market leader, Barry Callebaut, set a goal to improve the living conditions of half a million farmers and end child labour by 2025. Marina Morari, a representative of Barry Callebaut, says: "We want to see decent livelihoods."

The world market price is important, but it's not the only factor affecting farmers' quality of life, she explained during a podium discussion at the Anuga Food Fair in October in Cologne. The farmers also lack the education and the information

we work together," says Wolf Kropp-Büttner of the German Initiative on Sustainable Cocoa (GISCO). GISCO is a joint initiative by Germany's federal government, the German sweets and confectionary industry, the German retail grocery trade and civil society to improve the livelihood of cocoa farmers and their families as well as to increase the production and market share of sustainably produced cocoa.

Kropp-Büttner is cautiously optimistic about the progress that has been made in recent years. More and more companies are buying certified cocoa that meets recognised standards set by organisations like Rainforest or Fairtrade. According to Kropp-Büttner, such cocoa now makes up almost half of the chocolate supply in Germany. However, critical voices are also calling on chocolate producers like Barry Callebaut to use more fair-trade cocoa. At the moment, manufacturers are only responding to the demands of their corporate customers.

It would be a huge step in the right direction if companies would adhere to the

Cocoa cultivation in Ghana.



to successfully manage their operations. According to Morari, many farmers don't know, for example, how much land they actually have, which prevents them from calculating how much fertiliser they need.

FAIR TRADE IS GROWING

Responsible companies are not only interested in improving working conditions; they also want to prevent environmental damage like deforestation. They work at the national or international level with civil society and state actors. "We can only make progress if

UN's Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, which were adopted in 2011. They specify, for instance, that companies must guarantee that individuals or groups have a way to complain about human-rights violations that businesses commit locally. The responsibility of corporations is especially great in those places where the state is fragile or weak. To date, around 20 countries, including Germany, have developed national action plans based on the principles. By doing so they hope to ensure that national companies also abide by the UN principles when operating internationally.

REFUGEES

Water suitcase

Migration is driven by various issues, increasingly including climate change. At the same time, migrants aggravate water scarcity in host communities. It is important to understand people's vulnerabilities.

By Masha Motlagh

James Kung'u from Kenyatta University in Kenya assesses migration in the context of climate change and conflicts over water resource. His focus is on pastoral communities in northern Kenya. With increasing frequency and severity of droughts, pastoralists are roaming ever farther with their herds in search of pastures and water. As weather patterns change, so do their migratory patterns, causing more conflict and competition. The scenario is similar in other African countries (for a Nigerian example see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/06, p.19, and print edition 2017/07–08, p.26). Kung'u reports that rural people are increasingly giving up their traditional livelihoods to look for new ones in the cities or abroad.

In Africa, according to Chrispin Kowenje of Maseno University in Kenya, three quarters of all livelihoods are nature-based and depend on water, so rainfall is very important. The main challenges that governments face are population growth and climate change, but they lack well-defined policies and proper regulations. Water resources must be managed better, Kowenje argues, and international cooperation can help. The idea is to proactively create and protect livelihood opportunities; otherwise people will be under pressure to leave.

Climate change, water availability and migration are indeed interrelated matters, as Mukand Babel from the Asian Institute of Technology in Thailand told a conference hosted by the ITT (Institute for Technology and Resources Management in the Tropics and Subtropics) of TH Köln, a university of applied sciences, in Cologne in September. Sudden changes of environmental conditions can destroy people's livelihoods, forcing them to migrate. According to Babel, China, India and the Philippines have the



Syrian refugees standing in line to get water in Jordanian camp in June 2016.

highest numbers of human displacements due to extreme weather events, drought, rainfall-pattern changes and desertification.

When people leave an area, water demand is reduced there. However, it increases in the places the people move to. Babel considers refugees' water demand to something like a "suitcase" that they bring along wherever they go. Their need must be assessed diligently, he insists. Jordan, for example, is hosting millions of refugees from Syria, Iraq and Palestine. Both the influx of people and climate change are aggravating water and livelihood problems. Food, water and health security are increasingly at risk, Babel says. At the same time, water scarcity is one of several drivers of conflict in Jordan's strife-torn neighbouring countries.

Arwa Hamaideh from the University of Jordan agrees. Her country is struggling to accommodate masses of people. The main challenge is ensuring that the basic human needs of the refugees are met. Water accessibility is essential, and poor infrastructure is a major obstacle. Low-quality water is being sold from dirty tanks, Hamaideh reports. Moreover, the demand

for groundwater is increasing in border areas, depleting resources. What is needed in the refugee camps is education, wastewater management, sanitation and the promotion of water saving, according to the scholar. The refugee crisis is not a temporary matter, so Jordan needs financial help, Hamaideh demands. Moreover, she calls for capacity building in order for everyone's basic human requirements to be met. She emphasizes that climate change is causing problems that are further exacerbated by the influx of migrants.

Water availability can be reduced by natural disasters as well as armed conflict, as Nina Röttgers of TU Berlin says. Either way, exacerbated water shortages may cause migration and flight. She has studied the impacts of Syria's civil war on the town of Rojava and the impacts of Nepal's earthquake in 2015. Different international responses are appropriate in each case, she says, but action is needed. That many skilled people leave devastated areas makes reconstruction more difficult. According to her, 2,000 natural disasters have taken place since the year 2000, and 100 of them affected more than 50,000 people.

Discussing how to put women down best

Ugandan media often report harshly on women's issues and female sexuality. Sometimes they want to put women down, but sometimes they hope to start debates.

In 2015, one of Uganda's leading television stations fired a female presenter after she fell victim to revenge pornography. The managers even issued a memo to female employees, warning them to avoid taking nude photographs and threatening them with dismissal if any such pictures were published. The rule applies not only when a staff member publishes pictures of herself. It applies even when someone else publishes her photo.

Solomon Muhiirwa, NTV's human-resource manager, was responsible for issuing the memo. "As a media house, we have a standard to uphold," he says. "We want to avoid certain vices that our presenters may indulge in. Otherwise, it becomes a problem for the station." He insists: "We have a brand to protect."



If staff members are not in full control of these matters, NTV is the wrong place for them, he says. "TV personalities should work hard to protect themselves. You can indulge in nude pictures, but if they come out the repercussions will be severe."

One of Uganda's daily newspapers, the Daily Monitor, regularly runs controversial stories regarding women's issues. One story, for instance, quoted a minister who told women not to deny sex to their husbands in order to avoid domestic violence. Another controversial opinion piece featured a male writer telling women to expect their husbands to replace them with the housemaid if they didn't do household chores like cooking.

Eunice Rukundo is the Daily Monitor's features editor. Why does she publish pieces that denigrate women? She says she wants to trigger public debate.

"One of the secondary roles of the media is to encourage dialogue about these issues," Rukundo explains. "Every time we put something controversial out there, I want to encourage dialogue." She believes that the women's movement is progressing, and it is important to make people discuss these matters. "Take the example of the minister telling women to be submissive if they want to prevent domestic violence. Getting people to talk about it educates the ministers. If we keep quiet, these officials will continue saying what they want unchallenged," Rukundo points out.

The newspaper's digital platforms offer a forum for social-media debate. "If we don't report these things, we'd never know what they're saying on the ground and we'd never discuss it." The features editor says that it is becoming unacceptable to put down women in Uganda "because we talk about those issues".



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HUMAN SECURITY

Global silence in view of genocidal action

Over 500,000 Rohingya, mostly children and women, have fled to Bangladesh in recent weeks. Several thousand died en route. Bangladesh is facing a dramatic humanitarian crisis because the Myanmar army began to crack down on the entire community after an armed Rohingya group attacked several police posts and an army base on 25 August 2017.

By Ridwanul Hoque

The Rohingya are a Muslim minority people in the Rakhine state (formerly Arakan) of Myanmar. They face discrimination, and predominantly Buddhist Myanmar does not recognise them as citizens. There is a long history of Rohingya fleeing to Bangladesh and other countries.

The current crisis is worse than the previous ones. Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, the UN high commissioner for human rights, has spoken of a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing". Indiscriminate killings, the burning of villages and fields, rapes and "disappearances" are being reported. The perpetrators belong to the Myanmar army. Soldiers are accused of opening fire on fleeing people, planting landmines and electrifying barbed-wire fences along the border. What is less well known, is that that over 30,000 non-Muslims have been internally displaced, and Hindus have been fleeing from Myanmar to Bangladesh.

Politically, this is the second major crackdown on the Rohingya since Aung San Suu Kyi came to power in 2015. Though the noble laureate has no formal government office, she pulls the strings as head of the ruling party. Her tacit support for the military continuing to violate Rohingya's human rights is deeply irritating.

To a large extent, Bangladesh must cope with this crisis on its own. The government states that all Rohingya refugees must eventually be taken back by Myanmar. The priority, however, is to protect the life and

health of the refugees. Bangladesh is a very small and resource-poor country, but has a huge population of 160 million. It is estimated that at least 500,000 Rohingya were living in Bangladesh even before the current influx began. When this comment was finalised in mid-October the number must have risen to more than 1 million. The current humanitarian crisis is overburdening the country.

Turkey, Indonesia and Malaysia responded promptly. They assured assistance

claims that some Rohingya refugees in India are "terrorists" and wants to deport them. Because of a case being heard by the Supreme Court, it cannot do so, but it certainly does not want to take in more refugees. On the one hand, Modi promised to ship some rice to Bangladesh. On the other hand, he is apparently considering selling arms to Myanmar's military.

China and Russia clearly support the Myanmar government. The USA is not showing any determination to act. In this scenario, much hinges on the diplomatic ability of Bangladesh to negotiate with Myanmar. Dhaka has expressed faith in a peaceful resolution of the problem and even tolerated two breaches of its aerial limits by Myanmar's military helicopters. In an interesting twist, Bangladesh wants to import rice from Myanmar. The UN must take the issue of ethnic cleansing in Myanmar much more seriously



New make-shift camp in Teknaf near Bangladesh's south-eastern border.

for rehabilitating refugees and providing them with shelter in Bangladesh. Germany and Iran also have promised such assistance. However, other nations must do more than merely provide food and money. They should also accept Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh, at least temporarily.

In spite of clear signs of genocide, the global community and the Western media remained quite silent for a long time. The UN Security Council discussed the crisis twice. The first meeting asked Myanmar to end violence and the second ended with no concrete resolution.

The stance of India is dubious. In September, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Myanmar and expressed support for the government. Modi's party is known for its anti-Muslim attitude. His government

than it has done so far. It cannot avoid its responsibility to protect. It seems that there can be no real solution without Myanmar accepting that the Rohingya are indeed its citizens.

Bangladesh is playing its part – but others must put pressure on Myanmar as well. The growing international recognition of the problem seems to have had some impact already. Myanmar authorities have reluctantly expressed a willingness to take back "some" Rohingya. At the same time, however, persecution is continuing in Myanmar.



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MANUFACTURING

Asian lessons for Africa

Western observers tend to worry about labour conditions in Bangladesh's garment factories. Where they see exploitation and misery, however, an African expert sees a promising development path that sub-Saharan countries should follow too.

By Belay Begashaw

Manufacturing is underdeveloped in Africa, so its contribution to gross domestic product is dismally small. The continent's share of the \$12.3 trillion global market for manufactured goods was a mere 1.5% in 2014, according to the London-based magazine *The Economist*. The continent's industry needs to become more competitive to generate employment.

So far, Africa basically exports primary and semi-processed agricultural and mineral commodities. In the countries of origin, only little value is added. Raw materials made up 46.3% of exports from sub-Saharan countries in 2014, but only 10.3% of global exports, according to the World Bank.

At the same time, Africa has become a huge market for finished goods and services from other continents. Its foreign-exchange reserves are being drained because it is im-

porting products that were made from African commodities abroad.

One option is to develop the textile and garment industry. Africa imports about 85% of its new clothes from Asia – including traditional African dresses, by the way. The share is much too high given that African countries produce cotton, have masses of un- and underemployed people and are marked by considerable market demand.

When industrialisation set in anywhere historically, it normally started with textile and garment production. Bangladesh and Vietnam are recent examples. Both countries' economies have been growing fast in recent decades, with manufacturing becoming ever more important. In both countries, moreover, poverty has been reduced considerably. African countries need that kind of success.

There are lessons to be learned. An overarching concern is the lack of infrastructure garment producers (and other manufacturing sectors) need: roads, electric power, water supply, ports, markets, financial services et cetera. These gaps drive up production costs.

Moreover, existing policies do not encourage investing in garment produc-

tion in Africa. Because of smuggling, local markets are flooded with cheap imports that crowd out domestically-made items. As no taxes or duties are paid, government budgets suffer.

African economies must tap into every step along the textile value chain (spinning, weaving, dying, printing et cetera). There is scope for creating jobs for masses of unskilled people. So far, the region's governments have largely failed to adopt policies that might drive this kind of development. They have not built the needed infrastructure, they have not passed the required regulations, and they have not adopted fiscal systems that would serve as incentives.

Labour costs are low in Africa, where textile employees currently earn \$40 to \$160 per month on average. Africa obviously has a competitive advantage in this respect. However, African companies tend to be very small, and only very few employ more than 200 persons. They can expand fast if the business and investment environment improves.

Africa's manufacturing GDP grew by 3.9% in 2014. Expanding public infrastructure would drive industrial development. In turn, rapid growth in the textiles sector would change Africa's economic perspectives fast and drastically.

Africa is an ancient human habitat. It is ecologically diverse and blessed with a great variety of cultures. Its multitude of textile fabrics, prints and dresses – both traditional and modern – impresses consumers throughout the world. With an annual retail value of over \$4 billion, embroidered and intricately patterned African clothes have garnered international attention. This is the launch pad from which development must take off.

African governments have committed to improving their peoples' fate in the UN 2030 Agenda, which includes the Sustainable Development Goals, and in the Africa 2063 Agenda. Textile and garment production is a promising sector in this context. The sector can lift millions, if not hundreds of millions, from poverty.



Growing global attention: African Fashion Week in Toronto in August 2017.



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Investment is key to decent-work agenda

Ndongo Samba Sylla: Why the western model doesn't work, D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/10, p. 24.

In his first paragraph, Ndongo Samba Sylla calls for a change of the development paradigm and raises the reader's expectation towards a paradigm that is feasible, realistic, economic and politically sensible. He observes correctly that Africa's labour force to a large extent is engaged in informal settings and that most agricultural work is done on family farms in rural areas – largely by women. Agricultural jobs in peri-urban or plantation settings, which of course also exist, find no mention. The author then turns to non-agricultural jobs defined as largely informal, also in self-employed arrangements because of lack of tax registration and social protection. While he mentions that productivity in agriculture is low, leading to continued poverty, he does not attempt to provide explanations for low productivity.

This somewhat crude descriptive introduction is followed by the author's analysis of the causes of economic problems. Not unexpectedly, given the author's institutional affiliation, the culprits are the usual suspects: The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. I take issue with this simplification, not least since Africa experienced a period of significant economic growth, which was attributable not only to higher commodity prices,



Farm women in Burkina Faso.

but also to the fact that a destructive trend of ill-managed parastatal industries and services draining many nations was stopped or at least limited.

To give just one example: in the early 1990s, the Tanzanian government analysed its 27 regional rural cooperatives, finding that all of them had negative worth, despite huge (often donor-funded) fleets of vehicles, warehouses filled with crop and substantial outstanding assets from farmers because of "unpaid" input deliveries. For reasons like this, many African economies were in free fall with unsustainable debt burdens, inefficiencies in all sectors and bloated government sectors. While hardly flawless, the structural-adjustment programmes initiated by several governments with the support of the IMF and the World Bank contributed to reducing these problems.

Out of nowhere, the author claims that Africa cannot copy the western development model, without defining the model. The west did not

get wealthy by increasing farm size, as the author implies. Introducing an alternative agenda, Sylla substitutes facts with fiction. His first assertion is that development must build on small family farms, despite the fact that many of these farms are not profitable. His statement that agriculture is the most neglected sector by governments and international development partners can easily be dismissed by checking a few numbers.

His second assertion that economic diversification is critical for most African countries fails to provide a hint on how to reach it – other than the rather vintage recipe of local processing of primary products. He does not mention any of the preconditions for economic diversification, such as investments. And for investments to occur, a business-friendly environment needs to be in place, consistent with IMF and World Bank recommendations. A better investment climate requires the political will to embark on major reforms to boost inter-

African trade, cut red tape and make labour laws more flexible.

The author calls for more solidarity, not competition. The sad fact is that most of Africa is cordoned off from competition. If there was a free market, not only for goods but also for capital and labour, investors would flock to Africa. Sylla's definition of solidarity remains unclear: perhaps more transfers into economically unviable enterprises? His other suggestion, permitting more emigration from Africa, can hardly be an act of solidarity given that most of those who emigrate are disproportionately better-educated, physically fit and mobile – exactly the people who could build a better future for Africa in their own countries, if they were finding opportunities.

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GOVERNANCE

Democracy is better

The People's Republic of China has become the world's most influential country after the USA. Its success is inspiring new confidence among authoritarian leaders and self-doubt in long-established democracies. After the turn of the millennium, western observers tended to argue that modernisation and the forces of globalisation would eventually make China a democracy. Many now consider that argument naïve. Some say it has been proven wrong, and a few probably even think that the rise of Donald Trump in the USA indicates the triumph of authoritarianism.

By Hans Dembowski

Such thinking is misguided. For many reasons, democracy is still preferable. One is that most dictatorships are not benign, and China itself is an example. The country has been under communist rule since 1949, and Mao Zedong was a brutal leader. In his era, the masses stayed utterly poor, and millions died in domestic upheavals such as the “great leap forward” and the “cultural revolution”.

Yes, things changed after Mao's death, but probably not forever, as recent trends under Xi Jinping suggest. Led by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s, the regime started to liberalise certain sectors and even invited foreign investors. The economy took off, growth rates stayed high for decades, and poverty was reduced dramatically. The regime was autocratic, but it appreciated human rights in principle, arguing that it was prioritising economic and social rights over political rights.

Today, however, human rights are not discussed at all anymore. Xi's autocratic grip on power keeps getting tighter. Inequality is growing. Military spending is up, and the government is increasingly prone to sabre-rattling. The comparatively benign years of communist rule seem to be over.

The truth is that, for several reasons, strongman rule will do little to improve China's socio-economic fortunes. Having masses of people controlled by the secret



Oligarchic arrogance is something Donald Trump and Xi Jinping have in common.

police is expensive, but does not contribute to a nation's prosperity. Moreover, oppression discourages every entrepreneur or innovator who does not have a direct mandate from the government. Yet another issue is that, where public debate is hushed up, policymakers only become aware of social or environmental problems very late – if they don't prefer to suppress bad news entirely. On top of all this, corruption thrives in the lack of checks and balances, no matter how noisily the top leaders may claim to be fighting it.

For these and related reasons, despotic rule is actually quite inefficient. However, it does serve one purpose well, and that is enforcing an oligarchic order. Such cartels of power do not develop their nations. They exploit them, and whomever else they can

exploit. Their military prowess serves to intimidate their people and project a sense of global power at the same time. In this sense, China unfortunately seems to be becoming ever more like Russia.

Germany has experienced two totalitarian dictatorships in the 20th century. The lesson of the Nazis was that extreme abuses of power lead to extreme disaster. Later, communist East Germany proved unable of competing with West Germany in any field, apart from doping-fuelled sports. And if there are any lessons from Donald Trump's oligarchic arrogance and America First rhetoric yet, it is certain that his nation's global influence has not benefited – and that free media and public protests actually make it harder to implement destructive ideas.

Great disenchantment



Flooding in Houston: will decentralised action suffice where national governments deny climate change?

A profound sense of disillusion has settled in among climate experts. Global governance doesn't work, so implementing global public policies remains a pipe dream. According to the Paris agreement, every country will draft and implement its own national climate policy. From a scientific perspective, this approach is insufficient. Rising to the climate challenge, however, cannot be put on hold until the dream of global-public policymaking finally comes true.

By Hans-Jochen Luhmann

There are three possible reactions to this sobering insight. This essay will discuss each one with reference to a recently published book.

- Some dismiss the idea of "high-level politics" and are looking for ways to solve the climate problem without multilaterally coordinated action – and even without national governments assuming a leading role. The book by Michael Bloomberg and Carl Pope (2017) takes this approach. An encouraging thought in this context is that the fossil-fuel based industrial society,

which we must move on from, was not created according to some master plan.

- Some authors try to understand the mental stubbornness that stops people from taking the appropriate collective action in response to the overwhelmingly obvious warning signals. The scope of such analyses extends far beyond climate policy, and the thinking is generally based on an assumption that has become commonplace: industrial society in its current form needs a major transformation. Bruno Latour's excellent and sharp-witted book (2017) belongs to this school of thought.

- Historical experience tells us that in order to achieve great things, it is sometimes best to set one's sights low. Paradigm changes – at least in the arts and sciences – were most often brought about by people focusing on things that were apparently mere details. Focusing on details is certainly hard once it is clearly understood that a radical shift is required, but practitioners of sober climate science are capable of such focusing. The third book (Pam Berry et al., 2017) is based on a collaboration between about 150 leading scientists and simply asks: What will happen if hu-

manity stays on its current course? The book offers a preview of the apocalypse, though only as it would affect Europe.

BLOOMBERG AND POPE

The authors of the first book are two prominent persons from extremely different backgrounds: Carl Pope is an environmentalist and former top leader of the Sierra Club. Michael Bloomberg is a media magnate and former mayor of New York City. Most of the book was written when it became conceivable that Donald Trump might be elected US president, and some parts were composed after his inauguration. The book's perspective is first and foremost American. Its message is pretty much that, even with a climate-change denier in the Oval Office, climate goals can be achieved from below, through a deep commitment to democracy.

The book starts with two introductory sections on climate change and the current state of knowledge. The following five sections address issues ranging from energy to adaptation. Both authors contributed individual sub-sections to

every issue. In the section on energy, for instance, Bloomberg discusses “coal’s toll” while Pope assesses “green power”. Strictly speaking, the book is thus not a joint work. The conclusion, however, is a joint effort by the two co-authors.

Can climate change be tackled regardless of whether there is leadership from the top in the US or even globally? The idea may seem far-fetched. The authors correctly point out that their optimism of the world being able to opt for the “cool” path rests on things that rarely attract much public attention. They state: “Each part of the problem of climate change has a solution that can make our society healthier and stronger.” Accordingly they want decentralised political action and market decisions to bring about change along with social side-benefits.

No doubt, the USA in particular needs such change. But the authors fail to point out why such change has not occurred earlier and why it should all of a sudden happen now.

LATOUR

The second book is by Bruno Latour, the French sociologist and philosopher of science. It is of an entirely different quality. Latour discusses the global community’s ongoing environmental crisis before the backdrop of the history of philosophy. He considers the European Enlightenment and discusses the tensions between science, religion and political power.

Latour fearlessly examines the basis of any possible hope and deconstructs whatever he considers illusory. His starting point is: “... facing the ecological mutation, instead of getting all excited, as our ancestors did facing the discovery of new lands, we remain frozen, indifferent, disillusioned, as if, at bottom, nothing could happen to us. This is what we have to understand.”

According to Latour, the state of the earth should normally have mobilised years ago, “just as any question of identity, security or property would surely have done”. Therefore he believes that we must explain why “ecological questions [do] not seem of direct concern to our identity, our security and our property”.

Latour answered these questions in his “Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion” at the University of Edinburgh in February 2013. The puzzle’s solution, according to him, is to be found in religious and quasi-religious convictions that shape our collective identities, even if we are not entirely aware of them. US citizens, for example, feel that they are beyond history, an attitude that the prominent political scientist Francis Fukuyama clearly captured in his book, “The end of history” (though arguing from a different perspective). Those who feel they have reached the end of history can hardly be shaken by threats of historic proportions. Even a modern-day Job like Al Gore, the climate activist and former vice president, struggles to make himself heard.

BERRY ET AL.

The booklet by Berry et al. (2017) arose from three separate major projects funded by the EU. In this case, it was inadequate, as European funding institutions seem to have recognised, to present research results in the usual format of 20-page papers written in technical jargon that only experts understand. What is needed instead are more or less integrated publications that satisfy the general public’s desire to be informed about the relevant results of publicly funded research. For this purpose, compilations of individual 20-page papers simply will not do.

Integrated publications must be interdisciplinary and written by several people. So far, only few have been produced. One reason is that busy scientists typically would have to write them in their free time. This pioneering booklet is a valuable first effort made by the EU Directorate-General for Research to change matters.

The authors address the topics of agriculture, freshwater, coastal protection, forestry, nature conservation, human health, urban areas and climate impacts in an increasingly globalised world. It is striking how “nature-oriented” most of these topics are. Only the chapters on coastal protection and urban areas touch on human-built infrastructure.

The choice of topics was ultimately driven by the desire to have an impact on the respective areas of policymaking. However, the more important areas would have

been those in which policymakers modify the environment long term with new infrastructure and other buildings. Such interventions certainly require a long-term vision.

The chapter on “Climate impacts in an increasingly globalised world” is truly innovative. So far climate science (like other fields) has been dominated by territorial thinking. Scientists model the global trend, zoom in on a region they are interested in and then typically announce their findings as “the” expected consequences of climate change.

This approach is obviously flawed, however. In an economically interrelated world, for instance, Europe may well have to cope with strong impacts of extreme events in other world regions. Such impacts may even matter more than what happens in Europe itself. Science must finally recognise the inadequacy of the old model, so the nations of any given world region will be enabled to recognise the real climate risks they face, instead of being led astray by research with a too narrow focus.

This booklet is a pioneering first attempt at producing an integrated publication on “high-end scenarios”. It has shortcomings that are typical of fledgling attempts. The DG Research should follow up as soon as possible with a volume of essays that reflect sectors according to their policy relevance.



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JOBS

Benin's employment blues

In Benin, masses of people would like to have a job in the civil service. Though the government does not pay well, at least it pays regularly. Most Beninese people must cope with the constant insecurity of informal employment.

By Karim Okanla

Shortly after taking office in April 2016, Patrice Talon, Benin's newly-elected President, issued several decrees annulling recent recruitments to the civil service. The reason was that some of the persons concerned had obviously bribed their way into a government job. Local media reported that they had paid corrupt officers large sums of money.

Newspapers also alleged that some recruits had submitted applications with fake degrees, while others had not even pretended to have the qualifications for a position in the civil service.

Talon's decision to revoke the appointments was contested, nonetheless. Many people took to the streets and staged several sit-ins on the premises of the Ministry of Public Service and Labour. They blamed the new government of being unfair. They insisted that the cases were closed and that the new head of state had no right to reopen them.

RULES OFTEN BYPASSED

Benin actually has clear rules concerning who may apply for a civil-service job. They must be citizens of Benin, enjoy full civic and political rights, be morally upright, understand the job and have the skills to perform well. Certificates of formal education are required. Applicants who have acquired relevant experience during internships should get preference. However, these rules are often bypassed.

Holding a government job is a rare privilege in Benin, a country of 10 million people with fewer than 100,000 civil servants. Working for government guarantees a salary at the end of the month and some bonuses, including a limited health insur-

ance. Moreover, civil servants normally get a pension after retirement.

People are quite keen on public-sector jobs, even though most civil servants earn only modest salaries. Unlike most Beninese people, however, they have a reliable source of income. It helps them to meet the needs of their families.

According to statistics of the International Labour Organization (ILO), about 75% of Benin's people are economically active. Agriculture contributes up to 75% of Benin's gross domestic product and employs not quite half of the country's work force. Cotton accounts for 85% of exports. About 10% work in the industrial sector, and 44% provide services. Formal employment is very rare, however.

Benin is haunted by unemployment and underemployment. Therefore, the new government pledged to create 500,000 jobs from 2016 to 2021. Critics wonder how it plans to live up to this promise in view of its tight budget.

The government has announced it will hire more than 10,000 workers itself. Whether they will get new positions or replace retirees remains unclear. Another government initiative was to establish the new National Agency for Employment. Its mission is to help jobless youths to either find salaried work or set up their own businesses. To date, it seems that salaried work remains the exception.

According to the law, formal employment means lifetime employment in Benin. It goes along with various benefits and privileges, including social protection. Business owners tend to shy away from these long-term constraints.

The current economic outlook is not good, moreover. The Free Port of Cotonou, which used to be the heart of the national economy, is no longer hustling and bustling with activity as it used to five or 10 years ago. The reason is that Nigeria, Benin's giant neighbour, has stopped using Benin as a transit corridor and is now relying on its own port facilities for most international transactions. As a consequence,

maritime traffic in Benin has considerably slowed, seriously affecting the collection and amount of taxes, including import and export duties.

SKILLS IN SHORT SUPPLY

Most job seekers in Benin are still in their 20s or 30s. Some hold university degrees or diplomas from vocational schools. The vast majority, however, has very little formal training or no education at all. Skills are in short supply.

For all these reasons, informal employment is predominant in Benin. Those people who are not self-employed normally work for a self-employed relative or do menial jobs to earn daily wages. Most people's work is largely unregulated and goes along with fundamental insecurity.

Most income generation takes place in the informal sector. Businesses are small and typically provide some kind of service, selling household appliances, second-hand garments or communication gadgets, for example. The economy is cash-based. Bank loans and other financial services are hard to get.

One of the main drawbacks of the informal sector is that it operates without a proper legal framework. The owners do not always have street addresses. They do not pay taxes, and their businesses do not provide any kind of social net for employees. The goods and services are cheap, but the quality is not guaranteed. Written contracts are rare. The informal economy allows people to survive, but it keeps them – and the country – poor.

Even the civil service sometimes procures what it needs from the informal sector. There have been many instances of informal businesses providing computers, printers and photocopiers to government offices.

At times, it looks like the government is maintaining a love-hate relationship with the informal sector. The authorities know that it would make sense to tax these businesses. Doing so would replenish pub-

lic coffers fast. The problem is that there is no magic trick that would get informal businesses to toe the line.

Previous governments wanted to formalise the informal sector gradually. Issuing licences was a first step. The Talon administration is taking a more radical approach. It has declared that many informal businesses are occupying public space and begun to

evict them. Unsurprisingly, this policy has fuelled even more heated debate than the revocation of fraudulent public-sector employment. Critics argue that the government is choking the informal sector, which provides jobs and daily wages to hundreds of thousands of people. Improving Benin's employment situation is very difficult – as previous governments found out too.



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No taxes paid: Beninese shoe shop.



GERMAN ODA

No progress without India

India's size, its sustained population growth and its dynamic economy can present extreme challenges. Without the subcontinent, global objectives cannot be achieved. This makes India a strategic partner and one of the most important countries in the world from a development-policy perspective. Germany takes account of that.

By Wolfram Klein

In the next few years, India is set to overtake China as the world's most populous country. Its gross domestic product – at purchase power parity – is the third-largest in the world and growing fast. That can present major challenges. The country is already the world's third-biggest greenhouse-gas emitter and likely to register by far the sharpest increases in emissions over the next two decades. At the same time, India has the largest number of people living in poverty: 400 million – as many as in all the countries of sub-Saharan Africa together.

India is also on the brink of what is probably the most massive urbanisation process in human history. Over the next 15 years, the country's urban population will grow from 370 million to more than 510 million. By 2050, the figure will rise by a further 250 million. Around 65 million Indians currently live in appalling conditions in urban slums. At the same time, pollution levels are high and getting worse: no less than ten Indian cities are on the WHO's list of the world's top 20 cities with the worst air pollution.

The figures show there is no way that global challenges such as those addressed by the 2030 Agenda, the World Climate Conference or Habitat III can be resolved without India. India is still very much a developing country, well behind the likes of Brazil or South Africa. This makes development cooperation (DC) with India not just important but essential.

The fact that India is also a nuclear power, a software giant and the world's second-largest market for smartphones – as

well as having the ability to send satellites into orbit around Mars – by no means undermines the argument for DC. It is merely evident that India needs to take charge of its development and also accept international responsibility.

And that is happening. International development funds today account for just 0.1% of India's gross domestic product. Even more than in most other developing countries, development aid in India has mostly a qualitative impact. It does not take over whole task areas; it provides stimuli and expertise.

In the highly complex political, social and cultural environment of the Indian subcontinent, those stimuli are not "self-sellers". For one thing, they need to be requested: India is a self-assured country and basically wants help only to support its own development priorities and major national reform programmes. The govern-

ment specifically approaches partners that it considers the most competent. The German government qualifies as such in areas like energy transition, sustainable production, environmentally sound transportation and vocational training.

On the other hand, the stimuli need to be visible – both politically and in terms of outcomes. Small-scale ventures and pilot projects are generally not enough. Size matters. Several years ago, the Indian government severed ties with a number of donors and now states quite openly that it wants a minimum turnover of a billion dollars a year from each of the remaining development partners.

Germany can meet that requirement because a massive volume of market funds is leveraged in Financial Cooperation by a comparatively small volume of budget funds. As a result, pledges for India have exceeded a billion euros a year since 2013.



A green and clean Delhi was the declared aim five years ago when this photograph was taken. Air quality has significantly deteriorated since then.

Photo: Kalane/picture-alliance/ZB

In no other country in the world Germany mobilises nearly as much money for development. In India, it is the second-largest bilateral donor after Japan.

Political visibility is achieved by special formats – in the case of Germany and India notably by the biennial consultations at heads of government level and by the Indo-German Energy Forum that meets each year. The two main “beacons” of German DC in and with India relate to renewable energy/climate action and sustainable urban development (see box below).

Focus and priorities are needed if German DC is to make a visible difference.

But flexibility is also required, as well as the ability to respond swiftly to opportunities as they arise. German aid was involved, for instance, in the creation of the hospital insurance scheme RSBY (Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana). Within a few years of its launch, 140 million people in low-income Indian families had access to insurance.

But there are also major areas in which official DC is not active in India. Discrimination against women, the marginalisation of large social groups such as indigenous communities or casteless people, labour and social rights – including child labour – and issues of governance are

matters that will have a crucial bearing on India’s future development. At the same time, however, they are highly sensitive issues from a political and social perspective and are thus barely actively addressed by the government. Civil-society involvement is important here. India has innumerable NGOs, many of them very proficient, so good partner structures are in place. The number and financial volume of projects supported by German and international NGOs are probably greater in India than in any other country in the world. The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) co-finance NGO

Lighthouse projects

The two most important issues addressed by German development cooperation (DC) in and with India:

CLIMATE ACTION

At the Paris Climate Change Conference in 2015, India agreed to become more climate-friendly by 2030 although it did not set itself any absolute emission targets. The country aims to reduce the carbon intensity of its economy by up to 35%. This is not much more than the anticipated reduction resulting from the past two decades of technological progress. And yet it marks a new shift: for the first time, India has made an international commitment to work to mitigate the effects of climate change.

At least some of the national targets are ambitious. The share of power generated from

non-fossil fuel sources will be increased to 40% by 2030 – from around 14% at present. Renewable energy output will rise to 175 gigawatts (GW) by 2022 (currently around 30 GW), the lion’s share generated from solar power (8 GW today, 100 GW in 2022).

Germany is supporting that process. In the past three years, €1.4 billion (including market funds) have been provided to create Green Energy Corridors (GECs) for feeding electricity from renewable sources into the Indian grid. Furthermore, October 2015 saw the launch of the Indo-German Solar Energy Partnership. Its aim is to promote rooftop solar installations, solar-based decentralised rural electrification and solar parks. €550 million was pledged in 2015 and 2016, and the implementation phase has started. Compared to a conventional expansion sce-

nario, the Indo-German solar partnership will save around 30 million tonnes of carbon dioxide over a period of 25 years.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

This focal area is largely geared to the Smart Cities, Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) and Ganges clean-up initiatives established by Narendra Modi’s government in 2015. India’s central government is spending around \$33 billion on the projects. This is not much, however, considering the massive urban investment required – estimated at \$1.2 trillion in 2010 by the consultancy McKinsey – and the limited financial resources of Indian cities.

Urban development advice, sanitation and climate-friendly urban mobility are core areas of German involvement. In 2016, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the Federal Environment Ministry

(BMUB) established a German partnership with three medium-sized cities selected for the Indian government’s Smart Cities programme: Kochi, Coimbatore and Bhubaneswar. The aim is to bundle activities in DC, business, science and research and to harness German experience. The total funding volume already exceeds €700 million and will be increased.

In Kochi, for example, the focus is on integrated solutions for public transport, including waterways (ferries). €85 million has so far been made available for the project. India wants and needs innovative solutions for instance for smart decentralised wastewater infrastructures or the introduction of e-mobility in urban areas. DC should be particularly creative here and develop solutions that are also relevant for Germany in the future. For instance, German DC could help make solar-powered motorcycle rickshaws available for passengers at Indian underground stations. (wk)

projects and does so on a greater scale in India than anywhere else. Two examples of NGO activities that receive support funding from the BMZ:

- Terre des Hommes works with its Indian partner to improve the lives of women and girls in the textile industry in the south of India. The project encompasses medical and psychological care, training/retraining and awareness-raising. Here, Terre des Hommes is delivering services that have so far proved virtually impossible for official DC to provide. Whether that situation will change remains to be seen. The ground is currently being prepared for a political dialogue on common goals and activities between stakeholders in Tamil Nadu (government, employers, workers, NGOs) and actors in the German Textile Alliance.
- The Salesians of Don Bosco are the largest private provider of vocational training in India. They run 123 vocational schools there and currently cater for a total

of 55,000 young people through the “Don Bosco Tech India” network. The Salesians are known and respected throughout the country, especially for their close cooperation with skill-training institutions. The organisation is a major interface for the reform of Indian vocational training, which Germany currently supports at the invitation of the Indian government. The aim is to create dual training opportunities for a growing number of the 15 million youngsters a year entering the labour market and provide them with the skill sets that are sought by employers. The two complement one another very well: policy advice at government DC level, on the one hand, development and improvement of vocational training centres at non-government DC level, on the other.

Unfortunately, the Indian government imposes more and more controls on NGOs, especially those working for civil and political rights. Some activities – such

as direct cooperation between (international) NGOs and trade unions – are explicitly prohibited, others are sometimes seriously impeded by bureaucratic hurdles.

And yet a great deal remains possible and perfectible even in this area of DC in India. It could be expedient to modify or supplement German instruments for supporting NGOs, for instance for a sharper thematic or regional focus. A great deal could be achieved, for example, if the BMZ made additional funds available for NGOs seeking to work in areas such as women's rights or the promotion of solar power for poor households and communities in India or South Asia as a whole.



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CLIMATE-SMART AGRICULTURE

A complex undertaking

Climate change and its impacts are a major challenge to agriculture worldwide. Climate-smart agriculture (CSA) was developed in response. CSA is now being promoted as a cultivation method among particularly vulnerable smallholder farmers in western Kenya. A team from the Centre for Rural Development (SLE Berlin) has researched what conditions must be in place for implementation to be successful.

By Michaela Schaller

In Kenya, more than 60% of the people work in the agricultural sector, the majority as smallholders. Global warming is already causing extreme weather events – like heat waves, droughts and floods – more frequent and more intense. As a result, growing seasons and agro-ecological zones are shifting more and more. In Siaya and Kakamega, the counties under investigation in Kenya's western highlands, the proximity of Lake Victoria is further exacerbating the effects of climate change. Farmers in both counties produce maize, sorghum, millet, meat, dairy products and tea through rain-fed agriculture. Productivity in both counties lies way below its potential.

Making matters worse, the soils are overexploited due to inadequate management and continuous use without sufficient nutrient replenishment. Soil degradation is reducing the counties' already low agricultural productivity and threatening food security.

The situation presents a major challenge for Kenyan authorities, who are still struggling with devolution. In recent years, jurisdictions have been transferred from the national to the county authorities. However, several county authorities are not yet fully operational, and that reduces the scope for supporting sustainable development programmes.

Small farmers cannot take on soil protection and climate-change adaptation on their own. Moreover, Kenya's agricultural extension service lacks the necessary

In the highlands of Western Kenya, the impact of climate change is exacerbated by the proximity of Lake Victoria: maize cultivation in Kenya.



equipment and trained staff to develop appropriate strategies.

CSA IMPLEMENTATION IN WESTERN KENYA

The SLE study was commissioned by the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) and was carried out in cooperation with GIZ Western Kenya and the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) in Nairobi. The team focused on three priority research areas for the implementation of climate-smart agriculture (see box, p. 22):

- policies and frameworks;
- the farm-level perspective; and
- forging links between research and practical application with help from the extension service.

The study clearly showed that county governments will have to act as catalysts in order to create the necessary environment for large-scale CSA implementation. Climate-smart agriculture must be integrated into key planning processes so it can receive financial support. Another goal is "smart development", which makes use of synergies between different authorities. Issues such as food security, health and environmental protection must be considered in context.

The study also recommends to define the term "climate-smart agriculture" in a coherent way for Kenyan usage. The international definition of CSA allows for a wide spectrum of technical alternatives. Kenya should therefore arrive at a consensus on what it will call "climate smart". A national forum could be convened in order to allow farmers, researchers, agricultural advisory services and administrators to develop a shared concept. Emphasis should be placed on cost-effective and flexible solutions that would allow fast responses to changing environmental conditions.

The notion of mitigation is particularly interesting. If it is disregarded, climate-smart agriculture looks very much like conventional climate adaptation in practice. On the other hand, payments could encourage carbon sequestration. Schemes that provide payments for ecosystem services (PES) can be useful. Another relevant ecosystem service is enriching the soil with organic matter or planting trees.

THE CHALLENGE OF IMPLEMENTATION

The challenge of implementation is tremendous, though. Kenya's agricultural extension service has many shortcomings,

so management has to improve, and more and better-trained employees need to be hired. The new staff must get appropriate pay, training and further vocational education. Improving the extension system is the task of the Ministry of Agriculture. It needs to create a stimulating environment and ensure that its teaching and training modules are up-to-date. A central platform should help to guarantee that uniform, standardised and up-to-date educational materials are used.

At the same time, a participatory approach is needed that involves farmers, the extension service and research institutions. The idea is to ensure that farmers and advisers have opportunities beyond only expressing opinions on cultivation methods. They must be empowered to contribute significantly to development.

Once the extension service is better equipped to reach and advise farmers, the latter will be in a better position to make good decisions on climate-smart agricul-

ture. Doing so will require a thorough and appropriate transfer of information to guide farmers through the entire process. At the same time, model farms, farmer-to-farmer exchanges and other measures should ensure the information is spread.

STRUCTURAL BARRIERS

However, there are also barriers that are structural in nature. They include unfavourable market conditions, political and institutional barriers, a lack of infrastructure — including information and communications technology — and poor service quality. Comprehensive policies and impact monitoring are indispensable for a successful large-scale implementation of CSA.

Moreover, farmers have no guarantee that their farms will be sufficiently resilient against future climate changes even if they take climate-smart approaches. Additional safety nets are needed, including

subsidised meteorological services, insurance against crop failure as well as income loss and measures to support farmers until they see a return on their investment.

In sum, implementing climate-smart agriculture is a complex undertaking. The advantage is that this holistic approach can build resilience among large segments of the population and improve the standard of living in rural areas.



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LINK

Overseas projects of the Centre for Rural Development:

<https://www.sle-berlin.de/index.php/ap-2016>

Climate-smart agriculture

The FAO developed the concept of climate-smart agriculture (CSA) in 2010 with the goal of:

- increasing farmers' productivity and income over the long term;
- supporting climate change adaptation and building climate resilience from the farm to the national level and
- contributing to climate change mitigation by reducing greenhouse gas emissions or increasing carbon sequestration in agriculture.

CSA means much more than simply applying individual climate-smart agricultural techniques at the farm level. It

is a holistic approach that includes many locally adapted, complementary practices that lead to synergies that serve CSA goals. Consistent implementation requires action at both the farm and the landscape level. The goal is to achieve resilience and climate protection on a large scale.

In a study based on an extensive review of the relevant literature as well as field research, the SLE team was able to infer important criteria for the successful implementation of climate-smart agriculture (see main article). Progress towards CSA depends on political

will, which should be reflected in corresponding national measures, priorities and coordination between the various hierarchies.

Kenya is in a strong position to act. The East African country has signed a multitude of international treaties on climate change and agriculture as well as all relevant agreements on climate protection and adaptation, such as the Africa CSA Alliance. Climate change and its challenges – particularly for agriculture – are high on the national agenda. The national CSA framework programme is the core document that informs every step towards implementing CSA and is implemented by a CSA task force.

The focus is on increased productivity. Resilience building comes second and mitigation third. The CSA framework programme emphasises the need for better coordination between the relevant actors, which is particularly necessary following devolution, the process that transferred legislative and executive powers to the counties in 2010. Information, decision-making and implementation channels must therefore be reestablished at the county level. (ms)

LINK

Climate-smart agriculture sourcebook by the FAO:
<http://www.fao.org/docrep/018/i3325e/i3325e.pdf>

In Mexico, rites of the ancient Aztec culture have blended with Catholic practice introduced by Spanish colonisers: participant of a parade on the Day of the Dead, a syncretic religious holiday, in Mexico City.

Colonial legacy

In many former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the mechanisms of repression introduced under foreign rule continue unabated. They include abuse of office and power, corruption, human-rights violations and authoritarian rule. Social inequality and racism, arbitrarily drawn geographic and language borders, undemocratic structures and economic dependencies are part of the legacy of colonialism and the enslavement of millions of people too. Europe is expected to respond appropriately to the atrocities committed.

Difficult legacy

The division of the African continent by European colonial powers had long-lasting consequences. They are manifested in today's social, political and legal systems, in economic dependencies and linguistic divisions. However, Africans themselves have to come up with solutions to overcome the hurdles left by colonial rule.

By Jonathan Bashi

In 1884, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck of Germany convened the Berlin Conference to coordinate the rush for territory in Africa by European nations. The idea was to organise the division of the continent among the main conquering powers. The key decisions made at that conference had long-lasting impacts on the political, social and economic trajectories of most African nations.

The fact that a territory was entrusted to one or another colonial power determined the model of governance and the legal system that were adopted. It also defined societies' frameworks in economic and cultural life. The differences between the models made African unification very difficult, if not impossible.

Location names such as Victoria Falls or Lake Albert, clothing habits such as judges' wigs in former British colonies or currency denomination (CFA Franc, Congolese Franc et cetera) are just a few examples of the strong influence that colonialism still has today. This influence and its consequences manifest themselves in various ways, affecting politics, the law, culture and the economy of different African nations.

TRADITIONAL DISTINCTIONS IGNORED

Politically, the borders that were agreed at the Berlin Conference re-configured the continent for geopolitical purposes. The borders were imposed upon Africa without taking into account the history and dynamics between the peoples concerned. Ethno-linguistic groups who shared a common cultural and historical background were split. The Kongo people, for instance, came under the rule of three different colonial powers:



In the case of Cameroon, the split between the Francophone majority and the Anglophone minority makes a shared understanding of “national unity” difficult: opponents of President Paul Biya’s repressive action during his visit for the UN General Assembly in New York in September.

Belgium in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, France in the Republic of the Congo and Portugal in Angola. The distinct legal and social systems of the European powers often did not correspond to the needs, habits and customs of the administered people.

The ongoing tensions in Cameroon are an example of that legacy (see my comment in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/04, p.13). The groups in the northwest and the south-east of the country are culturally similar, but were split during the colonial period into Anglophones (under British rule) and Francophones (under French rule). This division is proving to be a source of serious conflict today.

On the other hand, tribes which formerly constituted very distinct ethnic and political groups, such as the Hausa-Fulani, the Ibos and the Yoruba in Nigeria, were forced to cohabitate under the same colonial administration (the British empire). Moreover, the modes of government used by different colonial powers exacerbated divisions among African nations.

Belgium, France and to some extent Germany imposed direct rule. Their system of government was highly centralised. African political institutions and legal frameworks were completely replaced by colonial structures. The aim was to “assimilate” or “civilise” the societies concerned. This mode of government took away the authority from local leaders and placed it solely in the hands of the colonial powers, with colonial administrators running the key institutions.

This system was facilitated by the legal system based on the Civil Law system, in which the law is defined in a code that provides a set of rules and principles to be applied and respected by the administered peoples. The history of direct rule can, to a certain extent, explain governance issues that continue to plague most of the former Belgian and French colonies today. The authorities that took over from the colonial powers lacked experience and had little time to prepare for office. All too often, they stuck to the colonial model of wielding power.

Indirect rule, on the other hand, was a more cooperative mode of government, in which local African leaders were integrated into the colonial administration. The idea was to smoothen the imposition of foreign rule and ensuring its acceptance. This system, which was mostly used in British colo-

nies, allowed some parts of the pre-existing political institutions and frameworks to remain. However, colonial administrators occupied the key roles, served the highest government posts and had the last say.

The corresponding legal systems were based on statutes emanating from English Common Law, but it accommodated different aspects of local traditions and cultures. The use of indirect rule facilitated a somewhat more effective and balanced governance in the former British colonies after independence. The reasons were the stronger involvement of indigenous people in public affairs and the impact their local traditions and cultures had had on the respective colony's political and legal system.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The colonial powers tended to adopt “divide and rule” policies, however. They accentuated the ethnic tensions the arbitrarily drawn borders had caused. They played off administrated groups against one another and certainly did not want them to develop a shared identity. Accordingly, pre-existing political institutions were weakened, allowing the colonisers to impose their rule more easily. A long-term consequence of this strategy is that nation-building efforts proved very difficult in countries such as the DR Congo (a former Belgian colony), Kenya and Nigeria (former British colonies) or Cameroon and Chad. All too often, ethnicity still takes precedence over common national identity.

In addition to the political and legal systems, education was key to redesigning the African societies during colonialism. Traditional African educational methods were replaced by systems that more or less copied the models used in Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Italy and Britain and used the colonial powers' languages (see box, p. 26).

However, the colonial administrations did little to promote basic education for the vast majority of the people. The result was a social division: a small class of local elites – mainly in urban areas – got a European style education. They were taught European history, laws and values. They were pitted against the vast majority of their compatriots, who lived mainly in rural areas and hardly had access to the colonial administrations.

The consequences of this split are still evident today, especially in view of increas-

ing inequality. Social disparities are growing. African countries today have small but immensely rich elites and masses of people languishing in extreme poverty.

Even today, African countries have ties to the former colonial powers that tend to be stronger than the ties to neighbouring countries. The Commonwealth, the Afro-French relationship, the Congo-Belgium partnership still matter very much. After independence, most African countries retained the economic ties that were established by the European powers. They are still commodity-exporting economies, that import manufactured products, mainly from Europe and increasingly from Asia. The lack of diversification and specialisation makes them vulnerable to volatile commodity prices and dependent on aid, including the partnership agreements with the former colonial powers.

For three main reasons, the political, cultural and economic systems and alliances established through colonialism impede efforts towards regional integration in Africa today:

- the emphasis on ethnicity and the strong ties that bind national elites to the former colonial powers make national cohesion difficult and continental unity close to impossible;
- the commodity-exporting economies have little scope for trading among one another; and
- weak and vulnerable statehood make countries aid-dependent.

The picture of post-colonial Africa is gloomy. Africans themselves must rise to the challenges and come up with solutions to overcome the hurdles left by colonial rule. They must reform their current political, legal and economic systems by building and developing institutions, laws and values that fit their particular circumstances. Rather than relying to a great extent on technical and financial assistance from former colonial powers and international financial institutions, African states should focus more on effective nation-building as well as regional cooperation and common efforts towards economic transformation and self-reliance.



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European languages are dominant in Africa

Non-verbal signals aside, language is the most important means of human communication. The language we speak unites us with people who also speak it and divides us from others. Language communicates values, traditions and perceptions – of space and time for instance – and shapes the way we think. It is an expression of education and a vital prerequisite for social participation.

So, when colonial administrations imposed their European – and thus very alien – languages on colonised peoples, they had a profound effect on those peoples' identity. English, French and Portuguese became official languages and languages of education. And they still retain that status today. Even decades after independence, the elite in many countries in Africa speak the language of the former colonial power. And in nearly every country, that language is an official language – in many cases the only one – and language of instruction.

In Cameroon, which was partly a British and partly a French colony, English and French are official languages. In former Belgian Rwanda, English, French and Kinyarwanda enjoy equal official status. European languages also rank alongside local ones in Botswana (English and Setswana), Malawi (English and Chichewa) and Burundi (French and Kirundi). Ethiopia (Amharic), which was never a colony, Somalia (Somali and Arabic) and Tanzania (Swahili and English, but the latter only in communication with for-



Bible in Bari, a language spoken in South Sudan and Uganda.

eigners) are exceptions without a dominant European language. South Africa has 11 official languages, with English the main common language.

The imposition of foreign languages by conquerors had both a divisive and a unifying effect that still persists today. Linguistic boundaries were arbitrarily drawn by colonial powers, driving wedges between what had been largely homogeneous groups. In Cameroon, for instance, conflicts flare up today between Francophone and Anglophone communities (see main article, p. 24). Also, because access to the colonial language – and thus education – was exclusively or predominantly confined to the urban population, marginalisation occurred.

In many countries today, it is still the case that rural communities speak only local African languages and urban

elites communicate in a world language, which opens doors to education in North America or Europe and affords access to international contacts and better employment prospects. Sometimes, those elites no longer speak local languages well.

Where children in schools are not taught in their native language, there are drawbacks. The children themselves face the additional hurdle of having to learn the language of instruction. And local languages, which are often transmitted only orally, face a less certain future. In some places, local languages are considered inferior; colonial thinking thus persists. Linguists call for everyday languages to be brought out of the private domain, for example by radio programmes, newspapers and periodicals or book translations.

In some African countries, however, the European

official language is the only language that unites the nation. Nearly every nation is a collection of linguistic groups – sometimes hundreds of them. Multilingualism is the norm but nationwide overlaps are the exception. So English, French or Portuguese serve as a lingua franca – even across national borders. Anyone who speaks French can manage perfectly well in large parts of West Africa; English is dominant in southern and eastern parts of the continent.

A European lingua franca is a language of foreign despotic rule but as such it stands above ethnic conflicts and is thus able to play a neutral role. The best solution for Africa does not seem to be the complete elimination of colonial languages but the coexistence of African and European languages on an equal footing. (kd)

“If the French troops leave Mali, the country will collapse”

The French military is engaged in many former West African colonies. The foreign troops' presence and intervention, for instance in the fight against terrorism, is highly appreciated. Mohamed Gueye, editor-in-chief of *Le Quotidien* in Dakar, Senegal assesses the situation.

Mohamed Gueye interviewed
by Katja Dombrowski

France has several military bases in West Africa and intervenes in a number of conflicts in the region. Are colonial ties the main reason for that engagement?

Mainly, but not only. French troops are indeed very active in the former French colonies. Remember, for instance, that former French President Nicolas Sarkozy did not hesitate to drop bombs on the presidential palace in Abidjan in order to put Alassane Ouattara in power in Côte d'Ivoire. But French troops have also helped troops from Senegal and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) to oust President Yahya Jammeh in the Gambia.

To what extent is France helping to stabilise governance – particularly in Mali and Côte d'Ivoire?

If the French troops leave Mali today, the country will collapse the next day. Operation Barkhane, the French intervention in the Sahel region, has not only stopped the advance of the Jihadists in northern Mali, it has also saved the scalp of the government. Riddled by corruption and nepotism, the Malian government has done little to gain the confidence of the people in the northern part of the country and to train and equip its troops. Some opposition parties suspect that if it were not for the French influence, the president would have tried to lure radical Islamists by embracing parts of the sharia law. In Côte d'Ivoire, the French presence is crucial at this time too. President Ouattara will not run for another term at the end of his mandate in 2020. Many candidates are

already trying to position themselves for the succession. The Ivorian people hope that the French won't let the situation escalate and the country plunge into civil war as in 2011, when Laurent Gbagbo and Ouattara fought for the presidency.

How effective are France's counterterrorism operations?

That is difficult to assess. According to Bakary Sambe, a Senegalese researcher who investigates radical Islamism, there have been more than 400 Islamist attacks in West African countries in the past five years. But nine out of ten of those attacks have failed thanks to the intelligence services. And in the French speaking West African countries, those services work close hand with their French colleagues.

Is there a smooth cooperation between French troops and their African allies?

Yes. France has no problem working with the military in Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso or Mali. In all those countries, the French assistance and support is necessary to maintain the capacity of the troops. In Mali, France is training most of the troops, hoping that they will be able to take over the day the Europeans will have to withdraw. Even in Cameroon, where Boko Haram is very active, France works smoothly with the local troops.

How do African people feel about the European power's presence in their countries?

Things have changed in the past ten years. Before, Europeans, especially the French and English, were seen as the remnants of the colonial system. But many new actors have appeared on the African scene: Chinese, Arabs,

French President Emmanuel Macron
visiting the troops of France's
Barkhane counter-terrorism operation
in Gao, northern Mali, in May.



Turks, Indians and many others. Now Africans have the chance to assess the veracity of Charles de Gaulle's declaration "Countries have no friends, they have only interests".

To what extent is the French military still displaying colonial attitudes?

We have entered the era of terrorism, especially Islamist terrorism. In many countries, the French troops maintain a low profile. You hardly see them in public in Abidjan, and if so, they are not very far from their base. The French military is very wary. They know that they would be an easy target in a hostile environment. Even in Bamako you never see them circulating in town. The times when drunk French troops strolled the streets of Dakar, Abidjan or Ouagadougou and treated local people harshly are definitely over.



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Historical guilt

Between 1904 and 1908, German soldiers in the colony German South West Africa, which is contemporary Namibia, committed the first genocide of the 20th century. Approximately 65,000 to 85,000 people were killed. Around 80 percent of the Herero and 50 percent of the Nama people lost their lives.

By Joshua Kwesi Aikins

Recognition, apology and compensation are the core concepts of a German politics of memory, which itself is a key component of post-war German identity. This approach proved valuable in the reconciliation with victims of Nazism. However, the debate regarding the genocide committed by German soldiers in Namibia continues. In this case, a responsible handling of history appears to require yet another struggle over history and its current ramifications. Herero and Nama organisations have brought a suit against Germany with a New York court, suing for recognition of the genocide.

In October 1904, Lothar von Trotha, the commander-in-chief of the German colonial protection force in German South West Africa, informed the Herero people in a letter that they were no longer German subjects and therefore had to leave the country: „Within German borders, every Herero, with or without a gun, with or without cattle, will be shot. I'm not taking in any women or children; they will be driven back to their people, or they will be shot.”

This shoot-to-kill order served as basis for the first genocide of the 20th century. It documents the intent of annihilation of all Herero and later also Nama. At the same time, even in the context of colonial mass murder, Trotha tried to keep up pretences: In an order of the day, only directed to the troops, the general explained that German soldiers should only fire above the heads of women and children, in order to drive them away and thus preserve the “good reputation” of the troops.

This order of the day, however, was cynical, as the historian Jürgen Zimmerer explains: „Retreating meant death by thirst,”

because the colonial powers had organised the displacement. The Herero were already pushed back into the Omaheke desert where German troops occupied the water holes – the refugees were meant to die of thirst.

Trotha's doublespeak expressed colonial arrogance: He didn't consider well-planned mass murder as problematic, but a massacre committed against women and children would have tainted the German prestige in the world.

In December 1904 the government of the Reich cancelled this firing order. At this point in time, a majority of the displaced Herero had already died in the desert. In a telegram on 11 December 1904, Imperial Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow gave the instruction to intern „the rests of the Herero people“ in „concentration camps“ – this was the first time that a German government used this term (see box, p. 29). In German South West Africa only half of the internees survived.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENOCIDE

In the war years 1904 to 1908, an estimated 65,000 to 85,000 people were killed in this act of planned mass murder. The consequences of displacement and genocide are still pervasive in Namibia today:

A great part of the fertile land is owned by white Namibians, mostly of German origin (see Henning Melber in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/07, p. 29).

For a long time, the post-war German government did not recognise the colonial wars as genocide. In 2004, Heidemarie Wiecek-Zeul, then the federal minister for economic cooperation and development, said: “In the sense of our common Lord's Prayer, I ask for forgiveness of our trespasses.” The government immediately declared this indirect admission of guilt as a “private opinion”. There was great concern that an official concession would trigger reparation demands. German historians and civil-society activists, however, have for over 20 years classified the war and killings as genocide and demand its official acknowledgment.

Before the genocide, the Herero used to be one of the biggest groups in the country, but like the Nama, afterwards they were marginalised for a long period of time. For their descendants, the recognition of the historic atrocities is a necessary precondition for a thorough analysis of the consequences. Israel Kamatjike, representative of the Herero in Germany, says: “We want an apology, also in order to make reparations possible.” The lands which were expropriated after the genocide would need to be



Herero chiefs on a memorial march in Okahandja, Namibia.

redistributed within the context of reparations, he maintains.

The official attitude of the German government changed in 2015, in the context of debates around the recognition of the Armenian genocide by the Turkish state. Member of Parliament Karamba Diaby, himself of Senegalese origin, pointed out: "Whoever says A, needs to say N." His message was that the mass murder of the Herero and Nama should be judged by the same criteria as that of the Armenians. The then president of German Parliament Norbert Lammert came to share this view: "Measured by today's standards of international law, the suppression of the Herero uprising was indeed a genocide," he wrote in the magazine "Die Zeit".

Since then, German and Namibian delegations negotiate in camera about a formal recognition. Herero and Nama organisations, however, have no seats at the table. They worry that Germany will try to set off development aid against reparations. Regarding its financial help for the country, the German government indeed points to Germany's "special relationship" to Namibia.

Herero activist Kamatjike claims Germany wants to predetermine what should be done with the reparation funds. This, however, is not considered as acceptable, since "reparations come without conditions." On top of that, they have nothing to do with development aid, Kamatjike says.

The position of the German government – namely that these issues could only be negotiated with the Namibian government – appears to indicate historical amnesia. After all, the borders of Namibia and the current majorities in the country are consequences of German colonial aggression, resulting in the marginalisation of Herero and Nama.

LAWSUIT IN NEW YORK

In this context, a claim filed by Herero at a New York court is politically highly charged: Since March 2017 legal proceedings have been taken up, in which the US-based Herero representative Vekuui Rukoro, together with Herero-Chiefs from Namibia, is bringing a suit against Germany. It seeks a full recognition of the genocide, but also the inclusion of Herero representatives in the bi-governmental negotiations.

The German government had apparently assumed that the case would be dismissed. The first hearing was postponed several times and was set for mid-October.

This case is being closely monitored internationally. Germany's willingness to talk with Namibia about the genocide was internationally appreciated – particularly in France and Britain, two countries with colonial pasts of their own. By now, however, Germany's reputation is negatively impacted by the impression that the gov-

ernment remains unwilling to assume full responsibility.

Meanwhile, the Tanzanian defence minister Hussein Mwinyi has announced that he is exploring options for a lawsuit regarding the German colonial war of extermination in eastern Africa: During the Maji-Maji war from 1905 to 1907, in the area of contemporary Tanzania approximately 300,000 people died as a result of German colonial aggression.

The German government needs to face the core demands of the Herero and Nama as well as other descendants of colonised people. Experience shows that the triad of recognition, apology and compensation has proven a helpful path to deal with past atrocities (also note article in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/10, p. 9).



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LINKS

Civil society alliance „Völkermord verjährt
nicht/No Amnesty for Genocide“:

<http://genocide-namibia.net/alliance/>

Berlin-Postkolonial e.V.:

<http://www.berlin-postkolonial.de/>

Laboratories of racist violence

The concentrations camps, which the German colonial power operated from 1904 in the region of what is Namibia today, were predecessors of the extermination camps of the Nazi regime. The colonial camps were characterised by selection, forced labour and "medical" experiments to prove racist theories.

In German South West Africa, men, women and children

were brought into the concentration camps. Life and death in these camps were marked by forced labour as well as bad conditions and insufficient supplies for the interned. There are direct political, ideological and personal connections to National Socialism. Eugen Fischer, for instance, investigated in the colonial Namibia about the offspring of European settlers and Africans, the so-called

"bastards"; in the Nazi state, he later became a pioneering mastermind on racist policies. In a way, the German colonies were laboratories where extreme acts of racist violence were tested.

For racist investigations, thousands of skulls were shipped from the German colonies to the "Reich" – also from the concentration camps of German South West Africa. Today, many can still be found in collections of German universities and museums, or privately owned. Herero and Nama or-

ganisations demand their restitution.

When in late 1904 the German colonial powers established "concentration camps" in German South West Africa, they acted according to a model from South Africa. Three years earlier, "concentration camps" were put up in order to intern the families of freedom fighters of Dutch origin who wanted to declare their independence from the British Empire and founded their own state. This strategy led to the breakdown of the Boers' resistance. (jka)

“We’re looking at really big numbers”

Radical activists demand that rich nations pay reparations for slavery and colonialism. Kehinde Andrews, the co-chair of Britain’s Black Studies Association, made the case in an interview with D+C/E+Z.

Kehinde Andrews interviewed by Katja Domrowski and Hans Dembowski

Why do you say that reparations are the way to deal with the historic atrocities?

First of all, we must understand that slavery and colonialism are what western prosperity and the current world were built on. Slavery brutalised all societies involved. Atrocious racism survives; both in severe structural inequality and in blatant racial prejudice, with one of many recent examples being the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. If we want to fix today’s problems, we have to tackle the root causes.

But aren’t the industrial revolution and technological progress at least as relevant to western prosperity?

Don’t forget that it started with textiles, and that this industry depended on the cotton produced by enslaved Africans on colonial plantations. Moreover, the investments that drove the industrial revolution were financed with profits made in the slave trade and the colonies. In Birmingham today, we worship pioneering innovators like James Watt, but it is largely neglected that people like him relied on capital that was generated in the colonies and supported the slave trade.

What sums should reparations amount to, according to you?

Well, we should take into account the unpaid labour that millions of people were forced to do from the 16th to the 19th century. On top of that, we need to consider the damage done.

We’re really looking at very big numbers. In the USA, they are discussing sums of \$ 4.9 trillion to \$ 15 trillion.

Even transferring only \$ 4.9 trillion from the rich nations to the descendants of the victims of historic atrocities hardly seems realistic.

Yes, I know. One issue is it would probably destabilise western economies to the extent of making the entire exercise useless. Repairing the damage this way could destroy the global system. On the other hand, the principle of reparations is quite well established. Not so long ago, Germany’s Federal Government compensated people who did forced labour under Nazi rule, and earlier it had paid reparations for Hitler’s genocidal holocaust.

Who would pay the money – western governments?

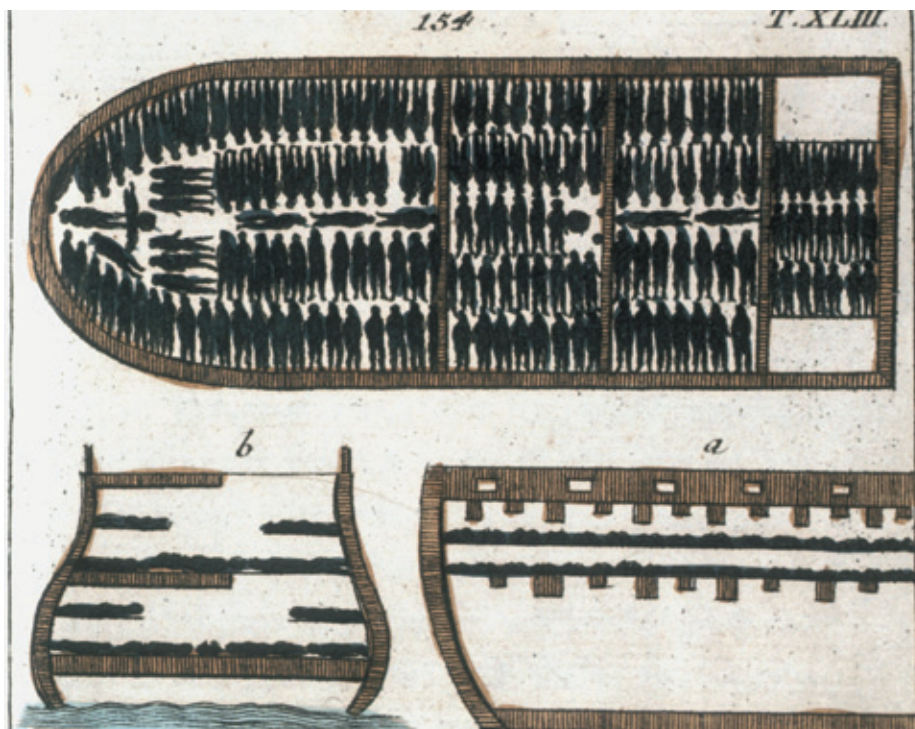
Governments should certainly have to play their part and spend tax money, but the private sector should be involved too. Consider Lloyds of London, for example. It is a giant financial-sector company that started out by insuring slave ships. Companies like that must contribute their due share. The same applies to churches and everyone else who had links to slavery.

Who should get the money?

That is a more difficult question. It would not make sense to hand it out directly to masses of people. They’d spend it, so it would be gone fast, reinforcing the existing global political economy, unless the global system collapses first. We need a collective solution. That said, it would not make sense to give the money to the governments of formerly colonised countries either. They are part of the problem and deserve their reputation for corruption. All too often, they simply continued abusive practices introduced by the colonialists. What might work out, though, would be to establish a kind of international council, involving various stakeholders apart from governments, such as civil-society organisations and academia for example. That council would then decide what to do with the money.

What should be done with the money?

It could be used for things like building infrastructure, establishing educational institutions and providing health care. But more importantly, it should be used to develop true economic independence for the former colonies.



CARICOM demands reparations for “the enduring suffering inflicted by the Atlantic slave trade”. Historical depiction of a British slave ship.

That sounds like official development assistance. Donor governments spent \$ 140 billion on ODA last year, and it is not easy to invest such sums in a way that actually delivers results.

ODA is not the answer. As Malcolm X said, “if you stick a knife in my back nine inches and pull it out six inches, that’s not progress”. The point is to heal the wound. ODA does not do that, all too often it only compounded problems by reinforcing an unjust hierarchical order in which Europe and North America are always the top and Africa is the bottom.

Some of our Asian friends would dispute that hierarchy because they consider Europe, and even North America, to be decadent. They see Europe as a spent force. But they all believe that Africa is the bottom. ODA may make a difference in the sense of alleviating poverty somewhat, but not in terms of reversing an unjust world order built on colonialism and slavery. There is no scenario that would deliver African or Caribbean countries’ actual equality with the dominant nations. We need a revolutionary approach.

Well, five decades ago South Korea and Ghana were at a similar level of development. South Korea received massive aid and used it to catch up with western nations.

Okay, so Samsung is a leading multinational corporation now, but it still needs rare earths and other resources imported from Africa. It’s quite obvious that not every African country can become the next South Korea – or China, for that matter.

CARICOM, the regional organisation of Caribbean nations, is demanding reparations for slavery and colonial rule (see box below). Do you think it will achieve anything?

Well, the debate has changed. It is no longer about “you did something wrong – now give us money”. It is more about getting the former colonial powers to acknowledge guilt, apologise and offer reparations in terms of education programmes, debt relief, infrastructure et cetera. The movement “Stop the Maangamizi” in the UK organises an annual march asking for recognition, and in the USA, black activists are demanding free education, for example. Something like that may well happen, but it won’t be enough to repair the real damage.

Would it make sense to build clean-energy infrastructure to compensate for historical atrocities?

In principle it might, but we mustn’t let the rich countries off the hook too easily. They are the ones who caused global warming, and they are the ones who benefited from the industrial development that made it happen. For this reason, climate finance already serves a specific compensation purpose, and so far rich nations have neither pledged enough money nor established mechanisms for paying what they did pledge. Legacies of slavery and colonialism are central to understanding the global climate injustice, but we should not conflate the topic of global warming with the reparations debate.



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CARICOM demands reparations

In 2013, CARICOM, the regional organisation of Caribbean nations, launched the CARICOM Reparations Commission (CRC). It demands that Europe compensate “the enduring suffering inflicted by the Atlantic slave trade”.

The basis of this debate is the “CARICOM Ten Point Plan for Reparatory Justice”. It was endorsed in 2014. The ten points are:

- a full formal apology, as opposed to the mere “statements of regret” that some nations have issued,

- repatriation, insisting that the descendants of more than 10 million Africans, who were abducted from their homes and forcefully transported to the Caribbean as slaves, have a right to return to their ancestors’ homeland,
- an indigenous peoples development programme to rehabilitate survivors of genocide,
- cultural institutions to ensure adequate remembrance of the victims’ suffering,
- support for alleviating the “public health crisis”

in the Caribbean, claiming that this world region has the “highest incidence of chronic diseases” as a long-term consequence of “the nutritional experience, emotional brutality and overall stress profiles associated with slavery, genocide and apartheid”,

- support for eradicating illiteracy, as the black and indigenous communities were often denied education,
- an African knowledge programme to teach people of African descent about their roots;
- measures to promote psychological rehabilitation,
- technology transfer for greater access to the world’s

science and technology culture and

- debt cancellation to address the “fiscal entrapment” Caribbean governments are struggling with.

In April 2015, an international reparations conference was organised by the US-based Institute of the Black World 21st Century in New York City. Hundreds of reparations advocates from some 22 countries, including representatives from the CARICOM Reparations Commission took part.

Since then, the debate on reparations and reparatory justice has been gaining momentum internationally. (sb)

Tu di worl: Creole goes global

In the Caribbean, the languages of Europe's colonial powers were blended with various African languages that were spoken by slaves and, to a lesser extent, indigenous languages. Scholars call those new languages Creoles. Today, Creoles are languages in their own right, representing the region's hybrid cultures. Caribbean countries still use their respective colonial power's language for official purposes, but their dominance is contested. Creole languages are authentic expressions of Caribbean nations' identities.

By Hubert Devonish

The modern world, as we know it, was formed on the islands and territories in the Caribbean Sea. It was here, rather than in Europe, that a large labour force was first used for the manufacture of a mass consumer product: sugar. By the mid 17th century, sugar plantations were large-scale agro-industrial operations.

The labour force, which can be described as a proto-proletariat, was made up of millions of enslaved Africans and some enslaved indigenous people. Enslavers of English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Danish origin were in control.

The sugar plantation colonies in and around the Caribbean were the pioneers of the European-based manufacturing operations which were at the heart of the industrial revolution. The Caribbean sugar plantations were, as suggested by historians C.L.R. James and Eric Williams, also the main sources of capital used to finance the industrial revolution in the "mother countries" in Europe.

NEW WORLD, NEW LANGUAGES

Within this new world, Africa, the Americas and Europe collided. The old identities – and with them, the languages that expressed them – died. Indigenous languages such as Kaliphuna, Guanahátabay and Ciguayo are no longer spoken. Colonial genocide erased their speakers in the 16th and 17th centuries. New languages emerged, now called Cre-



Advertisement in Falmouth, Jamaica.

oles. They were the result of colonial interaction between speakers of European and West African languages.

Typically, these languages' vocabulary derived from a European language such as English, French or Spanish. The syntactic structures of these languages, however, are very similar. The French-vocabulary Creole (spoken in Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia and Dominica), the Spanish/Portuguese Creole (spoken in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and the English-lexicon Creole (spoken in Jamaica, Antigua, St. Vincent and Guyana) share striking similarities in their grammar. This resemblance is probably rooted in the West African languages which the first generation of enslaved Africans spoke.

It is clear that the Creole languages of the Caribbean – and by extension the Atlantic area, including Guyana, French Guiana and Suriname in South America, Georgia and South Carolina in North America, Sierra Leone and Nigeria in West Africa – consti-

tute a family of languages. They reflect a set of related identities and historical experiences, dating back to the time when the Caribbean was the centre of global economic development.

When European empires expanded into the Indian and Pacific Oceans in the 18th and 19th centuries, they used the Caribbean as a model for establishing plantation colonies. People and languages from the Caribbean and Atlantic were brought to new places. As a result, the Creole languages spoken in the Indian and Pacific Oceans have many features in common with those of the Atlantic.

POWER AND PEOPLE

The international system is based on states organised around the sense of nation produced by the technologies of writing and print applied to national languages. This is a system which, up to the second decade of the 21st century, has been centred on the

countries of northern Europe and North America. On the periphery are the formerly colonised countries of the so-called “developing world”, including the countries of the Caribbean.

For official purposes, these countries still use languages of the former colonial powers – but that is not the way most of their people speak. This is true for many ex-colonial countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Marginalised linguistic, cultural and ethnic minorities in the countries of Europe and North America have to cope with similar circumstances.

In Jamaica, a cultural struggle has resulted in the largely unwritten Creole becoming the language that expresses an

alternative, mass-based sense of national identity, within an official language framework dominated by English. This reverberates globally particularly through music. Leading Jamaican artists have become popular internationally (see box below). One reason is certainly that the people in many other former colonies experience similar language tensions to those evident in Jamaica. Moreover, the marginalised linguistic, cultural and ethnic minorities in Europe and North America are all too familiar with this situation.

Against this background, on wings of song, albeit with some digital assistance, Jamaica has been able to globalise the bitter-sweet experience of a local language

struggle. This is a fight to ensure that the national identity embodied by the state is the one that is associated with mass language of the descendants of African slaves – for example Jamaican Creole, rather than English, the language of the colonial elite. Jamaican Creole has gone global, proclaiming itself and its associated national identity “tu di worl”.



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Jamaica's nation language

In Jamaica, English is still the official language, and Standard English is taught in schools. For a long time, the local Creole, called Patois, was the language of the countryside and the uneducated. It was considered to be inferior “bad English”. Today, however, a vibrant pop culture uses it – and it resonates globally.

Patois serves to express people's identity. It gradually started to gain ground in the early 1960s, around and after independence. Jamaicans expressed pride in their culture and their language. Patois was increasingly recognised as a “nation language”, representing the hybrid culture of the island, with its English vocabulary, West African grammar, occasional indigenous words and a particular, definitely non-British pronunciation. Cultural historians like

Rex Nettleford point out that Jamaica's cultural identity was formed by oral traditions.

Local poet, folklorist and performer Louise Bennett, known as “Miss Lou”, was one of the first artists to write and perform in Patois in the 1960s. For 20 years, she had a popular radio show which greatly contributed to establish the idea of the Jamaican Creole as “nation language”. In the 1980s, poets like Linton Kwesi Johnson, Michael Smith and Mutabaruka wrote and performed in Patois. By then, doing so meant taking a clear anti-colonial, anti-racist stance.

Jamaica is a small island, but it has emerged as a global superpower in the area of cultural and linguistic influence, mainly due to its music: songs export Jamaican language to countries around the world.

From the start, Jamaican popular songs used Creole and English. This was particularly true for reggae music. Jamaican history professor Edward Kamau Brathwaite calls it “the native sound of the cultural revolution that would eventually lead to Bob Marley.”

In 1974, reggae musician Bob Marley recorded the song “Them Belly Full”. The chorus offered commentary in the form of folk wisdom in Jamaican Patois, whereas the English verses expressed social grievances including the rising costs of living. It stated that a “hungry mob is an angry mob” and that “the weak must get strong.” The chorus included two Jamaican Creole language proverbs stating “Rien a faal bot di doti tof” (The rain is falling but the earth is hard) and “Pat a bwail bot di fuud no nof” (The pot is boiling but the food is not enough). This song hailed a new era of the use of creole language in music.

By the 1980s, a new genre of Jamaican music emerged: Dancehall, with language spoken rather than sung. Patois, as the main language of spoken interaction, came to dominate the genre. It is now the main language for artistic public usage, reflecting rising national consciousness since independence from Britain in 1962.

Recording technology is facilitating the spread of Patois today in a similar way that the printing press fostered the emergence of what are now Europe's national languages. In the 15th and 16th century, local vernaculars became codified in Europe and then contributed to defining national identities. Recorded Jamaican popular music, from Millie Small through Marley to Shabba Ranks, Vybz Kartel and Chronixx, represents a body of orally produced artistic language that helps to define national consciousness among the people of the Jamaican nation state. (hd)

Who are we?

For 300 years, Mexico was a Spanish colony and the centre of a huge administrative area called “New Spain”. The impacts of Spanish rule still mark society, even though the independence movements that created the Latin American nations emerged more than 200 years ago.

By Virginia Mercado

Some colonial legacies are good, others are bad. It is valuable, in particular, that the Spanish language is now shared, with few exceptions, from the USA's southern border to the southern tip of the continent – and is also spoken by many people in the USA. Diverse cuisines, music, architecture and landscaping are positive too. Tourists appreciate what is called “colonial style” in historic city centres, parks and hotels.

On the other hand, colonialism has forced Mexicans to ponder their identity for a long time. The Creoles (the descendants of the Spaniards) have never been to their

ancestors' homeland. The Mestizos (“half-breeds”) are now the majority, but they were rejected by all races that the colonial caste system considered. The recognised races were Spaniards, Indios, Africans and Asians. The term “Mestizo” only applied to the offspring of Spaniards and Indios, so another set of absurd categories was invented to be able to name the roots of every single person.

Such categorisation was extremely limited. It did not take into account the ethnic diversity within each group, but only focussed on world regions. Nonetheless, the system kept becoming even more complex. While its merits were most dubious, it served to allocate privileges and left permanent marks on society.

IDENTITY ISSUES

Are we Indios or Europeans? Victims or perpetrators? In the years after Mexico gained independence in 1821, writers and intellectuals conceptualised the Mestizo as the answer to the identity question. And after the revolution in the early 20th century, José Vasconcelos, an intellectual and political leader, claimed that Mexicans belong to a “world race” (“raza cósmica”) that shared the best characteristics of all ethnic groups and would be the foundation of new humanity.

For several decades, this idea seemed to please the majority of people of mixed descent. The result was a major cultural transformation. The European education model was promoted, and indigenous villages were taught to read and write (in Spanish, obviously). At the same time, people identified with indigenous suffering of the past. Creative artists tackled the traumatic issues, expressing a new sense of nationalism. Octavio Paz' essay “The labyrinth of solitude” was an example.

Things changed again in the 1990s, however. There was a wave of cultural and ethnic assertion, the likes of which had seemed impossible only a few years earlier. Certain rights of indigenous peoples now had to be accepted, including the one to safeguard the languages.

The movement arose in the context of the preparations for celebrating the 500 years anniversary of what used to be called “the discovery of America” in 1492. It felt like a cold shower to Mestizos who had thought the identity question had been dealt with. It equally unsettled white people who wanted to celebrate the civilizational benefits of the Europeans' arrival.

AMERICA WAS NOT DISCOVERED

Other segments of Mexican society opposed celebrating what was increasingly being called genocide. The big issue was whether it was appropriate to honour the physical and cultural extermination of America's indigenous population. Protest slogans included “there was no discovery” and “there is nothing to celebrate”. Five centuries after Columbus, after all, Mexico was still a poor and backward country, the natural resources of which were being exploited – and the deep disparities brought about by colonial rule were obviously the root cause.

The indigenous peoples of America – from Canada to Patagonia – decided to meet in Mexico in 1992. The connotations of the 500 year anniversary had to change. To speak of “discovery” became unacceptable, and the focus was now on “the encounter of two worlds”. Celebration gave way to commemoration. Columbus fell from the heaven of national heroes.

Today, the colonial era is not only still visible in geography and people's physiognomy, but in spiritual life as well. Christianisation was certainly an important part of the Conquista. Churches were built on the foundations of pre-Hispanic temples; sacred places and religious holidays were re-defined. For a very long time, church institutions handled matters like education and the registration of births, marriages and deaths. The missionaries learned the indigenous languages to convert people. In some ways, they were the friendly face of the conquest.

The faiths became amalgamated, and such syncretism is evident in every major Catholic festivity today. One example is the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Its symbolism matches indigenous ideas of Mother Earth in a cosmic surrounding, placed between Sun and Moon. The Holy Virgin is celebrated at the location and on the very date that Tonantzin, Mother Earth, was wor-



Our Lady of Guadalupe is worshipped on the date that was dedicated to the goddess Tonantzin in pre-Hispanic times.



shipped in the past. The ceremony, under watchful eye of the modern church, still resembles pre-Hispanic rituals.

Another lasting colonial legacy is the way in which economic and political power

are wielded. Class divisions and racism matter very much (see box below), and members of the elite tend to be beyond the law.

In the eyes of many people, state institutions have only limited legitimacy. Reasons include corruption and the security forces' tendency to act with disproportionate force. It would certainly be overblown to blame the country's current drug wars on colonialism, but it must be acknowledged that historically difficult relations between law enforcers and local communities are part of the problem.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that Mexico's relations with Spain, the former colonial power, are good. Foreign rule cer-

tainly laid the foundations for contemporary Mexican society, but that did not result in lasting political or diplomatic tensions. Soon after independence, Mexico and Spain developed friendly relations in a sense of solidarity, and that has not changed in good or bad times ever since.



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Daily discrimination

Mexico does not have a real castes system, but some people's privileges are closely linked to their socio-economic background. Most Mexicans are keenly aware of both class divides and racism. It is a simple fact of daily life that people with darker skins tend to be treated worse.

In April 2017, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), the governmental agency for statistics and geography, triggered a broad-based public debate by publishing research results concerning skin colour. INEGI defined 11 different complexions and ran a survey to find out what they stood for in people's eyes. The result was that dark skin was associated with poor education while a light skin was believed to indicate educational achievements. In a similar vein, light skin was read as a sign of successful careers.

Emotions ran high on social media. Some argued that the

survey had only found out what was obviously the case anyway. Others claimed that the survey was designed to split society. Apparently, the way the media cast people of different ethnic backgrounds matches the survey results. Whether the assumptions are actually true is a very different matter, of course.

Social disparities are reinforced by linguistic discrimination, moreover, as is evident on social media and internet forums that focus on social issues. The members of the political, economic and intellectual elite are prone to using adjectives and attributes that express their sense of moral superiority. Specific terms, including "Indio", serve to brand "the others" as dark-skinned and inferior in business affairs. Language is thus used to discredit and ridicule the causes of society's lower strata.

On the other hand, some terms with colonial connotations serve to label the elites.



Some run small businesses, others have good jobs – and skin colour makes a difference.

"Mirrey" sounds like "virrey" (viceroy) and means "milord". The term indicates a person whose privileges do not derive from personal merits but from belonging to the privileged class. Mirreys show off their wealth and power. They are likely to express contempt for

the country's social setting, without, however, acknowledging that their own position is firmly rooted in it. Mirreys are not bound by the rules that apply to everyone else. They know they enjoy impunity and don't hesitate to make use of that privilege. (vm)

HISTORY

No trust in institutions

Colonialism created the Philippines, shaped its political culture and continues to influence its mindset. The 333 years under Spain and nearly five decades under the USA that decisively moulded the nation.

By Alan C. Robles

The Philippine experience is unique; it was actually colonised four times. In the 18th century, Britain temporarily displaced the Spaniards and ruled the islands for a few years, and during World War II, Japan did.

It was Spanish and US rule, however, that left lasting marks. According to the historian Serafin Quiason (1998), “the patterns of culture and poverty, dependency and underdevelopment have deep roots in the Spanish and American colonial policies and practices.” Indeed, Spanish colonialism laid the foundation for the toxic issues that still haunt Philippine politics:

- an unaccountable, abusive elite,
- massive corruption,
- a dysfunctional system of government,
- huge social disparities and
- a meddling of the Catholic Church with theocratic leanings.

In the early 20th century, the Americans added capitalism and formal elections, introduced some marginal reforms and declared the country to be a “democracy”.

When a Spanish expedition arrived from Mexico in 1565, there was no idea of the Philippines being any kind of coherent entity. This vast collection of islands was dotted by small settlements (“barangay”) and inhabited by various tribes and ethnic groups speaking different languages. Islamic missionaries had arrived in the south, but the Spanish annexation stopped them from progressing further. The conquerors forced Catholicism on the natives, defined the boundaries of the colony and named it after their king, Philip II.

The barangays had typically been ruled by chieftains who were called “datu”, “raja” or “pangolo”. According to one history book (Cortes et al., 2000), this system of

strongman governance was “pre-political” because it was “informal, folk-sustained, uncentralised and still without specific agencies”. There was no distinction between the family and the community. Leaders’ authority was based on kinship, subservience, deference and dependence.

A few hundred Spaniards easily conquered most of the archipelago. The exception was the southern island Mindanao, where Islam had taken a firm root. The colonial power thrived on native disunity, enlisting allies to help subdue the holdouts.

Spain introduced Catholic dogma and worship, a highly centralised government, bureaucracy and Roman law. The Philippines was divided into provinces composed of clustered villages, towns and cities. Friars from various religious orders kept watch.

However, the conquerors also built their empire on the islands’ pre-Hispanic foundations. Cooperative chieftains became village officials who used their positions to the advantage of their families and clans. They soon formed a separate class,



Main gate of Fort Santiago in Manila's historical centre Intramuros.

the “principalia”, and eventually turned into a self-perpetuating oligarchy. Under Spanish rules, “elections” were confined to village positions with the members of the elite always electing each other.

The natives were not allowed to call themselves “Filipinos”. This term was reserved for Spaniards born in the colony. For centuries, brown-skinned natives were contemptuously called “Indios” (Indians).

Spain went out of its way to prevent Indios from learning Spanish. Instead, the monastic orders assiduously mastered the native languages in order to carry out conversions. According to the scholar Benedict Anderson (2007), their monopoly on linguistic access to the natives “gave them an enormous power which no secular group shared”. Fully aware of this, the friars “opposed the spread of the Spanish language”. Spanish became the tongue of power that only the colonisers and a few members of the local elite understood.

Under Spanish rule, the Philippines became East Asia’s only Christian country. Ironically, its Catholic faith was always far from pure. Though Spain’s missionaries eradicated overt practices of animism, traditional beliefs in spirits and magic survived. They were fused with Catholic doctrine to create a unique folk religion. In this regard, the Philippines resemble Latin America more than other Asian countries. Indeed, the country was even administered from Mexico for 200 years. However, the Philippines never fit in with the Hispanised countries of Central and South America because Spanish never became the archipelago’s lingua franca.

What the people did learn over the centuries was that government, laws and bureaucracy were instruments of oppression, exploitation and abuse. Even well-intentioned laws were implemented in oppressive ways, but the victims never understood that. All colonial laws were written in Spanish after all. Those in power seized land, imposed taxes and demanded tributes, including forced labour. The monastic orders established feudal power structures. The faith served to keep the natives under control. Sinibaldo de Mas, a Spanish official, observed in 1841: “A friar is worth more than a squadron of cavalry.”

At the same time, the principalia taught the Indios that kinship ties overruled impersonal bureaucratic systems. Public office was for personal gain and benefited

leaders’ families. The colonised people never had reason to trust government institutions or formal western law. Depressingly, this attitude still marks Philippine politics in the 21st century.

After three hundred years and numerous revolts, Filipinos finally staged Asia’s first revolution. They were close to gaining independence. However, another power, the United States, intervened in 1899, ostensibly to help the revolutionaries. The Americans displaced Spain and then turned on their “little brown brothers” in a bloody three-year war.

“50 YEARS IN HOLLYWOOD”

After three centuries of slow development under Spain, Filipinos next experienced explosive change under the US rule. According to a popular quip, the colonial experience amounted to “300 years in the convent and 50 years in Hollywood”. Washington claimed that colonising the Philippines was an act of “benevolent assimilation” and would eventually lead to nationhood. In actual practice, however, that was mostly for show.

The new imperial power promised to build an American style republic. It introduced policies to promote everything from education and hygiene to infrastructure. Laws and institutions were supposed to teach Filipino leaders the mysteries of democracy. English became the archipelago’s official lingua franca, and learning it was officially encouraged. However, the schools were never expanded in a way that would have allowed the majority of the people to do so. Even today, English is the nation’s official language, but most Filipinos do not speak it. Legislation has been written in English for more than a century, but to most citizens, it remains as inaccessible as Spanish law was.

The powerful Catholic church was left untouched. It stayed influential under US rule, and it did not hesitate to meddle in secular matters. Wealth and power remained concentrated in the hands of a few families. The Americans didn’t alter the socioeconomic order, co-opting the native elite to subdue resistance. Just as their Spanish predecessors had, they depended on the local elites.

It is true that Americans introduced popular elections, but these events were games of musical chairs played by the small groups of dynastic families. Landowning

oligarchs and warlords dominated at the local level and shared the spoils at the national level. As Quiason put it, “what evolved was democracy in form but not in substance”. The dynasties treated the country’s institutions as tools for increasing their own wealth and power. Policymaking served clan interests.

American colonialism formally ended in 1946. The Philippines became a nominal republic with weak democratic institutions. The people lacked any clear understanding of rights and freedoms. In 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law and established a dictatorship that lasted until 1986.

A particularly violent legacy of US colonialism was the Philippine Constabulary (PC). This paramilitary police force was supposed to keep the peace. For all practical purposes, that meant suppressing Filipinos. It was a key component of a regime of surveillance that kept an eye on Filipino nationalists, politicians and activists. Its track record of blatant human-rights abuses did not stop when the Americans left. The PC was associated with torture and murder under the Marcos regime.

The PC was abolished after martial law ended, but now Rodrigo Duterte, the populist president, wants to bring it back. Indeed, he seems eager to impose authoritarian rule (see my essay in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/02, p.24, and print edition 2017/03-04, p.36). The omens for Philippine democracy are currently not good. The sad truth is that the non-democratic attitudes which evolved under colonial rule seem to be of lasting relevance.



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Room for improvement

In Bangladesh, independence leaders' aspiration of a new legal system that would be up to the young nation's needs largely remains unfulfilled. The young nation's legal system has yet to be decolonised.

By Ridwanul Hoque and Arpeeta S. Mizan

Bangladesh became an independent nation on 26 March 1971 after a bloody independence war against the Pakistan army. At the time, the country's leaders opted for essential legal continuity. The legal system, which Pakistan and India had inherited from the British empire, basically stayed in force.

The new constitution, however, set the goal of attaining an indigenous and transformative legal order, free from the genetic defects of the colonial law. Over the past four decades, Bangladesh's legal system has developed in its own way, embracing some positive developments (see box, p. 39). Unfortunately, however, contemporary Bangladeshi law is still largely colonial in nature as well as spirit. A truly self-defined legal system remains a distant dream. Only in 2012 did the Supreme Court allow officially the national language, Bangla, to be used in court proceedings and judgments.

According to the colonial legacy, laws are made in a power-driven, command-based and top-down process. There is very little scope for popular participation in legislative debates, and people's chances to find justice tend to be small.

The original constitution endorsed fundamental freedoms. Nevertheless, emergency provisions allow the state to postpone the enforcement of human rights and to detain citizens for up to 30 days without trial. These clauses were adopted in 1974 in a step that must be seen as a re-importation of the anti-liberty laws that both the British empire and Pakistan had imposed earlier.

Under British rule, sections 122 and 123 of the colonial Penal Code ("Offence of Sedition") were routinely applied to freedom fighters as well as people merely suspected of such leanings. In some respects, Pakistan exacerbated this repressive colonial law, by criminalising speech that might criticise state sovereignty or put public safety at risk. This law is still in force in Bangladesh. Unsurprisingly, some more recently passed laws – such as the Information and Communication Technology Act – similarly criminalise the act of defaming any person through cyber-technology. The approach is reminiscent of colonial oppression.

Like other colonial powers, Britain resorted to a strategy of "superimposing" state laws. It prioritised the colonial law over pre-existing local norms and customs. Previous legal cultures in South Asia were thus uprooted. The two most important reasons for this legal imperialism were that:

- the British thought the indigenous systems to be incapable of good or "civilised" laws, and
- their own law facilitated their rule.

The ideas of justice and good governance were not of priority. Indeed, the judiciary was submissive to the colonial administration. In some ways, it served as an extension of – rather than a check on – the bureaucracy. For example, special tribunals were set up to try freedom fighters like Bhagat Singh or the organisers of the Chittagong Armory Raid in the 1930s.

The struggle for an independent judiciary began immediately after the partition of India in 1947. The bureaucracies of both India and Pakistan did not want to separate the lower criminal judiciary from the executive. Magistrates had juridical as well as administrative powers. This allowed them to exert power more forcefully, as had been intended by the colonial regime. India separated judicial duties of magistrates from those officers'



Supreme Court building in Dhaka.

executive duties in 1975 and Pakistan did so in 1997. Bangladesh's constitution of December 1972 provided for an independent judiciary, but the courts were made completely subservient again in 1975. Only in 2007, was the lower criminal judiciary separated from the executive branch of the government. This happened in compliance with a 2000 Supreme Court ruling directing what is known as "separation of the judiciary".

PRE-DEMOCRATIC MINDSET

The mind-set of Bangladesh's bureaucracy remains overly colonial. It can still be felt that district officers were basically revenue collectors in the British era, with the regime tolerating their tendency to mix government service with personal interests.

Generally speaking, the colonial judiciary was slow, racially biased and not an independent branch of government. Unfortunately, today's courts are not much different. Serious problems of case-backlogs and wide judicial and administrative discretion are still evident. The criminal justice system

is overly bureaucratic and litigation is all too often frivolous. That public confidence in the legal and justice systems remains low is certainly a colonial legacy.

British law upheld some pre-existing principles. As the Moghul administration before them, the colonial masters considered personal law to depend on a person's religious faith. Accordingly, Muslims and Hindus lived by different rules. This distinction is still made in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

It is worth emphasising that religion-based personal law systems are not necessarily at odds with a modern understanding of human rights. It is true that there are certainly examples of bad practice in the name of religion and the topic can serve to mobilise fundamentalist sentiments. However, all South Asian courts tend to interpret faith-based law in a progressive way that fits the constitutional principle of equality.

It is noteworthy, moreover, that some sensible reforms were introduced under British rule. Muslim wives gained the right

to petition courts for divorce, while Hindu women were entitled to own property. Another significant reform was the codification of civil and criminal laws.

In Bangladesh, overhauling of the country's legal system, especially the criminal and civil procedural codes, has long been a buzzword. Yet successive governments have only paid lip service, if any, to the public aspiration for major legal and judicial reform. So far, the country's legal system has not been decolonised.



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Holding government agencies accountable

In Bangladesh, there has been some notable progresses towards building a legal system detached from damaging colonial legacies. Much still needs to be done, however.

One important step was to allow Bangla, the national language, to be used in court along with English. The Rules of the High Court Division of the Supreme Court were amended accordingly in 2012.

Another improvement is that the judiciary have become

more active in regard to protecting human rights and personal liberty. The most prominent expression of this trend is probably public interest litigation (PIL). The term means that the courts accept cases filed by public-spirited persons on behalf of others, even though they themselves are not personally affected. PIL cases tend to benefit the poor and disadvantaged sections of society who, for many reasons, do not have access to the courts.

PIL was pioneered by the Supreme Court of India, and the top judges of Bangladesh and Pakistan soon followed its example. PIL has changed the way the people regard the judiciary. It empowers the court to tackle grievances that would otherwise not be addressed. In particular, it gives scope to holding government officials accountable.

In one PIL judgement of 2016, Bangladesh's Supreme Court issued guidelines on how to apply section 54 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898. It thus restricted the police's authority to arrest people without warrant. In another instance, the Supreme Court decided that a law, according

to which public servants could only be prosecuted with government permission, was unconstitutional. In yet another case, the Supreme Court ruled that officials of the security forces do not enjoy immunity when people die in custody during an anti-terrorism drive.

Decisions like these indicate a shift from the colonial tradition of granting governmental officials immunity for the consequences of all action taken in supposed "good faith". These are steps in the right direction. However, Bangladesh still has a long way to go to ensure that government agencies are never above the law. (rh/asm)



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