

D+C

MONTHLY E-PAPER

DEVELOPMENT AND
COOPERATION

ENTWICKLUNG UND
ZUSAMMENARBEIT

D+C

E+Z

International
Journal

ISSN
2366-7257
July 2020

IRRIGATION

Helping Zambian
farms to adapt to
climate change

GLACIERS

Meltwater causes
ever more flash
floods in Pakistan

ENERGY

What support
Africa needs
to catch up



Indispensable forests

Monitor

New approach to peacebuilding | Updating Germany's ODA policy | Nowadays:
photographers discover beauty in spite of Libyan strife | Imprint 4

Debate

Due to climate change, Zambian farmers need more irrigation | Letters to the editor 8

Tribune

SYED MUHAMMAD ABUBAKAR

What glacier melt means for Pakistan 10

JAKKIE CILLIERS

African energy sectors need to catch up 12

Focus section: Indispensable forests

JORGE SOARES

President Bolsonaro of Brazil denies climate as well as forest science 15

INTERVIEW WITH JOHANNES BERLINER

REDD+ money is reinvested in forest protection and sustainable land use, but the
instrument is no panacea 17

KARIM OKANLA

Poverty is driving sub-Saharan deforestation 18

INTERVIEW WITH NICOLAS ZUËL

Invasive species threaten Mauritian forests 19

MARIANNE SCHOLTE

Indonesia has made some progress in terms of forest protection 21

INTERVIEW WITH NANDINI SUNDAR

How Maoist militias managed to gain a foothold in central Indian forests 23

Covid-19 diary

25



Indispensable forests

Lying about Brazilian forests

President Jair Bolsonaro wants people to believe that forest fires are neither harmful nor unusual. Neither is true, warns journalist Jorge Soares.

PAGE 15

Getting started

REDD+ is an innovative approach to support action to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. KfW expert Johannes Beliner told Katja Dombrowski about the first experiences made so far.

PAGE 17

African scenarios

Poor communities' survival strategies cause deforestation in sub-Saharan countries, reports Karim Okanla, a media scholar from Benin. In Mauritius, tourism revenues are used to protect some forests, as conservation expert Nicolas Zuël elaborated in our interview.

PAGES 18, 19

Promising trend

Legal and regulatory efforts to curtail rampant deforestation are starting to show results in Indonesia. But the government still has a major task ahead to preserve the country's forestry resources, writes journalist Marianne Scholte.

PAGE 21

Indian insurgents

Maoist militias have gained a foothold in India's forests. As sociologist Nandini Sundar explained in an interview, the main reason is that local communities want to protect their livelihoods, that are threatened by business interests.

PAGE 23

Our Covid-19 diary continues in this issue. One of the contributors is James Shikwati, the prominent Kenyan aid critic. He sees a triple challenge that African governments must now rise to and insists that they cannot simply depend on donor support (page 31). You will find a list of all diary entries on page 25.

► All Covid-19 diary entries are also included in a briefing on our website, and we are adding more as the crisis unfolds: www.dandc.eu/en/briefings/coronavirus-pandemic-affecting-societies-and-economies-around-globe

Human action

Forests evoke emotions: fear of hidden dangers in some cultures and a romantic longing for reunion with nature in others. Either way, forests are important ecosystems, deliver relevant resources and serve climate protection by storing carbon. Managing forests well thus serves our self-interest: we will not benefit tomorrow from what we destroy today.

Three hundred years ago, deforestation and resource extraction had become so bad in Germany that the paradigm of sustainability was invented. It applied only to forestry initially. The idea was to keep forests stable by not cutting down more trees than regrow over a certain time span. Today, the international community demands sustainability in all industries. Short-term profiteering is often based on excessive resource extraction nonetheless.

Today, about one third of Germany has a forest cover once again. Internationally, however, deforestation keeps getting worse. In particular, the huge tropical forests, which are of great climate relevance, are being destroyed. The most prominent example is the world's largest forest system in the Amazon basin. Deforestation rates there had actually declined for a while, but then started to increase again, with things getting especially bad after Jair Bolsonaro became president of Brazil.

Agriculture, the timber industry and mining are depleting forest areas elsewhere too – from Siberia to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The damage is tremendous, especially where primary forests disappear. They are the habitats of most terrestrial animal and plant species. The erosion of biodiversity is depressing and not only for sentimental reasons. Food security and human health depend on biodiversity, and that is especially true in low-income countries.

Local communities are affected worst. They not only live in the forest, but their livelihoods depend on the forest. They use the resources sustainably, and many belong to indigenous peoples. However, their rights tend to be violated, their habitats eroded and their essential resources depleted.

Deforestation alters regional climates moreover. Patterns of rainfall change and desertification intensifies. Of course, deforestation also exacerbates global climate change. Dead trees release carbon, and storage capacity is lost.

In some countries, forest protection has improved, for example in Indonesia. The international donor community is making efforts to support such action by setting appropriate incentives and helping to implement programmes. It is also true, however, that the consumerism of high-income countries is a driver of deforestation. Environmental destruction is financially lucrative because of their demand for things like timber, soy and palm oil. Soybeans are needed for meat production, and palm oil is used as a fuel and as a component of food and cosmetic products.

In recent months, deforestation has made headlines as forest fires in Brazil and later bush fires in Australia attracted global attention. Disasters of that kind are shocking. Hopefully, they will eventually trigger preventive action. It actually does not make much difference whether forests are set ablaze intentionally or whether fires result from unusual heat and dryness. Either way, human behaviour is the root cause. To some extent, this is actually good news. It means that deforestation is not our fate. It is up to us to stop it.

► 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.



KATJA DOMBROWSKI
is member of the editorial team of D+C
Development and Cooperation / E+Z
Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit.
euz.editor@dandc.eu

Photos: Sean Sprague/Lineair Fotoarchief; Daffue/Lineair

Debate



Adaptation depends on irrigation

Zambia's government is investing in irrigation, and the smallholder farmers in particular need support. They face increasing risks of drought. Unlike advanced nations, the country hardly emits climate-relevant gases. Derrick Silimina, a Zambian journalist, demands that the former rise to global responsibilities.

PAGE 8

Tribune



Glaciers dwindling in Pakistan

Flash floods are occurring ever more frequently in the Hindukush/Himalayas. Local communities are at risk – but the dwindling of glaciers affects the nation as a whole, reports Syed Muhammad Abubakar, who specialises in environmental journalism.

PAGE 10

How Africa should catch up

Africa is exposed to serious climate risks without having contributed much to bringing them about. The continent's countries must opt for renewables, and the best support high-income countries can lend is to reduce their own carbon emissions. That is the assessment of Jakkie Cilliers of the independent South African Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

PAGE 12



In 2016, after around 50 years of civil war, Colombia's then President Juan Manuel Santos signed a peace deal with the FARC rebels.

UNITED NATIONS

New approach to conflict prevention

The old concepts that treated peacebuilding and crisis prevention as separate policy areas from poverty reduction and human rights were ditched by the UN a number of years ago. They no longer worked. The new approach sees peace work as a cross-organisational, integral task, not one confined to a single area of operations. Experts view this paradigm shift as a positive move and are discussing how it can be implemented in the UN.

By Sabine Balk

Teresa Whitfield, director of Policy and Mediation of the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, says the new concept will require a radical organisational transformation at the UN: “There will be no more sharp cuts between preventive diplomacy and linear peacebuilding aimed at enduring peace.” The UN now takes an integral approach to thinking through peace processes.

According to Whitfield, this implies there can be no peace without development or without respect for human rights. Peace work needs to take into account new issues such as climate security and root-cause analysis as well as conflict mediation. Aspects such as development and poverty reduction also need to be integrated. But, as Whitfield points out: “Practical implementation is a major challenge, especially in an organisation where a silo mentality prevails.”

However, as the researcher told participants in a Development and Peace Foundation (SEF) online conference on “Crisis Prevention: From Ambition to Action. New Pathways for the UN” in June, she believes the UN has already made considerable progress. The organisation has significantly improved its mediation work, she said, analysing conflicts more intelligently and involving not only governments in crisis intervention and peace work but now also civil society and non-governmental organisations. She also sees a positive sign in the

UN leadership’s strong commitment to inclusion and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with the pledge to “leave no one behind”.

But Whitfield also explained to the conference that the conflicts ongoing today are much more complex and harder to resolve than those in the past. Conflict resolution is complicated by the following:

- Many internal conflicts have an international dimension, which makes them impossible to resolve by traditional methods.
- The armed groups involved are highly fragmented. There are no longer just two conflicting parties such as government and opposition; there are a whole range of players, with different objectives and financial backers.

Examples include the civil wars in Libya, Yemen and Syria. Problems in the UN Security Council make matters worse. All five permanent members have a power of veto, so they can block important decisions. The other, non-permanent members do not have this power and can do practically nothing about it.

Adriana Erthal Abdenur from the Instituto Igarapé, an independent security and development think tank based in Rio de Janeiro, praised the new UN approach at the SEF conference. In her opinion, however, the UN should do more to promote South-South cooperation. So far – she said – South-South cooperation has been understood in

extremely narrow terms as technical assistance. At the same time, new actors such as China, India, Indonesia, Turkey and even small states like Timor-Leste are taking innovative approaches to conflict prevention. A vast amount of knowledge and resources is available but not being sufficiently harnessed in the UN process, Abdenur says.

The researcher points to other major innovations at the UN such as the Climate Security Mechanism (CSM), an inter-agency cooperation between the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, UN Development Programme and UN Environment Programme. The CSM is designed to facilitate a more comprehensive UN response to climate-related security risks. Abdenur believes this topic needs to be spread “on a broad base within the organisation”, meaning that all measures and programmes must take climate-related security risks into account.

A great deal has been done in the UN to make processes inclusive. Many meas-

ures, such as mediation, have been shifted from governmental level to different actors. One example is Colombia, where after long negotiations and lots of pressure from civil society, a peace agreement was finally reached in 2016 between the government and the country’s largest rebel group, FARC.

Abdenur stressed one point in particular at the online conference: “UN member states and other relevant actors need to be convinced that conflict prevention is not only more economical but also much more effective and saves more lives than a reactive approach.” There is lots of evidence for this, she claimed, referring participants to the UN and World Bank study “Pathways for Peace”.

In a research paper, Abdenur points to another major change that is needed if conflict prevention is to be more than just a buzzword: risk assessment methodologies need to be improved. New technologies such as artificial intelligence (AI) should

be harnessed for this. The UN is currently working on innovative techniques that use big data and AI to help assess national crisis situations. The experts hope that with these new methods they will be able to predict crises and conflicts faster and more precisely and ideally prevent them in advance.

LINKS

Whitfield, T., 2019: Mediating in a Complex World.

<https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Mediating-in-a-complex-world.pdf>

Abdenur, A., 2019: Making Conflict Prevention a Concrete Reality at the UN.

<https://www.sef-bonn.org/en/publications/global-trends-analysis/022019.html>

UN and World Bank, 2018: Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337>

FREE PRINT SUBSCRIPTIONS

We are updating our mailing list. Any institution involved in global development affairs can currently subscribe to the print edition of D+C free of charge, and so can any person who has a serious interest in the matter in a professional or volunteering capacity. To get free copies of our future print issues, please sign up at:

www.dandc.eu/en/dc-subscription

The print issues do not include everything we post on our website (www.dandc.eu), but they are useful in terms of documenting important aspects of global debate long term.



GERMAN ODA

Strategy update

Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has published reform plans with the motto "BMZ 2030". The number of partners for bilateral governmental cooperation will be reduced.

By Hans Dembowski

The strategy paper points out that several global crises are escalating. Climate change, violent conflict and fragile statehood are mentioned explicitly, and so is hunger, which has recently begun to spread again. As the world population further increases, moreover, ecological habitats are shrinking. The authors warn that our species would need two earths if all nations lived the way the high-income countries do, but we only have one. Given that it is UN consensus to achieve the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) within this decade, time is said to be short.

Development policy, the BMZ argues, is a cross-cutting issue that concerns the entire federal government. The reform proposals are meant to make the use of official development assistance (ODA) even more strategic, effective and efficient. One way to achieve this is to focus on a smaller number of Germany's partner countries for bilateral governmental cooperation. It will sink from currently 85 to 60 in the future.

Germany's bilateral governmental cooperation is implemented by federal institutions including the GIZ, KfW, PTB (the national metrology institute) and BGR (which specialises in geosciences and resources). Other forms of cooperation – for example with churches or civil-society agencies engaging non-governmental organisations abroad – are not affected by the reduction. Funding for multilateral programmes (EU, UN, international finance institutions, et cetera) will also continue as before. Finally, the BMZ wants to intensify support for private-sector investments in developing countries and emerging markets. Such support is not bilateral cooperation.

The top priority of German ODA remains to overcome hunger and poverty. The strategy paper lists the following core topics:

- food security,
- peace,
- skills training and sustainable economic growth,
- climate/energy and
- ecology/natural resources.

Moreover, spending on public-health programmes is to increase.

Henceforth, the BMZ expects bilateral partners to make even faster progress in regard to governance, human rights and fighting corruption. Countries with particularly strong developmental ambitions – for example Ethiopia, Ghana or Tunisia – are to get particularly strong support. They are called "Reform Partners" in the strategy paper. On the other hand, progress in some countries, including Costa Rica or Mongolia, is considered to have been so good in recent years that further governmental funding from Germany is no longer appropriate.

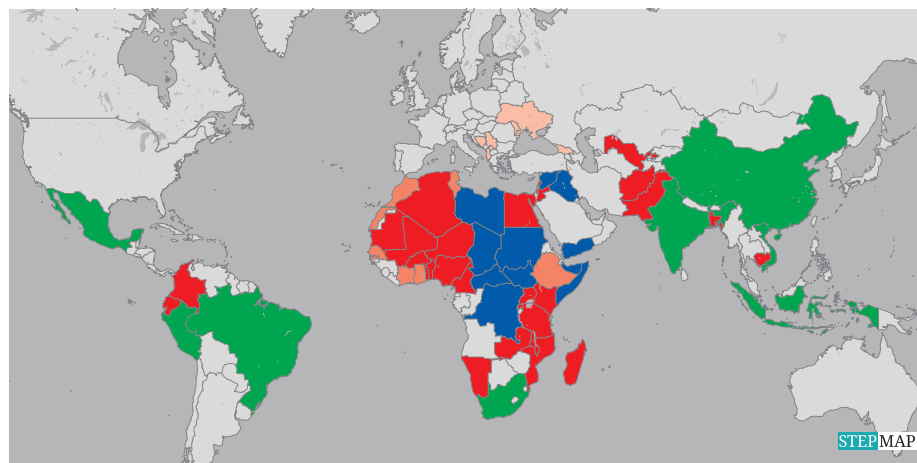
Where governance disappoints – think of Myanmar or Burundi for instance – bilat-

eral German agencies will no longer be active in the future. They will also withdraw from partner countries where Germany's role has been only marginal compared with that of other donor countries. Haiti and Sierra Leone are indicated as examples.

For bilateral cooperation, the BMZ has defined three categories of partners: "Bilateral Partners", "Global Partners" and "Nexus and Peace Partners". To a large extent, conventional ODA will characterise cooperation with bilateral partners. The above-mentioned Reform Partners are a subcategory of Bilateral Partners, and so are Transformation Partners in the former East Bloc. Global Partners, by contrast, are emerging markets like Brazil, China or India, and cooperation with them will be geared to tackling global challenges such as climate change. Cooperation with Nexus and Peace Partners, in turn, will focus on regions marked by strife and the flight of refugees. The goal is to reduce violence and stabilise societies.

LINK

BMZ, 2020: BMZ 2030.
www.bmz.de/en/publications/type_of_publication/information_flyer/information_brochures/Materilie520_reform_strategy.pdf



- **Bilateral Partners:** Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Colombia, Egypt, Ecuador, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestinian Authority, Rwanda, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Zambia
- **Reform Partners:** Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal, Tunisia
- **Transformation Partners:** Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Kosovo, Moldova, Serbia, Ukraine
- **Global Partners:** Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Peru, South Africa, Vietnam
- **Nexus and Peace partners:** Iraq, Yemen, DR Congo, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Syria, Chad, Central African Republic

Finding beauty in a war zone

In a novel response to Libya's ongoing civil war, photographers in the capital, Tripoli, are building a vast archive of photographs highlighting the beauty that can be found despite chaos and bloodshed.

Over a year ago, as armed clashes began, a core group of ten photographers gathered to support and encourage each other in documenting the city known as the "bride of the Mediterranean". Calling itself "Corners of Tripoli", the group decided to look for hidden corners as well as places in plain view that capture the character and pulse of the city.

In only a year, that core group has ballooned to 16,000 photographers who have taken on the mission of capturing their city in images. The group, composed mainly of amateurs but also including some professional photographers, has produced many thousands of striking images showing Tripoli's great variety.

The group has expanded to include members with other talents in addition to photography. Members now include painters and other artists as well as historians knowledgeable about Tripoli's history, says Ali Jawashe, a founding member who administers the group's Facebook account.

The spread of the novel coronavirus posed challenges to taking pictures, but also provided inspiration. "We respond to Covid-19 by showing people with hope and purpose," says Riad Zbeida, another founding member. "We show doctors and nurses at work, and parents and kids

doing interesting activities while staying at home, to illustrate the message to stay home."

Members took nearly 5,500 pictures during a single month at the height of the pandemic, says photographer Nada Abu Gharara, a 21-year-old media student at the University of Tripoli. Her photography focus had been on landscapes, showing sweeping views of the city and its surroundings. But her membership in the group introduced her to other styles, such as close-up photography of small subjects such as plants or household objects.

On Saturdays, group members take excursions to selected corners of Tripoli, where their varying artistic sensibilities produce very different representations of similar locations. Destinations have included Tripoli's historic quarter as well as forests and other natural spaces.

The group plans to create an exhibition of its works and hopes to attract more members. "We invite members of all ages to join and learn about different types of photography, including techniques to photograph details so tiny they cannot be seen with the naked eye," says member Salah Al-Osta.

He is an expert in capturing tiny objects in detail, called macro photography. "The most excited thing is to see the curiosity in the eyes of young photographers when they notice a very small thing in nature and can create a beautiful detailed portrait from it," he says.

In the face of Libya's ongoing and bloody civil war, in which several foreign powers are involved, Libya's photographers keep focusing on the life that continues in spite of it all. Taken together, the pictures tell a story of love, patience, beauty and hope, says journalist Nada Alshalhi. "They speak of a charming city resisting a war that was never their choice in the first place."

LINK

Corners of Tripoli Facebook page:
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/2368541289852364>



MOUTAZ ALI
 is a journalist in Tripoli, Libya.

ali.moutaz77@gmail.com

IMPRINT

D+C DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

Vol. 47, 2020

D+C is the identical twin of the German edition E+Z

Internet: www.DandC.eu

ISSN 2366-7257

The production of this e-Paper was completed on 31.7.2020.

D+C Development and Cooperation is funded by Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and commissioned by ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL. D+C does not serve as a governmental mouthpiece. Our mission is to provide a credible forum of debate, involving governments, civil society, the private sector and academia at an international level. D+C is the identical twin of E+Z Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit, the German edition.

ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL gGmbH

Service für Entwicklungsinitiativen

Tulpenfeld 7

D-53113 Bonn

Phone: +49 (0) 2 28 2 07 17-0

Fax: +49 (0) 2 28 2 07 17-150

www.engagement-global.de

ADVISORY BOARD:

Thomas Loster, Prof. Dr. Katharina Michaelowa,

Dr. Susanne Neubert, Prof. Dr. Imme Scholz, Hugh Williamson

PUBLISHER:

FAZIT Communication GmbH

Executive director: Hannes Ludwig

ADDRESS OF THE PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Frankenallee 71-81, D-60327 Frankfurt am Main, Germany

This is also the legally relevant address of all indicated as responsible or entitled to represent them in this imprint.

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Dr. Hans Dembowski (editor-in-chief), Dagmar Wolf (assistant)

Freelance support: Sabine Balk, Katja Dombrowski,

Aviva Freudmann, Monika Hellstern (social media),

Jan Walter Hofmann (layout), Malcom Bell (translation),

Claire Davis (translation)

Phone: +49 (0) 69 75 91-31 10

euz.editor@dandc.eu

Disclaimer according to § 5,2 Hessian Law on the Freedom and Rights of the Press: The shareholders of the company are Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH (40%) and Frankfurter Societät GmbH (60%).

ADVERTISING AND SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE:

FAZIT Communication GmbH

c/o InTime Media Services GmbH

PO Box 1363

D-82034 Deisenhofen, Germany

Phone: +49 (0) 89 8 58 53-8 32

Fax: +49 (0) 89 8 58 53-6 28 32

fazit-com@intime-media-services.de

PRINTING:

Westdeutsche Verlags- und Druckerei GmbH

Kurhessenstraße 46

D-64546 Mörfelden-Walldorf, Germany

Opinions expressed by authors indicated in bylines do not necessarily reflect the views of ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL, the publisher or the editor and his team. Provided that they indicate the original source, third parties have the permission to republish in complete or abridged versions the manuscripts published by D+C Development and Cooperaton and E+Z Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit. However, those who do so are requested to send the editorial office two hard copies and/or the links to the respective webpages. This general permission does not apply to illustrations, maps and other items with explicitly and separately marked copyright disclaimers.

PRICES (INCL. MAILING CHARGES):

single issue: € 2.20

annual subscription, Germany: € 14.00

annual subscription, world: € 18.00



CLIMATE CHANGE

More irrigation needed

Zambia is investing in irrigation systems as a way to improve crop yields in the face of prolonged droughts and increasingly severe floods. More needs to be done to serve smallholder farms. Since Zambia, moreover, is only a minor emitter of the gases that drive global warming, other nations must assume responsibility for climate protection.

By Derrick Silimina

Zambia's once vibrant agriculture sector is falling victim to climate change. Steadily rising temperatures, prolonged droughts and erratic rainfall are threatening crop yields and livelihoods. The trend is likely to worsen as climate change proceeds, environmental experts say.

Severe drought in the western and southern provinces during the rainy seasons in 2017 and 2018, as well as floods in the north, made more than 2.3 million Zambians dependent on food aid, according to donor organisations.

Ironically, Zambia as a whole has plenty of water. Its rivers, lakes and underground reserves account for 40% of southern Africa's water resources. But the water is not always available in the right place or at the right time.

Zambia's most cultivated crop is maize, and it is a thirsty plant. Others include cotton, soybeans, tobacco, groundnuts and paprika. Agronomists say that irrigation boosts yields to between twice and four times the levels of rain-fed agriculture and could be an important part of the solution to a shortfall in productivity in the sector.

In view of the country's twin water calamities – too much water in some places and too little in others – Zambia is investing in dams and irrigation systems to even out its supplies. As part of these plans, several programmes are under way to bring irrigation systems to small farms and reduce their centuries-old dependence on rain.

The Agricultural Sector Investment Programme, a joint initiative of the government and the World Bank, informs farmers and investors about “climate-smart” technologies, including irrigation. The programme also promotes crop diversification, commercial horticulture and reducing post-harvest losses.

The government and outside donors are also investing in early warning communication networks to alert communities to coming natural disasters such as droughts and floods, so they can prepare.

Separately, Zambia's National Environmental Action Plan is promoting sustainable agricultural practices. Among other measures, the government is encouraging more efficient use of water and the use of computer-based tools for mapping drought- and flood-prone areas.

Currently, irrigation systems are found mostly on large-scale commercial farms, while small-scale farmers tend to depend on increasingly unpredictable rainfalls. But under various educational and subsidised financing schemes, this is starting to change. Irrigation equipment, including drip-watering systems and solar-powered water pumps, are appearing on small farms as well.

“This equipment is in high demand among farmers, and even small-scale farmers see the value of irrigating instead of depending on rainfall,” says Kelvin Tembo, who sells irrigation equipment in Mkushi District in central Zambia.

Smallholder farmer Charity Bumba of Chongwe, east of Lusaka, agrees. She has been irrigating her winter maize crops with a combination of underground water sources and irrigation equipment for several years, as the impact of climate change has become increasingly clear. “I cannot imagine how I would earn income without irrigation,” she says. “It keeps my business running year-round.”

In Gwembe in southern Zambia, smallholder farmer Pauline Kandela is still depending on rain. On a recent Sunday morning, a downpour finally came after a prolonged dry spell. “This is encouraging after a long while,” she says. “I hope for a good harvest next year.”

Improved infrastructure will help Zambia adapt to global warming. If climate change spins out of control, however, that will simply not do. The advanced nations must do more to mitigate the risks by curbing carbon emissions. Since sub-Saharan Africa hardly emits relevant gases, its countries have not contributed much to causing the problem (see Jakkie Cilliers on p. 12 of this e-Paper).



DERRICK SILIMINA
is a freelance journalist based in Lusaka, Zambia. He focuses on Zambian agriculture and sustainability

issues.

derricksilimina@gmail.com



Zambian farmer watering plants.

Letters to the editor



HEED THE LESSONS OF FAILURE

D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/06, Covid-19 diary, Kathrin Berensmann: "Debt relief for poorest countries"

You state that debt relief for developing countries is the only solution in a precarious situation. Your voice blends in well with the choir of heavily indebted countries! What inspires such faith, such hope? Has it been forgotten that we had comprehensive debt relief not quite two decades ago and that it failed miserably? In view of development strategies' short life span, it makes one despair that the mistakes of the past are not considered in ways that allow us to learn from them. Politics is moving too fast to check facts, assess matters, draw conclusions and go on to manage things in different and perhaps better ways.

When the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative was first launched in the fall of 1996, the innovative idea was that not only bilat-

eral creditors would grant debt relief, but that international financial institutions would do so too to a limited extent. Moreover, the budgetary means that were thus freed were to serve poverty-reducing policies. At the time, Germany's Federal Government enthusiastically declared that it was making a major contribution to solving the debt problems of beneficiary countries and helping them to fight poverty.

Reality turned out differently, as became evident, for example, in a fact-checking exercise of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Cameroon. The multilateral institu-

tion discovered that the country's governance had hardly improved and that its economy had not grown, but actually tended to shrink in the years 2000 to 2006.

Apparently, the idea is immortal that huge sums do solve all crucial problems and lead to massive development. It has been attempted time and again to close funding gaps with loans, grants, programme funding or budget support. However, even modest attempts to do so failed miserably because of limited absorption capacities of state agencies and the contradictions that mark government rhetoric and policy implementation. The truth is that nowhere has a clear correlation between the volume of official development assistance (ODA)

and improved development indicators been proven.

Anyone who seriously aspires to make Africa a continent of opportunity instead of crisis must blaze new trails. Fundamentally reorienting the EU's trade relations – and in particular its agricultural policy – would serve this purpose. This insight is obviously not new, but it has not changed policymaking. Sub-Saharan Africa's share in world trade is less than two percent, which proves indisputably that past ODA measures have failed. A rethink of trade policies is also needed to align trade to the agenda of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Geerd Wurthmann, former officer in charge of development cooperation at the German embassies in Cameroon, Senegal and Mauritania, Wachtberg, Germany

COSTS OF MIGRATION

D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/06, Debate section, Richa Arora: "The impact of brain drain"

The demands that Richa Arora raises at the end of her contribution deserve endorsement. As I see it, the recruitment of skilled workers from abroad, and especially from poor countries, adds up to continued colonial-era exploitation, though by different means. Rich nations, private-sector companies and even social-protection institutions like hospitals and care homes should pay the countries where their migrant workers come from to compensate them for the full education costs.

Paul R. Woods, 34 years of aid-worker experience in 23 countries, Neumagen-Dhron, Germany



A Filipino nurse working in a German hospital before the Covid-19 pandemic.

CLIMATE CRISIS

Pakistan's melting glaciers

Flash floods are becoming more common in the Hindu Kush Himalayas. Local communities are most at risk – but glacier melt also affects people who live far away from the mountains.

By Syed Muhammad Abubakar

More than a century ago, a catastrophe struck Barikan Kot. This mountain village was flooded by a sudden outburst of water from the Hinarchi glacier. The reason was the bursting of an ice wall which had held back a lake of meltwater that had formed on the glacier. About 100 families lost their homes and livelihoods as rocks, earth and debris were swept over the village and its orchards and fertile land.

In the past, this kind of flash flood occurred rarely. That has changed. The Bagrote valley in the Karakoram mountain range in northern Pakistan now suffers several of them every year. Global warming is affecting glaciers all over the world, and the Hindu Kush Himalaya is no exception. Especially in the summer months, melting ice leads to new glacial lakes which, in turn, can cause flash floods.

Aisha Khan of the Civil Society Coalition for Climate Change (CSCCC) – a private organisation working on climate change – warns that glacial lake-outburst floods are becoming ever more likely. “The impacts are catastrophic,” she points out. In recent years, several dozens of people have been killed, and many more families have lost their livelihoods. The local communities tend to be disadvantaged and poor. According to Aisha Khan, the challenge is to tell them in simple language why the environment is changing and what they can do to adapt.

The civil-society activist insists that women in particular must be prepared to respond appropriately. They have a crucial role to play in evacuation, first aid and rescue and relief operations, Aisha Khan says. She wants all risk-management measures to reflect both the social conditions in the village and the scientific insights.

Syed Zahid Hussain Shah agrees that the risks are increasing and must be controlled. He was the field manager of a project run by the government of Pakistan and the Pakistan office of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) that served this purpose from 2011 to 2016. He reports that the Hinarchi glacier is only 16 kilometres long

today. It was about 12% longer 30 years ago, and its ice-shield was higher too.

Pakistan has more than 7,000 glaciers. According to an estimate, there are more than 3,000 glacial lakes, of which 36 are dangerous. Some 7 million people are exposed to the risk of glacial lake-outburst floods, which typically occur in July and August, the warmest months.

The project Zahid worked for took several risk-mitigating initiatives in Bagrote valley. A bridge and protective walls were built. Moreover, streams were excavated and made deeper, so they can carry more water. The project set up four digitised weather sta-



Glacier in the Karakoram mountain range.

tions that automatically relay information pertaining to possible glacial lake outbursts. Thanks to them, it has become possible to warn local communities early on.

The weather stations have helped to save many lives. Hussain Ali, who lives in a mountain village, appreciates them: “Early warning allows people to shift to safer places.” Nonetheless, he says that flash floods have killed more than 20 people in his area in recent years. Moreover, such extreme weather events have killed livestock and destroyed orchards and fields. Several dozen households were therefore forced to move from the mountain villages down into the valley, where it is easier, but nonetheless still quite difficult to eke out a living for people who have lost all assets.

The government of Pakistan and UNDP are now running a follow-up project in the region. It is called the “Scaling-up of GLOF risk reduction in Northern Pakistan (GLOF-II)” project. GLOF stands for glacial lake-outburst flood. The budget for the years 2017 to 2021 is \$37 million. The project will cover 15 districts and benefit approximately 29 million people.

The mountain regions of Pakistan’s neighbouring countries Afghanistan, India and China face the same kind of risk for the same reasons. Irfan Tariq, a former director general of Pakistan’s Ministry of Climate Change, points out that “the entire Hindu Kush Himalayan mountain range is a very sensitive ecological system”. It is very difficult to control or limit the impacts of climate change on glaciers, he says, so Pakistan’s government is closely monitoring the glaciers.

THE BIG PICTURE

The melting of the glaciers has impacts far beyond the mountain ranges. Glaciers in the Hindu Kush Himalayas feed Asia’s most important rivers, including the Indus, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Mekong and the Yangtze. Hundreds of millions of people depend on these waters. Indeed, Asian civilisations have benefited from the glaciers stabilising water supply throughout the seasons for millennia (see Sheila Mysorekar in the Monitor section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/09). As the glaciers dwindle, human-built infrastructure will have to serve the functions the glaciers performed naturally in the past.

In this context, dams matter very much. Related infrastructure is vulnerable to glacial lake-outburst floods however. Should a major glacial lake outburst cause a veritable mountain tsunami, the damage may be serious. Syed Mehr Ali Shah from Pakistan’s Ministry of Water Resources says: “We are very much concerned with the bigger glacial lake-outburst flood events, with regards to the safety of our existing hydraulic infrastructures, which include Tarbela dam.” This dam is more than 140 metres high and serves the purposes of hydropower, irrigation and flood control.

ensure that excess water can be channelled away.

But even if dams can be built to withstand flash floods, mega dams cause environmental problems in their own right. Experts warn, moreover, that ever more sophisticated and expensive infrastructure will be needed to adapt societies to global warming. If environmental change spins out of control, adaptation will prove impossible for ever more people.

Ultimately, there is no alternative to mitigating climate change. Pakistan, however, only emits about one ton of carbon per head



Tarbela dam.

There are several major dams in northern Pakistan, and a new one is currently being built. The wall of Diamer Bhasha dam will be more than 250 metres high. The safety of these structures is very important, says Mehr: “We need to protect them from any kind of dam-break phenomenon.” The officer expresses his confidence in the structures being strong enough to withstand typical glacial lake-outburst floods. He says the Diamer Bhasha reservoir has been designed to bear any dam-break wave that occurs due to such flood. At the same time, spillways

and year, according to Climate Analytics, an independent monitoring initiative. This comparatively small figure means that other countries which emit far more must assume responsibility and assist countries like Pakistan to build their resilience to climate change.



SYED MUHAMMAD ABUBAKAR is an environmental journalist based in Pakistan. s.m.abubakar@hotmail.com

@syedmabubakar



A wind farm and a coal-based power plant near Cologne in Germany: prosperous nations must reduce fossil fuel consumption, not only for the sake of Africa.

WIND AND SOLAR

How Africa should catch up

Africa is exposed to serious climate risks, but contributes very little to global carbon emissions. The continent needs to transition to energy systems based on renewables.

By Jakkie Cilliers

In 2018, Africa’s share of the world population was about 15%, and its share of global carbon emissions was a mere four percent. The difference shows the continent’s poverty – and its need to expand energy supply.

At current trends, Africa is expected to emit 6.1% of global carbon emissions in 2040. Thereafter the emissions of other continents will most likely decrease, but, for two important reasons, Africa’s will keep increasing: African countries must industrialise, and their populations are still growing. Nonetheless, African emissions will probably peak at below eight percent of the global total towards the end of the century.

Important changes are underway. Africa is thus well positioned for a much earlier transition to renewables than other world regions. Starting from a very low base, renewables will overtake the contribution

from coal at around 2034 and from gas in mid-century. It helps that this continent has some of the most promising locations for solar, hydro and wind power generation. Moreover, wind and solar are becoming increasingly price-competitive internationally, and that will prove valuable in Africa. Technologies for electricity storage and energy efficiency are improving too.

Nuclear energy is unlikely to ever play an important role in Africa. South Africa has two commercial nuclear power plants which account for five percent of national power generation. Because of its renewable potential, high costs and the associated risks of nuclear, other reactors will probably not be built in Africa.

The transition to renewables is likely to prove most difficult in South Africa. The reason is that its energy infrastructure is firmly in place and is based on domestically produced coal. In fact, the comparatively old infrastructure means that the transition to sustainability will run into similar hurdles as in Europe and North America. Replacing old infrastructure with new facilities is more expensive and more difficult

than simply building new ones. Nonetheless, the transition is necessary in the countries concerned.

RICH NATIONS’ CLIMATE RESPONSIBILITY

Climate change will affect all world regions. Africa is particularly at risk in view of its low adaptation capacity. Extreme weather situations like storms, droughts and unusually heavy rains are becoming more frequent and getting worse. Harvest failure can lead to famine. Plagues are becoming more likely. Climate risks also include more intensive competition for vital resources and a greater probability of violent conflict.

The entire international community has a keen interest in preventing the worst. Africa itself, however, cannot do much to mitigate global heating given that its countries have so far not contributed much to making it happen. Though Africa can contribute to fighting deforestation and forest degradation, its future thus hinges on other nations’ action to protect the climate.

No doubt, the prosperous countries must lead. They have historically contributed most to heating up the planet. Not by coincidence, moreover, they are also the ones that can best afford to invest in climate protection.

Some leaders, most prominently US President Donald Trump, say that humans have not caused climate change. Such denialism is self-serving and short-sighted. The

scientific evidence that has been compiled by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and others is very clear. To prevent even worse impacts of climate change than developing countries are already exposed to, difficult decisions must be taken.

The rich nations must reduce their consumption of fossil fuels, which means that policymakers in pollution-intensive countries must assume responsibility. After all, politics is supposed to be about leadership and not just flattering voters. Leaders should consider that many of today's children will still be alive in 2100. Their world must not become one of environmental disaster.

Policymakers from rich countries have a habit of lecturing others about good governance. Such rhetoric would be more convincing if they themselves offered more and better examples of good environmental governance. To a considerable extent, investing in climate mitigation domestically is actually the best way rich nations can support sub-Saharan development. The more they let global heating spin out of control,

the less useful their conventional official development assistance becomes. Africa can take care of itself so long as its development is not thwarted by climate disasters. It is the responsibility of the richer nations to clean up the environmental mess they have caused.

African leaders must bear responsibility too, of course. It is essential to reduce population growth and improve standards of living. Good governance and long-term planning in Africa are now more important than ever. Africa's leadership is aware of the fundamental challenges, but so far, action has been limited. Cooperation with international development partners, including China, is needed and must be geared to sustainability.

In this context, the oil and gas reserves that several African countries have, are not really the blessing leaders may think they are. While one should expect oil prices to recover somewhat from the current crisis, they may quite well stay lower in the long run than many forecasts expected.

Oil is still the largest source of energy produced in Africa at this point. But national economies never benefited the way they should have. The countries that exploit this natural resource have always foregone income they could have generated by processing oil. Lacking refining capacities, they have to re-import fuel. It is too late to reverse things now. New infrastructure built in Africa should be based on renewables. For this reason, it also makes sense to export gas which will soon surpass oil to become Africa's most important fossil resource.



JAKKIE CILLIERS

is the founder and former director of the Institute for Security Studies, a non-profit organisation with offices in

South Africa, Senegal, Ethiopia and Kenya. This essay is based on his book "Africa first! Unleashing a growth revolution", recently published by Jonathan Ball (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 2020, available on Amazon). jcilliers@issafrica.org



D+C/E+C is interested in African, Asian and Latin American contributors sharing their views. If you want to write for us, please send a short proposal to euz.editor@dandc.eu, spelling out your core message and – if needed – supporting arguments.

Follow us on Twitter!
To stay in touch with what is happening on our website, follow us on twitter.





Indigenous man in a tree nursery in Brazil.

Indispensable forests

Forests are important ecosystems, deliver relevant resources and serve climate protection by storing carbon. Managing forests well thus serves our self-interest: we will not benefit tomorrow from what we destroy today. Nonetheless, deforestation is progressing fast. Important drivers are agriculture, the timber industry and mining. The impacts threaten human survival – individuals,

social communities and ultimately our entire species are at risk. Currently local people who live in forests and depend on them are affected most.



This focus section directly relates to the UN's 15th Sustainable Development Goal (SDG): Life on land. It also has a bearing on the other SDGs.

POPULIST GOVERNANCE

Lying about Brazil's forests

Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro tells his supporters that deforestation is not a problem, but rather leads to prosperity. To spread this message, he must deny science.

By Jorge Soares

In October last year, devastating fires turned several parts of Brazil's Amazonian forests into ashes. Indigenous people and other marginalised communities suffered in particular, and the entire river basin's ecology is increasingly at risk (see Carmen Josse in Tribune section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2019/10). Nonetheless, Bolsonaro addressed an audience of investors in Saudi Arabia and told them that the fires did not worry him. He declared them to be a "typical practice of local and indigenous people in an attempt to transform extractivism into agriculture".

Experts were shocked, and so was the general public. French President Emmanuel Macron even spoke of a disaster and pointed out that Brazil had to take urgent action. Unless environmental standards are observed, European environmentalists do not want a trade deal between the EU and Mercosur to be ratified. Brazil belongs to the regional organisation Mercosur.

Bolsonaro dismisses any criticism. In autumn, he said: "A few weeks ago, Brazil was severely attacked by a European head of state on the Amazon issue." He insisted that indigenous people burn down the forest for survival and claimed that this was one of the reasons why he "did not identify with previous policies regarding the Amazon". Under his predecessors, land was reserved for conservation managed by indigenous communities. Rules of that kind limited how far agribusiness companies could expand operations. They want more land and benefit from the fires that, under Bolsonaro, are clearing forests.

In late 2019, international observers wondered why a head of state would deny science, use false premises and lie about policies that were actually quite successful. Brazilians watching him closely had no

doubt. It was an attempt to confuse the public and make the fires seem like something natural.

SYSTEMATIC OBFUSCATION

Governments run by right-wing populists like Bolsonaro have a strong tendency to obfuscate and mislead (see box next page). The reason is that empirical facts clash with populist propaganda. Bolsonaro does not want the public to believe what the providers of unbiased, scientific information say, so he does what he can to undermine their credibility.

Accordingly, Bolsonaro turned against the National Institute for Space Research (Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais – INPE) in August last year. INPE is a government agency that uses satellite images to monitor Brazil. Among other things, it documents the state of Brazilian forests. Its Deter system documents logging in real time. INPE's methodology is endorsed by NASA, the US space agency. Ricardo Salles, the environment minister supported Bolsonaro's

attack on INPE. Both politicians stated they needed better and more accurate data. They fired Ricardo Galvão, the physicist who was leading the institute.

International observers were shocked. "Jair Bolsonaro and his anti-environment minister, Ricardo Salles, made a bold attempt to lower the iron curtain on Amazon deforestation data – live and before the eyes of the entire world," stated a comment in *El País*, the leading Spanish newspaper. "The government's undisguised intention is to censor INPE and create a monitoring system in tune with the fictional world of Bolsonarism."

The government has recently been sued for failing to protect the Amazon forest. Cases have been filed by an organisation of environment-ministry staff members, opposition parties and the NGOs Greenpeace and Instituto Socioambiental. *Deutsche Welle* reported that they argue Bolsonaro's government acted wrongly by weakening inspections related to timber exports and by cutting climate-protecting funding.

The science is clear: the global climate is changing, and forests are dwindling in many countries. The two trends are mutually reinforcing. In order to protect humankind from ever worsening disasters, they must be stopped. Brazil's forests are probably the world's most important – because of their sheer size and their great biodiversity. Making matters more worrisome, deforesta-



Brazilian forest fire in August 2019.

tion in Brazil may be close to a tipping point after which the forests may be unable to regrow as they did in the past.

FASTER DEFORESTATION

Bolsonaro won the presidential elections in 2018 and took office on 1 January 2019. His campaign promised to:

- discontinue environmental assessments,
- end the protection of specific forest areas and
- erase demarcations that define indigenous land.

That agenda obviously adds up to faster deforestation. According to Imazon, an independent think tank, 1,722 square kilometres were cleared in the months January to May 2020. That was 39% more forest area than in the same period a year earlier when Bolsonaro had just taken office.

Brazil's federal government is taking an anti-science approach not only in regard

to forest issues. Its response to the global Covid-19 pandemic has been equally problematic right from the start (see Gilberto Scofield Jr. in Covid-19 diary in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/06). Even though the deadly disease is now spreading fast in Brazil (see Thuany Rodrigues in Covid-19 diary in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/06), Bolsonaro has not changed his stance. On 7 June, his government stopped publishing total numbers of infections and deaths. According to the website worldometers.info, however, the country had counted almost 690,000 infections by 8 June, more than any other country apart from the USA, and the disease had killed more than 37,000 Brazilians. Many of them, however, belong to black and indigenous communities who, in the right-wing populists' eyes, do not count as real citizens. In view of all the untruths, many people hope that the truth will soon catch up with Bolsonaro. He is suspected of corruption and obstruction of justice. The Supreme Court authorised investigations in late

April. Democracy depends on checks and balances, and Bolsonaro has done his best to blunt them since taking power. The good news is that he has not managed to subvert all state institutions. A leaked video that showed him and his cabinet denigrating the judiciary, moreover, has hurt his own credibility.

His supporters, however, still hope that he will somehow manage to make his make-belief promises come true. That will never happen. Brazil cannot be a homogenous nation that excludes anyone who is somehow different and thrives on destroying the environment. Brazil is a diverse nation – and no society will last if it destroys the foundations on which it depends.

JORGE SOARES is the pseudonym of a Brazilian journalist who wrote this story before being told by his employer that, in these politically troubled times, he may no longer publish opinion pieces.

eu.editor@dandc.eu

Nothing is true

As Peter Pomerantsev has argued about Russian President Vladimir Putin, populist leaders want people to feel that “nothing is true and everything is possible” (see Hans Dembowski in Tribune section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/06).

President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil similarly depends on disinformation. Depressingly, top leaders of many countries do so, including, for example, Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, Narendra Modi in India, Viktor Orbán in Hungary, Boris Johnson in Britain, Donald Trump in the USA and Iván Duque Márquez in Colombia. Other governments also cheat occasionally, but politicians with authoritarian leanings and a tendency to focus on a vague idea of national greatness need to lie systemati-

cally. They thrive on hounding scapegoats – communists, immigrants and minorities but also “the elite” or independent media. Leaders like Bolsonaro pretend to be fighting for “the” people, which they suggest is a homogenous entity.

In reality, they serve powerful special interests. In contrast to what the president says, Brazil's forest fires do not help indigenous communities. They please the lobbies of ranchers and plantation owners. The president's aggressive rhetoric against supposed enemies serves to distract from actual policy impacts.

Like other populists, Bolsonaro and his team want to destroy or at least discredit fact-based truth. He casts doubt on both independent science and independent journalism, pre-



Distorted ideas of national greatness: Bolsonaro speaking on the occasion of an aircraft delivery to the military in September 2019.

tending that they only provide a selection of many different alternative perceptions of reality, and that they are at odds with “the” people's “real” interests. To reinforce that message, automated computer programmes and paid people keep reiterating the same untruths on social media. They follow the example of Joseph Goebbels, who

was Nazi Germany's propaganda minister. He declared that “a lie repeated a thousand times becomes true”.

Bolsonaro's vicious propaganda is two-pronged. It tirelessly repeats the lies that it wants to be believed and it fiercely attacks the reputation of anyone who dares prove those lies wrong. js

REDD+

No panacea

REDD+ stands for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation. It is the name of a policy approach that was invented in the context of the UN framework convention on climate change. It links climate protection to forest protection, using economic incentives. Johannes Berliner advises KfW Development Bank on REDD+ issues and is in a position to assess the experience made so far.

Johannes Berliner interviewed by Katja Dombrowski

REDD+ is about countries getting paid for reducing emissions. Money is disbursed as a reward for slowing down deforestation, increased afforestation or other protective measures. How does that work?

Well, it is a complex process. First of all, countries that want to benefit from REDD+ payments must build the needed capacities in political, institutional and technical terms. They not only need a national REDD+ strategy, but must also measure the extent of their country's forest cover. Moreover, they need a mechanism to disburse funds. The people who live in the forest and depend on them must be involved. They often belong to indigenous peoples and other marginalised communities. The data national forest monitoring systems generate are essential for any REDD+ scheme. Satellites are used to assess how the forest cover changes, and annual emissions are calculated on that basis. The point of reference is the average trend of several previous years. If deforestation is reduced, REDD+ flows, with the amount depending on the results. Currently, one ton of reduced emissions is worth five dollars. The money must be reinvested in forest protection and sustainable land use.

Does that work out well?

It is too early to tell. The first rules were only defined in 2013 in the Warsaw Framework for REDD+. The multilateral funds that disburse money had to be established too. Examples include the Green Climate Fund, the FCPF Carbon Fund and the BioCarbon

Fund. Disbursements have only begun recently. In the meantime, most countries have laid the foundations for taking part in REDD+. Germany added momentum from 2012 on with the REDD Early Movers Pro-



Huts of Huaorani people in Ecuador.

gramme. In its context, we are cooperating with nations and subnational regions where deforestation has been slowing down and relevant institutions exist. We have started implementing REDD+ in Columbia, Ecuador and the two Brazilian states of Acre and Mato Grosso.

Has implementation lead to results?

Well, the programme has helped to raise awareness, both among government agencies and in society in general, for why forests matter, what indigenous people need and how to build institutions. That matters. Moreover, farmers who cultivate rubber and Brazil nut are now contributing to sustainable forestry. That said, deforestation is still getting worse in many tropical countries. Things were getting better in Brazil for some time, but now the trend has been reversed again. In other countries, however, deforestation is indeed slowing down. Indonesia is an example and it will soon receive REDD+ money. It is too early to make a final assessment, but REDD+ will certainly not prove to be a panacea. Logging, conversion of forests to farmland and mining are important drivers of deforestation. These issues must be addressed by private-sector companies and financial-sector institutions, including some based in Western countries.

Originally private-sector involvement was planned to be an important part of REDD+ funding. Now it is actually rather small. What is the reason?

It had been the intention from the beginning that one day the carbon reduction could be traded on a certificate market. Currently, the funding is ODA-based, so public money is used. That's also how the multilateral funds that disburse the money work. Emissions trading is becoming ever more important, however. Demand is growing. A prominent example is the Carbon Offsetting and Reduction Scheme for International Aviation (CORSA) which is currently accrediting REDD+ programmes.

Is five dollars per ton of carbon not too small an incentive?

Getting the incentive right is obviously essential. Five dollars may indeed not be enough. Norway has recently offered Gabon ten dollars in a REDD+ programme. That might become the trend. Most multilateral funds, so far, have agreed to pay five dollars. That does not mean that a higher price cannot be agreed in the next phase.

JOHANNES BERLINER

works as a consultant for KfW Development Bank.

<https://www.kfw-entwicklungsbank.de>

AFRICA

Environmental destruction

Poverty is a driver of deforestation in sub-Saharan countries. Disadvantaged communities need land for small-scale farms as well as firewood and charcoal. Logging, cash-crop plantations, mining and large-scale infrastructure projects cause harm too.

By Karim Okanla

In Côte d'Ivoire, about 80% of the original forest cover has disappeared. Much of it has given way to cocoa and coffee plantations. Many wonder if at least some of the country's pristine forests can be saved. The EU

diversity is being lost and that this trend will have harmful impacts on people.

Poor people's survival strategies matter in other places as well. The WWF, an international non-governmental organisation, reports that two African regions are among the "deforestation fronts" which will account for 80% of global forest losses in the next 10 years: the Congo basin and Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya on the Indian Ocean. The main causes are said to be small-scale agriculture and the demand for firewood and charcoal. The WWF considers unsustainable logging, mining and

resources matters as well. These are huge challenges with an immediate bearing on forests, though many relevant policy interventions do not tackle forest issues directly.

Nonetheless, it is certainly necessary to regulate the logging industry and implement forest protection schemes. In some cases, better law enforcement would do the job. For example, there is a long-standing pattern of rosewood being illegally harvested in Senegal and smuggled to the Gambia, from where it is exported to China. According to the BBC, the trafficking is worth up to \$ 50 million annually.

Large-scale forest programmes can be hard to implement. An example is the Great Green Wall. The idea is to use afforestation as a means to stop desertification on the Sahara's southern fringes. A forest belt of trees is to be planted along a stretch of almost 8,000 km length from Senegal in the West to Djibouti in the East. The African Union endorsed this project in 2007, but so far, not much progress has been made.

The Nigerian environmentalist Nnimo Bassey appreciates the Great Green Wall in principle, but he has pointed out that involving the local people is essential for the long-term success (see Tribune section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2019/03). That is, of course, true of forest-related policies in general.

Liberia is a small West African country with the forest cover that is still comparatively dense. There are disputes over forest use, however. Large-scale plantations have been spreading, especially where the timber industry cleared land. Efforts are now being made to give local people more say in community management. As a study published by the independent World Resources Institute concluded, women matter in particular. Though they often have a deep understanding of related issues because they depend on forest resources, they tend to be excluded from decision-making processes. Having to take care of their families, they are not expected to become engaged in politics and typically lack the time for such engagement anyway. More gender justice would thus contribute to a healthier environment.



Charcoal bags ready for sale in rural Kenya.

REDD Facility, which supports action on reducing climate-relevant emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, reckons that the annual rate of deforestation in Côte d'Ivoire is about three percent.

Things look similarly bad in Nigeria. According to Muhtari Aminu-Kano, who heads the non-governmental Nigerian Conservation Foundation, 96% of the original forests are gone. He says the main drivers of deforestation are the growing population's demand for more farmland and firewood as well as the timber business. Aminu-Kano warns that bio-

infrastructure construction to be important secondary causes in both regions.

It is worth emphasising that, in the WWF assessment, poor people's needs are especially important. They are prevalent in many other sub-Saharan countries (for the Ugandan example, see Gloria Laker Aciro Adiiki in Focus section of D+C/E+C e-Paper 2020/04). The implication is that alleviating poverty is necessary to stop deforestation. More productive livelihoods and smallholder farming are needed. Poor people's access to electric power and more efficient energy



KARIM OKANLA
is a media scholar and
freelance author based in
Benin.
karimokanla@yahoo.com

NATURE CONSERVATION

Threatened by invasive species

Mauritius was once covered by forest, but not much is left. Indigenous plants are endangered. Ebony Forest, a private enterprise, is reforesting an area it bought for that purpose with mainly endemic species, which only thrive in specific localities. Conservation manager Nicolas Zuël explains the work.

Nicolas Zuël interviewed by Katja Dombrowski

Please give me a short overview of the state of the forests in Mauritius?

Before Mauritius was colonised around 400 years ago, 90% of its landmass was covered by forest. The Europeans, starting with the Dutch, cleared the land for timber and plantations. After independence in 1968, more forest was cut down to expand sugar-cane cultivation, Mauritius' main cash crop. Today, only around two percent of the native forest is left. All in all, 17.2% of the landmass is forested, but this is mostly invaded forest with exotic species. And the unfortunate trend is that the forest area is decreasing by an annual 0.5%.

What are the main threats to Mauritius' forests?

Urbanisation is reducing the remaining green areas of the island, especially along the coast. We have a growing population, and people get wealthier and want to live in their own houses instead of apartments, so many new houses are being built. But the biggest threat to the native forest are exotic invasive species.

What about climate change? Does it have any effects on the forest?

Yes, rainfall patterns are changing, and the temperature is rising. When heavy rains come too early in the year, for example, the trees' flowers fall down before being pollinated, so they cannot produce seeds and disseminate them. Higher temperatures make insects move to higher or lower altitude, and that too can result in reduced pollination. Moreover, some plants that like cooler temperatures are losing parts of their

habitat. The dry season has also become longer: we now experience severe drought from August to December.

Are the remaining forests in Mauritius protected?

We have two national parks and some nature reserves. All in all, 31% of the forested area is protected, so more than two thirds are unprotected. People may use them as they please.

What does the government do to protect or restore the forests?

Some reforestation is taking place in the national parks and nature reserves, but it is very limited. Our work at Ebony Forest adds to what the government is doing. They support us for example by giving us seedlings that we can plant in our reforestation programme.

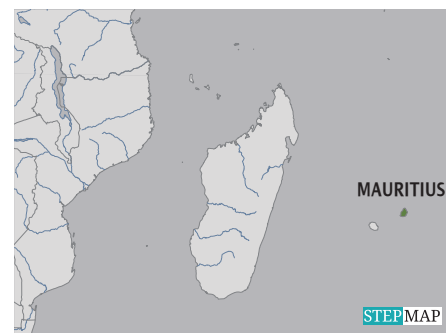
Ebony Forest was founded in 2005 with the objective to „save the Mauritian forests“. What do you do to reach that goal?

The founders, a Mauritian-Australian couple with a passion for wildlife, bought 50 hectares of land from their own money. We are turning this land into a forest consisting of native species. So far, 17 hectares have been restored. Our main activity is reforestation. We remove the invasive species first and then plant native ones like ebony trees. That is what gave the company its name. We have 11 endemic species of ebony in Mauritius. We have been doing our work for more than ten years, planting 143,000 plants, most of them trees. In 2018, the for-



Tour guide at Ebony Forest standing next to an ebony tree.

est was ready to serve as a habitat for birds, and we released 50 individuals each of two endemic species, the echo parakeet and the pink pigeon. The pigeons have already had offspring. The birds are important for the forest because they disperse endemic seeds.





Of the landmass in Mauritius, 17% is covered by forest.

Next, we plan to release endemic snails and other passerines.

Why do you put such an emphasis on endemic species?

The Mauritian ecosystem is very fragile. The endemic biodiversity is very specific to our isolated island, and it does not cope well with invasive species. Some of the plants that colonists brought to Mauritius grow very fast, so these colonising species have crowded out the native plants. Today, 89% of the endemic plant species are at risk of extinction. Two invasive species are particularly problematic at Ebony Forest: the Chinese guava and tecoma trees. Adding to the problem, the colonial powers also imported birds from Asia like the red-whiskered bulbul. It feeds on guava and spreads the seeds.

Another part of your programme is education. What is it about?

We work with school children to raise awareness of the value of the forests. They come to Ebony Forest with their teachers and do different kinds of interactive activities, such as planting trees, nursery activities, treasure hunts or quizzes in our natural history museum. The children are our future – it is very important to make them realise how important the forest is. Culturally, people in Mauritius are afraid of the forest, they

fear evil spirits said to be living there. But that is changing in the young generation; we can see that there is a growing interest in nature and environment. If we want future generations to fight to protect the country's natural heritage, then they must experience it early on in an engaging and memorable way. Reconnecting children, as well as adults, to nature is one of our major challenges.

Tourists can visit Ebony Forest and even plant trees themselves. Do you do tourism to raise money for the project?

With the ecotourism component, we want to demonstrate that Mauritius is not only

about nice scenery and beautiful beaches. Some tourists who come here don't know anything about endemic species, so there is an education component to it. But yes, the main goal is to fund our conservation work. Many tourists are impressed by what we do and donate money in addition to what they pay for the tours or other activities. That money is crucial to enable us to complete our conservation mission.

What is your long-term goal?

We want the forest to become a self-sustaining ecosystem, without human intervention. That's why we bring in pollinators and seed dispersers. The newly afforested areas need to be weeded three to four times a year – that is a lot of work. Once the canopy is closed, we can reduce the weeding frequency, but that takes more than ten years. When the forest has reached that state, only native species will grow back. That's where we want to get.

LINK

Ebony Forest:
<https://www.ebonyforest.com>



Native fauna depends on native flora: the blue-tailed day gecko is endemic in Mauritius.



NICOLAS ZUËL
is conservation manager at
Ebony Forest.

nzuel@ebonyforest.com



Orangutans are an endangered species – Borneo’s jungles are their habitat.

PRESERVING FORESTS

Cutting the losses

Indonesia’s legal and regulatory efforts to curtail rampant deforestation are starting to show results. But the government still has a major task ahead to preserve the country’s vast forestry resources.

By Marianne Scholte

For decades, Indonesia was known for burning off its tropical forests and the carbon-rich peatland below. The idea was that the agroindustry would cash in on world demand for lumber, pulp and paper– and then palm oil, a key ingredient in many super-market products.

Since 2002, however, the Indonesian government has worked to curtail the destructive practices. To save the forests, it has passed wide-ranging regulations, started a radical reform of forest management and begun to prosecute companies that illegally

clear forests as well as corrupt officials who enable them.

Indonesia’s large-scale deforestation went on for more than four decades and was an environmental disaster. The burning of forests deprived the country of a natural means of storing carbon rather than releasing it into the atmosphere. It also killed off many forest-dwelling species, sharply reducing biodiversity.

Thanks to government action, the rate of deforestation today is less than one-third of what it was in the early 1990s and less than one-sixth of what it was during the worst period from 1996 to 2000. That was when 3.5 million hectares were lost each year. In all, nearly 60 million hectares of forest lands were cleared or burned between 1970 and 2016.

The efforts to stop the destruction are still under way. At stake is a rich and mas-

sive natural resource: Indonesia is home to the world’s third largest expanse of tropical forest. Half of its nearly 1.9 million square kilometres (188 million hectares) is covered by forest.

Preserving this environmental resource is a reward in itself, but there are other benefits as well. Norway has begun disbursing payments to Indonesia as part of a programme to encourage sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks. The first instalment of \$56 million for verified emission reduction in the financial year 2016-2017 is being disbursed through the newly established national environmental fund. In 2010, Norway and Indonesia had signed an agreement worth \$1 billion in total – with payments depending on reduced deforestation and better forest management.

The large-scale damage to Indonesia’s forests began during the rule of President Suharto from 1967 to 1998. He viewed Indonesia’s vast forests as a resource to be exploited in pursuit of economic growth. He also used forests to consolidate his power, giving logging rights (on a no-bidding basis) for 62 million hectares of forest land

to conglomerates run by family members, business partners and political and military allies.

A series of industries – logging in the 1970s, plywood in the 1980s, paper and pulp in the late 1980s, and, finally, palm oil in the 1990s – cleared about 30% of Indonesia's territory after 1970. They degraded or destroyed millions of hectares of forests (see box below).

The worst years were 1996 to 2000, due to the 1997-1998 El Niño event, the Asian economic crisis, and a logging frenzy that was unleashed when President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie, President Suharto's successor, abruptly transferred certain powers to local governments without corresponding budgets. In 1998, he gave districts and municipalities the authority to issue small con-

cessions for the exploitation of forest land, primarily for fibre and palm-oil plantations.

TURNING A CORNER

Beginning in mid-2002, however, Indonesia began to turn a corner on deforestation. The Ministry of Forestry used new legislation to quickly recentralise authority over forests. It stopped district governments from issuing permits for logging and forest conversion on state-owned land.

Illegal logging continued, however. To stop it, the government launched a mandatory certification system. The regulatory process took a long time, but in November 2016 Indonesia became the first country on earth to issue FLEGT (Forest Law Enforcement, Governance, and Trade) licenses and

require them for exports of timber products to the EU. The system is monitored by a coalition of independent Indonesian civil-society organisations.

In addition, in January 2007 the government started a sweeping forest-management reform, organising 120.6 million hectares of forest land into forest management units (FMUs). The FMUs are similar to the Forstämter which manage forests in Germany. They represent a radical shift in regulation. Rather than issuing commodity licenses to private companies, trained forestry officials now directly manage forests and cooperate with local communities and the private sector, based on the requirements of each area.

The first FMUs were established in 2009. Their number has grown to 692 today.

A legacy of destruction

By the late 1970s, Indonesia had become the world's largest exporter of tropical timber. Log exports generated revenues of \$1.5 billion a year. In the 1980s, politically connected concessionaires started selling value-added wood products. By the late 1980s Indonesia was supplying 79% of the world's tropical plywood.

To meet international demand, companies with logging rights quickly cleared forests. No environmental safeguards were in place. The forests did not absorb as much carbon from the atmosphere as before and did not host as many varieties of plants and animals. Making matters even worse, the depleted forests became giant fire hazards.

In 1982/1983 the region was hit by the El Niño weather system, a variation in winds and sea surface temperatures. The impact was a severe drought. When farmers and plantation owners started burning trees and vegetation to

clear land for planting, the fires quickly spread out of control. Among other things, they ignited the highly combustible logging waste strewn everywhere. Peat swamps and surface coal deposits burned as well. The

“Great Fire of Borneo” set ablaze 3.2 million hectares in East Kalimantan, 2.7 million of which were tropical rainforests.

Despite the massive damage, unregulated deforestation accelerated in the late 1980s. The paper and pulp industry grew quickly – once again boosted by large government subsidies. From 1988 to 2010,

Indonesian pulp production expanded from 368,000 to 7 million metric tons per year, and paper production expanded from 30,000 to 10.5 million tons. Millions of hectares of natural forests were cut down in order to supply wood to the mills.

Starting in the mid-1990s, conglomerates with ties to Suharto began to invest massively in palm plantations to produce palm oil. Moreover, Malaysian palm-oil companies also started to expand into Indonesia, attracted by low costs for land and labour. Palm-oil production got a further boost from the mandated use of vegetable oils in biofuels in the USA (2007) and the European Union (2009).

From 1990 to 2015, the area planted with oil-producing palm trees grew from 1.1 million hectares to 11.3 million hectares in Indonesia. Indonesia today produces over 60% of the world's palm oil. In the 1990s and 2000s, up to 80% of new palm-oil plantations were planted on land that previously hosted tropical forests. ms



Natural forests have given way to palm-oil plantations.

The driving force for creation of FMUs has been an Indonesian-German development project called Forests and Climate Change Programme (FORCLIME).

Other important initiatives followed: on 20 May 2011, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono called for a two-year moratorium on new licenses for logging, palm-oil farming, mining et cetera on 66 million hectares of old-growth forest land and peatland. The areas concerned were not subject to resource licencing previously. The moratorium has since been renewed every two years and is now permanent.

Further, in January 2016 Indonesia established the Peat Restoration Agency. The idea was to facilitate the restoration of 2.4 million hectares of degraded peatlands within five years. A presidential regulation prohibits new projects from draining and clearing peatland. It also bans companies that already have a license from draining intact peatland. In 2018, a separate presidential instruction halted new permits for palm-oil plantations.

The measures are showing results. The annual rate of deforestation has fallen from its peak of 3.5 million hectares a year during 1996 to 2000 to 650,000 hectares in 2015/2016; 480,000 hectares in 2016/2017; and 439,000 hectares in 2017/2018. According to the World Resource Institute (WRI), 324,000 hectares were cleared in 2018/2019 (WRI figures are based on a different methodology than the official Indonesian data). However, the battle is far from over. Just recently, the Ministry of Trade issued a regulation attempting to undermine the timber certification system. After an uproar in the national and international forest community and a two-month battle behind the scenes in Indonesia, however, the regulation was revoked. That was a major victory for environmentalism.

The Ministry of Environment and Forestry still struggles to enforce government regulations and create additional forest management units. Staffing of FMUs is proceeding too slowly. Some companies still manage to circumvent the moratoria

on new resource licenses and new palm-oil plantation permits. A corrupt court system is undermining the ministry's legal victories against firms engaged in illegal logging.

Overcoming Indonesia's vast institutional, financial and political barriers to sustainable forest management is a herculean task. It will require political will, persistence and support from the international community.

LINK

Scholte, M., 2019: Indonesia curtails deforestation (an independent background study).

https://forclime.org/documents/Books/2019-08-05_Briefing%20paper%20FORCLIME%20FINAL%20mjs_final.pdf



MARIANNE SCHOLTE
is a freelance journalist.

marianne@mscholte.de

VIOLENT CONFLICT

Livelihoods in danger

Around the world, forest areas tend to be haunted by violent conflict. In the Amazon basin, settlers are displacing indigenous communities. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, various militias thrive on the exploitation of natural resources. In central India, a Maoist rebellion has taken hold. Nandini Sundar of the Delhi School of Economics explained the background in an interview.

Nandini Sundar interviewed by Hans Dembowski

Why does violent conflict so often rage in primary forests?

There are several reasons, including the demand for land, timber and other forest products. Moreover, mining companies want to exploit coal, ores and minerals. Powerful interest groups are thus involved, and the local people, who live in the forest, are typi-

cally not considered relevant. Indeed, policymakers often find wildlife tourism more important than local people's welfare. The big issue is always who controls forests and exploits the resources.

Does it add to problems that natural forests are almost by definition remote areas where the state is hardly present? The local people are not connected to networks of influence. Often they speak different languages and have cultures of their own.

Yes, forest communities are mostly disempowered. Where and when the state is present, moreover, it mostly takes sides against them. In India, the officers of the forest department have police powers. They can arrest people and search homes. They are not accountable to those who live in the forests and know that they basically enjoy impunity. Of course, things differ from country

to country. But almost everywhere, informal militias, paramilitary outfits or private military-service corporations like DynCorp or Blackwater – now called Academi – play a role.

A decade ago, India's then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh declared that the Naxalites, Maoist insurgents, were your country's greatest security threat. His government launched Operation Green Hunt to suppress them. Was it successful? The Naxalites aren't making headlines anymore.

Well, not having headlines is part of how the security forces manage this conflict. They mostly prefer not to discuss the violence in remote parts of the country at all – unless something has happened that makes them look strong. Violent encounters still occur sometimes. The region that has been most affected by guerrilla warfare is Bastar, a district in Chhatisgarh State, where the military now has a camp every five kilometres. The troops are all over the place, but the villages still have some autonomy and there is clandestine activity. The situation remains tense and Operation Green Hunt is still going on.



Historically, Adivasi tribes populate India's forests. They speak languages of their own and do not traditionally adhere to Hinduism. Do the Naxalites mobilise people along identity lines?

Well, their presence in central India's forests became a big issue in the early 2000s, and I don't think it was Maoist ideology that attracted people as much as the feeling that their livelihoods were threatened. They wanted protection from a predatory state. The Naxalite leaders learned Gondi, the major Adivasi language spoken in Bastar, and the majority of the cadre are now local. Identity politics of that kind may play a role at the grassroots level, but that is not the rebellion's *raison d'être*. And even though the current national government demands Hindu dominance, the conflict is not about religion either. On the other hand, Adivasi belief systems are typically linked to natural resources, so any attack on those resources can be read as an attack on the religious faith. However, there are many Adivasi who do not support the Naxalites as well as many members of other marginalised communities who do. Generally speaking, Naxalites have been particularly successful in mobilising Adivasis and Dalits, the members of India's lowest castes, who were called "untouchables" in colonial times. To some extent, Maoist outfits also reach out successfully to other poor and marginalised communities. India's stratified society has many of them.

Today, Narendra Modi is India's prime minister. Does that make a difference?

The answer is both yes and no. On the one hand, all parties are complicit in oppressive action. The Naxalites have a long and violent history that goes back to the late 1960s. They always called for a violent overthrow and mobilised oppressed communities, and were met with ever more violence by the government. There was never any serious

attempt by the state to broker peace or to alleviate the grievances that they thrive on. Even the major Communist parties resented them right from the start. On the other hand, the Hindu-chauvinists of the BJP, Modi's party, are especially intolerant of minorities, including Adivasis and Dalits, even if they have some token leaders among these communities. The BJP is very militaristic in its approach, while the Congress is more divided between a carrot and stick policy. It is primarily the BJP which was responsible for the escalation of violence in Bastar from 2005 on. It was running the state government and had links to very brutal vigilante groups. The Congress-led national government at the time supported them. Today, the Congress is running the state government and the BJP the national one. The atmosphere in the state is a little more free for journalists, civil-society activists et cetera but the war on Adivasi villages continues. Other states – from West Bengal and Odisha in the east to Maharashtra in the west – have been affected by Naxalite violence, but things never escalated as they did in Bastar.

The scenario looks depressingly bleak. Are there any positive lessons India can teach the world community?

Yes, there are. Sustainable forest management is possible. There has been a lot of good experience with empowering local people who understand the natural environment and know how to exploit forest resources without destroying the ecosystem.

If and when the authorities adopt their approaches and support their efforts, the results tend to be very good – without bloodshed or other human-rights violations. It is wrong to think that we must either destroy the environment or not have any development at all. More nuanced approaches are better. The bad news, however, is that our governments – whether at the national or state levels – still believe the choice is binary. It is particularly frightening to see the Modi government once again prioritising industrial growth over everything in the Covid-19 crisis by giving environmental clearance to mines, abolishing protective labour legislation et cetera. The government's treatment of workers was appalling with millions of workers stranded without food or shelter during the stringent Covid-19 lockdown, many of whom were forced to walk home to their villages, thousands of kilometres away. Modi is siding with the big corporations and the dominant castes. With so many migrant workers returning home to their villages, we need imaginative models for rural development and livelihoods, but the government is oblivious.



NANDINI SUNDAR is a professor of sociology at the Delhi School of Economics and the author of "The burning forest: India's war against the Maoists" (London, Verso, 2019).

Twitter: @nandinisundar
nandinisundar.blogspot.com



Wall painting expressing solidarity with Bastar in Kolkata in 2017.

Covid-19 diary

Authors and correspondents from Germany and abroad have contributed to our diary. Their articles do not necessarily reflect the current state of affairs. The relevant date is the indicated day of publication on our website.

MAHWISH GUL

How Kenya is dealing with the pandemic

22 JUNE

PAGE 26

EVITA SCHMIEG

Consequences for trade policy towards developing countries

8 JUNE

PAGE 30

BELAY BEGASHAW

Development success in eastern Africa at risk

19 JUNE

PAGE 27

JAMES SHIKWATI

African countries must rely on domestic capabilities

7 JUNE

PAGE 31

SUMEYA ISSA

Schoolbooks for rural poor children

15 JUNE

PAGE 28

MIREILLE KANYANGE

Elections in Burundi without significant protective measures

1 JUNE

PAGE 32

KARL KOPP

Human-rights shutdown towards refugees

12 JUNE

PAGE 29

JONATHAN MENGE

Nepal's economy is in free fall

28 MAY

PAGE 33

22 JUNE 2020

Gloomy outlook

Kenya is struggling to cope with the Covid-19 challenges. The country's health-care system is weak, and the economy was decelerating even before the pandemic began.

By Mahwish Gul

The World Bank reckons the economic outlook to be gloomy for Kenya because of the disease, with GDP expected to contract. The Bank says that is a “a rare, severe event”.

Kenya reported its first confirmed Covid-19 case on 12 March. The government responded fast. It immediately:

- restricted travel,
- closed all learning institutions,
- suspended public gatherings and religious services,
- imposed a nighttime curfew, and
- instructed anyone who could to work from home.

It is promoting preventive practices and enforcing social distancing in public places. Repression has been harsh, however, and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority reported in June that officers killed at least 15 people.

Since the first case was reported, there has been a gradual increase of new infections. By 17 June, almost 3,900 Covid-19 cases were counted and 105 patients were reported dead. Public health officials expected the peak to come in August or September. Health-care investments are being ramped up, but Kenya's health-care delivery system is clearly overburdened. According to the news agency Reuters, the country only has 518 intensive-care beds with 94% already occupied by non-Covid-19 patients. When the pandemic peaks, Kenya may need 4,500 ventilators. There are only 297 in the country.

With nearly 50 million people, Kenya is the largest economy in East Africa. An estimated 60% to 70% of its urban people live in crowded slums that lack basic services and are perfect breeding grounds for infectious diseases. Sanitation is a problem even in the best of times. Adequate hygiene is hardly possible, and self-quarantine seems

a far-fetched idea. It came as no surprise that the national health ministry identified densely populated areas in Nairobi as Covid-19 hotspots.

self-reinforcing moreover. As consumers and businesses spend less, incomes are declining too and spending must be reduced further.

Kenya must maintain a delicate balance. The great challenge is to keep the rate of new infections low enough for the health system to cope whilst restarting the economy at the same time.

Across Africa, the scenario is bleak. The health risks must not be underesti-



Nairobians expressing their anger about Covid-19 related police killings in Nairobi.

Endemic poverty makes masses of people more vulnerable. According to official data, about a third (36.1%) of Kenyans live below the poverty line. Informal labourers account for more than 80% of the workforce. They lack social protection, so unemployment means desperate poverty.

Compounding the problems, the country's economy has been hit hard. Deloitte, the multinational accountancy firm, expects export revenues to decline by at least 25% (\$1.5 billion) this year. Productivity in the cut-flower industry has dropped by 90%. The tourism sector has come to standstill. The economic slowdown has become

estimated. The UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) has warned that even with intense social distancing, the continent of 1.3 billion may see nearly 123 million cases this year, and 300,000 people could die of the disease. Kenya is a comparatively prosperous country. Economies and health sectors tend to be weaker elsewhere.



MAHWISH GUL is a consultant from Pakistan who specialises in development management and has recently moved to

Nairobi.
mahwish.gul@gmail.com

19 JUNE 2020

Falling back

A devastating locust plague is haunting eastern Africa in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. The global community is hardly paying attention. It must not allow healthy developments of recent years to be undone.

By Belay Begashaw

Even before Covid-19, food security was deteriorating at a global level. According to the World Food Programme’s Global Report on Food Crisis 2020, the number of people suffering food insecurity rose from 113 million in 2018 to 135 million in 2019. The member countries of the Eastern African regional organisation IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) accounted for about 20% of the people concerned. The IGAD members are Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Uganda and Sudan. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, they normally depend on about 8.5 million tons of cereal imports per year.

Agriculture is by far the most important industry in this world region. However, rain fall has become ever less predictable in the course of the climate crisis, and rain-fed agriculture has suffered accordingly. Recurring droughts and flash floods severely affect livelihoods (see my comment in Opinion section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/05). The infrastructure that is needed in view of the changing climate has not been built to a sufficient extent.

This year, things look particularly bad. One of the problems is a devastating locust plague which resulted from unusual weather conditions. For many decades, these insects have not haunted eastern Africa so harmfully. Even if this was the only problem, IGAD members would struggle to cope. Unfortunately, there are several more problems.

Covid-19 is spreading in the region. The global pandemic arrived relatively late in mid-March. At first, it only increased slowly, but it suddenly changed gear in May. By mid-June, Djibouti, the smallest IGAD member, had counted 4,500 infections and

43 dead, according to worldometers.info. To a considerable extent, the urgent health crisis has distracted governments’ attention from the plight of small farmers and pastoralists.

State capacities tend to be weak in this world region – and that is true of infrastruc-

When disasters strike, the international community normally offers some support. This year, however, all governments are absorbed by domestic worries. Depressingly, African countries have so far not managed to coordinate the kind of transborder action that the pandemic requires. That political and social instability haunts many countries, adds to the problems.

Eastern Africa did see progress in the past 20 years. Food security had improved, poverty was reduced, and indicators for health and education had become better.



Locusts on a Kenyan farm in January 2020.

tures too. Diminished harvests mean higher food prices. Subsistence farmers suffer in particular. Most people’s livelihoods depend on agriculture, so a crisis in the sector must make poverty worse. People’s self-esteem and community cohesion are affected negatively. Compounding problems, the Covid-19 pandemic means that health-care institutions are even more overburdened than they normally are. Issues such as malaria, measles, Guinea worm and others are not getting the attention they need. Vaccination programmes and veterinary services for livestock farmers have been winding down to considerable extent.

Two global initiatives were helpful: first the Millennium Development Goals and since 2015 the Sustainable Development Goals. The global community must not allow the positive developments to be undone. In the recovery efforts in the post-Covid-19 era, hard hit countries will deserve special attention.



BELAY BEGASHAW
is the director general of the Sustainable Development Goals Center for Africa (SDGC/A) in Kigali, Rwanda.

bbegashaw@sdgcafrica.org

15 JUNE 2020

Books for rural children in need

2020 is proving to be a worrisome year for Malawi, with schools closing down, businesses decelerating and people asked to stay home to slow the spread of Covid-19. An NGO supports poor children in rural communities with books for homeschooling.

By Sumeya Issa

Kingsley Chiwandila is a 12 year-old living in Chinupule village, one of many rural communities in Malawi. He is among an estimated 4.6 million children who are now staying home while schools are closed due to the coronavirus outbreak which has hit our country too.

With very limited access to essential materials such as text books or digital devices for going online, Kingsley is unable to live up to government recommendations. It wants kids to continue studying from home. "I do not have what I need to do so," Kingsley deplores. He says he would be grateful if he had specific books on some of his favourite subjects. "I like the subjects agriculture, bible knowledge, English and mathematics." The 12 year-old likes reading, but he is also

passionate about soccer and now spends most of his time playing with his peers. Running after the ball, their energy and enthusiasm is obvious to anyone watching.

Kingsley's mother, Fyness Chiwandila, finds the situation puzzling: "I don't know when they will all go back to school again – nobody knows. But they are saying it is important to keep the kids safe from the coronavirus, so we will just have to wait and see." Like many mothers in Chinupule village, Chiwandila has very little education. She hopes for something different for her children.

As the Covid-19 crisis affects Malawi in many ways, some non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are helping where they can. A youth-led organisation called Foundation for Rural Children Empowerment (FORCE) wants to support underprivileged children. It has started an initiative to ensure that members of this target group get the essential materials they need. The goal is to enable them to keep acquiring skills and knowledge in spite of not going to school.

"It is fundamental to address the needs of children especially during this



Covid-19 pandemic because their education cannot wait," says Faida Sandra Hambalume, FORCE's executive director. "Education is a right for all among other rights like the right to good health."

The NGO, which was set up in 2017, is active in Central Malawi. It has collected enough books for all pupils of one school. They live in four different villages. To distribute the books, Hambalume says, NGO activists go from door to door, whilst observing distancing and related measures. As the government is not reaching out to rural children during the pandemic, it is people like Hambalume and the FORCE team who are giving hope to rural communities.



SUMEYA ISSA
is a freelance journalist from Malawi.

sumieissa@gmail.com



Kingsley Chiwandila, holding a homemade ball in his arms, with his peers.

12 JUNE 2020

Human-rights shutdown

Because of the coronavirus, Europe was sealed off during the lockdown period precisely in the way that right-wing populists have always wanted it to be. Very few refugees and migrants were able to cross the sea, inner-European transit routes were blocked, and asylum seekers were stuck in the disastrous camps along the EU's external borders as well as in EU members' large-scale shelters. This scenario proves that fundamental European principles are being neglected.

By Karl Kopp

Even before the pandemic, the EU did what it could to turn away people seeking asylum and often left them to die at sea. People have been suffering in the hotspots on Greek islands for years. While public attention in Europe focuses on the novel coronavirus, people keep dying in the Mediterranean Sea or are sent back to Libyan torture camps.

In late March and early April, Malta and Italy used Covid-19 as a pretext to stop the life-saving operations civil-society agencies were running. As state agencies are hardly saving lives anymore, humanitarian operations have basically been discontinued. Europe urgently needs a common life-saving service, but nothing of the kind is anywhere in sight.

Malta dropped off boat people on cruise ships beyond its territorial waters. These people were first rescued, but then denied any rights and forced to subsist in dismal conditions. The idea is that this will only change once EU countries are willing to host them.

Pushbacks that violate international law have been documented along land borders as well as in the central Mediterranean, the Aegean and in the waters between Cyprus and Syria. Unrestricted violence against refugees is evident. On Europe's external borders, human rights do not count anymore.

Family members can no longer join those refugees who have been accepted by European countries. This means even more

suffering for internally displaced people in Syria, for asylum seekers stuck in Lebanon, for thousands of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopian exile or for Somali refugees in Kenya.

EU governments managed to organise charter flights that brought home hundreds of thousands of tourists from all around the world. No such airlifts are available to refugees' family members, to thousands of desperate people in war-torn Libya or to 40,000

In early March, before European lockdowns were enforced, the Greek-Turkish border witnessed dramatic scenes (see comment by Sabine Balk in Debate section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/04). At the time, the presidents of the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Council declared unconditional support for the restrictive action of the Greek government in a rather belligerent display of solidarity. It did not bother Ursula von der Leyen, the Commission president, that officers perpetrated brutal violence against people seeking shelter before her very eyes. She felt no critical words for Greece's suspension of the right to asylum and declared that the country was serving as Europe's protective shield.



People rallying in Hamburg to demand refugees be welcomed in Germany.

asylum seekers in miserable camps on the Greek islands.

Prominent medical doctors from several countries have signed an appeal to the European Commission. The headline is: "EVACUATE. MORIA. NOW." The doctors argue that it is impossible to protect people from Covid-19 infections in the camps. They spell out what can and must be done to keep refugees safe from the spreading disease.

Moria, a camp on Lesbos, has become the symbol of the disastrous European refugee policy. Civil-society organisations in Germany and other EU member countries are shaping public debate with slogans such as "evacuate the camps" and "no one left behind".

Statements like this show that top leaders of the EU have backed off from fundamental principles that are spelled out clearly in Article 2 of the Treaty of the European Union. It starts with the words: "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights..." These principles must now be upheld.



KARL KOPP
heads the Europe department of Pro Asyl, a German civil-society organisation that fights for refugees' rights.

europa@proasyl.de

8 JUNE 2020

Embedding social standards

The Coronavirus crisis has led to the collapse of trade flows and national export restrictions. Developing countries in particular suffer because of this development. They depend on importing essential products such as medicine or food, and they urgently need the foreign exchange they earn through exports.

By Evita Schmieg

In terms of helping affected economies to bounce back, the top priority is to restore trade flows. Trade must be facilitated, and it must be organised in ways that ensure that hygiene standards are observed. Informa-

agenda of policymakers. The double crisis which affects both public health and economic growth requires every country to balance openness and protection in a new way. For decades, “industrial policy” was a taboo phrase, but now it is being proposed as an appropriate approach to avoid overdependence on foreign suppliers – and especially if all those suppliers are Chinese.

In future, trade rules must give more scope to industrial policies. So far, trade agreements have banned or severely restricted related instruments. In this respect, the World Trade Organization’s Agreement on Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) or the one on Trade Related Intel-

lectual Property Rights (TRIPS) are typical. WTO members must reconsider those restrictions. We need to do a better job of balancing private interests with the common good.

2008. In future, each country will have to balance domestic production with integration into regional or global value chains in the way it deems best. African countries, in particular, should focus more on regional rather than global integration. The pan-African free trade area is an important long-term goal, and it can best be achieved through fostering ties within existing African regional organisations.

Trade agreements should be redesigned with a view to achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Countries with strong social-safety nets have so far coped better with the Covid-19 crisis. Trade agreements must therefore do more to safeguard and promote social-protection standards. As a first step, the EU should strengthen the so-called sustainability chapters in its bilateral agreements. Ultimately, social and environmental issues have to be streamlined in the multilateral trade regime.

Trade policy, moreover, must take the climate crisis into account. This would strengthen local and regional production. That goods cross multiple borders during production processes results from the social costs of such transportation – including harm to the environment and health – are not considered. In future, market prices must reflect such external costs. A border levy on imported products, reflecting the carbon emitted in the production process, would serve that purpose. It would essentially be a tax on “dirty” goods.

A global agreement embedding social and environmental standards in the international trade regime would be the ideal long-term solution, but that is a long way off. The EU should take an easier step first. It should abolish customs duties on all goods that developing countries produce in sustainable ways. That would be a sensible measure in the EU’s ongoing reform of its Generalised System of Preferences.

The Corona crisis is a burden on humanity. The least we can do is learn its lessons.



EVITA SCHMIEG
is a scholar at the Europe
Research Group of the
Stiftung Wissenschaft und
Politik (SWP – the German

Institute for International and Security Affairs).
evita.schmieg@yahoo.de



Exporting in the Coronavirus era: workers in Egypt wearing protective masks as they prepare oranges for export to Europe.

tion Technology can help – consider electronic payments, for example.

Trade financing is needed too. One problem is that the banks that finance the bulk of trade are curtailing credit in view of higher risks. Limited access to credit is thus a serious challenge, especially for small and mid-sized enterprises.

Rethinking the role of trade in economic development must now top the

lectual Property Rights (TRIPS) are typical. WTO members must reconsider those restrictions. We need to do a better job of balancing private interests with the common good.

The mantra of development resulting simply from a country’s companies’ integration into global supply chains has become obsolete. Cross-border production has been in decline since the global financial crisis of

7 JUNE

Triple challenge

In view of Covid-19, African countries must activate their domestic capabilities. Hoping for external support makes even less sense than before the pandemic.

By James Shikwati

Compared with other continents, Africa so far has only low rates of people infected with the novel coronavirus. That is partly attributable to low testing capabilities and the continent’s comparatively little connectivity with pandemic epicenters in Asia,

cal masks are expensive – and all too often not available at all, Africans are using textile masks. African countries are manufacturing items such as face masks and hand sanitizers. Indigenous digital platforms are offering avenues for education, health and commerce, albeit limited. Senegal has led the way in creating testing kits.

It is a challenge, however, that most people view the pandemic as an upper-class problem that neither concerns poor people nor rural areas. Government officials must now run good awareness-raising campaigns.



Photo safari in Kenya's Masai Mara National Park: tourism has collapsed because of the pandemic.

Europe and the USA. Africa’s political leadership must rise to the triple challenge of:

- running poorly-equipped public health systems,
- managing the region’s economies that are characterised by informal businesses and export orientation and
- the emerging bi-polar international order marked by the growing rivalry between China and the USA.

African health-care systems are ill-equipped. There is a lack of professional staff, testing kits and hospital equipment. On the upside, Africa has the experience of containing HIV/AIDS and Ebola. Heeding those lessons will help to manage Covid-19.

The continent’s people are good at developing coping mechanisms. As medi-

It would be good, moreover, if the continent agreed upon standards of managing the pandemic. Disagreement has led to occasional diplomatic tensions. For example, the movement of trucks with transit goods was disrupted at East African border crossings. Medically motivated action thus further compounded the economic crisis.

Most African countries have avoided total lockdowns. The reasons were that:

- their social-protection systems are weak,
- their economies are largely informal and
- that they wanted to prevent possible social unrest.

To contain the spread of Covid-19, Africa mostly resorted to partial lockdowns,

night curfews and social distancing. These measures, nonetheless, wiped out close to 80% of urban based temporary jobs in the service sector. The “work from home” and “work digitally” mantras make no sense in informal industries that require workers’ physical presence.

To some extent, the service sector is adapting however. “Wash women”, who perform house cleaning chores, now sit at road junctions in Nairobi’s residential areas, marketing their services to middle-class people who are working from home. Logistics and delivery services are facilitating online shopping. Home deliveries and private-sector services for people in distress are becoming common. Agricultural produce is still being brought to the cities.

On the other hand, travel restrictions have hurt the tourism sector. Reliance on imports has equally proven problematic. The obvious lesson is that domestic solutions are needed.

This is all the more so as the Covid-19 pandemic is accelerating a new bi-polar logic where African governments must navigate intensifying China-US rivalry. Africans are aware of racism in both superpowers. The continent’s debt burden is a serious problem – and it is set to get worse as Covid-19 is projected to reduce African fiscal revenues by 30% this year. China is now Africa’s top creditor, but the USA controls much of the international financial system and is always reluctant on matters of debt relief. The interest of both the US and China to control technology spheres such as 5G mobile-phone networks is likely to impact negatively the continent’s embrace of digital platforms.

In the current setting, Africa’s political systems that have long nurtured corruption and deindustrialisation look ever more dysfunctional. Governments that hoped to get donor support now find traditional donor countries in distress as well. To rise to the triple Covid-19 challenge, African countries must activate internal capabilities. Public policy can now rely even less on external support than before the pandemic.



JAMES SHIKWATI
is the founder-director of the
**Inter Region Economic
Network (IREN Kenya)**
james@irenkenya.com

Twitter: @shikwatiJames
<https://irenkenya.com/>



Burundians are queuing to cast their votes – without distance or masks.

1 JUNE 2020

Protected by God

Burundi has elected a new president. Neither during the campaign, nor at the polls did people practice social distancing. According to official data, Burundi has only few Covid-19 infections.

By Mireille Kanyange

Evariste Ndayishimiye will be the next president of this small, East African country. He is also the secretary general of the ruling party CNDD-FDD and a close ally of Pierre Nkurunziza, the incumbent head of state, who did not run again after having served three terms (see my comment in debate section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2019/10). Ndayishimiye will take office in August. Burundians also elected a new parliament and new municipal councils on 20 May.

More than 5 million voters are registered in Burundi, and more than 4 million took part, according to the election commission. There were hardly any protective

measures to shield people from the novel coronavirus. The official time for campaigning was from 27 April to 7 May. During this period, there was no social distancing. Huge campaign teams toured the country, hardly missing a single hill. Political parties hosted events and rallies with thousands of supporters who applauded the candidates. At most, there was a bucket of water and a piece of soap or some disinfectant gel. Candidates did not wear masks.

By mid-May, officialdom had registered a mere 42 corona infections and one death in Burundi. There is very little testing, however, so the true dimensions of the virus spread are unknown. The government declared that Burundi is protected by God. Nonetheless, it gave instructions concerning hygiene and appealed to everyone to observe those rules. The implicit message of its awareness raising was that people should not exaggerate protective action.

In this context, Prosper Ntahorwamiye, the government's spokesperson, alluded to the Belgian and French schools in Burundi. Both had closed down to prevent the spread of the disease. At the same time, neighbouring countries such as Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo were considering lockdowns.

The government also had a disagreement with the World Health Organization (WHO). Shortly before the election date, the Foreign Ministry declared that the four WHO representatives in Burundi were no longer welcome. The ministry did not say why, but the most likely reason is that the WHO team probably interfered in Burundi's response to the pandemic in ways that the government did not appreciate.

In the long run, people's opinion of the new president will depend on how the pandemic evolves. In the short run, however, his election victory is in dispute. Agathon Rwasasa, who ran for the opposition party CNL, claims to have won, even though he only got 24% of the votes according to the official result, while Ndayishimiye's reported tally was 69%. Rwasasa says the election was rigged and he will turn to the Constitutional Court. Other observers also say that rules were breached. The government did not allow international observers to monitor the events.



MIREILLE KANYANGE

is a journalist who works for Radio Isanganiro in Burundi.

mika.kanyange@gmail.com

Sudden death

Burundi's long-term President Pierre Nkurunziza suddenly died on 8 June in a hospital in the city of Karuzi. He was 55 years old. According to the government, he suffered from a heart attack. However, rumour has it that he actually died from a Covid-19 infection. His successor, Evariste Ndayishimiye, took up office earlier than originally planned. He was sworn in on 18 June in the capital of Gitega.

D+C/E+Z

28 MAY 2020

Resilience tested once again

Since Nepal's lockdown started on 23 March, an eerie, post-apocalyptic atmosphere has marked Kathmandu's previously bustling streets. For more than two months, people have been only allowed to leave their homes for grocery shopping. The economy is in free fall.

By Jonathan Menge

Masses of informal daily labourers have lost their jobs. Their families now have little to eat. It is estimated that about 60% of the jobs have disappeared. The tourism sector has collapsed. It had accounted for eight percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2018 and supported more than 1 million jobs. Hopes of recovery are distant.

Nepalis are resilient people. In past decades, they had to cope with a Maoist insurgency, the long-lasting debate of a new constitution and the devastating earthquake of 2015. There have been encouraging developments too: a progressive new constitution is now in place, and elections were held at municipal, state and federal levels. Government capacities are limited however, and the Covid-19 challenge is huge. Families and communities are tightly knit, but the situation is becoming increasingly desperate.

At first, it looked like Nepal could get away with just a few isolated Covid-19 cases, but lately infection numbers have begun to rise. There still are only a few hundred, most of which can be traced to labour migrants returning from India. In response, the government has kept prolonging the lockdown from week to week.

Unfortunately, the initial isolation strategy did not stop the virus from spreading. Closure of the Indian border made the situation worse. The country depends on imports from India, ranging from petrol to lentils. India is struggling with Covid-19 too, of course, and has stopped rice exports. Food prices have risen considerably in Nepal. In view of the hardship people suffer, the big question is how long the blunt lockdown can be sustained.

There are huge practical challenges – from the lack of personal protective equipment for medical staff to rotting vegetables in the fields. However, the biggest challenge still lies ahead: up to 4 million Nepalese work abroad – mostly in India, Malaysia and the Gulf countries. Their remittances con-

tribute about a third to Nepal's GDP. In April, however, remittances fell by more than 50%.

It adds to the problems that the migrants typically live in very harsh conditions and are thus exposed to the novel coronavirus. More than 12,000 Covid-19 infections of non-resident Nepalese citizens have been confirmed abroad. Tens of thousands have lost their jobs and desperately want to return home. However, the country cannot run a repatriation operation of that scale. The economy was already struggling to create enough employment before the pandemic, and returning migrants will cause additional stress in the labour market. The outlook for investment, trade and domestic consumption is bleak.

Though Nepal does not have large infection numbers so far, the country is hard hit. It may need a completely new development strategy. Currently, policy debate in Nepal is focused on a renewed role for agriculture. Investments in this sector might indeed be a good start, boosting food security and reducing the dependence on imports. On the other hand, farming alone cannot create the opportunities needed to satisfy a population of 30 million mostly young and aspiring people. The government will need



Lots of pigeons, no tourists: Kathmandu's Basantapur Durbar Square, a UNESCO world heritage site in mid-May.

to come up with fresh ideas. Nepalis will need all the support they can get. The decision of Germany's Federal Government to terminate its bilateral cooperation with Nepal in context of a new global development strategy therefore comes at a bad time. To many Nepalis it feels like a friend is turning away in a time of need.

Jonathan Menge is the head of the office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Nepal. He is also a member of the board of directors of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Nepal. He is a former advisor to the Nepalese government and has worked for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Nepal for several years. He is a member of the board of directors of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Nepal. He is a former advisor to the Nepalese government and has worked for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Nepal for several years.



JONATHAN MENGE
heads the office of the
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in
Nepal.

fes@fesnepal.org



Join us on Facebook!



www.facebook.com/development.and.cooperation

facebook



D+C Development and Cooperation
@development.and.cooperation

- Home
- Posts
- Photos
- About
- Community

Create a Page



Like Share Suggest Edits

Learn More Send Message

Posts

D+C D+C Development and Cooperation

Yesterday at 3:33 AM

Hans Dembowki, Editor-in-Chief of D+C, will participate in a panel discussion held by the Shattuck Center on Conflict, Negotiation and Recovery at CEU School of Public Policy on Friday 3 July.

To watch the event go to:

<https://www.facebook.com/events/265463564712109/>

To learn more go to: <https://ccnr.ceu.edu/5th-lemkin-reunion-session-5>



D+MDC.EU

Hans Dembowki spells out some thoughts on global governance ahead of Shattuck Center panel discussion

47

1 Comment 2 Shares

Community

See All

221,003 people like this

221,101 people follow this

About

See All

Contact D+C Development and Cooperation on Messenger

www.dandc.eu

Magazine

Page Transparency

See More

Facebook is showing information to help you better understand the purpose of a Page. See actions taken by the people who manage and post content.

Page created - January 8, 2014

People

>

221,003 likes

Related Pages

Deutschland.de
News & Media Website

