



المركز الافريقي للتنمية والاستثمار  
Center for Africa Development & Investment



# AFRICA MONTHLY REVIEW

Inaugural Edition



## Brief on CADI

The Center for Africa's Development and Investment (CADI) holds a distinct position as an organization tailored specifically to fostering economic transformation and advocating for inclusive development policies within the African continent. Its dedication to nurturing strategic regional, national, and cross-country policy shifts substantiates its critical role in the ongoing drive toward sustained economic growth and socio-economic transformation in Africa.

CADI's paramount objective encapsulates a dual focus: promoting structural economic transformation and advocating for inclusive and sustainable development. It has embarked on this mission by bolstering the capacity of African governments and the private sector to shape and evaluate their respective development policy initiatives. With an emphasis on systematic review and development of continental, regional, and national policy frameworks, sector, and cross-sector strategies, CADI is an institution at the crossroads of policy formulation and implementation.

The Center for Africa's Development and Investment (CADI) epitomizes the possibility of transformative change within the African economic landscape. By fostering strategic partnerships, enhancing policy-making capabilities, and promoting local solutions to local challenges, CADI reinforces its place as an unrivaled catalyst for Africa's sustainable economic transformation.

## Rationale:

In this epoch of unprecedented information dissemination, cultivating an intricate comprehension of global regions is paramount. This assertion is particularly germane to Africa, an area frequently marginalized or depicted inaccurately in conventional narratives. The content of various media platforms regarding Africa is often permeated with conflict-centric discourses and sensationalist representations, oversimplifying, and distorting the multifaceted realities of Africa's distinct cultures, societies, and politics.



The CADI Monthly Africa Review is meticulously curated, conforming to an overarching architecture underscored by three cardinal themes. These themes are not rigid but possess fluidity, echoing the dynamism of emerging news and happenings, demonstrating a thoughtful response to the ever-changing tapestry of ground events. This systematic triad frames the focus and foundation of the content into the three pillars of development and investment, geopolitics, and peace and security; each is an interdependent yet distinct theme that illuminates a facet of the multi-dimensional African narrative, creating a comprehensive and coherent discourse in the CADI Monthly Africa Review.

In response to this current media ecology, the CADI Monthly Africa Review emerges as an erudite and prescient beacon in the analysis of African affairs. This publication actively weaves African perspectives into international dialogues, aspiring to enlighten policymakers, opinion leaders, journalists, and the public with a detailed summary of pivotal African issues. While the Review refrains from asserting monopolistic conveyance of African viewpoints, it is unwavering in its commitment to delivering content characterized by authenticity, intellectual rigor, and accessibility.

The Review, powered by a dedicated cadre of industry experts and policy analysts, endeavors to transcend the short and often sensationalist news stories that dominate headlines; by incorporating proprietary insights on manifold implications, it aims to elucidate the transformative potential of current events in Africa's future trajectory. In essence, the CADI Monthly Africa Review does more than merely inform; it critically engages with narratives and shapes discourse on what today's African news foreshadows for tomorrow's Africa.



# Development & Investment

This exposition explores the complex intricacies underlying Africa's socioeconomic progression and the influx of foreign capital. It seeks to illuminate the mutualistic interplay between all-encompassing development and extraneous financial investments, an intricate relationship fundamental to understanding the continent's ongoing economic metamorphosis.

Encompassing both macro-level systemic trends and micro-level local phenomena, this research provides a rigorous, analytical evaluation of the economic terrain. It unravels the more significant systemic dynamics while concurrently dissecting the minutiae of regional economic occurrences, affording a granular view of the continent's economic progress.

A unique aspect of this research includes illuminating the burgeoning narratives that contribute positively to Africa's economic advancement. Often overlooked, these narratives represent pockets of growth and success, helping to reshape conventional perspectives of Africa's financial journey. This multifaceted exploration, therefore, offers a comprehensive understanding of the complicated relationship between foreign capital inflow and socio-economic progression in Africa and elevates the less-known yet powerful positive stories that contribute to the continent's economic narrative. Such an approach ultimately enriches our understanding of the variegated socio-economic landscape of the African continent.

## Nigeria: Starlink vs. Eutelsat



The Paris-based satellite operator, Eutelsat Communications, ranking third in the world in revenue, has rekindled negotiations with Nigeria's second-largest telecom provider, Globacom Limited (Glo), owned by billionaire tycoon Mike Adenuga. The goal is to deploy advanced, high-speed data infrastructure in Nigeria, which could significantly enhance the region's digital landscape. This comes on the heels of a stalled partnership initiated in 2021, which has since languished due to unfulfilled implementation plans.

These negotiations occur within a broader context, marked by the introduction of Elon Musk's Starlink into the Nigerian market in February this year. The American company has been proactively establishing alliances with smaller telecom entities, offering Nigerians a competitive suite of services. The competition between Eutelsat and Starlink represents a strategic battle for market control in Nigeria and could set precedents for similar ventures in Africa.

Adenuga's French connections, manifested in his participation in the French-Nigerian Business Council and his receipt of the prestigious French Legion of Honor award from President Emmanuel Macron, suggest that Glo might lean toward Eutelsat for partnership. Should this occur, it would grant Eutelsat access to Glo's captive user base of 61 million subscribers, a considerable foothold that would also serve as a tangible proof of concept for further expansion. The implications of such a partnership are significant, particularly for Starlink. If Eutelsat successfully secured a deal with Glo, it would likely solidify its standing in Nigeria, hampering Starlink's market penetration efforts. Furthermore, it could provide Eutelsat with a solid foothold to continue its expansion into non-francophone Africa, potentially marginalizing Starlink's presence and growth on the continent.

Africa's latent potential for satellite internet providers like Eutelsat and Starlink is immense. Given the continent's significant challenges with terrestrial infrastructure, the demand for satellite internet services is high. Moreover, with a population exceeding 1.3 billion, most of whom are underserved by current broadband networks, the commercial prospects are substantial. By bolstering connectivity, these satellite providers can contribute significantly to the digital transformation of Africa, a continent brimming with potential. Moreover, the development of high-speed data infrastructure could dramatically transform the African digital landscape, spurring economic growth, enhancing educational opportunities, and facilitating social inclusion. Consequently, the outcome of the Eutelsat-Glo negotiations, and their subsequent ramifications on Starlink's positioning, holds profound significance for the future of digital connectivity in Africa. WSJ

## Tunisia and Libya:

### Business France Advancing Civil Protection and Security Agenda

Business France, the French government agency spearheading the international expansion of French firms, is seizing opportunities in Tunisia, reacting adeptly to the political climate shaped by President Kais Saied's augmentation of the security sector. The president has assigned Interior Minister Kamel Faki to procure diverse security equipment, encompassing surveillance and anti-drone defense systems, cybersecurity and telecommunication systems, and specialized vehicles for security forces and anti-riot operations.

Meanwhile, in Libya, the National Safety Authority, one of the rare entities with recognition across the divided East and West, is seeking equipment for its substantial 17,000-strong workforce, particularly civil security-use trucks. A prior 2019 bilateral contract with Renault Trucks, brokered by the French and Libyan governments, did not yield the expected results. Nevertheless, in the current phase, the French government is demonstrating unwavering commitment, advocating for Sides and Desautel, two firms specializing in manufacturing such vehicles, in gaining traction in the volatile Libyan market. While Libya's political instability presents significant challenges, success in this endeavor would constitute a major victory for Business France and, more broadly, for the French industrial sector. A successful execution could send a powerful message to the rest of Africa about France's resilience and capabilities. It would underscore the country's capacity to delegate critical tasks to its companies, enabling them to deliver goods and services effectively, even in rugged environments.

These ventures represent commercial prospects for French businesses and strategic opportunities to showcase France's unique capacities in navigating complex, unstable socio-political landscapes. Successful execution could cement France's reputation as a reliable partner capable of delivering on its commitments in even the most challenging conditions. AI

## South Africa:

### McKinsey's Pro-Bono Redemption Arc

Since its involvement in a high-profile financial case in South Africa in 2018, McKinsey & Co, a renowned U.S. consultancy firm, has adjusted its operational focus towards private clients. This development followed allegations of financial improprieties linked to several high-ranking officials and individuals during the previous administration. Under the leadership of its Africa Chairman, Acha Leke, a native of Cameroon, the firm has been making concerted efforts to rebuild its relationship with the South African government. Its commitment to providing pro-bono services to government agencies within a robust Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) framework is a testament to these efforts.

The 2018 case led to a significant contraction of the firm's operations in South Africa, with its workforce decreasing from nearly 300 employees in 2018 to less than 100 in 2019. However, thanks to critical private sector engagements in telecom, mining, and banking, the consultancy has increased its personnel to over 200 consultants.



Despite these improvements, the firm's reputation faces ongoing scrutiny. Investigations by the National Prosecution Authority (NPA) continue, and the current administration under President Cyril Ramaphosa maintains a cautious stance towards the company. Nevertheless, a successful pro-bono engagement with a significant governmental agency could be crucial in restoring McKinsey's reputation within the public sector. This unprecedented move could also establish a novel normative principle for consultancies in corruption scandals involving governments: public redemption requires substantial amends.

Despite the hefty costs involved, McKinsey's decision to court Pretoria's favor symbolizes its importance to the South African market and perhaps the African continent more broadly. More significantly, this move signals a perceptible shift in power dynamics. This case proves that U.S. companies can no longer elude the consequences of African wrongdoings. The insistence on making amends underscores the growing assertion of African countries in holding multinational corporations accountable, further demonstrating a welcome maturation of global corporate governance norms. FT

## Morocco:

### OCP's Growing Fertilizer Business

The Moroccan government owned OCP Group, formerly Office Chérifien des Phosphates, is currently the world's preeminent producer of phosphate and its derivative products, with access to over 70% of the global phosphate reserves. The company's strategic growth, demonstrated by the recent inauguration of a plant in Kaduna, Nigeria, is a testament to its ambitions to extend its global reach. Despite the absence of official confirmation, it is actively contemplating new ventures in Togo and Senegal and potentially an additional facility in Nigeria. While a planned expansion into Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, initially slated for 2021 to establish a fully integrated fertilizer plant, remains in limbo. AI



OCP's ambitious pan-African expansion presents enormous opportunities for the company and the African continent. In light of the recent disruption of nearly 40% of the world's fertilizer production due to the conflict in Ukraine, food security has emerged as an imminent global concern, particularly in less-developed nations. This issue is amplified by Africa's surging birth rate, creating a potential crisis in food availability. In this context, OCP's strategy is twofold: first, it aims to mitigate the shortfall in fertilizer production resulting from the Ukraine conflict. Second, it seeks to make fertilizer accessible throughout Africa by strategically establishing plants that foster intra- and inter-African trade.

Food security is critical, particularly in developing regions like Africa. Food security refers to the availability, access, and use of sufficient, safe, and nutritious food. It is central to human health, economic development, and political stability. As such, a homegrown fertilizer production capacity can significantly contribute to Africa's self-reliance and resilience in terms of food security.

OCP promotes an African solution to an African challenge through this approach. Leveraging its phosphate resources catalyzes a potentially transformative shift towards self-reliance in fertilizer production in Africa. This move holds profound implications for Africa's agricultural sector and the continent's overall food security landscape, underscoring the significance of homegrown solutions in addressing Africa's unique challenges. AI



# Geopolitics

This comprehensive and nuanced investigation seeks to decode the geopolitical ballet, delineating its effects on the interplay of continental and extra-continental relations. Situated at the crossroads of geography and international relations, this theme critically evaluates the nexus of power dynamics, political influence, and alliance networks within and beyond Africa. In this discourse, the implications of strategic political movements and international accords on Africa form a crucial analysis area. We explore how these maneuvers, set within the chessboard of global politics, may cast ripples across the continent's socio-political landscape, reshaping its international relations. Furthermore, this study will place a focused analytical lens on regions such as the Sahel, Lake Chad Basin, Great Lakes, and the Horn of Africa due to their significance in the context of terrorism, human trafficking, and potential inter-country conflict.

This research highlights the inextricable link between geographical considerations and political maneuvering, assessing the potent influences of these two interwoven threads on Africa's geopolitical fabric. It unravels the consequential effects of international agreements and their strategic implications, offering a panoramic view of Africa's position in the evolving global political theater. In this analytical narrative, the complex interconnections between geography, political power, and international alliances are brought to the fore, revealing their collective role in determining Africa's geopolitical place and shaping its destiny in the intricate dance of global politics.



## Sudan: Current Conflict

The current state of affairs in Sudan, presently embroiled in a nationwide armed conflict, stems from an intense power struggle between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) under the command of General Abdelfattah Al Burhan and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), led by Mohammed Hamdan Dagolo.

The roots of this conflict can be traced back to the evolution of power dynamics in the post-Bashir era. The RSF was fostered by the leadership of Mohammed Hamdan Dagolo, popularly known as Hemedti. Over time, the RSF burgeoned into a formidable fighting force, rivaling the established SAF in strength and numbers. This dramatic rise only fueled the smoldering rivalry between the two military bodies.



The current tumultuous state of Sudan, marked by human suffering and political disarray, cannot be overstated. The conflict has created considerable suffering among the civilian populations. It is estimated that the number of acutely food insecure is expected to increase by two million to 2.5 million to 19 million across Sudan in the next 3- 6 months if the current conflict continues. Nearly 1.4 million people have now been displaced in Sudan since the conflict between two rival generals erupted in April, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) said Sunday in a new report that exposes the scale of the catastrophe. This elicited significant international attention. Notable among these interventions is the "Jeddah Process," led by the United States and Saudi Arabia, primarily aiming at implementing a ceasefire and establishing humanitarian corridors for the aid to flow in and for IDPs to leave. However, these ambitions have yet to bear fruit, facing significant obstacles, most notably with the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) officially withdrawing from the process, revealing the stark challenges in engaging with the warring factions.

Beyond the Jeddah Process, other nations have launched parallel negotiation efforts. However, these attempts at diplomacy have inadvertently added layers of complexity to the existing political milieu. They have clashed rather than produced synergetic results, creating a complex diplomatic scenario that inadvertently impedes progress. The competing international interventions, albeit well-intentioned, need more coherence and coordination. The absence of a unified negotiation process has led to redundant efforts and conflicting strategies. This results in diluting the effectiveness of each initiative, creating confusion, and reducing the likelihood of achieving the desired objective of peace.

Meanwhile, African institutions led by the African Union (AU) convened the Peace & Security Council at the level of heads of state and adopted a roadmap with two distinct mechanisms; an expanded coordination mechanism composed of the P5, A3, Quad, Troika, EU, Arab League, IGAD and neighboring countries —predicated on the principle of "African solutions for African problems. This meeting also adopted a 6-point roadmap to achieving an end to the conflict, addressing the humanitarian crisis, and embarking on a political process to address the challenges of restoring the transition and paving the way for democratic dispensation.

In this rapidly deteriorating situation, it is essential to streamline the negotiation process. The situation's urgency mandates a unified approach, prioritizing the well-being of the Sudanese populace over competing political aspirations. With Sudan's geographic positioning posing the risk of conflict spillage into neighboring countries, the call for immediate resolution amplifies.

Given their shared socio-political dynamics and deeper understanding of local complexities, African institutions, and nations are potentially influential in facilitating a resolution. However, this potential can only be harnessed through a unified negotiation framework, aligning international and regional actors under a single mandate. This demands that Sudanese leaders set aside personal ambitions to prioritize national interest, underlining the necessity of dialogue, compromise, and a shared vision for a peaceful Sudan.

The Sudanese civil war presents a formidable challenge demanding immediate international attention. The various factions within Sudan must be impelled to participate in a peace process emphasizing the welfare of Sudan's people. International actors, particularly African institutions, are pivotal in facilitating this process. Their effectiveness hinges on coordinated action under a shared mandate—a strategic approach that could potentially quell the Sudanese conflict, thus paving the way toward a peaceful, prosperous Sudan. AI. AU.

## **Libya:**

### **Ouster of Prime Minister Fatih Bashagha, Regional and Geopolitical Interest**

The current Libya crisis began with an uprising for democracy which ended up with NATO intervention, and its descendants led to chaos following the death of former leader Muammar al-Qaddafi in October 2011. Libya's transitional government ceded authority to the General National Congress (GNC) in July 2012, which faced numerous challenges under the war between various insurgency groups. In May 2014, General Haftar launched Operation Dignity, a Libya National Army (LNA) campaign to attack Islamist militant groups across eastern Libya, including Benghazi. Since then, the Government of National Accord has faced considerable obstacles. More than 217,000 Libyans have been internally displaced. Approximately 1.3 million people need humanitarian assistance in Libya as the conflict turned the country from a prosperous nation to a semi-stateless society.

Libya's eastern-based parliament has voted to suspend its appointed Prime Minister Fathi Bashagha and assigned his finance minister Osama Hamada to his duties. Parliament spokesperson Abdullah Belhaiq announced this. Bashagha was a rival to al-Dbeibah, the prime minister of the UN-recognized Government of National Unity (GNU). This development means that the future of the promised 2023 elections is hanging in the balance, and it may succumb to the fate of the failed 2021 elections.

The standoff between Bashagha and his rival had gone on for months, with Libya's powerful eastern faction, which the military Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar supports, lined up behind the former while the numerous sections controlling Tripoli and the rest of the northwest were opposed. The bone of contention is Libya's substantial oil and gas field, mainly in areas controlled by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar and his Libyan National Army.

Many competing regional interests are shoring up one side or the other of the Libyan divide. This interplay between regional, global, and national geopolitical interests has created a toxic mix of intransigence and irreconcilable positions in which oil-rich territories are the prize for which they compete. The factions are ready to forsake a lot for very little. Al Jazeera, AP, CNN, Reuters, VOA



# Peace and Security

This research component thoroughly investigates the intricate dynamics interweaving domestic peace, regional equilibrium, and international security within the context of Africa. It provides a meticulous analysis of conflict management and preventative measures, strategies designed to foster enduring peace, and an exhaustive examination of the various threats to the continent's safety. A salient feature of this inquiry includes tracking and elaborating on both "hot" and "cold" wars throughout Africa. "Hot" wars—open and active conflicts—are examined regarding their origins, progress, and impacts on the broader geopolitical fabric. Concurrently, "cold" wars—characterized by underlying tensions, latent conflicts, or proxy struggles—are explored in terms of their subtle influences on regional stability and international relations. Precisely, The Review will follow developments in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, the Central African Republic (CAR), Libya, Sudan, and Northwest & Southwest Cameroon to unravel the complex socio-political dynamics within these contentious locales.

This research aims to produce a nuanced understanding of Africa's security landscape by exploring this complex web of factors. A particular emphasis is placed on the application and effectiveness of various conflict resolution mechanisms, the sustenance of peace within volatile environments, and comprehensive threat analysis that spans traditional and non-traditional security challenges. This, in turn, informs the formulation of more effective policies and strategies for conflict management and the promotion of long-lasting peace across the continent.

## **Al Shabaab: Weakened, not Eliminated.**

The African Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) is a 20,000-strong international mission (military, police, and civilian) authorized by the African Peace and Security Council and became operational in April 2022. ATMIS succeeded AMISOM, which operated in Somalia for over 15 years (2007-2022) and is set up to support the establishment of a capable Somali National Army, a professional Police Force, and Federal institutions. Its 20,000-strong force draws troops from Uganda, Burundi, Djibouti, and Ethiopia.

Using Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Devices (VBIEDs) and suicide bombers, Al-Shabaab militant fighters attacked ATMIS' Bullo-Marer camp, 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Mogadishu, Somalia's capital. In the process, the attackers killed several Ugandan People's Democratic Army soldiers stationed at a forward peacekeeping force. AP



The attack should be seen against the backdrop of Al Shabaab's frequent attacks on ATMIS, the Somali National Army, and government institutions and as a revenge operation against recent successful attacks launched by the Somali National Army and anti-Al Shabaab militia known as Macawisley backed by ATMIS and US airstrikes. Al Shabaab's attack on ATMIS shows that the group has mastered developing and deploying Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Devices to a deadly effect.

Since its founding as an Al Qaeda affiliate in 2006, Al Shabaab continues to mount audacious attacks in the Horn of Africa and beyond, including through its surrogate organization Al Shabaab in Mozambique. It has outlived and inherited the Al Qaeda mantle in the Horn of Africa. It has also managed to be several steps ahead of security and intelligence agencies, using cyber jihad methods, improvised explosive devices, cryptocurrencies, and infiltrating local communities. Counterterrorism agencies cannot be complacent in responding to its threat. AP

## Cameroon:

### 2020th Kidnapping in a Conflict Originated in 1961

In Cameroon, the insurgency which began on the eve of independence continues to date, known as the Ambazonia (taken from Amba Bay) War or Cameroonian Civil War. The conflict has intensified since 2016, with the government becoming more repressive in its efforts to quell the insurgency and the call for independence. The use of extreme measures has instead increased the insurgents' militancy tactics, thus making peace prospects remoter than ever before.

The latest in the Cameroonian case is the kidnapping of thirty women by separatists in the English-speaking Northwest region of Cameroon. The "elderly" women were "kidnapped by heavily armed terrorists" in the village of Kedjom Keku a day after protesting monthly taxes levied by Thecla separatists. They were released on the evening of May 23, three days after they were abducted, said Denis Omgba Bomba, head of the communication ministry's National Media Observatory.



This conflict carries the hallmark of long-term civil wars. It has devastated the indicators of development (roads, government institutions, health, education, agriculture, and food production), led to the death of more than 3,000 people, and created 750,000 Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) and over 1.3 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. Reports of kidnappings, killings, and torture have become routine, resulting in widespread fear, mistrust, and political instability in Northwest and Southwest Cameroon. The situation is undoubtedly ripe for dialogue, and external partners' involvement may lead to a more credible outcome than the government-dominated National Grand Dialogue (2017) and the Major National Dialogue (2019). AP, France 24, AN, ICG.



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