



African Peoples Advocacy Policy Brief

The Demophile Deal for Africa: Blueprint for a new Western policy towards Africa

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April - May 2011

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¹ This paper is a revised and expanded version of the written evidence submitted by Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell to the House of Lords EU Committee in April 2011.

Executive Summary

To avoid losing out to the BRICs –Brazil, Russia, India and China- in Africa, the West should implement the demophile deal, a new policy aimed at empowering African populations. A successful realisation of the demophile deal will be beneficial to the West and Africa for the following reasons:

- It will allow the West to secure the support of African people;
- It will eradicate the widespread perception of Westerners as neo-colonial exploiters and enable them to present themselves as liberators;
- The empowerment of African populations will ensure that they have the capacity to resist business practices that often give an unfair advantage to some BRIC businesses, and harm local interests;
- The transparent and democratic environment facilitated by the demophile deal will deprive the BRICs of the capacity to transform Africa into their exclusive sphere of influence through corrupt, dictatorial or military methods.

Recommendations

In order to ensure the successful implementation of the demophile deal for Africa, the West should:

- Acknowledge that the most socio-politically stable and economically successful African states are mainly those that have been democratic since their independence;
- Realise that the prevalence of democracy, justice and the rule of law will greatly benefit Africans and provide a better environment for Western investors to prosper;
- Take decisive steps to act as an unstoppable catalyst for peace, prosperity, democratic transparency and justice in the African continent;
- Stop colluding with the corrupt neo-colonial elites to deprive African populations of their national wealth;
- Regard Africa as a land of investment opportunities, rather than a hapless continent in need of Western charity, humanitarian aid and handouts;
- And have Africans as key partners to implement the demophile deal and neutralise the misguided nationalist arguments of the advocates of the status quo.

Introduction

There are two main ways of analysing the economic, political and social situation of Africa in the early 21st century. The first, which is extremely disingenuous, consists in asserting that the overwhelming majority of African states are poor, openly or covertly dictatorial and socially divided because Africans have mismanaged their countries after their independence from Western powers in the 20th century. The second, a statement of verifiable facts, is that while they were granted independence de jure, most African states remained de facto, dominated by the West. Though this analysis is often dismissed by countless people as a “blame game”, it is imperative for current Western policy and decision-makers to accept it. They need to do so in order to adopt a new approach towards Africa that will enable them to avoid losing out to the BRICs –Brazil, Russia, India and China- in this continent.

The cornerstone of the old Western policy towards African countries following their de jure independence was the mistaken assumption that, in order to safeguard its interests there, the West had to either install or actively back undemocratic African rulers. As they lacked popular support, these despots relied on corruption, repression and mass slaughter to govern their countries. They did not hesitate to resort to these execrable methods, safe in the knowledge that they only needed Western backing and not the approval of their people to remain in power.

The recent turmoil in Ivory Coast exemplifies the failure of this old Western policy towards Africa. Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who was hand-picked by the French to rule this country after their departure, enjoyed their support throughout his dictatorial 33-year reign. The French subsequently colluded, first with Houphouët-Boigny’s chosen successor, Henri Konan Bédié, and then with Laurent Gbagbo, to keep Alassane Ouattara out of power. It was only in 2004 -after 9 French soldiers were allegedly killed deliberately in an airstrike ordered by Gbagbo- that France switched its support to Ouattara. The French malpractices and the epic ambition, greed and megalomania of its current political players have plunged Ivory Coast into a social, political and economic crisis from which it will not easily recover.²

² This illuminating, albeit short, essay offers a fascinating insight into France’s policy in Africa in general, and in Ivory Coast in particular: Steven Erlanger, ‘French Colonial Past Casts a Long Shadow,’ *The New York Times*, 24 April 2011, pp. 1, 4.

This paper argues that it is in the West's interest to win over African populations by urgently and actively implementing a new, completely different policy towards them within a few years.

I. The Case for the Demophile Deal for Africa

The old (and in many cases on-going) Africa policy of the West was characterised by a ferocious demophobia towards Africans. This was partly due to the colonial, racist belief that democracy was too complex a system for African populations to master, and partly because Westerners were convinced that it was in their interest to have Africans controlled by dictatorial rulers, instead of empowering them. Thus, except in very few cases such as Botswana or Mauritius, former Western colonisers colluded with post-colonial African leaders to deprive African masses of democracy, justice, human rights and rule of law. The devastating impact of this policy on African economies and societies will not be discussed in this paper, as it has already been highlighted elsewhere.³ The main aim here is to propose an alternative, better way forward.

The West could afford to antagonise African populations and disregard their welfare by supporting oppressive African rulers in the past because its main competitor, the Soviet Union, was less economically successful, and far more focused on controlling Eastern European nations. It can no longer do so in the 21st century because of the emergence of the BRICs, which are increasingly interested in Africa. In the case of China for example, China “needs Africa for resources to fuel [its] development goals, for markets to sustain its growing economy and for political alliances to support its aspirations to be a global influence.”⁴

In addition, with the exception of Russia, the BRIC countries are in a position to develop an ideological framework that could prove much more attractive to Africans than Marxism ever was. They could present themselves as former victims of Western colonisation and

³ See Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, ‘The Democratic Nature of African Societies’, February 2011, available on the Our Work section of the website of African Peoples Advocacy www.apadvocacy.org

⁴ Bates Gill, Chin-hao Huang & J. Stephen Morrison, ‘Assessing China’s Growing Influence in Africa’, *China Security*, Vol. 3 No. 3 Summer 2007, p. 9.

exploitation, who are eager to show to current victims of Western neo-colonisation and exploitation how to free themselves economically as well as ideologically. Unlike Marxism, which demanded an extraordinary leap of faith from the historically religion, capital and class-loving Africans, such a narrative would be, at least partially, based on reality. Furthermore, many Africans are already so fascinated by the dazzling economic rise of dictatorial China that they are advocating the pursuit of economic development to the detriment of democracy and personal freedom in the African continent.

To avoid losing out to the BRICs in Africa, the West should urgently adopt and implement a new, bold, demophile policy towards African populations. Such a policy will consist in empowering African people by actively supporting the genuine democratisation of African countries. It will also require putting unprecedented pressure on African rulers to ensure that they promptly undertake the reforms necessary to achieve economic, financial and social transparency, rule of law, the respect of the human rights of their people, as well as the independence of the media, the judiciary and other key bodies and institutions.

The implementation of this demophile policy will ensure that Westerners do not lose out to the BRICs for four main reasons. Firstly, it will enable them to secure the affection and support of African people, as well their adhesion to Western values which are, in fact, much closer to traditional African values than the dictatorial values of some BRIC countries.⁵ Secondly, it will help them neutralise the argument that they are neo-colonial exploiters and allow them to present themselves as liberators. Thirdly, by empowering them, Westerners will ensure that Africans have the capacity to resist the business practices which usually give an unfair advantage to some BRIC businesses. For instance, Chinese business people are often able to offer cheaper contracts than their Western competitors by offsetting costs through practices that are resented by African people such as total disregard of the welfare of workers, low pay, import of cheap labour from China, and proscription of unions and protests. Finally, the transparent and democratic environment created or strengthened by this demophile policy will guarantee that despite any economic or military superiority they may acquire in the future, the BRICs will be deprived of the possibility to transform Africa into their exclusive sphere of influence, and keep Westerners at bay through corrupt, dictatorial or military methods.

⁵ Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, 'The Democratic Nature of African Societies', www.apadvocacy.org

Some sceptics may wonder why the director of an African-led organisation such as the African Peoples Advocacy would recommend a policy that could benefit Westerners so greatly. As highlighted in the third section of this paper, the implementation of the demophile deal for Africa would prove hugely beneficial to Africans as well. Our goal is not to oppose or fight people on the basis of their race or nationality. We simply aim to eliminate practices such as human rights abuses, dictatorship, oppression and injustice that have wrecked, and are still wrecking, untold havoc on African communities. The racial or geographical origins of individuals are irrelevant to us, as long as they are prepared to work alongside us to eradicate these evils. Furthermore, the African Peoples Advocacy was founded, not in Africa, but in the UK by members of African communities with British citizenship and British children, relatives, and friends. Our ethos was and will always be the pursuit of policies that are beneficial to African as well as Western societies.

Other sceptics may wonder why and how Westerners, who have systematically enslaved, exploited and oppressed African people for centuries, would suddenly implement a policy exhibiting such love towards them. They would do so for the same reason that led them to exploit and oppress these Africans: self-interest. They would do so by using the same strategy that allowed them to dominate Africans and other human beings for so long: by ruthlessly fighting the people they believed to be in their interest to kill, abandon, exile, or sideline.

There are already historical precedents of such policy changes on the part of Westerners. The British did not drink a love potion that suddenly made them grant democratic rights to the people of Hong Kong between 1992 and 1997, after ruling them in an undemocratic way for more than 150 years. They simply realised that it was in their interest to democratise this territory before transferring it back to dictatorial China. And there are countless African and other dictators who, after initially enjoying Western support, were subsequently killed, abandoned, exiled or sidelined by Westerners once they came to the conclusion that it was no longer in their interest to back these tyrants.

Some other sceptics may doubt that the recession-ridden West could afford to carry out such a policy. Just as the United States made the strategic decision to spend more than US \$10 billion to implement the Marshall plan despite the huge expenses they had incurred

during the Second World War, the West is in a position to implement this demophile deal for Africa should it decide to do so. The United States saw the Marshall plan as a worthwhile investment that could enable them to (a) secure markets for their goods and raw materials by accelerating the recovery of European economies; and (b) halt the spread of communism.

The demophile deal for Africa should also be viewed as an extremely beneficial investment that would prevent the economic and ideological marginalisation of the West in the African continent by the BRICs. Despite the on-going recession, the UK government has managed to convince British people to accept the ring-fencing of the international development budget while cutting spending almost everywhere else. It should be easier for all Western countries willing to do so to persuade their citizens to support the subordination of foreign aid (which, except in very few cases, has failed to produce the expected results) to this potentially profitable investment.

II. Western Implementation of the Demophile Deal for Africa

The implementation of the demophile deal for Africa will require exceptional determination and ruthlessness on the part of Westerners. They will need these characteristics to triumph over their enemies and the opponents of this deal. Their worst enemies will be neither the Africans nor the BRICs, nor any other outsiders, but Westerners themselves.

Countless Westerners will resist the implementation of this deal as fiercely as the supporters of slavery resisted its abolition. For just as pro-slavery groups could not imagine the emergence of any other system that could be as beneficial to them as slavery was, the supporters of Western neo-colonial exploitation of Africa will seek to maintain the status quo on the basis that anything else would be detrimental to Western interests. But faced with the growing risk of marginalisation of the West in Africa, farsighted Western policy and decision-makers will have to fight as doggedly and courageously as the abolitionists did to overwhelm their opponents. They will have to spare no effort to achieve the eradication of many age-old Western practices and beliefs in order to ensure the successful realisation of the demophile deal for Africa. These include:

- The assumption that democracy is too complex a system for African populations, or too alien to them. The West should instead acknowledge that the most socio-politically stable and economically successful countries in Africa are mainly those that have been democratic since their independence. For example, the Gross Domestic Product per capita of Botswana (estimated at \$15,449 in 2010) is much higher than that of most African states, and more than twice that of China (\$7,518). States such as Gabon and Equatorial Guinea are relatively rich because of their natural resources. However, because they are not as democratic as Botswana, they are more volatile, and could experience social unrest and economic decline as swiftly as the once economically buoyant Ivory Coast did.
- The belief that the empowerment of African people through a democratic, transparent and fair system is detrimental to the West.
- The tendency to proclaim and simulate the non-involvement of the West in the matters of “sovereign African states” in places where decades of Western collusion with local leaders have deprived people of peace, development and rule of law. There should be an honest acknowledgment on the part of the West of its past misguided policies and a determination to act decisively as an unstoppable catalyst for peace, prosperity and justice in Africa from now on.
- The practice of half-hearted and short-sighted interventions to protect Western interests in the short term, instead of a serious commitment resulting in the transformation of conflict-stricken and post-conflict African countries into peaceful territories, where democracy and the rule of law can flourish. For instance, rather than intervening covertly or intermittently to protect Western citizens and businesses in troubled African countries such as Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, South Sudan, the West should sponsor and oversee the implementation of disarmament programmes in these states. There can be no peace, no rule of law and no democracy where armed militias are allowed to abuse and terrorise the populations.
- The temptation to use the United Nations and other bodies to maintain a volatile status quo in war-ridden and post-conflict African states such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Ivory Coast. The mandate of these bodies should, instead, include the swift and complete disarmament of all groups in collaboration with local and international organisations. A volatile

environment is propitious to the emergence of despots who, to avoid being accountable to local populations, will favour the active engagement of dictatorial nations with their country over the involvement of the West and the implementation of the demophile deal for Africa.

- The refusal to acknowledge and reward democratic success stories in the African continent. For instance, Somaliland has enabled its people to hold their rulers accountable through democracy, and has organised several peaceful, free and fair parliamentary and presidential elections since it declared itself independent from Somalia in 1991. But despite these extraordinary achievements, there has been no attempt on the part of the West to recognise Somaliland's independence. Yet, as the author of this paper has argued elsewhere, Somaliland is in a position to act as a unique inspiration for democracy and post-conflict reconciliation to African, Muslim and other countries.⁶
- The propensity to mistake the turmoil and bloodshed ensuing from the fierce resistance of the beneficiaries of the dictatorial neo-colonial system to democracy as proof that this system can hardly be implemented in the African context. Instead, the West should collaborate with local populations, civil society groups, and African countries that have successfully embraced democracy to enable dictatorial or semi-dictatorial African states to democratise themselves. This collaboration could, for instance, include the implementation of fellowship programmes offering training grants to youths of troubled, dictatorial or semi-dictatorial African nations to democratic African countries like Botswana, Ghana, Mali and Somaliland, so as to form a new generation of African leaders committed to democracy. A concrete project could be a programme sending youths and politicians from post-conflict states such as Ivory Coast, Sudan and South Sudan to Somaliland. This will enable them to learn how Somaliland quickly made the transition from a post-conflict territory to a peaceful, united and democratic society.
- The collusion with the beneficiaries of the corrupt neo-colonial system in order to deprive Africans of their national wealth. Instead, the West should acknowledge its mistakes and, subsequently, be prepared to use all the information it has to expose and discredit their former partners if they refuse to carry out the reforms necessary

⁶ Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, 'An Unsung African Marvel: The case for Somaliland's recognition', February-March 2011, available on the Our Work section of the African Peoples Advocacy's website, www.apadvocacy.org. It will also be included in the forthcoming book *Somaliland – The Way forward: Achieving its rightful international status*, vol. 1, Jama Musse Jama (ed.), Pisa: Ponte Invisibile, June 2011.

to obtain a transparent financial system. These reforms should include the adoption of initiatives such as Publish What You Pay and ONE, in order to have more transparency from Western oil, gas, mining and other companies doing business in African countries. Such measures will enable countries like Sudan and South Sudan, which have recently started exploiting their oil reserves to avoid squandering their money as has happened in the case of Nigeria. In addition, grants and loans given to African countries, Western businesses or any other beneficiaries under the demophile deal should be subject to the adherence to transparency initiatives. The advantages of a transparent system that will bring prosperity to African populations will outweigh the sacrifices involved in abandoning the collusion with unscrupulous, greedy African politicians and business people.

- The unwillingness to repatriate the funds looted by African kleptocrats that are kept in Western banks. The West should be prepared to give back these funds not only to endear itself to African populations, but also to send a strong signal to corrupt and greedy African leaders that they can no longer rely on Western collaboration. Again, the benefits deriving from the enrichment of African populations will dwarf the sacrifices that giving up the looted funds held in Western banks entails.
- The grant of enormous subsidies to Western farmers and the erection of barriers to protect Western markets while preventing African countries from implementing similar measures. There should be a concerted effort on the part of Western policy and decision-makers to stop these deep-rooted practices. Once more, the development of African countries that will derive from the abandonment of these policies will, in the long term, outweigh the sacrifices involved in such a move.
- The tendency to view Africa as a hapless continent in desperate need of Western charity, humanitarian aid and handouts. Instead, it should be regarded as a land of investment opportunities, and Africans should be viewed as strategic allies with whom Westerners are eager to establish a mutually beneficial partnership. In practice, this will require a greater involvement of foreign offices and business bodies. Influential Western non-governmental organisations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch should also abandon their vulture humanitarianism which consists in mobilising the media mainly when African places are already littered with bodies to elicit sympathy from the Western public. They should instead use their high profile to advocate a more preventive approach

through actions such as the disarmament of all groups in post-conflict territories and other measures that will transform Africa into a continent where peace, respect of human rights, rule of law and justice can flourish.

- The propensity to marginalise Africans when carrying out projects, and discussing issues that are of relevance to them. Instead, Africans should become key partners in the implementation of the demophile deal for Africa. For instance, facilitating the access of its African supporters to the media and their active involvement throughout its realisation will help eradicate the perception of the demophile deal for Africa as a Western neo-colonial enterprise. Furthermore, Africans with first-hand experience and knowledge of the abuses perpetrated by African beneficiaries of the dictatorial neo-colonial system will prove more effective in terms of neutralising the hollow and fake nationalist arguments of the African advocates of the status quo.

III. Africans and the Demophile Deal for Africa

Many African people will oppose the idea of the demophile deal for Africa because Africans have been enslaved, exploited, humiliated and oppressed by Westerners for centuries. They will have countless historical and empirical grounds to view it as nothing more than a wicked ploy aimed at benefitting the West and not the African continent. However, opposition from distrustful African individuals will not be an obstacle for the realisation of this plan because Western countries are already operating all over Africa. The main thing the West will need to do to win over African populations will be to stop dealing with them in a neo-colonial way as it does right now and, instead, adopt and implement the suggestions outlined in the previous section of this paper. No words, no promises and no treaties will be more effective than real actions and concrete results on the ground to convince African sceptics that while Westerners will undoubtedly benefit from it, the primary beneficiaries of the demophile deal for Africa will be Africans themselves.

This does not mean that a communication campaign will not be necessary in order to secure African people's support of the demophile deal for Africa. On the contrary, such an exercise will be crucial. However, the advocacy of this policy should be left primarily to its African supporters, to avoid accusations of Western neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism.

African pan-Africanists and nationalists will be the most vehement critics of the demophile deal for Africa. But African supporters of this policy should welcome such criticism. It will give them a golden opportunity to denounce and expose two mistakes frequently committed by many adherents of African nationalism and pan-Africanism. These mistakes were understandable in the past, but they should no longer be tolerated nowadays because they have proved highly detrimental to African populations.

The first mistake was and is still, amongst many, the tendency to demand equality, justice, human rights, dignity, and an end to exploitation from non-African individuals, but not from African leaders. During the colonial period, when Africans were considered neither equal nor human by many white colonisers, the courage to stand up to white people, the capacity to refute their racist arguments and denounce their exploitative policies were understandably enough for African nationalists and pan-Africanists to earn the respect and support of fellow Africans. But, it is high time Africans should force post-colonial African leaders to stop using their africaness and anti-colonial discourse as a cover for dictatorship, failure, megalomania and kleptocracy. The implementation of the demophile deal will deprive African politicians of the capacity to use their anti-imperialist rhetoric and their africaness as a license to slaughter, rob, abuse and degrade other Africans as Ahmed Sékou Touré, Muammar Gaddafi, Robert Mugabe and Laurent Gbagbo, to name but a few, did –and are still doing in some cases.

The second mistake is the misrepresentation of pre-colonial African reality by many African nationalists and pan-Africanists for ideological purposes. It was understandable that in the context of the Cold War, African nationalists and pan-Africanists such as Kwame Nkrumah sought to define their leadership and vision in opposition to Western colonisers and neo-colonisers. This was why, for instance, Nkrumah depicted pre-colonial African societies as socialist and autocratic. However, the truth is that while there were many variations across the continent, pre-colonial African societies were generally democratic, community-oriented and yet very capitalist. Africans should acknowledge that for decades, the pursuit of economic development to the detriment of democracy has failed to lead to prosperity as it has done in China for example. As George Ayittey rightly said:

The Chinese communist model is fundamentally alien to indigenous Africa. [...] Africa's salvation lies in returning to its roots and building upon its own indigenous

heritage of free village markets, free enterprise, free trade and participatory democracy based upon consensus.⁷

The demophile deal for Africa will enable African populations to wrestle back power from the self-interested, uncaring, exploitative post and neo-colonial elites. It will offer them the opportunity to create the transparent, free and democratic environment that will allow them to hold their leaders accountable as well as benefit from their countries' resources. The additional advantages of this deal for African people include:

- The chance to end foreigners' assumption that democracy is too complex a system for African populations, or too alien to them.
- The opportunity to establish a strategic partnership with farsighted Westerners that will result in the promotion of peace, democracy, development and rule of law all over the African continent.
- The possibility to use the African Union, the United Nations and other bodies to disarm all factions in war-ridden and post-conflict African states such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Ivory Coast.
- The chance to end decades of Western collusion with the African beneficiaries of the corrupt neo-colonial system, and have the funds looted by African kleptocrats repatriated.
- The opportunity to press the West to stop granting huge subsidies to Western farmers and erecting barriers to protect Western markets while preventing African countries from implementing similar measures.

⁷ George Ayittey, "Economist Debates: Africa and China, The Opposition's Rebuttal Remarks", *The Economist* (17th February 2010), retrieved on 19 April 2011
<http://www.economist.com/debate/days/view/467> .

- The chance to end centuries of perception of Africa as a hapless continent by becoming key agents of the realisation of this demophile deal, and by highlighting democratic and other African success stories.

Conclusion

There is a pressing need for the West to adopt and implement the demophile deal for Africa, a new policy towards this continent. Doing so will enable Western countries to avoid losing out to the BRICs in Africa. The cornerstone of the demophile deal will be the active nurturing and strengthening of democracy, peace, transparency, economic development, rule of law, and respect of human rights throughout the African continent.

In order to ensure the successful realisation of the demophile deal for Africa, Westerners will have to strive to eradicate many of their age-old practices and beliefs. These include the perception of democracy as a form of government that is too alien to Africans; the assumption that the empowerment of African populations through a democratic, transparent system is detrimental to Western interests, and the refusal to acknowledge and reward democratic success stories in Africa. The West will also have to stop carrying out half-hearted and short-sighted interventions, and using the United Nations and other bodies to maintain a volatile status quo in conflict-stricken and post-conflict African states. It should, instead, act decisively as an inexorable catalyst for peace, rule of law and justice by supporting measures such as the complete disarmament of all groups.

In addition, Western countries will need to stop colluding with self-interested local elites to deprive African populations of their national wealth. They will have to put unprecedented pressure on these beneficiaries of the corrupt neo-colonial system to compel them to implement the reforms that will lead to more transparency and accountability. Westerners should also be prepared to end other practices that are highly likely to hinder the successful implementation of the demophile deal for Africa. Amongst these are the unwillingness to repatriate the funds looted by African kleptocrats; the allocation of huge subsidies to Western farmers and the erection of barriers to protect Western markets while preventing African countries from adopting similar measures; the tendency to view Africa not as a land of investment opportunities, but as a hapless continent in desperate need of Western

charity, humanitarian aid and handouts, and the propensity to marginalise Africans when carrying out projects that are of relevance to them.

The opposition of many mistrustful and nationalist Africans to the demophile deal will not constitute an insurmountable threat to its realisation. As Western countries are currently operating throughout Africa, their main task to ensure its successful implementation will consist in changing their modus operandi as recommended above. African supporters of the demophile deal should be at the forefront of the defence of this policy to neutralise its perception as the latest manifestation of Western neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. The advocacy of the demophile deal will not only enable its African adherents to highlight the advantages of this policy for African populations. It will also allow them to denounce the constant use of an anti-colonial rhetoric as a cover for dictatorship and megalomania, and the misrepresentation of pre-colonial African reality by many nationalists.



About African Peoples Advocacy (APA)

APA was created in the United Kingdom in 2008 to provide a platform for the engagement and education of African peoples and the wider public on issues that are of relevance to African communities. The activities we carry out to achieve our goals include research on African countries and communities, research on policies towards Africa and African peoples, and programmes aimed at promoting public knowledge of African issues.

The ***African Peoples Advocacy Policy Brief*** aims to provide a platform for discussion of issues that are of interest to African communities and the wider public.

About the Author

Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, MPhil, is the founder and director of African Peoples Advocacy. The facts presented and views expressed in this paper are those of the author, and not necessarily those of the African Peoples Advocacy.

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