

Within the series

Africa - Dimensions of a Continent

by and with Irene Freudenschuss-Reichl and Georg Lennkh

and in co-operation with the Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs and the Federal Ministry for Defense/ Department for Security Policy

the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue kindly invites to

AFRICAN PEACE AND STABILITY IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

Jacobus Kamfer (Jakkie) Cilliers

Institute for Security Studies/South Africa

Welcome address:

Leslie M. Gumbi

Ambassador of the Republic of South Africa

Moderator and respondent:

Helmut Freudenschuss

Head of the Department Africa South of the Sahara

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Jacobus Kamfer (Jakkie) Cilliers

has a B. Mil (B.A.) from the University of Stellenbosch and a Hons. B.A., M.A. (cum laude) and DLitt. et Phil. from the University of South Africa (UNISA). He was born in Stellenbosch, South Africa on 16th April 1956. He co-founded the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 1990 that, by 2009 has become one of the largest independent institutes dealing with peace and security issues in Africa with offices in Pretoria, Cape Town, Nairobi and Addis Ababa. The ISS played an important role in the transformation of the South African armed forces and the institution of civilian control over the military in the period 1990 to 1996. Present Institute activities revolve around arms management, tracking conflict in Africa, peace missions, various issues relating to crime and crime-prevention, corruption and governance, organized crime, money laundering, HIV/AIDS, terrorism, peacekeeping, conflict prevention and defence sector reform.

At present most of Dr. Cilliers' interests relate to the emerging security architecture in Africa as reflected in the developments under the banner of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. Over the years the Institute has collaborated with the African Union and various regional organizations in Africa on various matters relating to peace and security issues.

Awards include the Bronze Medal from the South African Society for the Advancement of Science and the H. Bradlow Research Bursary.

Dr. Cilliers has presented numerous papers at conferences and seminars and published a number of books on various matters relating to peace and security in Africa. He is a regular commentator on local and international radio and television and has attended a large number of international conferences. He is an Extraordinary Professor in the Department of Political Sciences, Faculty Humanities at the University of Pretoria, serves on the International Advisory Board of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) and as independent non-executive director of the South African Banking Risk Information Centre (SABRIC).

His talk will be based on a monograph published by the ISS: *Africa in the New World: How Global and Domestic Developments Will Impact By 2025*, ISS Monograph Series No 151, October 2008. The text can be found on www.issafrica.org

Helmut Freudenschuss

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Supported by the Republic of Austria and the City of Vienna

Gertraud Auer

Mr. Cilliers, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, good evening and welcome to the Bruno Kreisky Forum. I just would like to say a few words of thanks to our partners and to our sponsors. I would first of all like to thank Ambassador Freudenschuss-Reichl and Ambassador Lennkh for having had the initiative to organize a series of lectures on Africa in the Kreisky Forum, to make Africa very important topic of our program in 2009. And I am very pleased to welcome Jakki Cilliers as the first speaker of this lecture series. I would like to thank our sponsors and partners in the program which is the Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs and specifically the Austrian Development Agency, and I would like to thank also the Federal Ministry for Defence and specifically the Department for Security Policy and General Pucher who will take the floor and speak some words to you. I would like of course to welcome the Ambassador of South Africa, Mr. Gumbi, who is an old friend of the house and who will speak also some words to you. I think that we did the right decision to initiate this program on Africa to introduce the various dimensions of this continent to our public, to get to know more about the rich and the energetic dimension of the continent that most of us ignore and should know. In this sense I thank you for coming and would like to invite Ambassador Gumbi to speak some words of welcome to you. Thank you.

Leslie Gumbi

Good evening, everybody. Botschafter Freudenschuss, Botschafterin Freudenschuss-Reichl, Botschafter Lennkh, Dr. Jakkie Cilliers, Ambassadors and colleagues, program director, I thank you for inviting me to make a few remarks at this lecture which is held at a very opportune moment when we are witnessing an increasing focus by Austria on developments on the African continent. South Africa believes that this is a commendable step in the right direction that will lead to more appreciation on the African continent of Austria's foreign policy objectives. As a result of this huge shift in focus we are beginning to witness some noteworthy changes aimed at creating a conducive environment for undivided attention on Africa. These include the accommodation within the United Nations offices in Vienna of an EU office. These include Austria's significant involvement in African peace mission. And we all know about the ongoing Austrian participation in the peace mission in Chad. These also include Austria's offer to utilize its non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council to further Africa's interest. The list is long, but allow me to exhaust these items, but also include Austria's declared intention to become more involved in capacity building and post-conflict peace and stability on the African continent. We also welcome here Austria's enlargement of the African Directorate at the Ministry of European and International Affairs under the

able leadership of Ambassador Helmut Freudenschuss who until recently was the Austrian Ambassador to South Africa. We are aware of his broad shoulders and we are confident that things will move in the right direction. Ladies and gentlemen, it is the first time after 2006 that we have the opportunity to stand here and speak on something concerning South Africa, but now it is something concerning the continent which shows that really from micro we are becoming bigger. In this connection we warmly welcome as the Embassy here and together with my staff the convening of this lecture tonight which in our view is a timely demonstration of our host to translate words into practice in an effort to actively get involved in finding sustainable solution to Africa's social and economic development, peace and stability. We look forward to many more similar events and other gestures that will obviously contribute to advancing Africa's interests and extricating it from its hardships. Small as these gestures may look like they do however make a big impact. Ladies and gentlemen, it would be a remiss of me not to say a few words about the relations between Austria and South Africa. We are confident that these relations will develop to a much greater level and greater intensity, more especially given that we have similar challenges that require of us as human beings all over the world to start redoubling our efforts in dealing with challenges that we are all witnessing as a result of the global financial meltdown, some call it, others call it global recession. We hear of good banks, bad banks. We hear of a stimulus. We hear all kinds of things. I am not an economist, I wouldn't be in a position to best describe what it is. But one thing for sure is that it has a colossal effect on job creation and jobs that people hold all over the world. And we must do something to make sure that we save the jobs we have for everybody so that we can enjoy and prepare the conducive environment for a better life for all.

With these few comments I want to say a few things now about Dr. Jakkie Cilliers and his institute. The Institute for Security Studies has since its establishment by Dr. Cilliers grown in stature and credibility to the point where it is currently regarded as one of the most important think tanks on security related issues on the African continent. In fact, it is regarded as one of the top 30 think tanks in the world outside the USA and the only one in Africa that made the list. No wonder that the South African government consults the ISS on a regular basis, and Dr. Cilliers is regularly consulted on pressing issues on the continent. I am proud that I contributed a bit to this growth. In the early days with Dr. Cilliers we worked together. Then we were still called the Institute for Defense Policy. As a result of that I learned a lot from him. We worked tirelessly, it was difficult moments, trying to establish ourselves on the continent and the world over. And also, given the limited resources we had at that time, it was tough, but we made it. So I am really proud, Dr. Cilliers, that I was part of that endeavor. Last but not least I want to assure you that since I have the advantage of having worked closely with him I know of his abilities. Therefore I can really get you to prepare yourselves for what will surely be an intense, insightful, interesting, and thought provoking presentation. Without much ado, Dr. Cilliers, I'd like to hand over to you and make this event stimulating as we always do in keeping with your credo. I thank you all for your attention.

Johann Pucher

Mr. Ambassador, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. In my capacity as the Director of the Department for Security Policy in the Ministry of Defense I am honored to address you tonight with a short introductory statement. The lecture series "Africa. Dimensions of a Continent", an important focus in the program 2009 of the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue, gives us the opportunity to meet distinguished personalities from various African countries, institutions, and professional background. We will listen to them, we will absorb, we will reflect, and we will learn. As it was mentioned already the Ministry of Defense together with the Ministry for European and International Affairs, with the support of the Austrian Development Agency, are partners of this project. And events like these highlight the importance and the value of the cooperation of the Ministry of Defense and Sports with non-governmental and non-profit policy organizations and think tanks. In a world more

complex and more interdependent than ever before the expertise, scientific research capacities, and network capabilities of our partner institutions are an important asset for a policy shaping process in Austria in general and also for the Ministry of Defense. The Bruno Kreisky Forum with its excellent reputation within the security community has become a partner of the Ministry of Defense in that efforts in 2008 and we appreciate that very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, not only since the Presidency in the European Union and the nomination of Ambassador Georg Lennkh as Special Envoy of the EU for Africa the Austrian government is committed to numerous activities in peace keeping, in conflict resolution in different African countries. I think our participation in the EU-Chad operation and now under the UN umbrella gives proof for that. The election as non-permanent member of the Security Council and several paragraphs of the new government program underline this engagement. About a year ago the MOD has started to develop an inhouse Africa policy paper in close cooperation and coordination with the Ministry for European and International Affairs. And this is a good example of government wide coordination and cooperation. And we think we are on the right track together. I might add that we plan a fact finding mission to ECOVAS right now, led by experts from the Ministry of European and International Affairs. And, another example, Austria will host a seminar on peace building where we might pass on our experience from the Western Balkans to participants from our African partner countries in cooperation with the EU institutions.

Tonight I have the pleasure our special guest, Dr. Jacobus Kamfer, Jakkie, Cilliers, co-founder of the Institute for Security Studies. He will speak about African peace and stability in a globalizing world. I had the opportunity today already to speak with Dr. Cilliers in the Ministry of Defense, touching security-political issues predominantly. I am very reassured that Dr. Cilliers does not see Africa just as a region of crisis and threat, but also as a continent of opportunities and possibilities. In closing, Ambassador Helmut Freudenschuss, the head of the Department for Africa in the Ministry for European and International Affairs, will introduce our guest and be the moderator. Thank you.

Helmut Freudenschuss

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, when I learned from our Embassy in Pretoria that Prof. Cilliers would be in the vicinity of Austria it clearly came to my mind that we should invite him to speak. I am very grateful to the organizers of the lecture series, to Ms. Auer and the Kreisky Forum for making this happen. Since this is the first time to moderate a discussion since my return from South Africa it gives me a particular pleasure that is with you, Jakkie. The Ambassador has spoken about Jakkie and the Institute he founded and now chairs. I am only going to refer you to the CV which is on the invitaiton. I am not going to read it out again. Besides it doesn't do him and the Institute justice anyway. Jakkie is really a towering academic figure in South Africa, and the Institute is the think tank, but not only, you do things. Without further ado, Jakkie, you have the floor.

Jakkie Cilliers

Ambassador Gumbi, friends, colleagues, I have been welcomed many times. Let me just start by making a few points about the Institute where I work. We are a regional organization. We've got about 150 staff across offices in Addis Ababa, in Nairobi, and we have in South Africa three offices, and we are in the process of opening up an office in Abidjan in West Africa. We work with human security in Africa. As the Ambassador mentioned we do more than pure think tank work. We do quite a bit of implementation assistance. Amongst others we work with a number of regional organizations including the African Union. So I'm honored and pleased to be here tonight. I'm going to share with you the results of a monograph which I wrote which is available for sell outside, as well as there is a paper on climate

change, population growth and conflict which you can help yourself to outside. Both of these are available in full text on our website as well.

I'm going to generalize tonight. As all of you would know Africa with its 54 countries is a highly complex and a diverse continent. But I am going to generalize and I am going to do so graphically because there is no other way to do this. This is the summary of my presentation. I'm going to briefly summarize the world on 2025. We can all guess. I'm going to speak about the fact that the 21st century is a unprecedented area of peace and prosperity. I'm going to focus on African economic trends, population and organization trends, democratization in Africa, governance and good option, and peace and security before I conclude.

Before I do I need to make one point which you all know and it is this point. It is the fact that the climate change presents the single most important factor that faces humanity today. This is a graph that presents the per capita carbon dioxide emissions of the United States, China, Europa, Russia, Japan, India, and Africa. The average American releases about 20 tons of carbon dioxide per year, the average European about 18 tons, the average African about 1 ton. Humankind will cease to exist if all of us reach the levels of carbon dioxide emissions in the future decades evident by those graphs. It is a statement literally of fact. It is without a doubt the single most important challenge that faces humankind. We know that historically the United States has produced about 30% of carbon emissions from about 1900 until recently, China is only responsible for about 8% despite the coals. But I'm not going to really discuss this issue, just to make the point that with a population that is going to increase by about 1.3 billion people in the period until 2025 and about 9.2 billion people by 2050 this is an issue that requires greater attention than any other issue. That is a backdrop against which we must look to our common collective future.

Let's talk a little bit about the world in 2025. The international system as constructed at the end of the Second World War will almost be unrecognizable by 2025. Owing to rise of emerging countries, China and India in particular, a globalizing economy, a historic transfer of wealth and power from West to East, and the growing influence of non-state actors, particularly civil society, business, religious organizations and criminal networks. While this wealth was increasingly under private control, in the future the state is back. By 2025 the international system will be a global multipolar system, but still one with an undisputed lead country, the United States of America. It will also be a much more complex world, demanding a much greater scope and breadth of transnational management to deal with what will still be an unprecedented area of prosperity and stability. We will see aging populations in the developed world, growing energy, food, and water constraints. And we will see climate change that will limit and diminish this historical age of peace and prosperity.

Let's first look at peace. This is a graph that represents conflict, the numbers of conflicts from 1946 to 2006. Intrastate war which is the majority of the graph, civil wars, as they used to be known, is of course the majority of conflicts. The next category is internationalized intrastate conflicts or so called proxy wars, that was about one third of all wars after the Second World War, and they were driven largely by the Cold War because the proxy wars were fought amongst others in Africa. Then we are talking about interstate conflicts, wars between countries, and of course extra-state conflicts which are basically colonial wars. While the number of international wars has remained roughly constant since the Congress of Vienna in 1815 there has been a dramatic decline in conflicts in recent years due to three factors. The first is the end of colonialism. The second is the end of the Cold War. And the third is greater activism by the United Nations and by organizations such as the African Unity. And the result of this is that in 1999 more people were being killed in war in Africa than in the rest of the world combined. But since 1999 conflicts in Africa have declined. In the period of 1999 to 2006 they have

declined by half. Today most wars are fought in low income countries with small, poorly trained and poorly equipped armies without major military engagements, of course with one exception, Iraq. Just to demonstrate the extent of the reduction in conflict chains in Africa, chains that escape us when we read the daily newspapers. Look at that trend. This is a graph of non-state and state based conflicts. And it shows you the number of deaths, the decline in the number of deaths. Now it is true that Africa still presents a large suave of conflict. This is a map of conflicts in January 2007 to October 2008 that was prepared by the humanitarian information unit of the US Department of State. And it provides a graphic picture of the 14 areas of red conflict zones. The 8 orange zones of inter-communal strife and the 4 yellow zones of political violence that includes for example countries such as South Africa because of the xenophobic violence that we've seen, and of course Zimbabwe. You can see the stretch of conflict that stretches over Africa, from Senegal and Guinea in West Africa to Include Mali, Niger, Nigeria, the Central African Republic, Chad, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia. You can also see the food riots and terrorist attacks in the North, and of course you can look at the extent of piracy along the Horn of Africa and the Gulf of Guinea. This is still a depressing picture. But the picture is much better than it was 10 years ago.

So, this is where the conflict, the peace and security challenges lie in Africa. We made the point that it is an unprecedented era of prosperity. And I think it is important not to get carried away with the current situation.

Global sentiment has moved from greed to fear in one year. The key moment of course was on the 15th September 2008 when the US government decided that Lehman Brothers go bankrupt. We tend to forget when looking at that picture that 103 million people escaped from dire poverty, particularly in India and China, from the period 1999 to 2004. It's true that 2009 will see a recession in the rich world, GDP will decline probably by 0.3%. We will see slower growth in the developing world, 4.5%, maybe 5% if we are lucky. We will see trade shrink by about 2.1%, first time since 1989 that trade will shrink. And we will see the end of a 5 years commodities boom that saw commodity prices increase by 130% before collapsing. Hopefully we'll see a recovery in 2010, 2011, but nobody knows. Seen from the perspective of sustainable development what we see now is a very necessary pause in an unsustainable level of development. And I don't think that is appreciated as much maybe as it should. So let's not get carried away with all the problems that we have today because remember, while people sitting in this room may lose some of their assets on the stock exchange, when people in Africa suffer this they die of hunger. That's an important point to remember.

This is a summary of the United States National Intelligence Council's report that's done every 4 years. It is presented to Barack Obama, it's received in November of last year, it has received quite a lot of media attention. It tries to summarize the shift in power from West to East. It is not "the decline of the West, but the rise of the rest". It is the rise of China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Russia, and Iran. The decline of the United States has been predicted many times. But the US will still be the top country in 2025 although China will have the largest economy. This is a computation of global power. And you see the declining power at the United States, the increase in China's power, the declining power of the EU, India, Russia, and Japan. There are many ways to present this. But Americans and Europeans will still by 2025 be wealthier than anybody else, many times wealthier than anybody else.

It is a move from a brief moment of unipolarity to much greater multipolarity. Now opinions differ on this. But I tend to argue that multipolarity is inherently more unstable than unipolarity or even bipolarity. We see the return of geopolitics. There are many examples and this is disputed. Already we see that defense expenditure is at the same level as it was during the Cold War. If this was an era of peace there is a problem. Now Africa in this process will remain buffeted. We will remain largely an

onlooker in this process. But increasingly we will be factor as I will try and illustrate. There are 54 countries in Africa. Our commodities are important. We will become an increasing global destination of investment. The global economy is about 64 trillion US dollars. The US economy and that of Europe is about 14 trillion dollars each. China's economy is about 4 trillion dollars. By 2022 China will have gone from 4 trillion dollars to about 16 trillion or 18 trillion dollars and will have overtaken the United States as the largest economy in the world. That is just to illustrate the amazing growth of the Chinese economy. It defies prediction.

Having made that point globalization seems to be the issue of the day. And for many of us the use of the internet, the computer, cell phones is a measure of globalization. Now let's look at this picture, and you can say to yourself that Africa is being left behind in this race. This is a picture of internet penetration: Africa 5.3%, rest of the world 23.7%, the world average 21%. I would assume in Austria it is about 60% or 70%, I don't know. So Africa has got 954 million people. Of that 954 million people that tells us that only 51 million people have access to the internet. And you may say to yourself, what do you expect, Africa is being left behind. You would be completely wrong. Growth in internet in Africa is growing at a 135% a year, three times the global average, faster than in China. By the end of this year there will be two, possibly three cables that will connect Africa to the rest of the world and internet connectivity in Africa will literally explode. The same with cell phones. Europe has got more cell phones than people. America has almost got as many cars as there are people which is the reason why it is such a high polluter. The African cell phone market is expanding at twice the rate of that of Asia. But nobody talks of that. Now it has all kinds of implications. Ambassador Gumbi would know that when meetings are held in South Africa by the National Executive Committee of the ANC, and you are going to the meeting, and I take your cell phone from you and lock it up, so that you can't sit there and send a text message saying, Zuma's in, Mbeki is out, whatever the case may be. Cell phones have got a major impact on governance in Africa.

This is a picture of African gross domestic product. I said global economy 64 trillion dollars, this is billions of dollars. Of that 64 trillion dollars of the global economy Africa has 2.4 trillion dollars. That's about less than 4% of the global GDP. South Africa, the largest economy, Egypt, Nigeria, Algeria, Morocco, you can read them down, the 18 biggest economies in Africa. We've got less than 4% of the global economy, yet we've got 14% of the world's population. America has got less than 5% of the world's population, and they have got 14 trillion dollars. Now this is the story of African GDP, the GDP per capita. There has been a steady growth. Let's just remind ourselves of Africa's economic history. We had independence in the liberation era of the 1950s and then in the 1960s and 1970s Africa grew at about 1% to 2% per year, very low levels of growth. Then came the debt crisis of 1982. And effectively after that African economies were run by the IMF and the World Bank along neoliberal lines. And you saw a dramatic increase in poverty, and suffering, and in government capacity in Africa. A fall in living standards during the 1980s. Then from the 1990s we saw the start of recovery. And as from 1995 steady economic growth in Africa. What is important about this story is that African economic growth predates the commodities boom. We are growing because of the commodities boom, or we were, but our growth is not only a result of the commodities boom. From the period 2000 to 2005 GDP in Africa grew consecutively. 2006 we received about 5.5% growth in GDP. That's a picture of the basic trends. This is from November of last year by the IMF, developing Asia, India and China. Africa, look at the trend. Latin America, Caribbean, the advanced economies. We know that diversified African economies, that is countries like Tunisia, Morocco, South Africa, Tanzania, and Senegal do better because the diversified. We also know that those countries that have single commodity exports, if they have oil they have done tremendously well, Angola is a classic example, Equatorial Guinea, Libya. But those countries that are dependent upon oil imports and on food imports of course are the ones that are going to suffer the most. So it's of course a highly diversified picture.

Africa is about 2% of global trade. We are not part of the service economy which is one of the reasons why we are not as badly hit by the financial crisis as the service economies are. We export commodities and we import everything else except for South Africa which has got some manufacturing that it largely exports into the rest of Africa. We are also a relatively small recipient of remittances. Remittances are anything between 250 and 400 billion dollars a year according to the World Bank, nobody really knows. Africa gets about 5% of that. And the most important African recipients by a GDP ratio are Egypt and Lesotho. Lesotho because of the mine workers from Lesotho that work in South Africa. Remittances are rising at about 30% per year, dramatic. But remittances are not a substantive vehicle for economic growth.

Aid to Africa. Africa has received about 625 billion US dollars of aid since 1960. That's around 62% of world's development aid and it peaked at about 107 billion dollars per year in 2007. It is less than what the US spent two days ago. It is less than what the US spent on one day, the 15th of September 2008. Aid, there have been substantial aid flows in Africa, but they are not significant by global standard. And Africans in any case tend to believe that the overseas development assistance is simply payback for an effectively unequal global trading system. That's what we see rise. Just to give another illustration. That 625 billion is about what the US spends in 9 months in Iraq on the war.

This is a picture of exports to Africa and imports from sub-Saharan Africa. What the picture shows you is that as we all know the United States is Africa's biggest single trading partner. Of course the European Union as a group is our largest trading partner. The European Union imports about 126 billion Euros from Africa and exports about 93 billion. But most of African trade is with very few countries. It is with Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo. Of course, most of it is oil. But trade has been growing at dramatic levels. Chinese trade with Africa has been growing in excess of 30%, 40% per year for a number of years.

Another source of African development of course is foreign direct investment. In 2007 there was about 500 billion dollars of foreign direct investment debt flow. Africa only gets about 5% of that, 53 billion dollars. But look at the trend. That has risen substantially year on year. And of course those inflows are going to be reduced by the current financial crisis. African growth will attract foreign direct investment. Foreign direct investment does not come, it follows growth, it follows economic prospects.

I've painted you a picture of economic growth and prosperity. And I think I've painted what I hope is quite an optimistic picture because those are the facts on the ground.

I now want to turn to what I think is probably the most important factor in the future of Africa which is African population growth and urbanization. Historically throughout the world and world history population has translated urbanization into economic growth. And the same holds for Africa. Urbanization in Africa is growing faster than anywhere in the world, particularly in Eastern Africa. Africa is still today largely a rural continent. Only 15% of African stayed in urban areas in the 1950s, 37% in 2005, 45% in 2015, and just after 2020 Africa will become an urban continent. I tend to believe that urbanization will also serve as a major adaptation strategy for climate change. But the problem is that urban poverty in Africa is severe. 66% of Africans in urban areas live in slums or informal settlements. And the management of Africa's urban areas is going to be a major problem for Africa. I am not going to talk about the skills loss. I will make a point about HIV/Aids a little bit later. But I want to show you this picture. This is global population. For 2007, 2015, 2025, and 2050 for China, India, Africa, United States, Indonesia and so on. Look what happens there. This total world population is at the moment 6.7 billion people. By 2015 there will be 7.3 billion people, by 2025 there will be about 8 billion people, by 2050

there will be about 9.2 billion people. This is the medium of a UN projection, and of course it takes HIV/Aids and everything into consideration. Africa now has got about 954 million people, 14% of the globe's population. By 2025 we will have 17% of the world's population. By 2050 one in every four people in the world will be African. I don't think people realize the implications of having the poorest region in the world currently with that momentum because look at that momentum of population growth. And you can see what is going to happen to China. China's population by 2025 will have some of the characteristics of Europe. Of course India who has got a completely failed family planning system has got its own problems. This is a picture of the 25 most populous African countries. Again 2007, 2015, 2025, and 2050. I will them read out for you. It's Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Nigeria, Congo, South Africa, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya, Algeria, Morocco, and Uganda. Look at the momentum in Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, and of course the situation in a country like South Africa because we are much more highly urbanized, very different. So tremendous momentum in population growth in Africa. Ultimately unsustainable. This is the impact of that demographic growth on individual countries. This is population by 2007, population by 2020, 2025. Let's take Germany. It's got 84 million people at the moment, goes down to 79 million people. Look at Ethiopia. It goes from 77 million people to 109 million people. Total fertility rates per woman in Ethiopia 5.4 children compared to the 1.3 in Germany. 43% of Ethiopians are below 15. Life expectancy at birth in Ethiopia 49 years, in Germany 79 years. 34% of Ethiopian children that are born are underweight. These are horrifying statistics in many senses, if you translate that into actual human suffering. But again, the point here is the population momentum. When I show this people always ask HIV/Aids. That has been the impact of HIV/Aids in Africa and globally. HIV/Aid has been a disaster in Southern Africa. But population rates, growth have recovered and are at an all time high across Africa. This is of course Western Europe, Asia, this is Southern Africa. Look at that what HIV/Aids has done. That is Western Africa, Eastern Africa, and Central Africa. These are UN Aids figures. One can argue about how correct they are, but I doubt if you can argue the trend.

Let's look at democracy and governance in Africa. This is a table that presents according to Freedom House democracy in the world. Western Europe and Canada, 27 countries, of which 26 are liberal democracies, that's about 96%. Great. Latin American and Caribbean, 55% of the countries are liberal democracies. Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, 41%. Asia, ??? %. Pacific islands 67%, Africa 17%, Middle East, one country, 5%. This is from Freedom House and one can argue about that. The challenge is that we saw until the 1990s was the third wave of democracy. You all know about the third wave of democracy, growth in African democracy. It is stabilized in recent years. And the question is whether that will resume. There is historically a poor correlation between democratization and economic growth. The relationship is about 1%. 1% better growth if you are a democracy. Many of us believe the contrary, but the facts don't support unfortunately that analysis. What is happening is that Africans at the time of the 1990s and the 1980s believed that democracy will provide a better economic future. They have been sadly disillusioned. And Africans increasingly believe in democracy as an independent and own good, as they should, because it is a global good. Africa needs democracy like no other continent because of the failure of post-liberation leadership in Africa. Simple statement. But that is why Africa needs democracy. Apart from the fact that is of course the best system in terms of accountability and the leadership.

And the question really is what will the role of China be in this process. China is not a democracy. If foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy China cannot export democracy. And Chinese engagement in Africa which is massive is there to feed China's domestic situation. It is not to build capacity in Africa. They follow different agendas. And we can talk at length about the role. Because China at the same time has got a lot of potential, and its investment in Africa, the effect that that will be

we'll depend on us in Africa not depend on China. You can't blame the Chinese or the Europeans or anybody else for underdeveloping Africa, we do it ourselves, we don't need anyone else's help.

This is a picture of Freedom House scores of free, partly free, and not free countries in Africa in 2007. And I have made the point that disillusionment has replaced the belief that Africans had in the power of democracy. And there are some issues we can discuss about. This is a classification of African governments by regime type. Liberal democracies, those 8 countries have remained relatively stable, the numbers have remained the same. The number of aspiring democracies, ambiguous, competitive authoritarian states, electoral authoritarian states, and politically closed countries have remained relatively stable. This is a really worrying situation because all of us would like this to move this way. That by the way is one of the functions of European and Austrian development assistance, to achieve that push. So democracy, not looking too good. Progress, but will we see a resumption of that push, particularly given the role of China, particularly given the tendency of African leaders to now use constitutional manipulation to stay in power. But I believe that we all see that.

??? Ibrahim has established an African governance index which measures the quality of African governance in 48 of Africa's 54 countries. Based on the 2006 data there have been improvements in 31 African countries. I work in Africa. I spend my time travelling around. And you can see the changes in the capacity of African governments, you can physically see it. According to the Ibrahim index Mauritius is the best governed, Liberia has seen the most improvements, Somalia which doesn't really have a government is last, and then the DRC. Of course as governance improves, as the capacity of governments improves so does overseas development assistance. That's why today it is possible to say that overseas development assistance today is much more effective than it was 10 years ago. We are learning from some of our mistakes. So the quality of governance is increasing.

But of course the one factor that will always be mentioned, the C word, corruption. This is a nice story about corruption that illustrates the point I want to make. Zaire 1961, a desperately poor country with per capita income of 67 dollars per person per year. Mobutu seizes power in 1965, he rules until 1997. He is estimated to have stolen about 5 billion dollars, about 4 to 5 times the national income. Indonesia in 1961, desperately poor with per capita annual income of 49 dollars per person per year. Suharto's coup in 1965, he rules until 1998. He is estimated to have stolen 15 billion US dollars. Yet, by 1997 Indonesia's per capita income was three times higher than that in 1965 while that of the DRC was three times lower. The apparent difference is that while Mobutu took his money and put it in Swiss bank accounts, which tells you something about the banking industry in the regulated world, what Suharto is he paid his children who became the richest business people in Indonesia. The relationship between corruption and economic growth is really a debatable relationship because countries like Japan and India seem to do very well. And it is not so long ago that many of the Western countries that come and tell Africans how to improve their governance and stop being corrupt were as corrupt. And no African lost 1.2 trillion dollars in a single day on the Wall Street stock exchange. But that's what happened. Does anybody say that the Wall Street stock exchange is inherently corrupt? Of course it is. Look at the relationship between big capital and big politics in the United States. I can mention issues like Berlusconi and so on. When people are poor it is easy to buy them, and corruption is evident, it is evident on the street. White collar crime and corruption is not evident. So I think this issue of corruption is something one must deal with quite carefully. There is also another factor. And that is that development leads largely to good governance. What donors want is they say to Africa the whole time, fix your government and then you will develop. That is not the history of the world. The history of the world is that governance improves and corruption reduces as development happens. I am being provocative, I know that, I am doing it deliberately, and I am overstating, and I am overgeneralizing, and I know, but I am trying to make a few points.

To conclude, I am saying that there is a complex world with disputed power, multipolarity is inherently more unstable, the structural trends in Africa are positive, but the problem is that bad news sells. Events in Darfur and in Zimbabwe focus our minds. But that's not the real story of Africa. The real story of Africa is a much more positive story, and it will become an increasingly good news story in the years that lie ahead. Of course, none of us can really predict the future, we all know that. There is no doubt that the economic slowdown in 2009, 2010, 2011 will severely impact upon Africans. We have not social net. It's not that you lose your savings on the stock exchange, you lose your ability to feed your family. To European Africa often, particularly people in Southern Europe, this is the picture they see of Africa. Migration threat. But Africa is not only a threat to Europe. America remains the most dynamic economy in the world for amongst others two reasons: relatively high birth rates and immigration by European standards. And the same will hold true for Europe. It is true that drugs, organized crime, piracy, and migrants are a problem, but Africa is not only potentially a problem for Europe. The future of North Africa is inherently tied to Southern Europe. There is the small problem of the Sahara desert that cuts North Africa off from the rest of Africa. We can talk about pan-Africanism and African unity, but I will say that the Mediterranean is an economic unit, and building a wall will not stop Africans. They will find a way if you look at the momentum that I spoke about. The only solution is the development of Africa.

So to conclude. Culture follows power. We look at the importance of leadership and democracy in Africa. Will Africa develop like India which develops despite its government, not because of its government? Or will Africa develop like China, the developmental state? There are very few African countries that have that option. I've spoken about the importance of democracy, the example, and the many challenges that face us in Africa in this regards. I've spoken about the importance of demographics and urbanization, the driver of economic growth globally. Africa needs a manufacturing base. No country in the world has developed and become selfsustaining without a manufacturing base, and the same holds for Africa. We know what the requirements are with regard to investment in infrastructure, education, health, and improved governance. We know that we have to manage globalization and free trade.

The simple question which we often ask ourselves is why does Africa not develop? What's wrong? There are many answers. But what lies at the root of development in my view is basically nationalism. It's basically a belief in yourself, in your own country that you can develop. And that is something that Africans are now starting to develop, but which they've never had. It's a contested argument. But it is when Africans start believing in themselves that they will start investing in their own country and investing in their own future. The linkage between nationalism and development lies at the heart of Africa's inability to develop thus far as well as population density and urbanization trends.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you.

Helmut Freudenschuss

Ladies and gentlemen, you have just seen and heard a very good example for this irrepressible optimism so prevalent in Africa. I have read somewhere that there is no word for depression in many African languages. Ideally, Jakkie, I could now just say I agree with everything you have said, but unfortunately there is no free glass of water in the Kreisky Forum, so I have to work a bit. So I will play the devil's advocate and pick out three points and maybe suggest a different of looking at them. First point, you said 2025 will be historically an unprecedented era of peace in Africa because of the end of colonialism. However, we have a scramble for resources and some fear a new form of colonialism developing. Second reason, you gave the end of the Cold War, yes, but there could be new Cold Wars, not ideologically motivated, but for different reasons. And thirdly you mentioned the greater role of the

United Nations. Then I just remind you of the discussion last week in New York where high UN officials have pointed out that peacekeeping operations were overstretched and were even in danger of collapse despite the fact that we have operations going on now which are not even fully staffed, and there is new demand for them. 2025 would be also an unprecedented era of prosperity. There is a reason for that. You pointed to the indeed impressive growth rates Africa has enjoyed since 2000. But let me point out that you had a commodity boom in the 1970s when after that African governments threw a big party and suffered from a hangover until the 1990s. I grant you that growth rates today are not only fuelled by the commodities, but to a certain large extent they are. Last point, democracy. You mentioned that in your view democracy was needed most in Africa and that there was an increasing belief in democracy. But there are also others who argue that parliamentary democracy is not really suited to African culture and to multiethnic states, and especially not the sort of the winner takes all, first past the post model. These are the remarks which came to my mind after listening to you.

Question

Irene Freudenschuss-Reichl. Thank you very much for a very fascinating lecture. I would like to ask one question related to what you said that this crisis that we are experiencing now in the year 2009 which will hopefully abate in the year 2010 again is the needed break in a development path that is unsustainable. You are not the only one who would argue in this way, and you are not the only one who sees the chance in this break in an unsustainable development path. I am thinking for example of Jeremy Rifkin who has been arguing quite pervasively that this is the chance to usher in the third industrial revolution and to really make the change into sustainable energy systems. What could Africa's role be in indeed using the chance that this break in an unsustainable path of development is offering? And how could the international community assist Africa which needs to build up a lot of its infrastructure etc. to benefit from the chance inherent in this break?

Jakkie Cilliers

I make the point and I make the argument of unsustainable purely, if you look at China. Its energy needs are growing at 18% per year. This is impossible to sustain. Those arguments I think we are probably in agreement with. Yet at the same time Africa needs both the means to develop. Development assistance is a means to an end. In simple terms there are two types of development assistance. One is humanitarian relief, that is to help people that are poor, dying. The other one is to try and get Africa to grow so that you provide them the means to develop. And that is the issues, you raised it yourself, infrastructure, education. I am a great believer in the European Union and other plans to help African infrastructure and African education. Africa also is an energy rich continent. The Grand Inga scheme can provide from hydro-electricity enough power to provide for the whole of Africa and to export some to Europe. We have 10% of the world's oil, but we export all of it. And so on. The impression that one has is that Africa does not have water, it does not have energy. Africa has got 17% of the world's fresh water. It has got more water than it needs. It's the distribution that is the problem. What does Africa need to do? It needs an agricultural revolution. It needs a revolution in urban management. It needs a revolution in education. We have a bulge of African youth that are a cause of trouble, they cannot be taught. And they will not find a development path that you had in Europe. They are beyond education. At least half of them are young males. You can therefore say with certainty that's a source of instability and is what causes instability throughout the world. And in Africa uneducated, unsocialized, hungry millions will cause us many, many problems. Africa needs to control its population growth. We saw those figures. It's not a politically correct thing to say. But population growth is bad in general, in global terms of what we are seeing. There are many challenges that the continent faces and there are many ways in which development partners can help Africa. Amongst others it is in your interest from a geostrategic point of view to assist the democratization and the emergence of a rules based world of which the 54 countries in Africa are going to form an increasingly powerful bloc. Because if you are concerned about the shift of

power from West to East and the rise maybe of authoritarian states your best allies in simple terms are fellow democracies and countries that believe in the rule of law and the importance of human rights democracy. Not only due to the fact that we live to the South of you and we are many, but it is also in terms of the future of global structure and geopolitics and the reform of the UN which you have mentioned. Let me stop there.

Question

Vivienne Hasibeder. Stephan Tangermann from the OECD was of the same opinion as you. He participated at a meeting at OeNB last October. What about reforming the global reserve system?

Jakkie Cilliers

I am not an expert on economics and financial matters. Ambassador Gumbi would know very well that I've spoken about things I know very little about. What I deal with is peace and security in Africa, human security issues. All that I can tell you is the basic issue that there is an urgent need for the reform of the UN system including the international financial institutions. In the short term history that I spoke of with African development I spoke of the tremendous damage that the structural adjustment programs and the international financial institutions enforced on Africa. I think we have learned from those lessons. But there is clearly a need for global financial reform. Casino capitalism has shown its limits. There needs to be a balance clearly in the role of the state and the role of the free market. Clearly the free market has gone too far. But having made that point there is a bit of an ill founded belief in Africa that the future of Africa is the creation of a developmental state. There are only two countries that I can think of in Africa that can embark upon so called developmental state. That is Ruanda and Ethiopia. I don't believe South Africa or any of the others have the capacity to do top down development. And that because it relates to the nature of your system. Basically I would tend almost towards the view that the developmental state implies an authoritarian state, but that's a different issue. I can't really respond more than that in terms when it comes to the reform of the international financial institutions. But I can say that the way in which legitimacy has been sucked out of the United Nations system due to the lack of reform is a fundamental challenge. There are big issues with UN efficiency and efficacy. And clearly the UN system itself is in need of major reform because what is happening is the demand for global governance is not being met, and the world is becoming more complicated, and Africans are more disadvantaged in that process. We need the UN system more than anybody else. But the UN system is incapable of delivery on a variety of areas.

Question

Sharif. I am Afro-Austrian, originally I am from Sudan. I would like to ask you if you can highlight the efforts that South Africa in general and specifically your institute has made regarding the problems of Darfur. Nowadays there are negotiations taking place in Doha to reach a peace agreement between the government of Sudan and the rebels. Also I wonder whether Austria can make profit from your experience because I think Austria is very related to Sudan since for hundred years there is Austrian governing Sudan, and his grandson is sitting beside me. Since this problem of Darfur broke out always I was wondering why Austria is not taking any role there on the level of politics, or solving problems, or also in the development which is going to take place. Thank you.

Jakkie Cilliers

Africa became involved in Darfur because of the failure of the international community to live up to its commitments. And therefore the African Union in desperation, unprepared and without the necessary equipment, but with the memory of what happened in 1993 in Ruanda still fresh in their minds, and in the face of inaction at the UN Security Council embarked upon what it knew was inevitably going to be I wouldn't say a failure but a very difficult mission in Darfur. That's why the African Union became

involved, in the same way that the African Union eventually became involved in Somalia, purely because of the inaction of the international community. Africa's belief is that the UN is responsible for global peace and security, but of course the UN avoids situations which are of a difficult nature. The result of that is that we set ourselves up to fail because it is not possible from a humanitarian, or a peace keeping, or even a humanitarian peace keeping developmental perspective to engage for Africa to resolve the issues in Darfur or Somalia, for that matter. These are global issues that demand a global response. We can talk about capacities and so on. The response that is required in Darfur is beyond the capabilities of Africa to provide. And we can speculate upon the response that has been provided by the government of Sudan, the way that they have played the war on terror. We can talk about the role of Chad and of a number of African countries in Sudan. There was also at the same time an incomplete peace agreement in Darfur, particularly the security components of the Darfur peace agreement. The Darfur peace agreement was insufficient and perhaps not as comprehensive an agreement as many Africans and the international community would have liked. I am going to stop there because I couldn't hear your entire question.

Helmut Freudenschuss

From what I understood on Austria's role or contribution. To paraphrase you I think the problem of Darfur is beyond the capability of Austria to resolve, but we are doing our bit. Let me refer you to the Austrian participation in the operation EUFOR in Chad which actually has the main task of protecting civilians and refugees also from Darfur. We are talking to the parties involved. As we speak now tonight the Deputy Foreign Minister of Sudan is arriving in Vienna and we are having consultations with him tomorrow. And we are also in touch with the UN and EU Chief Mediator, former Minister Bassolé who will come to Vienna shortly. So we are actively involved and we do what we can. But obviously we cannot do it all alone.

Question

Claudia Müller of the Austrian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Environment and Water Management. I would like to ask you on food security and nutrition. Currently it is experienced that organic farming particularly might be a great help when it comes to these topics because it is a very independent way of farming as regards external factors such as fertilizers or dependencies on great groups which try to sell fertilizers and seeds etc. It is very sustainable. It is very apt for various kinds of climates and soils. It might also be a very precious contribution to sufficiency and might help to fight migration within Africa and urbanization which by themselves are further threats. I would like to ask you about your experiences and your opinion on that.

Jakkie Cilliers

I am not a food security expert, and it also ties into the whole GMO debate. But what I can tell you is that there is no doubt that Africa needs a green revolution. Exactly if that is going to be an organic green revolution I personally doubt because I don't see that the requirements for African self-sufficiency can only be met in that manner. And I also think that the debate about GMOs where Africa finds itself caught between Europe and the United States presents us with a very difficult situation. You probably know the well known experience of Malawi which was a net food importer because it followed the World Bank prescriptions in terms of that it may not subsidize its own agriculture. And then at the point where Malawi said enough of this, we are going to provide fertilizer and support our farmers, Malawi in two years became a net food exporter. We certainly need a revolution in agriculture in Africa. A major factor in the decline of African subsistence agriculture which is, I think, the point that you are making in terms of sustainable and organic farming is that the policies that African leaders pursued immediately after independence were policies that effectively de-agriculturalized Africa, policies of industrialization and the penalization of subsistence farming. There is a tremendous amount of rollback that needs to

happen on that. There are all kinds of commitments and other agreements about what needs to be done. And also if we are going to stop the levels of urbanization that I spoke about massive amounts of engagements would need to happen. But effective for Africa is the extreme extent to which our farming is dependent upon highly volatile and scarce rain. I can't remember the figure but it is something like 80% of our agriculture is entirely dependent on rain. That is unsustainable if you want to provide sufficient food. I made the point that objectively Africa has got all the means, except maybe the technology, it should be able to feed itself. We are at the moment a net food importer which is just crazy for Africa. We import something like 3.6% of the world's food and we produce something like 3.4% of the world's food. So we are a net food importer. That is a situation that requires a great amount of leadership and engagement to turn around. On organic farming I can't really comment apart from those generalizations that I have made.

Question

I'll ask three questions. In your conclusion you said nationalism. You linked nationalism and development, that Africa lacks nationalism. There was a time in Africa when nationalism actually was so strong during the times of liberation struggles. Where has that spirit gone? You also mentioned that the multipolar system is inherently unstable. We know that the bipolar system is also not very stable, look at the Cold War, the whole issue of nuclear weapons. And again, unipolar system is not very stable. Look at the current situation where America just goes into Iraq. So which system do you think is best? My last question, I hope you have read the book called "Confessions of the Economic Hit Man". What is the role of multinational corporations in the underdevelopment of the African continent?

Jakkie Cilliers

These are three big issues. I would not equate the struggle for liberation, or against Apartheid, or against colonialism as necessarily the same as African nationalism. These were struggles against. I use the term nationalism advisedly because I can't find a different word. It is basically a belief in yourself and in your country and in your systems. Patriotism in a sense. But you know, African statehood, let's remind us also about the creation of African states. Africa has not gone through a typical European process of state formation. You had the start of state formation, then you had colonialism, and during colonialism and the Cold War the facade of state divisions was frozen and held in place. And then at the end of the Cold War the scaffolding was removed and you had an increase in conflicts because suddenly the sources that kept these borders intact were removed. In that process African identity has become ..., Congolese considered themselves as Congolese, South Africans as South Africans, and so on. Over time that colonial map which was completely artificially drawn has gained a degree of traction in Africa. And therefore there is no question now of reopening the African borders dispute. Now that's a very different history to the European history of war and predation which led to the creation of European states which was a bloody process of what we would today call one war lord fighting against another, but they called them kings. History is not very different in many senses of what in certain ways is happening in Africa. But I don't draw the parallel too closely, it's just that people tend to forget how bloody the process of state formation in Europe was, and it's not that long ago. Austria was a little bit in the middle of these processes. Because we didn't have that natural process of state formation our state formation process is very, very different. We have not developed the social contract that developed in Europe. The basis for statehood is the contract between the governed and the governor. Africans don't have that. And that is what I am referring to. You need to earn that.

Multipolarity versus bipolarity. The issue with bipolarity was that it froze the whole world. And yes, the wars were fought on the fringes. But I ask myself, if you look historically back at the world history then an era where every country has got its own little area of influence geopolitics and multipolar world was quite an unstable situation because you are fighting the whole time between your areas of influence. I

know we are not going back to the 18th or the 19th century. Let me use a very interesting example. The Scandinavians, we like to forget how bloody their history is, are peace loving and good people and stand in solidarity with one another. Scandinavians in the Nordics are like one, joined at the hip. But it is interesting to see how their interests have changed with the developments in the Arctic around oil. Very interesting to see how national interests come back. I think that the future is going to be very interesting because I think that you see the return of geopolitics. People like to believe globalization, we are all one great world and interconnected. I am not so sure. I am a little bit of a skeptic when it comes to globalization.

Then you mentioned multinationals. And yes, I read the "Confession of Economic Hit Man". A book I would suggest that all of you read is a book called "Bad Samaritans" by Ha-Joon Chang. He is a professor of economics at Cambridge. It is the history of European development versus the history of African development. He makes many of the points, I used some of his stuff. Him and Stiglitz are more or less on the same side. And they are on the other side of the flat world of Thomas Friedman. The other books I would also advise you to read is "Superclass" which is the book of the real wealthy of the world and shows how the richness, the concentration of wealth in the private sector was becoming completely unsustainable. And we have seen the results in the last few months because the balance between the free market, which is the only system that really has proven to produce sustainable wealth over decades, and the state got out of kilter. That's why you had on the Wall Street stock exchange gearings so that for every one dollar that you have you owe 30 dollars. The gearings were completely crazy. What we are seeing today is I would argue not only a correction in casino capitalism, but you are seeing a balance between the state and the free market because the balance became out of kilter. All of this tells us in my view that the state and statehood, sovereignty is still important. It's not going to go away, it's not going to go away soon, certainly not in our lives. In the same way that Africans like to preach to other people about brotherly love and uBuntu most of which is nonsense. Africans are as predatory upon one another as anybody else. If you listened carefully to my lecture it is all about dissuading you that Africa is different. Africa is not different. It is exactly the same. Our politicians are as corrupt as yours, as good, as bad as yours. Our people act in the same way. Don't tell me they are different, because they are not. It is that issue of going against the myth of African exceptionalism. Africans are the same as anybody else. And that is an issue that I think is often not addressed because there is this myth, that it is the dark continent, they can't govern themselves. That's a function of our history where we are today.

Question

My name is Dastalamu. I am teaching a small lecture at the University of Vienna in cultural anthropology and history of Ehtiopia. We are discussing a lot of things about democracy, especially in Ethiopia and in Somalia. Particularly Ethiopia has a lot of problems with different nationalities, especially after 40 years of the King Haile Selassie we had a lot of political parties but we don't have any ??? How can we under these circumstances develop democracy in Ethiopia?

Jakkie Cilliers

I have been working with the African Union since 1996. You see a steady growth in African engagement on conflict prevention, conflict management and so on. And one must not be distracted by the election of Gaddafi as the Chair of the African Union. There was nobody else. It was North Africa's turn, they looked around the table, Egypt wasn't there, Algeria was the previous chair, Morocco wasn't there, okay so Gaddafi. Don't be distracted by the challenges that that presents. If you look at the progress that the African Union has made over the years. We talked a little bit about peace keeping. We talked about the efforts that it has made in Zimbabwe. I think Zimbabwe represents in many instances a failure of diplomacy. We'll see where the agreement goes to. But I think Africa could have done much more on

the issue of Zimbabwe. But let's leave that for the time being. The point I'm making is that similar to the United Nations when it comes to peace and security the African Union is doing well. It is not doing well and will not do well on the other issues. Continental integration, those are nice things, but they will not happen from a top down process. Economic integration in Africa will happen from the bottom up at the subregional level. South African Customs Union, SADEC, East African Community, ECOWAS, maybe at some point IGET, maybe at some point in the future the Africa Maghreb Union, once Gaddafi is no longer ... So I think that there is great potential for African economic integration. But the top down political led integration that we are seeing, that the African Union talks about, African Union government, that in my view is not going to go anywhere. In any case, the European experience has been, we have got economic collaboration on coal, steel that develops and over time it develops a political characteristic. Africa is trying to go from the other way round where we have grand new schemes of political integration and then say, we are going to do this, with very little effect on the ground. I think the potential of the African Union to serve as a vehicle for continental integration, yes, 30, 40, 50 years from now, but not in the short to medium term. I think there the focus really is on the subregional level and getting that to work. And when it comes to peace and security the African Union has done quite well. You must always remember, it's the same issue with good governance. Africa is the poorest, most conflict prone continent in the world. Its governments reflect that fact. You can't have a fantastic super duper African Union that is composed of 54 of the poorest countries in the world. The African Union's budget is now 160 million dollars per year. That's for the whole of Africa. It used to be 32 million dollars. Therefore the African Union and the subregional structures and African governments reflect the realities of the African continent. It is the same argument I make when I point to the fact that don't think you can have fantastic quality, good governance that is accountable to all your donor requirements in Africa. When the quality of governance is necessarily poor there is a degree of you can call it corruption, I can call it slippage, that will inevitably occur with all development assistance which makes development assistance tremendously difficult. There are few things as difficult as creating ownership of an issue, of helping somebody to help himself. It's easy to talk about it, but it is extremely difficult to do.

Question

Johann Pucher. Permit me to pick up on one remark that you made. It is about borders. You said they are totally artificially drawn, but there is now way to open up these borders. Looking back in Europe, after the Cold War we thought no change, then came Yugoslavia, and after Yugoslavia we thought no way to open borders. Now we have Kosovo. Abhasia, South Osetia, and so on. How will it be in Africa, opening up borders? Will that also come up? And what are you doing not to detract so much energy, resources, human resources, financial resources in such disintegrating processes? Will you manage it?

Jakkie Cilliers

Only 14% of Africa's borders are delineated. And we already have problems with regard to oil under lake Victoria and so on. The situation between Cameroon and Nigeria, Bakassi Peninsula, there are going to be many problems. The situation between North and South Darfur around Abiye has got a lot to do with oil. I mentioned this issue of climate change. The current position of African leaders and heads of states is, please, let's just not open up this issue of borders, let us just stick to maintenance of the colonial borders. Therefore that when there is a dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea they go and hole out the maps from I don't when and say okay, what did those guys say, we will stick to that. It's not a question of looking on the ground. It's a question of sticking to the colonial determined borders because of the nature of African state formation which is an imposed state. People sitting in London and say, we will give them a mountain, which is what Queen Victoria said about Kilimanjaro, and then drew the map. That process of state formation has led to these crazy situations of borders where African nationalism is growing up inside these borders to a degree. I think that African leaders are extremely concerned about

opening up the borders issue. I have no doubt that similar to Europe that there will be some changes eventually. Everybody thought European borders were settled. Well, they thought that a number of times. And every time there is a new surprise. And there will be surprises and issues in Africa. But we are trying desperately to contain that which is the reason why when you talk to African leaders the last thing they want is independence for South Sudan. The South Sudanese want independence, that's clear. But give them anything else but not independence because that has the potential of opening up really a Pandora's box. But very few African borders are drawn. My colleague at the back spoke about Ethiopia. The Ethiopian border between Somalia and Ethiopia doesn't exist. In any case the Somalis think half of Ethiopia belongs to them and vice versa. It's a difficult issue and one that needs to be managed very carefully. It has great potential to destabilize Africa, particularly when there are resources at stake. So an issue that like Europe we will try and manage as best we can, but that could explode.

Helmut Freudenschuss

Ladies and gentlemen, I suggest we call it a day. Jakkie, thank you for your insight and time. Thanks to the Kreisky Forum for hosting and organizing this event. Thank you all for your interest and your attendance.