



# ATLANTIC CURRENTS

AN ANNUAL REPORT ON WIDER ATLANTIC PERSPECTIVES AND PATTERNS

## The South in the Time of Turmoil

DECEMBER 2019

6<sup>th</sup> Edition

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## The South in the Time of Turmoil

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**About Policy Center for the New South**

The Policy Center for the New South (PCNS) is a Moroccan think tank aspiring to contribute to economic and social policies that provide answers to the collective challenges facing Morocco and the African continent, as integral parts of the global South. The PCNS advocates for an open, accountable, and enterprising "new South" that defines its own narratives and mental maps around the Mediterranean and the South Atlantic basins, embodied by a forward-looking relationship with the rest of the world. Through its analytical work and focus on dialogue and partnerships from different perspectives and disciplines, the think tank aims to cultivate African expertise and excellence.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>ACS</b>	Association of Caribbean States
<b>AFCFTA</b>	African Continental Free Trade Agreement
<b>AFFRC</b>	Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Research Council
<b>AIDB</b>	Asian Infrastructure Development Bank
<b>AMU</b>	Arab Maghreb Union
<b>AQIM</b>	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>BoP</b>	Bottom of the Pyramid
<b>BRI</b>	Belt and Road Initiative
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
<b>CEN-SAD</b>	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
<b>CEWS</b>	Continental Early Warning Systems
<b>CFIUS</b>	Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States
<b>CFSP</b>	Common Foreign and Security Policy
<b>CNOOC</b>	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
<b>CNPC</b>	China National Petroleum Corporation
<b>COMESA</b>	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>CPTPP</b>	Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>EAC</b>	East African Community
<b>ECA</b>	Economic Commission for Africa
<b>ECCAS</b>	Economic Community of Central African States
<b>ECFR</b>	European Council on Foreign Relations
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African states
<b>EEAS</b>	European External Action Service
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investment
<b>FFC</b>	Forces for Freedom and Change
<b>FNB</b>	First National Bank

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<b>FOCAC</b>	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
<b>FT</b>	Financial Times
<b>G5</b>	Group of Five
<b>GAF A</b>	Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon
<b>GATT</b>	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GERD</b>	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
<b>GVC</b>	Global Value Chains
<b>HCI</b>	Human Capital Index
<b>HIPC</b>	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
<b>HoA</b>	Horn of Africa
<b>HR</b>	High Representative
<b>HRW</b>	Human Rights Watch
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IITA</b>	International Institute of Tropical Agriculture
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>IoT</b>	Internet of Things
<b>ISGS</b>	Islamic State in Greater Sahara
<b>ISIS</b>	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
<b>ISWAP</b>	Islamic State in West Africa Province
<b>JNIM</b>	Jam'at Nusrat al-Islam wal-Muslimeen
<b>LSE</b>	London Stock Exchange
<b>LSM</b>	Living Standards Measure
<b>MAFF</b>	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (in Japan)
<b>MaMo Panel</b>	Malabo Montpellier Panel
<b>MERCOSUR</b>	Mercado Común del sur (Southern Common Market)
<b>MINT</b>	Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey
<b>MINUSMA</b>	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>MUJAO</b>	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
<b>NAFTA</b>	North American Free Trade Agreement
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGO</b>	Non Governmental Organization



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<b>OBOR</b>	One Belt One Road
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>PIC</b>	Public Investment Corporation
<b>PRC</b>	People's Republic of China
<b>PTA</b>	Preferential Trade Agreement
<b>R&amp;D</b>	Research and Development
<b>REC</b>	Regional Economic Community
<b>RIA</b>	Regional Integration Arrangement
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SDG</b>	Sustainable Development Goal
<b>SINOPEC</b>	China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation
<b>SOE</b>	State-Owned Enterprise
<b>STD</b>	Special and Differential Treatment
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirates
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCTAD</b>	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
<b>UNHDI</b>	United Nations Human Development Index
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USDA</b>	United States Department of Agriculture
<b>USMCA</b>	United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>USTR</b>	United States Trade Representative
<b>VEO</b>	Violent Extremist Organization
<b>WAEMU</b>	Western African Economic and Monetary Union
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization
<b>YIIFSWA-II</b>	Yam Improvement for Income and Food Security in West Africa

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## Foreword

### Towards a Pan-Africanist renaissance

A perusal of the table of content of the sixth Edition of the Atlantic Current reveals a common theoretical theme running through this year's volume, the charting of ongoing political, economic, and sociocultural trends shaping the Global South and the major challenges facing its regional entities, as embodied in the publication's title « The South in time of Turmoil ». This theme is very timely in that it captures the current African landscape in the context of globalization and the post-colonial era.

One cannot reflect on the fate of the continent without a critical inquiry of the colonial legacy and its politics of "Divide and Conquer", which have undoubtedly blocked the development prospects of African nations, planted the seeds of ethno-nationalist movements, patrimonialism, and to some extent, failed states, and endangered the continent's integration, peace and security prospects.

When some patronizing and afro-pessimist schools of thought raise this derisive question; « Why can't Africa get its acts together, unite to end this negative image of a war torn continent? », the Zeitgeist of such a structure of reasoning, voluntarily or naively, ignores the internal and external factors that account for this arrested development. Granted, Africa is ripe with such a conundrum, due in parts to its own making, but the exogenous factors, far outweigh the endogenous ones in this turmoil. Taken as a whole, a careful scrutiny of the current state of the continent from the era of the triangular trade, the arrival of the missionaries, the 1844 Berlin Conference which carved up well integrated African nation-states into artificial territorial boundaries to reflect colonial interests, to its latest configuration, gives credence to the domain assumptions made earlier through seminal works by prominent scholars such as Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972), Samir Amin's *Accumulation on global scale*, (1974), *Unequal Development* (1977) and more recent undertakings by Munyaradjzi Mawere's *Underdevelopment, Development and the Future of Africa* (2017), as well as John W. Forje's *In the Heat of Africa's Underdevelopment* (2019). Mainly, these authors contend that the problems plaguing the continent have been largely beyond its control. Indeed, they are the inception of a long standing imperial domination, which under the name of Development and Modernization has plunged and maintained Africa in a vicious cycle of underdevelopment, debt dependency, abject poverty, political

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insecurity, and vulnerability to diseases. Furthermore, this beautiful mosaic of multicultural representations, pan-ethnic and linguistic diversity, known as the birthplace of human civilization since ancient Egypt, has been severely hampered by its colonial legacy. Consequently, some pessimists would contend that Africa would never fully emancipate itself from the yoke of imperial domination, and catch up with the post-industrial societies. Such a fatalistic stance should be eviscerated to set in motion a global agenda for equitable growth, and sustainable development for the continent. As the German Federal minister of Economic Development, Gerd Muller, stated in his presentation of the “Marshall Plan with Africa”: “We need a change of paradigm, and must understand that Africa is not the continent of cheap resources, but that the people there require infrastructure and a future” (2017).

Africa, acknowledged to be the second largest and second most populous continent in the world, according to World Population Prospects (2017), has also the youngest population in the world with 226 million people aged between 15 and 24. According to the UNDP Africa Report (2017), the population is growing faster than projected, and is expected to double from current levels by 2055. This demographic growth rate of 2.52 in 2019 (United Nations), while regional economic growth is projected to be 2.6 (World Bank), is in a way similar to a Malthusian scenario with an exponential population growth, and limited economic development prospects, prompting scholars like Kinsley Ighobor to describe Africa’s youth as a « Ticking Bomb ». Moreover, as indicated by the African Development Bank (ADB), 12 million young people joined the African labor force in 2015, but, only 3.1 million jobs were created, (UNDP Africa), while the Brookings Institute in its March 2019 review reports that 1 in 3 Africans live below the global poverty line, despite tremendous natural resources, wealth and human capital. One major dimension here, is the feminization of poverty, which makes poverty in the continent an essentially female construct, and the marginalization of African women in both the development process, and the political field (The World Bank Policy Research Paper 8360, March 2018). Thus, it is urgent to launch a collective endeavor from the grassroots to the national and international levels to reverse this trend, and push for further commitments to eradicate gender inequality and discrimination in all spheres of human life in Africa. Admittedly, Africa currently faces the burning issue of how to forge a well-balanced and equitable global human habitat at peace with itself, and in that vein, account for its past and present history, so that it can recapture the new trends, and gauge future directions for development. Forward-looking, Africa needs to debunk the Afro-pessimist narrative in the forms of stereotypes such as ethno-nationalism identity- politics, and launch the foundation of a Pan-Africanist renaissance.

Toward this goal, Africa should not just rely on slogans like “Africa needs African solutions”; no matter its sturdiness, but also take advantage of a new

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geopolitical global reshuffling in international cooperation in the post-cold war era, with recent trade and developmental initiatives from the U.S. BUILD program, “Better Utilization of Investment Leading to Development”, the German “Marshall Plan with Africa” presented in 2017, the Pan-African Program of the European Union, the Africa-EU Strategic Partnership project, the BRICS offering (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), and the China Africa Project on infrastructure and construction. All these ventures are development opportunities, for Africa to seize, and erect a new pact for a sustainable and equitable partnership between the continent, the West, and the Global South.

On a positive note, taken as a whole, despite these negative factors and alarming picture, which are mainly a hindrance to its future, Africa has not collapsed, and is indeed, standing tall today, and is rising from its slumber to reposition itself in the global market economy. As it stands currently, depending on the ebbs and flows of a volatile international economic market, Africa is credited with four of the fastest growing economies in the world: Cote d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Rwanda (World Bank, October 15, 2019). The recently adopted African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCTA) in May 2019, could be the world largest free zone, since the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). It is designed to get rid of tariff barriers on a significantly important number of goods, promote a healthy intra-African trade, and push for South-South cooperation and regional economic integration, without falling into the trap of “Delinking”, or of overtly conservative protectionism. The ultimate goal is to strike a balance for an inclusive growth, equity and sustainability, both in our South-South cooperation, and in our new North-South collaborative undertakings.

What is at stake here is a paradigm shift to craft a more embrative and refined socioeconomic and political system. One of the primary challenges facing Africa today is job creation to alleviate youth unemployment, harness its human capital and immense resources, as well as unleash the potential of its women and youth. A key factor we ought to account for in our attempt to understand the new dynamics shaping the African social formation, is the rise of its middle class with a population of 330 million, with its transformative potential across the continent, with Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, Algeria, and Morocco leading the way, and referred to as the “Power Five” markets (Henry Melber, 2017) (Baldwin Tong, 2019). As Steven Pinker indicated, “the rise of the global middle class, its implications on policies, industrial development and the political economy, might be one of the most important ‘ignored’ stories of 2018”. (In Rethinking global poverty reduction in 2019, The Brookings Institution). It is cogently stated, that a growing healthy middle class is a safeguard for a participatory democratization, an imperative for political transparency, and the empowerment of civil society. Indeed, the middle class tends to be seen as a vector to lift a nation-state to new highs of prosperity. Hence, the cornerstone of

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an emerging global African market is a healthy and educated middle class society, which constitutes the bedrock for a transitional stage toward post-modernity.

To reach this goal, Africa must confront these following challenges:

Enhance women status and conditions to upheave economic growth and development.

The multidimensional facets of Globalization and its impacts on the unification of a world market with the rise of new systems of production, financial transfer, and capital mobility has catapulted the world system of production into the age of the digital economy, thus, challenging Africa to swiftly adapt to it, and contract its digital gap.

Africa needs to magnify its bond to global computing and catch up with this fast evolving swing toward an expanding digital economy, which requires, enhancing high quality educational programs for its youth, as it transitions into the future. Africa also stands in need of creative and comprehensive youth and women employment policies, to capture the demographic dividend with the objective of elaborating gender-informed and youth-based employment programs to lift up the collective welfare of these vulnerable social categories to a viable level of affluence.

Additionally, there is a call for good governance, the modernization of the management of the public administration, and the promotion of a strong private sector in Africa today. Altogether, Africa has to craft bold global environmental policies to navigate through the ecological transition, with its strains and challenges on the future of its human habitat, peace, and security.

The Africa we want, is an integrated continent, in which its youth and women have genuine hope for their future and dream about reaching a level of prosperity and opulence, leaving behind any perception of fear, anxiety, marginalization, exclusion, and victimization in their daily life. The Africa we want, is a stable geopolitical and economic landmass, devoid of territorial and identity conflicts, war, terror, secessionism, a continent built on the precepts of peace and security, with freedom and mobility rights for individuals, hence, fulfilling our dream for an “Africa without border”. The Africa we crave for is one with an unwavering commitment to equity, social justice, the defense of human rights, and environmental protection. This Africa is within our reach, and we ought to unite all our forces, energies, human capital, intellect and expertise to overcome these challenges.

**by Aminata Toure**

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## The South in the Time of Turmoil

The Atlantic Current's 6th edition provides overview, fresh insights, latest data, and broader analysis on the Atlantic space's current challenges, as well as their implications for the South. Different chapters explore emerging trends and critical issues, such as the World Trade Organization reform, Brexit and the future of EU, the expansion of militancy in the Sahel and Coastal Africa, the role of cultural diplomacy and the deepening of Sino-African relations within a shifting and tumultuous global order. The publication also gives a unique perspective on women's leadership in Africa, the implications of introducing technology in the continent's agricultural sector, and frames the debate about which direction the Atlantic region's economy is poised to take.

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