



**AFRICAN FORUM AND NETWORK
ON DEBT AND DEVELOPMENT**

2015 ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT

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FOREWORD

Welcome to AFRODAD 2015 Annual Progress Report, a year that was very important for development. The progress made during the year was satisfactory and the efforts of the many organisations that we work with made it possible for AFRODAD to achieve its objectives. 2015 was the last year of our strategic plan for 2012-2015 in which we reviewed it.

The conclusions from the review of the AFRODAD 2012-2015 Strategic Plan showed that we made significant progress in implementing the strategic plan. All the programmes have been relevant and responded to the challenges of the continent. Programme delivery has been efficient. We met our targets in terms of annual plans and outputs. We successfully steered the organisation from a network of partners to a research hub working with organisations at local and international level. We successfully created internal capacity to do research. In addition we also supported the capacity building of partners to increase their understanding on new issues of economic governance. Despite major achievements a number of institutional and programme implementation challenges exist and will be addressed in the new Strategic Plan 2016 – 2020. The 2012-2015 Strategic Evaluation report is out and 2016-2020 Strategic Plan is now available.

The year 2015, was the year that the third Financing for Development Conference (FFD3) was held in Addis Ababa, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Climate Change framework adopted to reduce the impact in Paris, and the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on principles to guide sovereign debt restructuring processes.

The major highlight of this report is the historic Third Financing for Development Conference (FfD3) which was held from 13 to 16 July in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The FfD3 resulted in the landmark agreement, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) which was reached by the 193 UN Member States attending the FfD3. The AAAA provides a foundation for implementing the global sustainable post-2015 development agenda that world leaders

endorsed in September 2015. AFRODAD was part of the strong CSO voice during the Conference which provided technical expertise on issues under negotiations, raising awareness and swinging public opinion on them. Equally, our participation in the processes and events leading to the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development Goals (25-27 September, 2015) ensured that Member States of the United Nations adopt the SDGs. Through leading policy dialogues on aid, unfair trade and financial systems, we ensured that voices from the margins and frontlines who are most affected by the current unjust and unsustainable mode of development in the world are heard.

Our work on sovereign debt in 2015 yielded a major global success, not only for AFRODAD but all global debt networks. On the 10th of September the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on principles to guide sovereign debt restructuring processes. The resolution yielded a 'yes' vote from 136 countries from Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. A 'no' vote was registered by six countries: the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, Canada and Israel. An 'abstain' vote, meaning that these countries abstained from voting either yes or no, was registered by 41 countries. The vote means that the UN General Assembly has declared that sovereign debt restructuring processes should be guided by nine basic principles. Unlike the Security Council, which has the power to issue legally binding resolutions, General Assembly resolutions are non-binding. But they carry political weight.

Mobilising resources for financing development remains a challenge for many governments especially in low income countries. The African continent which hosts the majority of low income countries is not an exception as it lags behind in raising finance for development particularly on taxation. This is mainly attributed to limited capacity to collect revenues from companies particularly those engaged in natural resource extraction, narrow tax base, low savings, tax administrative challenges, investment incentives and the subsequent race to the bottom. Through research, advocacy and policy dialogues with government officials and parliamentarians in 2015, we managed to generate a lot of interest from all the stakeholders who have a responsibility in influencing policy making with respect to taxation, capital flight, responsible finance and extractive industries. There is still a lot of work that needs to be done to strengthen the existing relationships between parliaments

and development finance activists in their mutual supportive role on issues of domestic resource mobilisation and illicit financial flows.

Capacity building is one of the major strategies of AFRODAD to deliver its mandate. In 2015 a summer school was conducted for members of parliament, journalists, and civil society, with the view to enhancing their capacity to jointly engage on how mineral resources are actually developed and how the revenue generated is ultimately spent to achieving long-term growth and sustainable development. The summer school is an ideal platform for exchange and sharing of experiences on effective monitoring of the extractive sector and the various actors concerned. A capacitated and knowledgeable civil society, media and members of parliament is key in policy making with regard to the governance of mineral resources.

The implementation of SDGs in Africa will be driven by thought processes at national level, sub-regional level, regional level and global levels. AFRODAD will continue to engage at these different levels while implementing its 2016-2020 Strategic Plan. As a Pan African organization, AFRODAD will shift to target the global level processes but with first priority focus on the African continental level processes, then sub-regional and intergovernmental level

going down to the national level which will provide the basis for research and advocacy for development processes agreed on at sub-regional and continental levels.

As we celebrate our 20th year of operations next year, we are indebted to our national, regional and international partners for partnering with us to fight for policy change for the betterment of African citizens. Our sincere appreciation goes to them for working with us in achieving the successes detailed in this report.



Farwell Kenala Bokosi, PhD
Executive Director



Opa Kapijimpanga
**Chairperson of
Board of Directors**



Section I

The External Context

Generally, the African medium-term growth prospects remain plausible, and continue to impress. Average growth rose to about 5% in 2014 and was projected to be between 5%-6% in 2015, which is nigh the levels last experienced before the 2008/2009 global recession. This growth rate is on the back of the strengthening of the world economy and economic demands for goods and services and also on socio-political stability in those African countries which have had internal strife.



May 12, 2015 near Venice, Italy. Dr Bokosi being congratulated after a presentation by Prof. Cephas Lumina, former #UNExpert on effects of #foreigndebt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights, March 2008 - May 2014

Be that as it may, Africa still hosts most of the poorest countries in the world. The reported rising foreign direct investments (FDI) have not transformed into any worthwhile positive adjustments in the Human Development Index (HDI) scores, even for those of Africa's most resource-endowed countries. Africa continues to be burdened and saddened by abject poverty, extremities in inequality and a lethargic or near stagnant pace in good political and economic governance. In 2014, critical steps forward for Africa included major indicators such as the continent's broadly accepted position on the Global Partnership, and the Financing for Development Conference that took place in Addis Ababa in July of 2015.

African economies and the global economy in general are finally transitioning from the Great Recession to a period of more stable growth, but there are still pockets of weakness, as well as new risks. Between 2016 and 2020, AFRODAD anticipates a return to annual global growth of about 2 to 4 percent. Sub-Saharan Africa during this period is expected to become more of an engine for the global economy, as it not only grows larger but also becomes more globalised. Sub Saharan economy is estimated to grow an average of between 4-5% during 2016-2020¹.

Economic opportunities in sub Saharan Africa are expected to grow during this period spurred by investments mainly from the east in retail, natural resources, and manufacturing. Natural resources are expected to play a critical role in the development of the continent. However subdued commodity prices especially of natural resources is a major concern between 2016 and 2017 as oil and copper prices are expected to be very low. Sub-Saharan Africa has 63.2 billion barrels of proven crude oil reserves, 6.3 trillion cubic feet of proven natural gas reserves and 32 percent of the world's bauxite.

Sub-Saharan Africa Despite all of these opportunities, Sub-Saharan Africa will still grapple with a number of developmental challenges that could hinder its progress. First and foremost East and West African economies are still trying to recover from the massive effects of the Ebola outbreak which put a virtual standstill to these economies. Although the pandemic has been contained

countries still remain on high alert. Poverty still remains a major cause for concern. Although Living standards have improved in recent years an estimated 47.5% percent of the region's population still lives on less than 1USD per day². This coupled with high levels of unemployment in the region remains an obstacle to sustained development in the region.

In 2015 Africa faced massive power problems which are estimated to increase in 2016-2017 hence African governments need to invest heavily in new infrastructure in order to provide adequate electricity, to the region which may affect the growing manufacturing sector.



Delegates to the Afrodad 2012 - 2015 Strategy Evaluation and 2016 - 2020 New Strategy Planning - Cresta Lodge, Harare, Zimbabwe - August 28, 2015

¹ <http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/GEP/GEP2015b/Global-Economic-Prospects-June-2015-Sub-Saharan-Africa-analysis.pdf>

² <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17312819>

Section II

Our Impact in 2015

The year 2015 was a very important year for development. This is the year that the third Financing for Development Conference was held in Addis Ababa, the new development goals to replace the Millennium Development Goals were adopted as the Sustainable Development Goals and a framework to reduce the impact of climate change was adopted.

Report of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa:

Prior to these events, the African Heads of State and Government adopted the **“Report of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa”** at their meeting in January 2015. This is perhaps one of the areas where the work of AFRODAD and others culminated into some tangible political statement and commitment. AFRODAD had been working on these issues since 2012 and the Mbeki report added substantial value in its analysis of African capital flows and set out a powerful policy agenda. While AFRODAD acknowledges that this was not exclusively the work of AFRODAD alone but also efforts by African civil society and researchers, this is one area where the advocacy and policy influencing work of AFRODAD had a high level outcome. The process and the outcome represent the first, comprehensive African policymakers’ response to illicit financial flows.

Following the adoption of the report AFRODAD was invited by the African Union Commission (AUC) and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) to be part of a leader group of CSOs for a popular campaign aimed at mobilising the African citizenry to support the actions of their heads of state (<http://www.globaltaxjustice.org/stop-the-bleeding-campaign-launched-in-nairobi/> and <http://stopthebleedingafrica.org/the-campaign-2/partners/>)

In recognition of its work, AFRODAD was consulted to produce a policy brief on Illicit Financial Flows for Africa for the African Civil Society Circle (<http://www.gppi.net/publications/innovation-in-development/article/tackling-illicit-financial-flows-from-and-within-africa/>). This work became part of the issues that CSOs



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campaigns for at the Financing for development conference in July 2015 (<http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/ffd3/blog/ffd3-must-address-domestic-resource-mobilization-with-concrete-and-actionable-ideas.html>)

At the national level, working with its partners AFRODAD has achieved the following: In Zimbabwe the local consortium established in 2013 was dubbed Zimbabwe Network against Illicit Flows (ZiNAIF). It comprised of The African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD), Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association (ZELA), Centre for Natural Resource Governance (CNRG), Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIz) and Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZIMCODD).

In Malawi the local consortium established in 2013 was dubbed the Extractives and Taxation platform which was set up by The African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD), and coordinated by AFRODAD's national partner in Malawi the Malawi Economic Justice Network (MEJN). It comprised of Malawi Economic Justice Network (MEJN), Human Rights Consultative Committee (HRCC), Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (CHRR), Action Aid Malawi (AAM), Centre for Social Concern (CFSC), Malawi Council of Churches (MCC). Following the launch of the study report on the "Costs and Benefits of FDI in the extractives industry: The Case of Malawi in 2013, the consortium vigorously lobbied and advocated for the transparency and accountability in the extractives sector particularly on the operations of Kayelekera Uranium mine in Malawi. In retaliation to the concerted lobby and advocacy by the platform members, Kayelekera Uranium mine management publicly refuted the findings of the research study by the consortium members before subsequently suspending operations indefinitely.

Third Financing for Development Conference: AFRODAD participated in the historic Third Financing for Development Conference (FD3) which was held from 13 -16 July 2015 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The conference was preceded by the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) Forum that took place that took place from 10 -12 July 2015. One of the key outcomes of the meeting was the landmark agreement, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) which was reached by the 193 UN Member States attending the Fd3. The AAAA provides a foundation for implementing the global sustainable post-2015 development agenda that world leaders are expected

endorsed in September 2015. AFRODAD was part of the strong CSO voice before, during and after the Conference. AFRODAD provided technical expertise on issues under negotiations in areas of Domestic Resource Mobilisation, Debt Management, Private Sector and International Public Finance, raising awareness and swinging public opinion on them.

AFRODAD was a member of the CSOs Addis Coordinating Group (ACG) (<https://csoforffd.wordpress.com/about/>). The ACG was created to facilitate broad CSO participation in all FFD meetings prior and during the conference. This was done by ensuring dissemination of information across CSO networks and platforms, organizing the democratic and transparent selection of CSO speakers, coordinating civil society messages and responses through an inclusive process, and most recently, promoting common fundraising efforts to ensure strong participation of Southern civil society in the lead up to, as well as at the actual Addis Conference in July 2015.

Prior to the conference itself AFRODAD in partnership with its similar types of organisation globally (Eurodad, Latindadd, JSAPMDD and Third World Network) produced a position paper entitled "**UN FFD: What Outcomes Should be agreed in Addis Ababa in 2015?**" (<http://www.eurodad.org/ffdpositionpaper>). This paper was endorsed by over 140 civil society organisations and networks all over the world. The paper summarised recommendations for concrete changes that could be made in Addis, under the six headings of the Monterrey Consensus, with a seventh chapter on other important issues. It is important to note that most of the CSO demands at the conference were based on those recommendations. Indeed the majority of them are reflected in the final outcome document agreed in Addis Ababa.

Sustainable Development Goals Conference: During the year AFRODAD took part in lobbying and discussions by various CSOs as part of the preparations for the Sustainable Development Goals conference. AFRODAD's added value to most of these networks which were focused on thematic issue was able to assist in providing suggestions on alternatives to funding the SDGs. One of the networks which AFRODAD worked with was the Action for Global Health. This is a network working on health to confront the challenges of the post-2015 framework. It provided recommendations on the means of implementation, and raised

awareness on the importance of health for all. One of AFRODAD's contributions was key in their recommendations during the SDGs conference in New York (<https://www.devex.com/news/financing-the-sdgs-for-health-in-africa-opportunities-and-risks-85900>).

AFRODAD participated United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development Goals (25-27 September, 2015 as part of the CPDE Team in the UN summit on Sustainable Development Goals in New York held from 25-27 September, 2015. Member States of the United Nations adopted the SDGs. Besides attending the General Assembly, AFRODAD also engaged in side events organised by donors, AUC/NEPAD and other international NGOs. A special event, "Dialogues for Justice, public Interest, and the Common Good: From the Margins and the Frontlines" was organized by the CPDE, IBON International, UN NGO Liaison Office, United Methodist Church, was held a day after summit with a view to hear voices from the margins and frontlines who are most affected by the current unjust and unsustainable mode of development in the world. AFRODAD led the dialogue on aid, unfair trade and financial systems.

Debt Workout Mechanism: On the 10th of September the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on principles to guide sovereign debt restructuring processes. The resolution yielded a 'yes' vote from 136 countries from Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. A 'no' vote was registered by six countries: the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, Canada and Israel. An 'abstain' vote, meaning that these countries abstained from voting either yes or no, was registered by 41 countries. The vote means that the UN General Assembly has declared that sovereign debt restructuring processes should be guided by nine basic principles. Unlike the Security Council, which has the power to issue legally binding resolutions, General Assembly resolutions are non-binding. But they carry political weight.

The resolution outlines nine principles that should be respected when restructuring sovereign debt: sovereignty, good faith, transparency, impartiality, equitable treatment, sovereign immunity,



Member States of the United Nations adopted the SDGs. Besides attending the General Assembly, AFRODAD also engaged in side events organised by donors, AUC/NEPAD and other international NGOs.

legitimacy, sustainability and majority restructuring. These principles are based on what AFRODAD and other debt organisations have been calling for and proposing. AFRODAD started working on these issues as long as 2007 under the theme "**Fair and Transparent Arbitration**" before the name "**Sovereign Debt Workout Mechanism**" was adopted. Over the years AFRODAD has published various recommendations and the nine adopted principles draw a lot from those proposals (<https://afrodad.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/borrowing-charter-english-version-ii-20132.pdf>)

Section III

Progress During the Reporting Period

3.1 External Debt Management

AFRODAD updates African countries' debt profiles every year. During the year the portfolio managed to update 22 country debt profiles and these were posted on the AFRODAD website. The country debt profiles provide debt indicators, relevant statistics and debt trends and developments. They are mainly accessed by civil society organizations, researchers, academia and lobby and advocacy groups.

The United Nations General Assembly first agreed to negotiate and adopt a multilateral legal framework for sovereign debt restructuring processes, following the September 2014 vote. An Ad Hoc Committee was established on 29 December 2014, which mandated the Committee to develop a multilateral legal framework for sovereign debt restructuring processes. We followed up on the UN AHC debt restructurings processes through on line and through CSO List serve updates. We also documented events outcomes and creditor positions on the process.

3.1.1 Outcomes

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9 BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. Sovereignty
2. Good Faith
3. Transparency
4. Impartiality
5. Equitable Treatment
6. Sovereign Immunity
7. Legitimacy
8. Sustainability
9. Majority Restructuring

3.2 Domestic Debt Management

Emerging as a preferred solution to improving government liquidity problems, domestic debt has increasingly become important as a source of financing development and government activities. This has been compounded by the drying up of concessional lending and the reduction in development assistance. Most governments in Africa and other developing countries have been forced to resort to borrowing from domestic markets in order to finance expenditures on public goods and services that promote growth and increase their nations' welfare. Unfortunately more attention has been given to external debt from development actors, and as such, since 2011, AFRODAD has engaged in lobby and advocacy including research on domestic debt issues.

This portfolio aims at Improved Transparency and Accountability by African governments on Domestic Debt Management and Loan contraction. The Strategic Objective is to influence African governments to improve the management of domestic debt resources. Consequently, domestic debt now constitutes a large share of the total public debt stock and its servicing also now takes up a large share of total government expenditure³. Regardless of such increasing trends, there are currently no internationally agreed thresholds for assessing domestic debt sustainability; domestic debt markets are still largely under-developed and shallow and the legal and institutional framework for domestic debt acquisition is also still very weak in most countries. These are some of the factors that AFRODAD researches on, so as to ensure that domestic debt acquisition is done responsibly and sustainably without entering into a potential domestic debt related crisis.

3.2.1 Outcomes

There is now more discussions on the need for enhance public consent, transparency and accountability in loan contraction and debt management. Many African governments now understand the need to maintain sustainable debt levels that are promoting of sustainable growth, development and poverty reduction.

³ In the case of Tanzania, for instance, external debt is more dominant than domestic debt in the country's total public debt portfolio respectively. This is in line with the country 2002 National Debt Strategy which aims to optimise borrowing from concessional sources of external loans. However, though external debt is more dominant than domestic debt, when it comes to servicing, external debt only accounted for 5% of total domestic revenue as of end June 2013 while domestic debt accounted for 26.1% respectively.



3.3 Public Private Partnerships

This programme seeks to gather evidence on the growth, implications and influence of Publicly Supported Private Finance (PSPF) and Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) on the development discourse in Africa. Most developing countries are turning to the private sector in order to meet their financing needs especially for infrastructure development. The major challenge they face is to find ways in which the contribution of the private sector is maximised whilst making sure that they conform to high standards that promote positive development outcomes. It is agreed that private sector operations play a significant role in economic development through generation of employment and payment of taxes to government. However, there are concerns as to their contribution to positive development outcomes because of conflict of interest between expectations and mandates of the public and private sectors.

Currently PPPs are high on the development agenda and increasingly supported by the European Union in particular and Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) such as the World Bank. This is despite strong reservations by some CSOs and other experts in developing countries concerning the inability of PPPs to produce positive development outcomes. This strong push for PPPs is likely to affect developing countries and key concerns for their implementation include financial, social and environmental aspects, and capacity constraints in developing countries among others.



3.3.1 Outcomes

The key findings from these two countries (**Zambia and Rwanda**) were that there have been increased PSPF investments in both countries and in addition several regulatory and institutional reforms have been made to create an enabling environment for PSPF, however, in both countries there are currently no policy frameworks and guidelines for PSPF.

The outcome of these researches enabled AFRODAD to carry out evidence based advocacy to influence national policy debates and

discussions around PSPF. This was very important at the Financing for Development Conference in Addis Ababa. The research helped to shape the policy discourse on the role of the private sector in delivering positive development outcomes, and serve as an anchor to advocacy for change in development effectiveness approaches. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Third Financing for Development (FfD3) mantra also places the private sector especially Public private Partnerships (PPPs) at the forefront of promoting development that eventually lead to poverty reduction.



AFRODAD was part of the global CSOs network working on influencing and ensuring positive outcomes from the Fd3 Conference to be held in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia in July 2015. Meetings and conference calls were used as the medium of communications with various partners in preparation for the conference.

AFRODAD was part of the discussants that included the Government of Brazil, United Nations Commission on Human

Rights and PSI. AFRODAD's interventions made reference to its two newly completed studies on the role and impact of private finance and PPPs on development and poverty reduction in Africa with case studies on Rwanda, Zambia and Tanzania as evidence. The meeting agreed that there was need for more evidence on the impact of the private sector especially PPPs on sustainable development and development of comprehensive mechanisms of delivering the SDGs. The mechanisms should include a human rights based framework and mandatory reporting standards with

guiding principles at UN level. The state should be able to protect its citizens by establishing complementary regulatory mechanism and policies that go beyond voluntary reporting but commensurate with risks posed by private sector activities.

AFRODAD participated at the EU organised side event that was discussing the EU's new policy on private sector engagement in respect on blending and leveraging public finance with private finance in financing development. Panellists were drawn from the European Commission, European Parliament, African Union Commission, COMESA Business Council and European Investment Bank. The meeting was informed that the EU Commission is working on improving their engagement with the private sector with new instruments that involve vocational training, capacity development for governments and private sector and mainstreaming private sector development in their overall engagement. During the discussions it was pointed out that there is need to promote accountability and transparent in the private sector as well as addressing challenges of access to finance faced by Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in developing countries. The success of the SDGs cannot alone be hinged on the private sector but instead the governments have to play an important role of making sure that social services such as water and sanitation, health, education are affordable and accessible by the poor and often marginalised populations.

AFRODAD organised and launched its recently completed study titled; "The Scope, Role and Impact of Publicly Supported Private Finance on Development and Poverty Reduction in Africa: The Case of Rwanda and Zambia." The launch was graced by various organisations and government representatives.

3.4 Aid Effectiveness

In terms of lobby and advocacy activities the portfolio participated in the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation Planning Workshop: Strengthening Cooperation to Deliver Results 21-22 January 2015 Brussels Belgium. It was also during this period that AFRODAD reacted to the release of the preliminary data on Aid statistics by the OECD by producing a discussion paper entitled "ODA neglecting poorest countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa." In preparation for the Financing for Development conference AFRODAD also published a paper on "Financing the Sustainable



BOOKLAUNCH - Publicly Supported Private Finance in Rwanda and Zambia.
From left to right - D. Sibanda, Perm Sec Ministry of Economic Planning & Investment Promotion, Mr J. Chanda, Principal Economist, Ministry of Finance, #Zambia, Mr T. Mutazu, AFRODAD Senior Policy Officer, Debt Portfolio #FD3

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development Goals (SDGs) for health in Africa: Opportunities and Risks” which was widely circulated and was also published on the devex website.

The “Financing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for health in Africa: Opportunities and Risks” article became part of the tools used to negotiate for the Sustainable Development Goals financing by Action for Global Health. The article produced was shared across Europe and on Divex thereby increasing organisational work.

AFRODAD participated United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development Goals (25-27 September, 2015) as part of the CPDE Team in the UN summit on Sustainable Development Goals in New York held from 25-27 September, 2015. Member States of the United Nations adopted the SDGs. Besides attending the General Assembly, AFRODAD also engaged in side events organised by donors, AUC/NEPAD and other international NGOs. A special event, “Dialogues for Justice, public Interest, and the Common Good: From the Margins and the Frontlines” was organized by the CPDE, IBON International, UN NGO Liaison Office, United Methodist Church, was held a day after summit with a view to hear voices from the margins and frontlines who are most affected by the current unjust and unsustainable mode of development in the world. AFRODAD led the dialogue on aid, unfair trade and financial systems.

3.4.1 Outcomes

The idea that AFRODAD was one of the two African NGOs to be selected to represent other CPDE members at the summit on Sustainable Development Goals and also to moderate a dialogue session is an indication of appreciation of its work on development. Also the participation of AFRODAD in Addis Abba FfD conference has also made the Organisation more visible resulting in different stakeholders requesting us to share some of our work.

AFRODAD country research works on the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation principles have increased collaboration with NEPAD/AUC, UNDP, United Nations Development Cooperation Framework (UNDCF) United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) where AFRODAD has been engaged as consultants and also invited to participate in e-discussions, surveys and workshops.

AFRODAD's work on mutual accountability was used to catalogue the Capacity Assessment framework. The work done by AFRODAD was well appreciated by NEPAD/UNDP in 2012 on the concept note on Mutual Accountability and the minimum criteria for Mutual Accountability.

3.5 Emerging Lenders

Africa is the least integrated continent in the world with low levels of intra-regional economic exchange and the smallest share of global trade, infrastructure inefficiencies costing the continent billions of dollars annually and is stunting growth. Bridging the gap in infrastructure is thus vital for economic advancement and sustainable development. Emerging lenders are taking centre stage particularly towards infrastructure development in Africa. The potential impact of BRICS bank to Africa includes the ushering in a new era of pro-poor policies and supporting sustainable development goals. In 2015 it will be interesting to see how the bank will relate to Africa.

During this half year AFRODAD continued to seek a strong empirical foundation through research to track and analyse the impact of the emerging Lenders in Africa. The findings from these studies

The “Financing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for health in Africa: Opportunities and Risks” article became part of the tools used to negotiate for the Sustainable Development Goals financing by Action for Global Health. The article produced was shared across Europe and on Divex thereby increasing organisational work.

have shown a growing number of diverse sources of development finance. While ODA will continue to be an important instrument of direct finance for development purposes, other available finances are changing the perspectives of “traditional” ODA providers and recipients.

The organisation’s recognition by others on the role it plays was evidenced during this period when it was invited by South Africa Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) to join a Network of Southern Think Tanks (NEST) which was established in Mexico in 2014 during the High Level Meeting on Global Partnership. This will ensure that the organisation continues to influence the BRICS discussions.

The G20 is an influential block in the development and financial architecture. Influencing this body is an important element of our lobby and advocacy activities. During the first half of 2015, AFRODAD took part in the event **“Turkey and the G20 Presidency: Implications for Africa”** where AFRODAD’s work on emerging Lenders was recognised.

The portfolio attended the Maputo summit and in the Civil BRICS summit where it made a presentation on the BRICS’ New Development Bank. The presentation generated a lot of interest by other groups and provided clear platform of how AFRODAD can influence the BRICS grouping as the evidenced by the fact that after that meeting AFRODAD was invited to contribute to the final communiqué that was presented to the main BRICS summit for considerations by Heads of States.

3.5.1 Outcomes

AFRODAD being the only CSO outside South Africa and not from BRICS grouping presented the need for South Africa CSOs to engage with other CSOs from African region on BRICS discussions.

AFRODAD’s contribution to the final Civil BRICS Forum Statement especially under the section on sustainable development where we are urging the New Development Bank to follow defined principles and standards that is in line with global standards.

AFRODAD’s work on Transparency and Accountability on BRICS in 6 African countries had a recommendation on the need for BRICS to create a monitoring framework on its engagements in Africa.



Integrating Financial Reform and Public Policy Goals 2-4 September, 2015! Ankara Turkey AFRODAD Executive Director - Dr. Fanwell Bokosi with Dr. Louis Kasekende, Deputy Governor, and Edward Tenywa both of the Bank of Uganda.

There is evidence of this being taken up by the Network of East and Southern Africa think tanks (NEST) on Emerging Lenders.

AFRODAD is member of NEST that is designing the indicators to assess progress of the emerging lenders. A draft monitoring and Evaluation framework is being developed and finalised.

By participating in these NEST chapters AFRODAD continues to collaborate and share first hand information from SSC providers of India, China South Africa and Brazil.

The policy brief on the BRICS development Bank is a useful tool for lobby and advocacy that will be used in AFRODAD’s lobby work.

3.6 Tax Justice Research

Mobilising resources for financing development remains a challenge for many governments especially in low income countries. The African continent which hosts the majority of low income countries is not an exception as it lags behind in raising finance for development particularly on taxation. This is mainly attributed to limited capacity to collect revenues from MNCs, particularly those engaged in natural resource extraction, narrow tax base, low savings, tax administrative challenges, investment incentives and the subsequent race to the bottom.

3.6.1 Outcomes

The study sparked a lot of interest from the Zimbabwe Government, civil society and media. The Zimbabwean case is one of the researches towards building evidence as regards the cost of investment incentives. The study will deepen the understanding of such costs to public service delivery nationally, regionally and continentally ally with a view to implementing comprehensive policy frameworks. This in turn will enhance revenue collection for financing development.

Following the presentation of the preliminary research findings at the validation workshop, all the participants expressed their interest in engaging after the workshop. They requested for a **google group** to ensure that the dialogue is sustained. Considering that the report was launched during the Tax Solidarity Week, the participants requested for the email platform to discuss all the tax issues in the country with a view to advising the government through concrete recommendations.

By participating in the African Civil Society Circle and sharing the position paper was crucial for Coordinating an African voice on illicit financial flows from and Across Africa and preparing for the FfD conference in Addis. **AFRODAD distributed the publication at the East African Joint consultative meeting on the AU/UNECA HLP report and Information of Exchange held on 21- 22 May 2015 in Nairobi, Kenya; the Interim Working Group on Finance and Africa's Development Strategy Consultation and Planning for IFF Africa Campaign Launch 15 May 2015 and the subsequent launch of the "Stop the Bleeding" Africa IFF Campaign launch on 25 June 2015 together with other Pan-African networks namely Trust Africa, Third World Network-Africa, the African Forum and Network on Debt and Development, FEMNET and ITUC-Africa.** This launch was followed by a Southern African Regional launch which took place in Zimbabwe alongside the Zimbabwe Alternative Mining Indaba.

The major outcome of the side event influenced the agenda of the mainstream SADC CSO Forum which is coordinated by the Apex Alliance comprising of SADC CNGO, EJA of FOCISSA and SATUCC.

The Tax Solidarity Week helped in raising awareness about the issue of tax dodging and financial transparency in Africa. The Tax Solidarity Week helped in mobilising public and political



AFRODAD conducted a summer school for members of parliament, journalists, and civil society, from 30 August to 12 September 2015, with the view to enhancing their capacity to jointly engage on how mineral resources are actually developed and how the revenue generated is ultimately spent to achieving long-term growth and sustainable development.

support for action on tax and transparency. Participants to the validation workshop that was held in Zimbabwe expressed their interest in continuing with the discussions beyond the report and the tax solidarity week since taxation is at the heart of national development. The Tax Solidarity Week has become an annual event which is expected to improve citizen participation in public finance management and ultimately tax compliance and the social contract between national governments and their citizens.

The policy dialogue with CSOs and parliamentarians generated a lot of interest from all the stakeholders who have a responsibility in influencing policy making with respect to taxation, capital flight, responsible finance and extractive industries. The members of parliament present at the workshop expressed their support in establishing regional CSO-parliamentarians networks that can be used to influence government decisions on taxation, and other tax related issues particularly mining taxation. It further strengthened the existing relationships between MPs and development finance activists in their mutual supportive role on issues of domestic resource mobilisation and illicit financial flows.

3.7 Summer School-Regional Training on Extractive Policies and Protocols

AFRODAD conducted a summer school for members of parliament, journalists, and civil society, from 30 August to 12 September 2015, with the view to enhancing their capacity to jointly engage on how mineral resources are actually developed and how the revenue generated is ultimately spent to achieving long-term growth and sustainable development. The specific objectives of the training were; 1) to improve participants knowledge of the extractives value chain (development of resources, capturing of value and transforming value into long term development) and related governance issues, 2) to share and exchange experiences among participants on effective monitoring of the extractive sector and the various actors concerned, 3) to critique and challenge the traditional model of resource based development, 4) to establish linkages between civil society organisations, parliamentarians, labour movements and women as well as the youth in mining as well as 5) ensuring that civil society organisations, parliamentarians, labour movements and women as well as the youth in mining play an influential role in monitoring and influencing the governance process, particularly on natural resources.

3.7.1 Outcomes

The summer school proved to be an ideal platform for exchange and sharing of experiences among participants on effective monitoring of the extractive sector and the various actors concerned. The process was interactive such that both the facilitators and participants learnt from each other.

Ultimately, the summer school greatly enhanced the capacity of civil society, media and members of parliament in policy making with regard to the governance of mineral resources in order to enhance domestic resources from the mining sector. The participants appreciated that changing policies requires concerted effort from the various actors who are knowledgeable on the subject.

The summer school also resulted in improved knowledge on how to improve Extractive Industries revenue management, transparency, and accountability throughout the mineral value chain (development of resources, capturing of value and transforming value into long term development).

3.8 Alternative Mining Indabas

AFRODAD actively participated at the 6th Alternative Mining Indaba that was held in Cape Town from 9 to 12 February 2015 by way of facilitating a session on Taxation and Illicit Flows. AFRODAD took a leading role in 1) developing a concept note for the session, 2) prepared and presented a paper on, the extent, main drivers, impacts and nature of IFFs from an African perspective 3) Co-hosted a side event with other civil society organisations from across Africa on Financing for Development (FfD) in preparation for the Financing for Development Conference that is scheduled for Addis Ababa in on 13-16 July 2015. 4) AFRODAD also took an active role at the 4th Zambia Alternative Mining Indaba particularly as a discussant on curbing Illicit Financial flows from the extractives sector in Ndola Zambia from 23-26 June 2015. Further to this AFRODAD also took an active role at the 4th Zimbabwe Alternative Mining Indaba particularly as a discussant on Domestic Resource Mobilisation in the context of Illicit Financial flows from the extractives sector in Bulawayo Zimbabwe from 23-24 September 2015.

AFRODAD actively participated on a number of national programmes in Zimbabwe which provided an opportunity to interact with Rural District Councils (RDCs), legislators, traditional chiefs, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), media, mining companies and government departments. The platforms created an opportunity to share the contribution of mining sector to national development, issues of governance and the impacts of mining on different stakeholders as well as getting acquiring first hand information from the people affected by mining with a view to proffer recommendations to the government of Zimbabwe.

The Zambian Government upon receiving the declaration from the Alternative Mining Indaba promised to address the issues raised in the declaration. The same Government welcomed any suggestion coming from civil society that prioritises the development of their country.

3.8.1 Outcomes

The Zambian Government upon receiving the declaration from the Alternative Mining Indaba promised to address the issues raised in the declaration. The same Government welcomed any suggestion coming from civil society that prioritises the development of their country. They promised to engage with the responsible authorities in their respective constituencies with a view to reverse the damage caused by illicit flows and particularly taking the debate further at the 3rd FfD Conference to be held in July 2015 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

In the case of Zimbabwe, while the norm has been to come up with a declaration of demands or asks for the government to action soon after the indaba, this time around, the Deputy Minister of Mines and minerals himself was present at the Indaba and he specifically requested for a slot for himself and his team to personally tackle mining community grievances and challenges one by one which was a major achievement in the history of Zimbabwean Alternative Mining Indabas.

3.9 Capacity Building Exchange

AFRODAD facilitated a staff exchange programme for staff working on taxation and extractives from AFRODAD and PWYP/CARITAS Zambia from 1 to 30 November 2015. The purpose of the exchange programme was to build the capacities of the parties to the agreement in advancing their programme work in Extractive Industries and Taxation.

3.9.1 Outcomes

The exchange programme was an opportunity for the two institutions to understand each other. Through this programme both institutions realised that there are similarities between the Economic and Social Accountability Programme under CARITAS/PWYP and AFRODAD's Economic Governance work (Taxation and Extractive Industries) and Debt work. For 2016, CARITAS/PWYP incorporated the advocacy work on the Borrowing Charter which was developed by AFRODAD with specific guidelines and principles for responsible borrowing in to their annual plans.

AFRODAD also managed to position itself as the lead organisation on Tax and IFF issues. This was evidenced by the call for the AFRODAD Exchangee to give a solidarity speech at the Stop the bleeding Campaign (STB) launch in Zambia giving reflections on AFRODAD's role in the regional campaign, major successes so far and recommendations for future campaigns. Fitting in these various roles not only raised AFRODAD's profile and increased its visibility but also widened networks and prospects for future collaborations. The Zambia Alternative Mining Indaba (ZAMI) was identified as one of such platforms for collaborations under the taxation and mining thematic area.

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The Staff Exchange Programme contributed to enhance peer-learning, greater interaction and networking opportunities between the respective institutions. The ultimate objective was to have a well informed staff complement that is better able to deliver timely and quality deliverables in line with the portfolio and overall organisational objectives.

3.10 Information and Communications

This report gives progress on the activities of the Information and Communications department in relation to the organisation's thematic focus areas. The Info & Comms has become prominent given the increasing demands for timely media coverage of organisation's activities as well as more interaction with the public through social media and the aim of enhancing the profile of the organisation. The major highlight of the report is the historic Third Financing for Development Conference (FfD3) which was held from 13 to 16 July in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The FfD3 resulted in the landmark agreement, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) which was reached by the 193 UN Member States attending the FfD3. The AAAA provides a foundation for implementing the global sustainable post-2015 development agenda that world leaders endorsed in September 2015. AFRODAD was part of the strong CSO voice during the Conference which provided technical expertise on issues under negotiations, raising awareness and swinging public opinion on them.

As part of lobby and advocacy efforts the FfD3 Conference provided a platform to showcase AFRODAD's work in the form of research reports. More importantly the organisation took advantage of more than 5000 delegates who attended the FfD3 and launched the following publication; *The Scope, Role and Impact of Publicly Supported Private Finance on Development and Poverty Reduction in Africa: The Case of Rwanda and Zambia*.

In addition to attending the FfD3 and the 11th Southern Africa Civil Society Forum (SACSF11) the Info & Comms continued with its key communication activities. The organisation took advantage of international media and ensured widest coverage on AFRODAD's thematic focus areas with the view of publicising its work. Building up to the Virtual Library, AFRODAD is now a content contributor to the Africa Portal.



Given the importance of Info & Comms in the effective functioning of the organisation and its contribution to the global development processes, the beginning of the year saw the evaluation of the Information and Communication Strategy (ICO). The department continued its key communication activities and further improvement of some communication tools such as the organisational profile as well as updating the website. Other activities also included the managing media relations and external service providers as well as designing and publicising AFRODAD's work.

3.10.1 Media Coverage

The department was instrumental in intelligence gathering (which also incorporates monitoring and evaluation of AFRODAD's impact) on issues relevant to the organisations work. Both staff, the board of trustees and external stake holders were informed of activities via the AFRODAD News Update, an online service in which topical matters are disseminated so as to keep abreast of developmental issues affecting the continent. AFRODAD is still recognised as a think tank on debt, aid and economic governance issues evidenced by cordial media relations where the organisation's work is used as reference on developmental matters affecting the continent.

It is important to note that AFRODAD's Economic Governance Policy Officer, Tafadzwa Chikumbu appeared on Ethiopian TV discussing the importance of the inter-governmental tax body.

up its communications and publicity front. AFRODAD was part of the FfD3 Communications group whose mandate was to link CSOs with media practitioners covering the FfD3 Conference. It is important to note that AFRODAD's Economic Governance Policy Officer, Tafadzwa Chikumbu appeared on Ethiopian TV discussing the importance of the inter-governmental tax body. Chikumbu was also interviewed by France24 TV and Radio. Trade and Private Finance Policy Officer, Tarcicious Mufundisi was interviewed by Channel Africa Radio after the PSPF report launch. The organisation also received media enquiries from the Ethiopian News Agency as well as journalists from international media houses such as The Economist Magazine, which offers authoritative insight and opinion on international news, politics, business, finance, science and technology. During the SACS F11 AFRODAD was covered by The Post, from Zambia as well as The Daily Times of Malawi among a few.

The organisation also prides itself as part of the Interim Working Group (WG) comprising of six organisations namely; AFRODAD, FEMNET, Global Alliance for Tax Justice, ITUC-Africa, TJN-A and Trust Africa which launched the African Campaign on Illicit Financial Flows.

3.11 Human Resources and Organisational Development

3.11.1 Staff Recruitment and Changes

In 2015 efforts to have a full staff complement at the Secretariat Offices in Harare were dampened when 2 newly recruited staff members had their work permits applications denied by the Government of Zimbabwe, these in particular were Domestic Debt Senior Policy Officer (Georgine Kengne) and Policy Advisor; Debt and Trade (Dr. Emmanuel Edoun) both Cameroonians by nationality. AFRODAD then made a decision to engage the two as Independent Consultants based in their respective locations until 31 July 2015 when the Strategic review process will begin. On a positive note, the Executive Director, Fanwell Bokosi's work permit application was approved for the duration of one year.

The vacant position of Policy Research Assistant in Domestic Debt portfolio was filled by Caroline Dhanah. Dr. Momodou Touray Policy Advisor for Economic Governance portfolio resigned from

employment with AFRODAD mid March after serving for a year in that position. This post will remain vacant until the results of the strategic review in September 2015.

3.11.2 Staff Capacity Development and Training

During the first six months of 2015, Dr. Fanwell Bokosi and Tafadzwa Chikumbu attended 4 weeks short course on Mining Resources: Regulation and Revenue Management offered by University of Sydney, Australia. Tafadzwa Mabenge participated in the Minerals Negotiation Skills Training in Addis Ababa Ethiopia hosted by the International Mining for Development Centre (IMDC) in collaboration with the African Mining Development Centre (AMDC) on 11-13 March 2015. Mabenge also attended a Policy Influencing Training for Coalitions in Nairobi Kenya hosted by Oxfam Novib from 24-26 March 2015. Senior Policy Officer, Tirivangani Mutazu attended a two day seminar on Quality and Accountability facilitated by Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP) International. Last but not least Eleanor Maeresera was also afforded the opportunity to travel to South Africa to be trained for three weeks in Public Policy organised by Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance (IPLG) in partnership with OSISA (Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa.) This will definitely go a long way in enhancing our capacity and expertise as an organisation in our work on Extractive Industries and also in our main mandate of influencing of Policy change by Policy makers in the continent on Debt and development issues.

3.11.3 Strategic Plan Review and 2016-2020 Strategic plan

The 2012-2015 Strategic Evaluation report is out and ready for distribution to key stakeholders. 2016-2020 Strategic Plan is now available and the final copy will be distributed to partners as soon as it's available. New organogram for new strategy is out, was circulated to staff members. Work is in progress of winding up expiring contracts of staff for the previous strategy and preparations are underway for recruitment of staff that was recommended for the 2016-2020 organogram.

Section IV

Conclusions and lessons learnt

The progress made during the year was satisfactory and the efforts of the many organisations that we work with made it possible for AFRODAD to achieve its objectives. 2015 was also the last year of its strategic plan for 2012-2015 and the review of that strategic plan has implications on the future of the organisation. It was also the year that the organisation celebrated its 20th year of operations.

Over the next five years, AFRODAD will be working with others to address the problems of debt and development on the continent. To achieve our vision, all our programmes will be far more ambitious about the scale of change to be achieved.

The 20th anniversary of AFRODAD comes on the heels of two most important events in the history of the continent (i) The financing for development conference in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia in July, 2015 and (ii) The Sustainable Development Goals Summit in New York in September 2015, and as such it provides an opportunity for AFRODAD to look back and learn from what has worked and what hasn't worked and provides an opportunity to look forward to the challenges facing Africa in the contexts of the outcomes of these two events. This strategy therefore has been developed to address the key challenges the continent will be facing in the coming years, refining and refocusing AFRODAD to increase its African footprint and strategic target group on issues of Debt Management, Domestic Resource Mobilisation and International Public Finance.

Over the next five years, AFRODAD will be working with others to address the problems of debt and development on the continent. To achieve our vision, all our programmes will be far more ambitious

about the scale of change to be achieved. AFRODAD will have to adopt different ways of working and organisation in addition to doing things differently while being cautious of the fairly volatile environment in which the organisation works as it relates to the prospects for change for the better for African citizens.

4.1 Lessons Learnt and Challenges

The development Change process in Africa is driven by thought processes at national level, sub-regional level, regional level and global levels. AFRODAD has engaged at these different levels. These processes have been both top to bottom as well as bottom to the top. As a Pan African organization, AFRODAD will shift to target the Global level processes but with first priority focus on the African continental level processes, then sub-regional and intergovernmental level going down to the national level which will provide the basis for research and advocacy for development processes agreed on at sub-regional and continental levels.

The national level has provided AFRODAD research ground, working with various partners in a collaborative framework. In terms of the Theory of Change therefore AFRODAD will engage primarily at the Continental level in the processes of the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UN-ECA), the Conference of African Ministers of Finance, Conference of African Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development of the Economic Commission for Africa (and indeed the Joint Annual Meetings of the African Union Conference of Ministers of Economy and Finance and Conference of African Ministers of Finance,

Planning and Economic Development of the Economic Commission for Africa) and the African Development Bank and Fund. At this level African governments generally reach consensus and take policy decisions which are expected to support development efforts at sub-regional and national levels. This level secures that African countries share policies and agree on common policies. AFRODAD will engage in the African Agenda 2063 and the Post 2015 in areas that are relevant to AFRODAD work outlined above.

The second level of engagement will be with the five Regional Economic Blocks (RECs) for Central Africa, Eastern Africa, North Africa, Southern Africa and West Africa. AFRODAD will secure full participation in the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts (ICE), which brings together high-level experts from sub-regional members states, Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), NGOs, development partners, research centres and other various stakeholders and channels its recommendations to the Joint Annual Meetings of the African Union Conference of Ministers of Economy and Finance and Conference of African Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development of the Economic Commission for Africa.

AFRODAD considers the global level processes to be important in providing a common ground for long development of the peoples of the world, including those in Africa. The African voice by NGOs like AFRODAD has always been appreciated and that is why we have a place at the Table. AFRODAD will therefore continue to participate in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations, High Level Meetings in areas of Financing for Development, Sovereign Debt restructuring mechanisms, sustainable use of natural resources and other areas of strict relevance to AFRODAD work. Both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund provide space for engagement with NGOs and AFRODAD will continue to participate in the policy making spaces of these organizations with the appropriate advocacy messages.

In general AFRODAD believes that policies agreed on at the global level, the continental level, sub-regional level could deliver development at the national level of fully implemented. In that regard, AFRODAD work at national level will be to secure collaborative engagement with national organizations to monitor the adoption, domestication and full implementation of key policy changes agreed on at the sub regional, regional and global levels in its areas of work defined above.

By way of Strategy, AFRODAD will engage in direct advocacy for policy change at the different levels mentioned above based on research evidence. It will target key decision makers and/or influential when policy opportunities emerge in the spaces outlined above.

4.1.1 The AFRODAD African Footprint and Sub-Regional presence

As a Pan African organization AFRODAD will increase its African Footprint by securing its presence in the five African sub-regions. In that regard, AFRODAD will over a period of two years secure presence in Central Africa, Eastern Africa, North Africa, Southern Africa and West Africa.

Presence in these regions will be done through the most effective and least cost manner. In that regard, collaborative agreements will be entered into with appropriate institutions.

4.1.2 Human Resources

Due to financial resources constraints, AFRODAD will restructure its human resources in order to deliver more efficiently on its programming. In that regard the organization will carry a maximum core staff of 6 people comprising the Executive Director, Research and Programmes Manager, Media and Information Coordinator, Finance and Administrative Manager, Administrative Assistant, Caretaker/Office Assistant. There will also be an Accounts Assistant who will be part of the programming team and will have the task of implementing and monitoring expenditures on programs.

The number of Program staff will depend on the financial resources mobilized for paying their salaries for specific programmes/projects. At the minimum, AFRODAD will have three Senior Policy Analysts for the three areas of AFRODAD work. Through a dispersion model, AFRODAD will place its staff across the continent to increase its African Footprint.

4.1.3 Governance and the Board of Trustees

AFRODAD will remain guided by a number of committed Pan African intelligencia and those with specialized skills to support the work of the organization. Due to the high costs of having person to person meetings, the number of the Board of Trustees will revert to the original 7 with representation from each of the five sub-regions of Africa and two seats reserved for two other moderating members.



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