

Human Mobility, Covid-19, and Survival in Africa: Revisiting the Coronavirus pandemic as the Russia-Ukraine war rages

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Abstract

Africa has seen some changes pertaining to human mobility in 2020 and 2021 respectively. The continent has also witnessed a dramatic reduction in cross-border movements, especially along the Zambezi River (Zimbabwe and South Africa, Botswana, and South Africa, as well as Mozambique and South Africa). These changes have been caused by the COVID-19 pandemic which decimated tourism and business travel and severely curtailed labour migration and stifled the movement of all stripes, from that of international students to intellectual exchanges in all fields of studies. While the overall picture of human mobility from 2020 to 2021 was dramatically stifled, the experience of this curtailment is different when juxtaposed with other regions. Also, the war between Russia and Ukraine has not been helpful to Africa either. This paper endeavours to probe the aftereffects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the ravages of the war between Ukraine and Russia in Africa and illustrates that while Africa is yet to fully recover from the socio-economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, this conflict poses another major threat to the global economy with many African countries being directly affected. The article uses the lens of Pan-Africanism as a theory that very well encapsulates the yearnings and frustrations of Africans who are overwhelmed by the onslaught of globalisation that only looks at development from a skewed western paradigm that is more about enriching the already wealthy countries that thrives by a continuous siphoning of the wealth of the marginalised countries. The article uses an archival method of collecting the data that is documented in books, articles and other sources to seek mitigating factors to the COVID19 Pandemic and the war in Ukraine. The paper recommends a drastic change of leadership in Africa to usher in a new crop of leaders who are more driven by the development of the continent in areas of economics, governance, and self-reliance.

Keywords: African renaissance, Conflict, COVID-19, Globalization Immigration and Migration

Introduction

Africa has witnessed some changes regarding human mobility, especially in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has caused a significant reduction in cross-border movements. The pandemic has a) decimated tourism and business travel, b) curtailed labour migration, and c) dampened movement of all forms. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has been helpful in tracing the surge in travel restrictions, border crossings as well as health-related travel requirements imposed by different governments since the outbreak of COVID-19. We have also seen how the screening of travellers was stepped up to reduce the spread of the virus. Countries also introduced lockdowns and travel restrictions and strict public health policies to respond to the fast-evolving pandemic. For instance, most countries in Africa and beyond closed their airports for fear of contamination. Various points of entry in several countries were closed down, especially in affected regions. Countries in Europe had to impose makeshift borders with their neighbours. By the end of March 2020, governments and authorities around the world issued or extended 43,300 travel measures, and every country, territory and area

worldwide was subject to at least 70 travel bans (Meghan B. et al., 2021). Movements of all kinds were dramatically curtailed from March to May 2020 as populations sheltered under national lockdowns. This article argues that it is because we are living in a globalized world such that many diseases and infections can travel from one country to another with ease. People and goods can reach far-flung countries in a matter of days. Diseases are therefore finding a fertile ground to also reach all the corners of the world using people as carriers.

Globalisation, which is a product of the free movement of goods, services, and persons across the world, has also made us more vulnerable to the challenges posed by pandemics. Until recently, our evolution as a species has equipped us with skills to enable us to monitor dangers and to act decisively against them. One such danger is the threat that the COVID-19 pandemic has brought to us. The loss of life due to contracting the virus has become so devastating. Many of us have lost our colleagues at our workplaces. Some have been actively involved in research and have travelled all over the world to present academic

papers on various topics, including the same COVID-19.

We have come to terms with the closure of so many countries because of the pandemic. We have seen how globalization has been drastically affected, to the extent that countries were forced to look inwards for solutions to their economic perils. Cultural exchanges are now limited. Scholarship has been reduced to virtual conferences and online debates to limit the spread of the pandemic. This not forgetting that risk attitudes matter as individuals are aware that going into public places or foreign lands may increase the possibility of being infected. And of course, if there were to be an infection, this would be subsequently regretted. According to Bernard et al. (2020), during pandemics, states may also become more controlling. Historically, we have learned that social mobility restrictions or regulations are common during pandemics. For example, in the Middle Ages, anti-plague regulations banned funerals, processions, the sale of clothing, and gatherings in public assemblies, all of which reduced trade opportunities, and attracted severe penalties when those rules were flouted.

This is also true for the COVID-19 pandemic. These measures have had a

far-reaching impact on migrants and travellers worldwide. By mid-July 2020, it was estimated that the pandemic had left nearly 3 million people stranded, sometimes without access to consular assistance in many countries. Thousands of migrants were stranded in Panama attempting to travel north to the United States. Those who were willing to migrate to Lebanon were exposed to extremely difficult conditions after the surge of COVID-19 cases. Border closures also became the order of the day (Bernard et al., 2020). The number of asylum seekers fell by one-third. Closures also happened in countries such as Bangladesh, Greece, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Brazil, to mention just a few. So, this means that the COVID-19 pandemic had become a law unto itself. It did not respect one's country or economic status.

Problem statement

The aftereffects of COVID-19 linger on. The pandemic has decimated tourism and business travel and severely hampered labour migrations around the world and Africa in particular. The war between Russia and Ukraine has not been helpful to Africa as well. Africa depends on these two countries for food and other natural resources. While Africa is yet to fully

recover from the socio-economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, the war poses another major threat to the global economy with many African countries being directly affected.

Objectives of the study

The study is undergirded by the following objectives:

- (i) To examine the extent to which COVID-19 affects human mobility in Africa,
- (ii) To explore the strategies that have been implemented in addressing human mobility in Africa,
- (iii) To explore the likely threats that the Russian-Ukraine war would have on sustenance in Africa.

These objectives are then followed by the research questions below:

- (i) How does COVID-19 affect human mobility in Africa?
- (ii) What are the strategies that have been implemented in addressing the challenges of human mobility in Africa?
- (iii) What are the likely threats that the Russian-Ukraine war would have on human mobility and sustenance in Africa?

Literature review

The state of global mobility and COVID 19

Available literature indicates how capital, under the cloak of globalization, flowed from the countries of the periphery (especially African countries) to enrich the countries in the west through the process of imperialism. This era unleashed great inequality, precarious labour, and the destruction of agriculture and the local economic structures. Amin (2013) indicates that monopoly capital, in the form of imperialism, had sucked the life out of the economies of the peripheral countries (especially the economic systems of African countries), turning businesspeople into 'waged servants and the African working class into slave labourers (Amin,2013). What presently threatens the future of the economic system is the failing capitalist order which is faced with a crisis. The Russian Ukraine war has also plunged the world economies into an unstoppable recession. The future of humanity is also threatened. Like a vampire, the expansion of the Non-aligned Trade Organization (NATO) continues to suck the blood out of the marginal countries. Globalization as we know it is also threatened.

Loosely defined, globalization may refer to the spread of the flow of financial

products, goods, technology, information, jobs and persons across national borders and cultures. In economic terms, it describes an interdependence of nations around the globe fostered through free trade. It can further be defined as the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping of cheaper foreign labour markets. However, scholars such as Amin (2021) argue that the third world should delink from this phenomenon to drive its own policy. According to Amin, third-world countries help us to understand the crisis of capitalism. It is, therefore, interesting to imagine third-world countries to chart their unique ways by challenging the existing order of imperialism, and neo-colonialism, which is driven by monopoly (global) capital rather than their development. In the modern era of globalization, countries are invited to be sub-contractors for imperialism, neo-colonialism, and an exploitative capitalist system. It is in this context that this paper interrogates the role of globalization. Moreover, the inherent characteristic of globalization is that money should flow from rich to poor countries, but it has been going in the opposite direction and making the already

rich countries richer. While the rich are better able to bear the risks of currency and interest rate fluctuations, it is the poor who bear the brunt of this volatility.

According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism is the first in a theory of political economic practices, which proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.

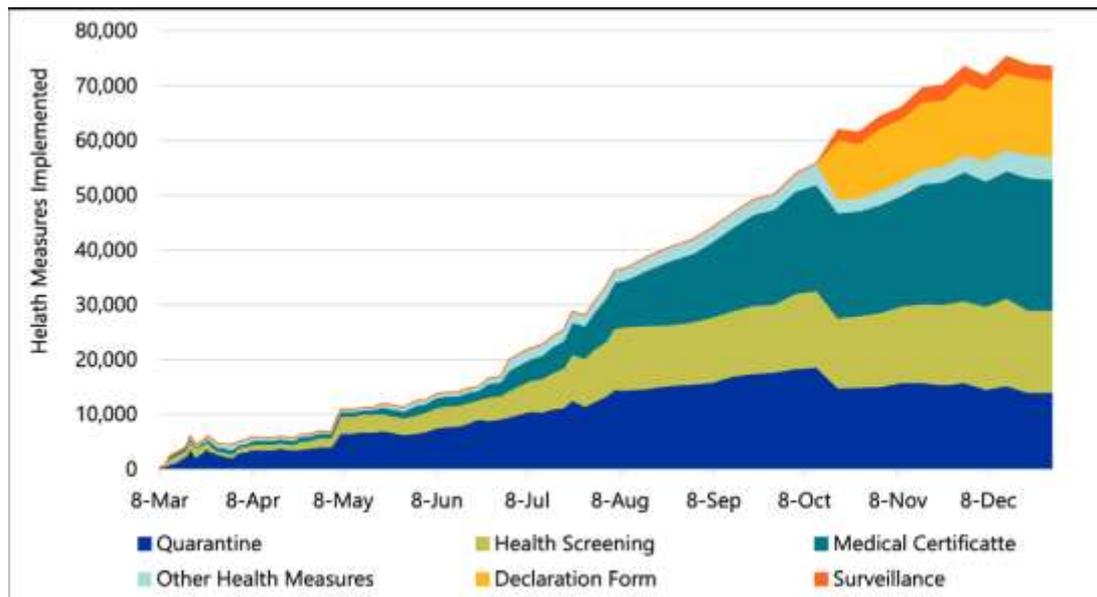
Neoliberalism has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse (Harvey, 2005). It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point of being incorporated into the commonsense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world. Harvey (2005) further asserts that the process of neoliberalism entails "creative destruction", not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers, but also of divisions of labour, social relations, and welfare provisions. In bringing this concept of globalism in this article, the author attempts to sensitize the reader to its importance in human mobility and how this is largely affected by the globalized market economy. The

COVID-19 pandemic, as illustrated earlier, is spreading partly because of the interconnectedness of the world, or simply put, the onslaught of the globalized world order.

However, the pandemic meant that there had to be little travel around the world, implying that the livelihoods of those who depended on cross-border trading and travel, were hit hard by this scourge. The pandemic also increased the socioeconomic vulnerability of those who depend on mobility for survival. There have been great job losses as countries were adversely affected by lockdowns. Travel restrictions have also negatively affected people's ability to migrate to escape disasters in their respective countries (International Organization for Migration, 2021). Travel restrictions have also increased the demand for cross-border smuggling, as people became more desperate to flee violence, natural disasters, and economic deprivation in their respective countries, and of course, there was also the case of those who wanted to return home because of COVID-19 restrictions and lockdowns in many countries.

The COVID-19 pandemic, according to the World Health Organization (2021), has significantly affected regional mobility

across Africa, particularly in West and Central Africa. It is reported that there was a 48% decrease in migration between January and April of 2020. However, there was an increase of about 65% in migration between April and May of the same year (WHO, 2021). This may have been caused by the easing of restrictions in many of African countries. However, transporting essential goods and medical supplies was also affected as tens of thousands of truck drivers across the East and Horn of Africa were unable to make deliveries. This was also witnessed by many Zimbabwean trucks that were piling up at the Beitbridge border between Zimbabwe and South Africa. By July 2020, about 108,000 people and truck drivers found themselves stranded (International Organization for Migration, 2021). Also, detention and quarantine measures left thousands of stranded migrants in precarious situations. Seasonal workers in Africa were hit hard by pandemic-related travel restrictions and border closures, especially in Western and Central Africa. Below is a chart that depicts how the world was negatively affected in terms of route restrictions, location surveillance, national restrictions and visa change, as reported by the International Organization for Migration (2021):



COVID-19 and education in Africa

COVID-19 has undoubtedly hit Africa's most vulnerable people, such as those who have been historically marginalized from the economy of their countries. According to the World Bank (2021), the economic recession that was brought about by the lockdowns is likely to push close to 23 million people into extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa. We depend on the re-opening of schools to stop this tide as these (schools) are powerful vehicles for delivering social protection to families that are on the lower ladder of economic development. It has been proven that school programmes that provide take-home food rations and

cash transfer support really help families with minimal resources to send their children to school where they will get food and economic support. This gives relieve to those families that are struggling to eke out a living. Life-saving COVID-19 health messages such as proper handwashing techniques and wearing face masks formed part of national distance-learning programmes. This strategy of empowering children with knowledge, according to Rama et al. (2021), has proven effective in past public health campaigns in Africa. In addition, schools have also regularly served as important frontline sites for public health interventions such as vaccination

campaigns. It is in this vein that we now turn to the survival of Africa beyond the COVID-19 pandemic.

The survival of Africa post-Covid-19 pandemic

We have seen how the COVID-19 pandemic caused untold human suffering across Africa and also how it is likely for it to leave an indelible impact on the continent's economies. For instance, small and medium businesses which employ an estimated 80 per cent of the continent's workforce in both the formal and informal sectors were hit the hardest. We have seen restaurants closing, and the tourism industries suffering from travel restrictions. They have suffered because they had, and continue to have, limited cash reserves, unlike five-star hotels which were able to withstand the restrictions. They have been forced to cut back on business spending to survive. While poverty and inequality are rife in Africa, it is clear the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed these twin evils. For instance, economists have argued that South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, an undeniable fact that was exposed by COVID-19 (World Bank, 2022). Even as the country made strides after the end of apartheid, the gap between the poor and

the rich continues to widen by the day (International Monetary Fund, 2021).

For Africa to survive this tide and to adapt to the post-COVID-19 material conditions, it must move quickly to the 4th industrial revolution that is undoubtedly here to stay. It is indeed true that we have been catapulted forward, advertently or inadvertently, by the COVID-19 pandemic, to adapt to the new ways of doing things. Bernard et al. (2020) give the COVID-19 scenario as follows:

- COVID-19 has made the future work of academics and students easier in terms of online learning and virtual conferences that enable all to attend conferences which would otherwise be costly considering flight costs, accommodation, and the payment of conference attendance. Of course, I am not blind to the fact that many organizations have also been working at a loss as it is events such conferences that formed the major source of income and survival for hotels and tourism.
- Managers and directors can reach out to their respective workforce around the globe with a press of a button, and to share ideas as easily as possible.

- New technologies necessitate new roles. Our curricula in Africa should be geared towards new skills that will make Africa develop even faster.
- New mindsets, behaviours and values in the quickly changing workplace must be emphasised.

This means that working from home has become the new normal. The relationship between the employer and the employee, as well as the student and the lecturer, has been digitized.

We have been thrust forward with speed, and we need new inventions that can sustain us post-COVID-19 era. Just when we thought we are coming out of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russian-Ukraine conflict happened. Although there are many who do not support the conflict, it remains to be seen as to whether the Russian government's justification of the war is anything to go by, especially when one looks at the historical context of the conflict itself.

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict

The Russian invasion of Ukraine in early 2022 has not only triggered large-scale humanitarian, migration, and refugee crises, but has also added a lot of risks to the global economy that is still dealing

with the pandemic. The direct effects of a decline in the growth of world economies and the rising costs of food, fuel, and fertilizer prices cannot go unnoticed. Food insecurity, especially in the horn of Africa, grows unabated (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2022).

We are now seeing refugees from Ukraine who are running away from the conflict and the migrants around the world and from Ukraine are likely to reach around 286 million by the end of 2022 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2022). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022), the Ukraine crisis will affect the global governance of migration. Close to 5.5 million Ukrainians have already left for Poland and other countries. A lot of Ukrainians have also been displaced internally. While Africa is yet to fully recover from the socio-economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine conflict poses another major threat to the global economy, with many African countries at the receiving end of the negative impact of this war. Statistics also indicate that global wheat, sunflower, and oil crude prices will soar, and this will impact negatively on Africa as it relies heavily on food imports from Russia and Ukraine. This conflict will

undoubtedly affect food security on the continent as well as the socio-economic recovery and growth that was disturbed by the COVID-19 pandemic (IFPRI, 2022).

The sanctions imposed on Russia by Western countries do little to address the food crisis in Africa. If anything, these sanctions exacerbate the already bad situation. Also, we have seen how there is a worldwide shortage of fertilizers, rising food prices, and slowness in the production of agricultural products. Oil is no longer accessible to the world market, thus causing poor countries to suffer as they rely mostly on Russian oil. According to the International Food Policy Research Institute (2022), the disruption of oil prices on the world market is expected to lead to an increase in fuel prices and higher costs of food.

Adding some fuel to the fire, we are told that the Horn of Africa and the Sahel region have been hit hard because of the risk of food insecurity occasioned by climate change, export restrictions, and stockpiling. The internecine war that has been ongoing in this region is not helpful either.

Theoretical lenses

This article uses the theory of Pan-Africanism to understand the importance

of African unity and togetherness. This theory is suitable in that it seeks to draw on the political wisdom of Pan-Africanists such as Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara, Sobukwe and the other scholars who wrote extensively on the importance of African unity and the need to look inwards as a continent so that we can defeat (neo-)colonialism, hunger, starvation and the lack of economic development. As the aftereffects of COVID-19 and those of the Russian-Ukraine war continue to be felt in every nook and cranny of this continent, these theories, if clearly applied, can offer us some of the tools that can help Africa to lift itself out of its economic quagmire.

Pan-Africanism

The Pan-Africanist outlook, according to Pheko (2000) took the world by storm in the 1950s. The ideology was/is based on the unity of the African continent and was championed by leaders such as Dubois (in the US), followed by Thomas Sankara, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta, Patrice Lumumba, Edwardo Mondlane, Samora Machel, and Robert Sobukwe. The second epoch after the Pan-African re-awakening of Africa was followed by the Black Consciousness Movement, especially in the 1970s in the United States of America and South Africa, with

the emergence of vibrant leaders such as Bantu Steve Biko, Thuli Ka Shezi, Mapetla Mohapi, among others (see Asante, 2014).

The ideology of Pan-Africanism asserts that the fate of all African people and countries is intertwined. This ideology is relevant to this paper as it seeks African unity in mitigating the horrible aftereffects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the escalating crisis of food insecurity occasioned by the Russian-Ukraine war. African countries cannot afford to go it alone in this crisis that was/is caused by the pandemic and the Russian-Ukraine war. Africa should seek to look inwards towards Africanism if they are ready to stop the tide of the looming third world war and its effects on the continent. At its core, Pan-Africanism is a belief that "African people, both on the continent and in the diaspora, share a common history and a common destiny (Asante,2014:12) Pan-Africanist intellectuals as well as cultural, and political movements view all Africans and descendants of Africans as a single "race" who share cultural unity (Asante, 2008). Pan-Africanism posits a sense of a shared historical fate for Africans in the Americas, West Indies, and, on the continent itself. African slavery and

European imperialism have dealt a heavy blow to the development of Africa.

Edward Wilmot Blyden called for African unity while other scholars such as Frederick Douglass_(1960) emphasized that Africans in the diaspora should fight for their rights in their respective adopted countries. It is scholars and intellectuals such as JE Casely Hayford and Martin Robinson Delany who coined the phrase "Africa for Africans", which was later picked up by Marcus Garvey and then adopted by the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in South Africa.

Marcus Garvey further called for the political and economic freedom and popularised the move to return to Africa in his lifetime. He emphasized the return to an Africanized ideology (Asante, 2003). Pan-Africanism today is championed by scholars such as Molefi Kete Asante who were able to infuse ancient Egyptian and Nubian cultures into Pan-Africanism. In South Africa, Pan-Africanism was spawned by Smangaliso Robert Sobukwe and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, as alluded to earlier.

Research design and methodology

This article involved the desk research approach and archival research designs in seeking clarity on the aftermath of Covid-

19 and its effects on the mobility of people, and to pursue the following objectives:

- (i) To probe the extent to which COVID-19 affects human mobility in Africa.
- (ii) To explore the strategies that have been implemented in addressing human mobility in Africa.
- (iii) To explore the likely threats that the Russian-Ukraine war would have on sustenance in Africa.

In desk research, a researcher collects and reviews publicly available data about the topic being studied (Creswell, 2020).

This study was conducted by consulting books, magazines and articles pertaining to the topic. Data were thematically analysed according to the objectives and the research questions of the study. The researcher also gathered and analysed information available on public platforms such as internet forms, government reports, NGO reports and statistics on human mobility, Covid-19, and the revisiting of the pandemic vis-a-vis the war between Russia and Ukraine. In this type of research, the data for the analysis are not collected by involving participants (Creswell, 2019). Archival research involves extracting information and

evidence from original archives such as books (current and non-current), documents, records and other sources pertaining to the activities and claims of individuals. These books and documents exist to preserve historic materials of value and to make them available for future use. Archival research provides information of interest to research professionals across a wide range of fields. Archival research is typically more complex and time-consuming, but it yields reliable results (Creswell, 2020).

Discussion and analysis

On the leadership challenges in Africa

Existing literature indicates that there should be a drastic change of leadership in Africa to usher in a new crop of leaders who are more driven by the development of the continent in areas of the economy, governance, and self-reliance. Due to globalisation, African leaders have been showing an eagerness to democratize their respective countries. The COVID-19 pandemic made most African leaders go back to basics, drawing on African concepts of unity among its leadership. The effectiveness of life-changing leadership is gradually emerging and empowering villagers/communities on the continent. Literature is awash with various countries in the continent striving

to collectively fight the scourge of the COVID-19 pandemic and the horrific effects unleashed by the war between Russia and Ukraine (World Bank, 2022; Bernad et al., 2020; Rama et al., 2021).

On migration during and after the pandemic

COVID-related restrictions have an impact on the mobility of migrants and the role of humanitarian organizations. Literature also shows that the COVID-19 pandemic had an impact on migrants, refugees, and displaced persons. This also affected the migration patterns of people at both the local and global levels. Also, we have seen how migrants are forced to return to their home countries for the sake of safety and protection against the pandemic, and this has put additional pressure on the already ailing ecosystems and livelihoods in their respective countries (International Organization of Migration, 2022; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2022; World Bank Report, 2022).

Strategies that can help Africa to ward off the negative impact of COVID-19 and the Russia-Ukraine war

Africa's resilience was challenged because of COVID-19 because of the Russia-

Ukraine war. The disruption in global and regional economic output has undoubtedly caused a serious slump in commodity prices because of the COVID-19 pandemic experienced around the world. This has stifled progress in Africa. However, we are beginning to see African countries managing to turn this tide around. African countries are becoming more experienced in dealing with viral disease outbreaks. This helps the continent in as far as establishing innovative strategies to fight all pandemics that we may face in the future. Many African nations managed to roll out mechanisms to fight the pandemic. However, there continues to be a need for African countries to decentralise the response to pandemics to increase the capacity to identify and diagnose future pandemics (Meghan et al., 2021). Before the Russia-Ukraine war, Africa experienced an economic recovery from the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The war is now threatening this recovery, as GDP per capita in many African countries has sharply fallen. The rising prices of fuel and other food commodities are threatening Africa's economic recovery (see Jean-Mark Bernad et al., 2020; Rama et al., 2021).

The effects of the Russia-Ukraine war in Africa

The war is likely to lead to widening inequality and deeper poverty. The most visible impact of the war on Africa is rising fuel and food prices, inflation, and financial instability. The poorest are the hardest hit as a large proportion of their consumption expenditure is on food and transport. According to Africa renewal (2022), this conflict will affect food security in Africa. This means that food will be scarce, and the pricing of some food crops will skyrocket, particularly wheat and sunflower. There will also be slow socio-economic recovery and growth because of the uncertainties which will be brought about by the fluctuating global financial markets as a result of the war.

Russia and Ukraine are referred to as the world's breadbasket. The two countries continue to be the major players in the export of wheat and sunflower to Africa even when they are at war. The sanctions imposed on Russia by Western countries are not helping either as there is a slow commercial flow of food products, especially from Russia into Africa because of sanctions. The advice by African economists is that Africa should take the opportunity of this war to build its

infrastructure and mining industries as well as the production of food so that the continent can be self-sufficient and self-dependant.

Summary and conclusion

Universities, institutions, and organizations as well as countries in Africa are at a crossroads when it comes to tackling challenges brought forward by the COVID-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war. The war has enabled us to re-skill and up-skill our people to quickly move from the dependency syndrome that was inculcated by imperialism and neo-colonialism on the continent. There must be some social sensibility towards globalization processes that are only there to benefit the global economic powers at the expense of the marginalized countries in Africa. There must also be a profound reconstruction of present economic and political structures so that they are able to benefit the rest of humanity, especially in Africa.

This article probes the aftereffects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the ravages of the war between Ukraine and Russia with respect to Africa, illustrating that while Africa is yet to fully recover from the socio-economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, this war poses a threat to the global and African economy

in particular as the continent depends heavily on the two warring countries for food and other resources. The article used the theoretical lens of Pan-Africanism to encapsulate the yearnings and frustrations of Africans who are overwhelmed by the onslaught of globalisation that only looks at development from a skewed western paradigm, which is more about enriching the already wealthy countries that thrive through the continuous siphoning of the wealth of the marginalised countries. The war between Russia and Ukraine is

amplified because of its negative impacts on Africa. There must be drastic steps taken by Africa to turn the effects of the war to its advantage by focusing on building its infrastructure and producing its own food so that it can be self-sufficient and self-dependent. The paper recommends a drastic change of leadership in Africa in order to usher in a new crop of leaders who are more driven by the development of the continent in areas of the economy, governance, and self-reliance.

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