UNEQUAL EDUCATION, UNEQUAL FUTURE

How injustice against Africa is increasing inequality between the world's young people

AASU
... in the students movement since 1972

100 MILLION
FREE.SAFE.EDUCATED.

JUSTICE FOR AFRICA!
DON'T CUT OUR FUTURE!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Thanks to all our sister organisations in the student and youth movement who have already endorsed this report and support the Justice for Africa campaign. You can see a list of organisations at https://www.100million.org/justice-for-africa

If you have any questions about the report, please contact justiceforafrica@aasuonline.org and visit 100million.org/justiceforafrica for more information.

We hope this report can encourage activists and decision makers to give ending the injustices against Africa the priority it deserves in their work.

Justice for Africa

Cover Photo: Justice for Africa campaigners in Tanzania

Foreword

World wealth has doubled, and then doubled again, since the Soweto Uprising in 1976. Yet in the same time inequality between young people in Africa and young people in high-income countries has trebled.

African per child education budgets are half what they were 50 years ago. Almost 100 million children and young people across Africa are still out of school. Since 2016 the world has created an average of two billionaires and 90,000 more African child labourers every single week.

As the evidence in this report demonstrates, this generational crisis is a direct result of a series of discriminatory global decisions and choices that have gone largely unchallenged by those outside of Africa, a direct result of our collective failure to act. In fact, since the end of Apartheid there has not been a major African led mobilisation that campaigners outside of Africa have united behind.

Africa today is trapped in unrepayable debt with a system of global tax abuse that robs us of our resources, is subject to discriminatory aid allocations and faces colonial-era decision-making structures within global financial institutions, all of which bleeds Africa dry, costing us trillions of dollars annually. This is not merely an economic tragedy; it is a profound human rights violation.

Please take the time to read and reflect on this report. The first step to ending an injustice is to know about it and each section has been written in an open a way as possible so you can see the evidence, review any of the sources and reach your own conclusions. If you like it, please share it with others you know.

For too long the injustices against Africa have been a hidden and sidelined part of progressive initiatives around the world. It is time for that to change.

All-Africa Students Union Secretary General,

Peter Kwasi Kodjie

REACTIONS

This report is very powerful. It is shocking to see the level of discrepancy in terms of state financing for the education sector, in which one smaller country has twice the budget of 30 African countries combined

Rosália Djedjo, Guinea Bissau
National Confederation of Students Associations of Guinea Bissau

Collectively challenge and deconstruct harmful misconceptions and systemic injustices against Africa. The emphasis on concrete solutions and actionable steps provides a clear roadmap for addressing educational inequality.

Amanya Felix, Uganda

Highly relevant to my work in humanitarian education and advocacy. Understanding the impact of historical injustices and disparities in funding education and actionable steps that can be taken

Kennedy Monari, Kenya

The concrete examples and data presented allowed me to better understand these complex concepts. I was particularly struck by the implications of these phenomena for developing countries. Definitely useful in my work, activism or advocacy, as it offers an in-depth analysis of global economic issues

Jeremie Kasongo, DRC

It is educational to read on paper what we have been experiencing on the field as Quality Education Advocates, and the fact that such a record is being documented as research for action.

Bamidele Isaac Itunu, Nigeria

"It provides a solid, evidence-based foundation. The detailed breakdown of immediate and long-term actions provides concrete steps for advocacy efforts, making the report not just an analysis but a guide for action."

A powerful blueprint for advocacy and change.

Eliseus Bamporineza, Kenya

"This was a game changer for me."

Kgopotso Radebe, South Africa

CONTENTS:

INTRODUCTION

It has been 48 years since the Soweto Uprising began on 16th June 1976, where over 10,000 black school students in South Africa protested against the inequality of the Apartheid education system and the forced use of Afrikaans. Hundreds of students were shot and killed for peacefully demanding their rights to education equality and justice.

South Africa remained under the oppressive apartheid regime, which continued the legacy of institutionalised racial discrimination for a further 14 years, but the protests that day sparked a new wave of organised global action against Apartheid that eventually succeeded.

Every year this anniversary is marked across Africa on what is now the AU '*Day of the African Child'*, and this year the focus was education for all children in Africa. Inspired by this, Justice for Africa has examined how education inequalities have changed since 1976 and found that **education inequality faced by young Africans today is three times worse than it was almost half a century ago.**

The colonial era had come to an end just a decade before the Soweto Uprising took place, and there had been no compensation or restitution for the centuries of exploitation, colonialism, and slavery which deeply affected Africa. Education was therefore incredibly unequal in 1976, with colossal inequality in education spending between countries in Africa and richer European countries.

The seven countries which had invaded and colonised over 90 percent of Africa - Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom - had education budgets that were 32 times higher per child than the average African country in 1976.[1] But far from getting better, in the almost 50 years since the Soweto Uprising, the gap in education budgets between countries in Africa and their former colonisers is now 110 times[2], even when adjusted for inflation.

In fact, in the ten countries in sub-Saharan Africa that have data available, education spending per child has *halved* since 1976. How has this global injustice happened? How has education inequality become so much worse in our generation?

The evidence is presented here so that you can see for yourself.

This report looks at what has happened, why education inequality has increased and several of the systemic international injustices behind this rise. It also makes the case for a united global response, inspired by the powerful Anti-Apartheid movement, that creates a more equal future where every young person in Africa can finally realise their right to education.

WHAT?

UNEQUAL EDUCATION

To see the inequality in education in our world, the quickest place to start is at the end of the education cycle. Let's consider the percentage of women graduating from university in each region of the world (*Figure 1*).

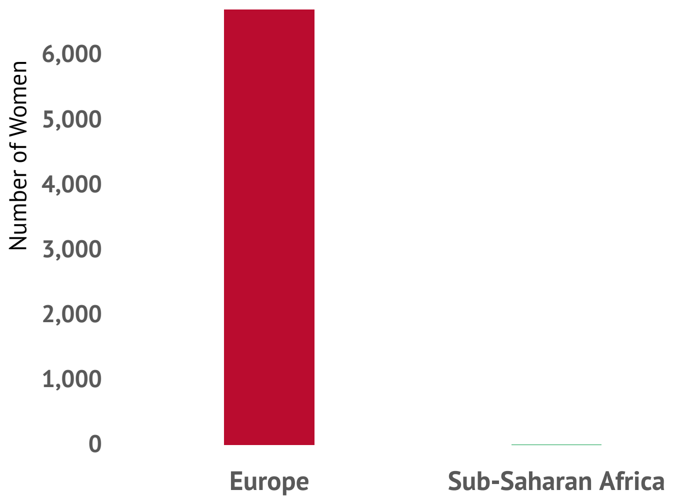
The female graduation rate in the 48 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (3.3%) is extremely low even when compared with regions with high rates of gender inequality such as South & West Asia and Arab States, let alone the richest regions in North America and Europe.

If we compare life-chances more broadly the inequality becomes extreme. A young woman reading this report in Europe is thankfully 6,700 times more likely (670,015%)[3] to get a university degree than they are to die in childbirth or other maternal related causes, but the odds for a young African woman are very different (*Figure 2*).

In sub-Saharan Africa, a girl is only 35 percent more likely to graduate university than die of maternal related causes[4]. **For a girl in countries like Mauritania and Niger maternal death is more likely than graduation.**

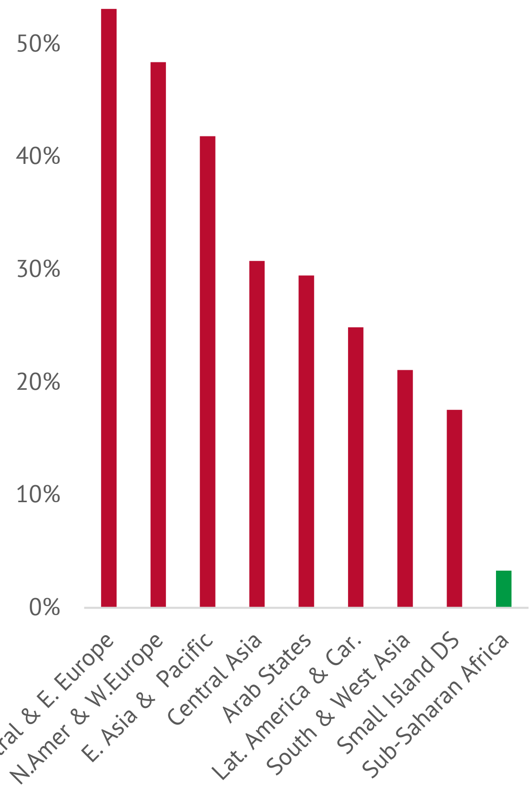
This difference between 6,700 and 1.35 is very hard to see on a graph (*Figure 3*). If it was measured by the height of the women themselves, the red bar for Europe would be much taller than Mount Everest (over 10km high) and the sub-Saharan Africa green bar would be lower than a single-story building (2.16 metres).

FIGURE 3: NUMBER OF WOMEN GRADUATING PER DEATH FROM MATERNAL CAUSES



Sources: Calculations from UNESCO & WORLD BANK

FIGURE 1: GROSS GRADUATION RATIO, FIRST DEGREE PROGRAMMES IN HIGHER (TERTIARY) EDUCATION, FEMALE (%), LATEST YEAR



Source: UNESCO

FIGURE 2: WOMEN'S ODDS GRADUATING UNIVERSITY VS DYING MATERNAL CAUSES

Belgium	7,650 : 1
Denmark	8,624 : 1
France	4,606 : 1
Germany	6,743 : 1
Italy	11,456 : 1
Netherlands	7,595 : 1
Portugal	4,043 : 1
Spain	15,669 : 1
Sweden	8,550 : 1
United Kingdom	3,712 : 1
Burkina Faso	1.2 : 1
Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.1 : 1
Ghana	9 : 1
Guinea	1.1 : 1
Madagascar	3 : 1
Mauritania	1 : 1
Mozambique	7 : 1
Namibia	33 : 1
Niger	0.9 : 1
Rwanda	2 : 1
South Africa	48 : 1

Sources: Calculations from UNESCO & WORLD BANK

Gender discrimination plays a part, particularly in Francophone African countries like Niger, but overall the tertiary gender parity gap (the difference between the percent of men and women going to university) in sub-Saharan Africa has halved in the last 20 years[5].

In truth, the impact of gender bias within Africa is dwarfed by the impact of continental differences. *Figure 4* adds the sub-Saharan African male graduation rates in yellow to the previous graph. These are also very low and only slightly above the female graduation rate in green.

If you look at the difference between women in sub-Saharan Africa and North America and Western Europe, you can see that 98.8% of the huge gap is the inequality between continents (the red and yellow dotted lines) and only 1.2% is due to gender inequality within Africa (yellow and green dotted lines).

Since 2016 the world has created an average of two billionaires and 90,000 more African child labourers every week.

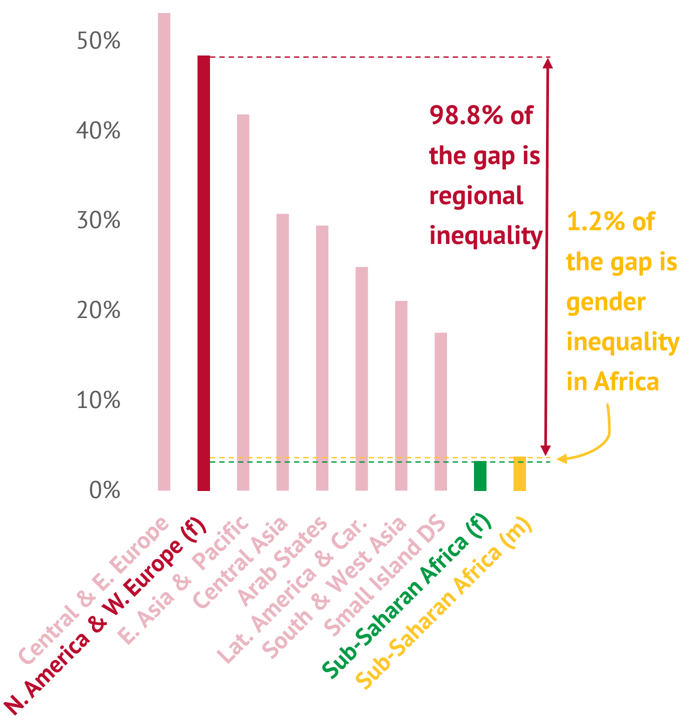
WHAT ABOUT SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN?

At the start of the 21st century, around a quarter of the world's children out of school lived in Africa[6] and the number was declining if slowly. However, since 2010, the number of African children out of school has actually gone up (*Figure 5*). The *increase* alone in African children out of school (15.7 million)[7] is equivalent to the number of all the high school students in the United States[8].

What happens is no mystery, in most cases the child has been forced by extreme poverty into child labour which has seen a similar increase. This has devastating consequences for the child's health, safety and future.

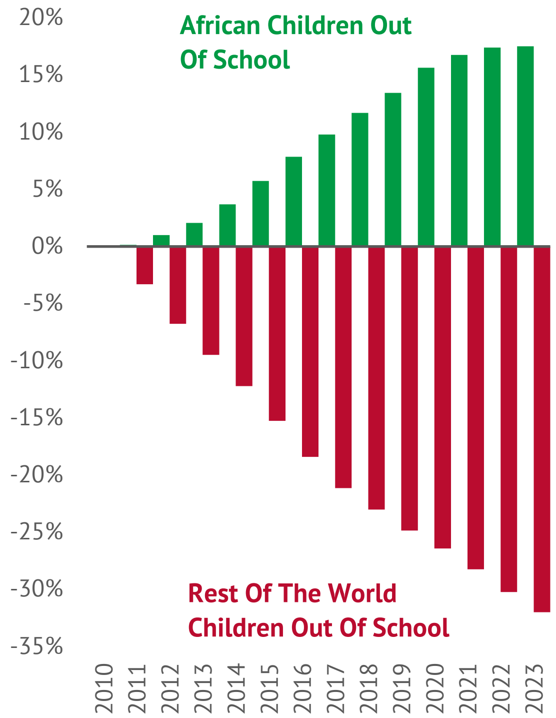
Over 16 million *more* African children have become child labourers since the UN Sustainable Development Goals began[9]. In fact, since 2016 the world has created an average of two billionaires and 90,000 more African child labourers *every week*[10]. They are not unconnected.

FIGURE 4: FEMALE GRADUATION RATES ALL REGIONS & SSA MALE GRADUATION RATES



Source: UNESCO

FIGURE 5: CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF OUT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN SINCE 2010, %



Source: UNESCO

Looking at the change since the year 2000, you can also see how the huge increase since 2010 has reversed the previous progress that had been made in sub-Saharan Africa (*Figure 6*). (In contrast to the increases in Africa, if we plotted the change in the rest of the world, the fall would go down four pages with *170 million* fewer children out of school since 2000)[11].

WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN STILL IN SCHOOL?

It does not get much better if we look at the situation for children in school. African school children are less likely to finish school[12] and less likely to achieve a basic level of literacy than children in other continents[13].

The school completion rates for Gen Z children in Africa are so low that a young person in Portugal has more chance of graduating university than a young person from Madagascar has of finishing primary school[14].

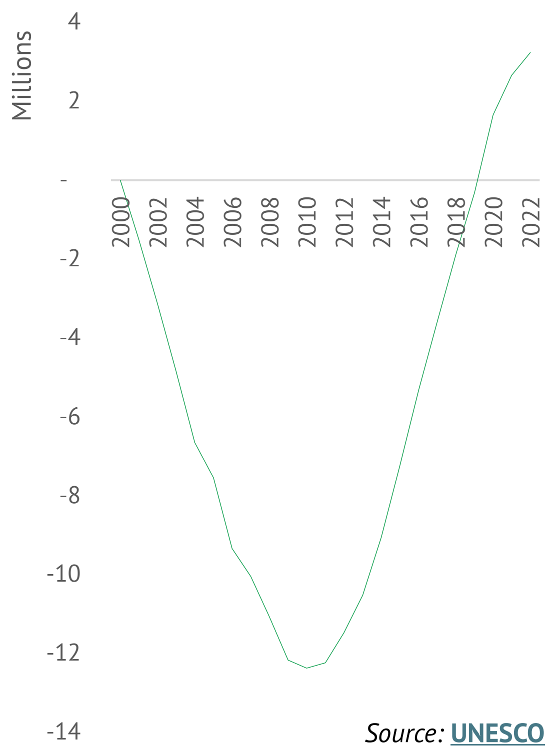
A girl in Chad is twice as likely to die of preventable causes before the age of five than to complete secondary school[15]. In 20 sub-Saharan African countries, a child has a higher chance of being forced into child labour than they do of completing school[16].

There is also huge inequality in education outcomes. If we compare the change in the number of young people who are illiterate (15–24 year olds that cannot read and write) since 1991, you can see a clear long-term pattern (*Figure 7)*. There has been significant progress in ending illiteracy in the rest of the world but not in Africa. In 1991 one in four (25%) of the world's illiterate young people lived in Africa; now it is three in five (60%)[17].

There are several non-African counties, such as Afghanistan, where totalitarian states and embedded conflict have caused the number of illiterate young people to also increase. However, in Africa, there is a widespread increase. Young people in the world today are over six times more likely to be illiterate if they are African rather than non-African (up from 2.5 in 1991)[18].

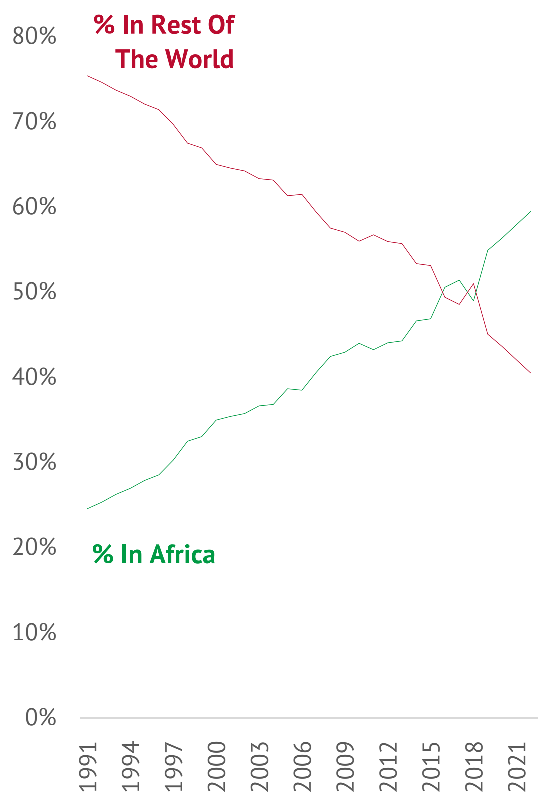
It is important to remember this is the average; young Africans with disabilities, or from ethnic minorities or rural areas are even more likely to be illiterate as UNESCO's World Inequality Database shows so clearly[19].

FIGURE 6: CHANGE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN CHILDREN OUT SCHOOL SINCE 2000



Source: UNESCO

FIGURE 7: 15-24 YEAR OLDS WHO ARE ILLITERATE BY LOCATION (1991-2021)



Source: UNESCO

Overall, the number of 15-24 year old Africans who are illiterate has *increased* from 41 million to 52.9 million since 1991[20], despite new technologies and world wealth doubling in that time[21]. **Education inequality between young people is increasing.**

This has a devastating impact. Being unable to read the news or write a few sentences changes the path of your entire life. It will likely trap you in the poorest jobs and bring huge risks to your and any future children's health.

It also makes it very difficult for you to effectively protest against the injustices you face. Some of the 20 percent of children in Africa[22] who are child labourers will have mined minerals used to make devices this report is being read on. However, their voices and realities rarely appear on those device screens, so are rarely on leaders' minds.

With the restricted ability of child labourers to effectively protest, **it is clear that unless there is greater solidarity and organisation between all young people the situation is unlikely to change.**

The disparity in literacy rates between the countries shown in *Figure 8* is already unacceptable. But it gets worse, whilst this is the current data for African countries the UK literacy rate is from 1890 and the US from 1870, just after the American Civil War. It shows how long African children have lost out, both through unrectified historical injustices and ongoing modern injustices.

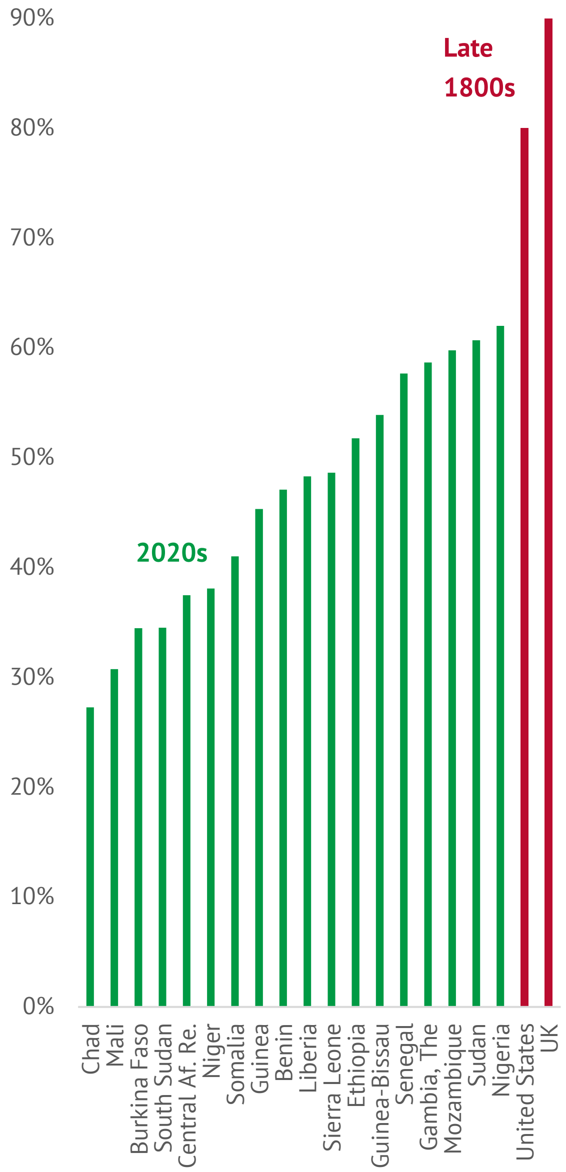
In the absence of a united youth movement, education inequality will remain for generations to come. In all the African countries in *Figure 8,* the current *youth* literacy rate for 15-24 year olds today is also lower than the US and UK 18th century *adult* literacy rates[23], meaning the literacy injustice is set for another half century at least.

It is also important to note the US data in 1870 was itself incredibly unequal: 80 percent of the overall adult population was literate but only 20 percent of the black population[24]. There are still significant racial inequalities in education in the US[25], but the situation has improved thanks to the civil rights and racial justice movements, where students and young people were critical participants. Unfortunately, we have not yet made much difference in terms of the exploitation, discrimination and structural injustices faced by children in Africa.

A young person in Portugal has more chance of graduating University than a young person in Madagascar has of finishing Primary School.

In 20 sub-Saharan African countries, a child has a higher chance of being forced into child labour than they do of completing school.

FIGURE 8: % LITERATE ADULTS, AFRICAN COUNTRIES LATEST DATA, UK 1890, US 1870



Sources: WORLD BANK & The great escape: The industrial revolution in theory and history & Statistics Education in America, 1860-1950

EDUCATION BUDGETS

We can start to understand the inequality in literacy rates by considering how much is spent on education per child.

In 1976, the legacy of colonialism and slavery left a wide gap between budgets, but it has now become a chasm. Education per child budgets in the US, Canada and European countries have increased sharply, but in sub-Saharan African countries they have not (*Figure 9 – all EU and African countries with sufficient annual data shown*)[26].

In proportional terms, European education budgets per child have increased from 20 times to 82 times the African budgets. In Asia and Latin America education budgets per child have also increased sharply from slightly below Africa budgets in 1976 to 6.5 times higher by 2022[27].

What has happened to African budgets in absolute terms since 1976? Education expenditure has fallen from $345 per child to $166 per child. It has halved since 1976[28]. We inherited the education inequality of previous generations and rather than end it, we have dramatically increased it.

An illustration of the current disparity is if we make the education budget per child in the US the height of the Statue of Liberty in New York, from her toes to the tip of her torch. How high would other countries be? Most countries in sub-Saharan Africa are below the top of her toe. Burundi would be just 7cm off the ground *(Figure 10)*.

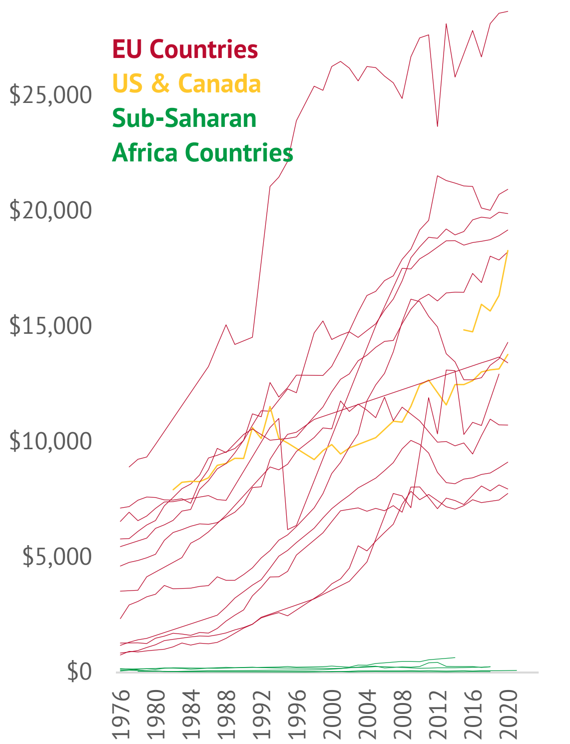
It is the same in Europe. More is now spent on *eight days* of education for a school child in an average income EU country such as Malta than the *entire school life* of a child in Malawi[29]. This cannot lead to a more equal world.

The Luxembourg Education Ministry has a larger education budget than eleven low-income African countries *put together*[30]. Luxembourg has 100,000 school-aged children, and those African countries 50 million[31].

Norway has under a million school aged children, but the Norwegian education budget is *twice as large* as the *combined* education budget in 30 African countries with 236 million school aged children between them[32].

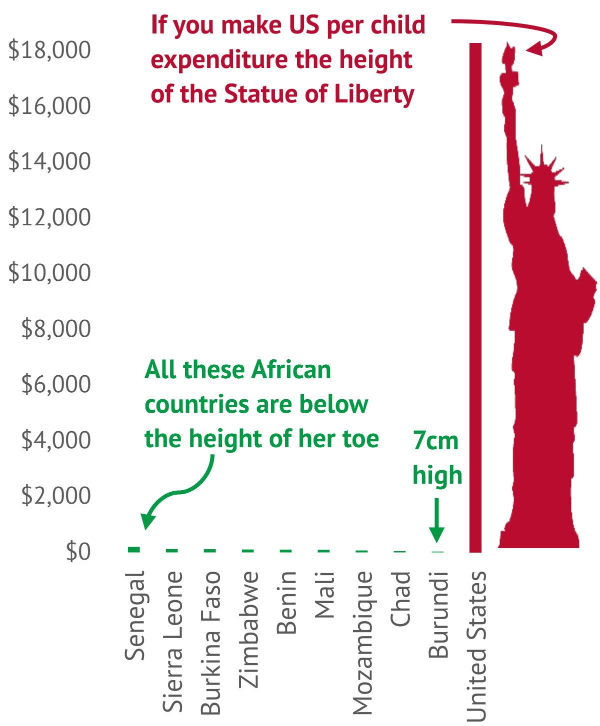
World wealth has doubled and doubled again since 1976[33]. It would cost 0.2% of global wealth[34] to achieve universal education and ensure every child has a trained teacher. **How rich do we have to be before we act?**

FIGURE 9: GOVERNMENT EDUCATION EXPENDITURE PER CHILD, CONSTANT USD



Sources: Calculations from UNESCO & World Bank

FIGURE 10: COMPARING CURRENT EDUCATION EXPENDITURE PER CHILD



Sources: Calculations from UNESCO & World Bank

INEQUALITY OF NATIONS

If governments in Africa will not prioritise education, what can be done? Well, apart from a few exceptions, African governments actually spend a higher percentage of their budget on education than their European and North American counterparts[35]. Malawi spends a higher percentage of its government budget on education than Malta[36].

In fact, all of the countries with per-child spending lower than the Statue of Liberty's toes in *Figure 10* actually spend a *higher percentage of their government's budget on education* than the US, the UK and *every* country in the European Union (*Figure 11*).

Greater prioritisation of education is needed in some African countries such as Nigeria, South Sudan and Angola, and the education ministry budget negotiations with the finance ministry will always be critical for students. ***But even if the government of Burundi gave 100 percent of their annual expenditure to the education ministry alone, their education budget per child would still be more than 200 times smaller than Switzerland's[37].***

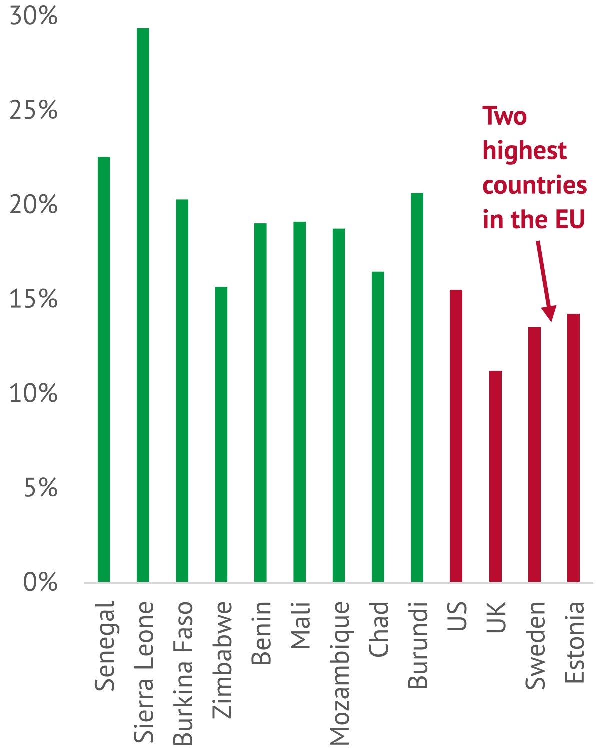
The main reason why so many children have no school to go to and no teacher to teach them is because overall government budgets are just too small. The government of Madagascar has $52 to spend per citizen in 2021 from its tax revenues[38], how can it ever provide full education and health services with $1 a week per person?

GDP INEQUALITY BY GENERATION

Government budgets per person are closely related to the annual GDP of the country per person. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per person is the accepted but imperfect measure of the market value of the final goods and services produced by a country each year. There has been a huge difference in how it has changed since 1976 (*Figure 12*).

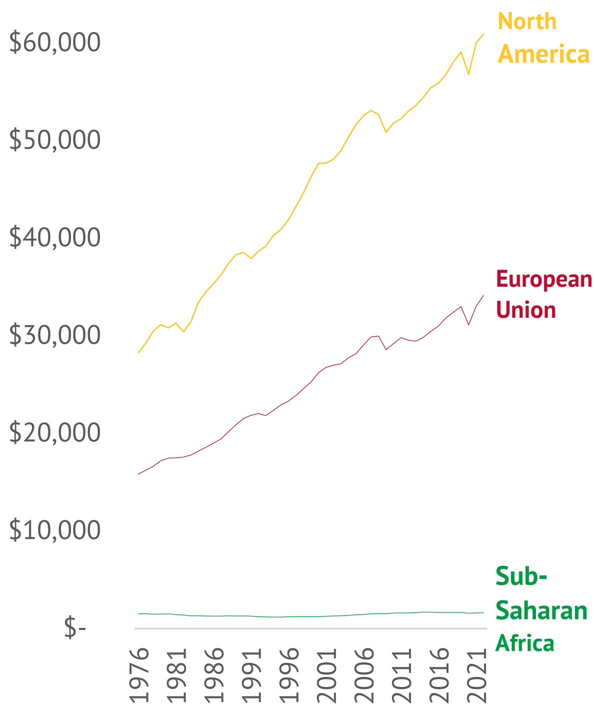
The scale of the different growth rates is hard to justify or accept. The EU average GDP per person was 10 times higher than sub-Saharan Africa in 1976 and is now 21 times higher; the North American average was 18 times higher than sub-Saharan Africa and is now 38 times higher[39]. **The world is getting more unequal not less.**

FIGURE 11: COMPARING % GOVERNMENT BUDGET SPENT ON EDUCATION



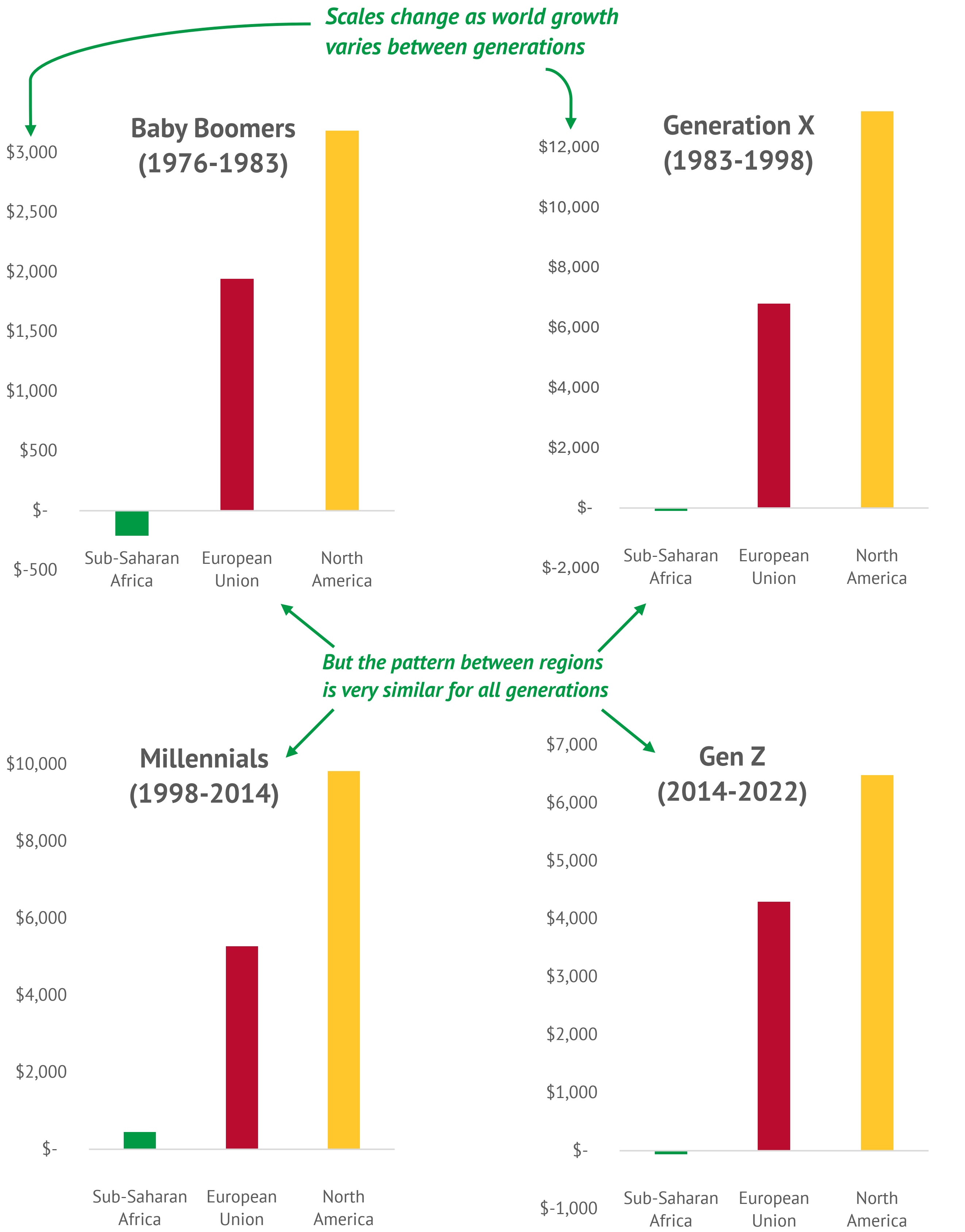
Sources: UNESCO

FIGURE 12: COMPARING GDP PER PERSON, CONSTANT USD (1976-2022)



Source: World Bank

FIGURE 13: GDP PER PERSON CHANGES BY EACH GENERATION TURNING 18 SINCE 1976, CONSTANT USD



Source: Calculations from [World Bank]

If we want to reverse the long term and increasing inequality in education in our world, we have to address why our countries themselves are becoming more and more unequal.

This is not an easy thing to change but hiding from it does not help anyone. If we compare the GDP per person changes in each of the graduating generations since 1976, in *Figure 13* on the previous page, the trend is not hard to spot.

In each generation, as Baby Boomers, Gen X, Millennials and now Gen Z turn 18 there have been increases in GDP per person in Europe and North America and either a small increase or even a reduction in sub-Saharan Africa.

These four graphs are also just the *change* since the Soweto uprising. GDP per person at the start of 1976 was already incredibly unequal.

COMPARISION WITH OTHER REGIONS

There is also a big difference in the percentage change of GDP per person between sub-Saharan Africa and 1976's two other lowest income regions, South Asia and the East Asia and Pacific region (*Figure 14*).

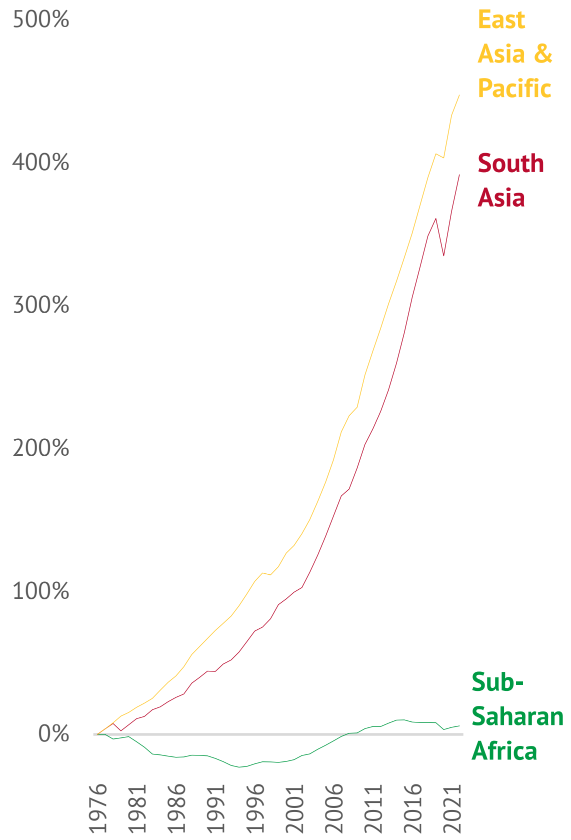
GDP per person has increased by 392% in South Asia ($1,590), 447% in East Asia and Pacific ($9,885) but just 6% in Sub-Saharan Africa.

GDP per person in sub-Saharan Africa has only grown $92 since 1976[40], a growth of just $2 per *year*. This is the average across the 48 countries; in ten countries it is actually lower now than 1976[41].

In contrast, GDP per person in the United States has increased by $34,206 since 1976[42], on average growing the same in a *day* in the United States as it has in sub-Saharan Africa in a *entire year*[43].

So why has this been happening?

FIGURE 14: % GDP PER PERSON CHANGE SINCE 1976 IN THE THREE POOREST WORLD BANK REGIONS



Source: World Bank

Since 1976, GDP per capita in the United States has increased on average more every day than sub-Saharan Africa has in an entire year.

If we want to reverse the long term and increasing inequality in education in our world, we have to address why our countries themselves are becoming more and more unequal.

WHY?

WHOSE RESOURCES?

Some will think that the skyrocketing education and GDP inequality between Africa and the richest countries is a result of Africa not having enough natural resources. **They are wrong.**

In fact, African countries have among the best and most in-demand natural resources in the world. The problem is that much of the income and profits from these resources are taken by other countries.

For example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is in the top ten countries in the world with the most natural resources[44]. On its own it produces 12 percent of the world's diamonds[45] and has 80 percent of all the world's supply of coltan an ore crucial in electronics[46] *(Figure 15)*.

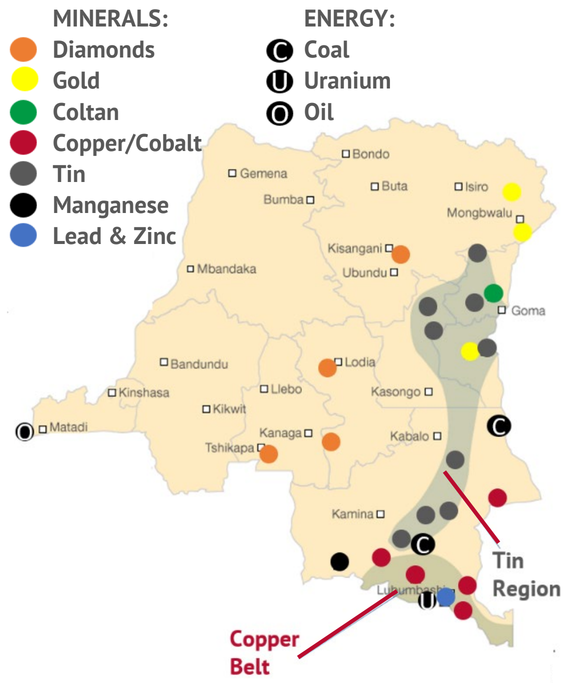
The DRC also produces 70 percent of the world's cobalt[47] which is used in laptop, phone and car batteries. It has helped power the global tech boom that has added trillions to global growth[48]. Yet the profits are made elsewhere, and the government of the DRC has so little money that many of its children are forced to work in the dangerous mines extracting these lucrative resources[49].

It is the same story across the continent. Zambia is one of the world's top ten copper-producing countries[50], Mali one of the top twenty gold-producing countries[51], and Tanzania is one of the world's top ten diamond-producing countries[52]. Africa is home to 30 percent of the world's mineral reserves, including up to 90 percent of its chromium and platinum[53]. But with much of the profit moved offshore by foreign companies, African governments have insufficient funds for education.

This is an injustice that is getting worse. More and more of Africa's natural resources are being utilised in the global economy. **The *increase* in money being made from African natural resources since the start of the SDGs alone has been a third of a trillion[54] US dollars with major increases in many countries (*Figure 16*).**

Yet *in the same six years*, over 10 million *more* African children are out of school[55], 20 million *more* are in child labour, eight million *more* are living in extreme poverty[56] and 40 million *more* are going hungry[57]. **It is not a question of if there are resources, or are they being utilised, but who is benefitting from them and how.**

FIGURE 15: NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO



Source: BBC News

FIGURE 16: INCREASE IN ANNUAL NATURAL RESOURCES RENTS IN AFRICA (2015-2021), USD

Nigeria	$21,892,114,419
South Africa	$16,203,693,082
Angola	$12,644,617,444
Congo, Dem. Rep.	$11,037,646,935
Egypt, Arab Rep.	$8,281,445,854
Sudan	$7,636,329,739
Zambia	$6,401,712,559
Ghana	$3,586,770,385
Mali	$2,031,381,497
Burkina Faso	$1,909,590,888
Congo, Rep.	$1,806,186,355
Tanzania	$1,785,273,444
Cote d'Ivoire	$1,628,218,101
Gabon	$1,043,849,235
Chad	$873,202,503
Mozambique	$800,296,546

Source: **World Bank**, *Natural Resource rents are the difference between the price of an extracted commodity and the average cost of producing it. In effect it is the expected profit made on the natural resources extracted in the country that year. The World Bank counts oil, natural gas, coal (hard and soft), minerals and forests in Natural Resource rents.*

OUT OF AFRICA

The scale of African resources held by foreign companies is evident just by looking at companies in the United Kingdom. In 2016, War on Want estimated that FTSE 100 listed companies in London control over $1 trillion of African resources (*Figure 17*).

African land totalling 371,132 km, larger than the area of the UK itself, is held as concession areas by just 36 companies on the London Stock Exchange[58].

UK companies had a long and terrible history during the colonial period. For example, the Royal Africa Company branded thousands of African slaves with the initials DOY in the 1680s to indicate they were the property of King James II, the Duke of York[59].

There is no equivalent to those atrocious times, but there are still loud echoes of the long colonial period of wealth extraction.

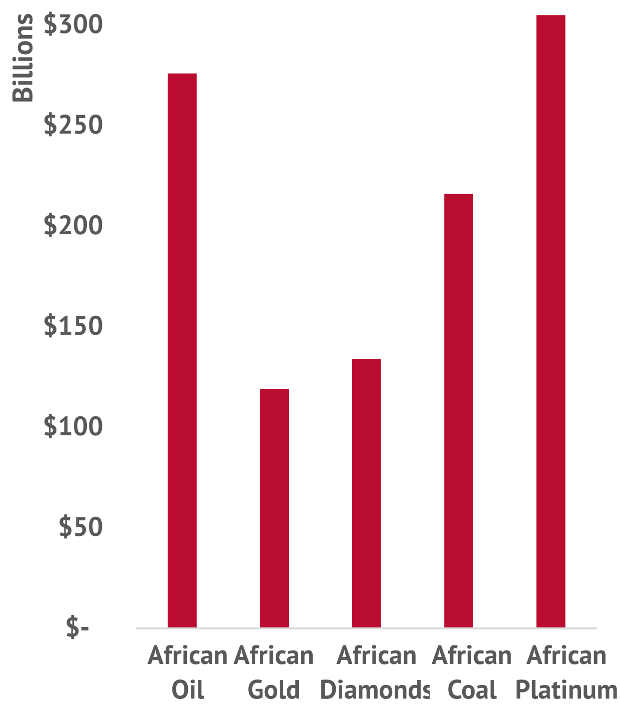
Figure 18 shows not only which countries colonised Africa a century ago, but just how little was government controlled in 1878 when wealth extraction was high but less visible. For most of the colonial period companies, not countries, extracted Africa's wealth.

Companies like the *Royal Africa Company*[60] and *East India Company*[61] had a huge number of Members of Parliament as shareholders. Now, the multinationals are mostly publicly listed and internationally owned (50 percent of FTSE companies are owned by people outside of Britain[62]), however, the tradition of price manipulation and ignoring concerns from poorer countries continues.

Many of the businesses involved pay tax, are beneficial, and help to end extreme poverty. But others are unjustly profiteering through often illegal tactics, such as the FTSE 100's Glencore (*see In Focus*).

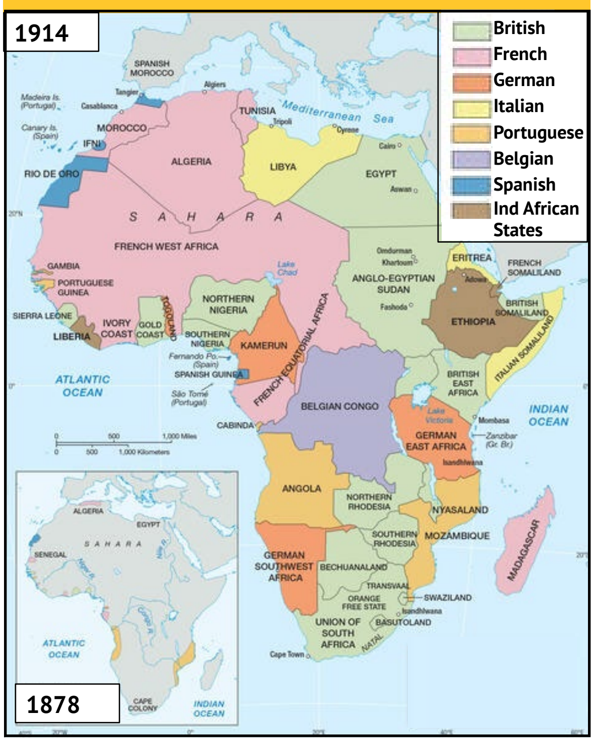
This unethical corporate behaviour is a global issue, with Glencore also accused of sanctions busting in Iraq and Iran. In 2004 the CIA cited that Glencore had been paid, in violation of sanctions, $3.2m in illegal kickbacks on Iraqi oil[63]. But as we will see, Africa is affected the most and there is a systemic transfer of profits out of Africa.

FIGURE 17: AFRICAN RESOURCES LISTED BY FTSE 100 COMPANIES IN LONDON, 2016



Source: War on Want

FIGURE 18: COLONIAL GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OF AFRICA, 1914 AND 1878



Source: Facing History and Ourselves

IN FOCUS: GLENCORE IN AFRICA

Glencore was set up by Mark Rich who used to be on the FBI's 10 most wanted list[64]. He fled the US in 1973 to Switzerland and brought his business approach to Africa, founding Glencore, now the world's biggest mining company.

In 2022, Glencore was fined $1.5 billion by the UK and US for corrupt practices in Africa[65]. The UK judge ruled that it was

***"corporate corruption on a widespread scale, deploying very substantial amounts of money in bribes"*[66]**

and that bribery was a "*way of doing business… The corruption is of extended duration… It was endemic amongst traders"*[67]. Investigators had discovered that Glencore had bribed or attempted to bribe African officials, including in Nigeria, Cameroon, Cote D'Ivoire and Equatorial Guinea[68].

For example, less than four weeks after South Sudan became an independent country, Glencore officials had flown out with suitcases with $800,000 in cash to successfully bribe officials to sign favourable oil deals[69]. Large profits were made and moved overseas, whilst 10 percent of South Sudanese children were dying before they reached their fifth birthday[70].

This is the latest in a long list of exploitative practices by Glencore and its forerunner company *Mark Rich & Co*. Mark Rich admitted early on that busting Apartheid South Africa oil sanctions was his company's "*most important and most profitable*" business and insiders claimed it bought in over $2 billion in pure profit[71].

The Panama Papers revealed in 2009, that Glencore gave a secret $45m loan to a company to secure a controversial mining agreement in the DRC[72]. The Africa Progress Panel, led by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, assessed that

***"between 2010 and 2012, the DRC lost at least US$1.36 billion in revenues from the underpricing of mining assets that were sold to offshore companies….. more than double the combined annual budget for health and education".*[73]**

In terms of its DRC deals, Glencore recently paid the government of DRC $180 million[74] to cover claims arising "*from any alleged acts of corruption by the Glencore Group in the DRC between 2007-18*"[75].

WHO?

DAPHINE, UGANDA

"WE USE OUR VOICES AND SPEAK ABOUT HOW BEST WE CAN FIGHT AGAINST CHILD LABOUR."

Daphine was just eight years old when she first became a child labourer in the Tira gold mines in Uganda. She was exposed to multiple injustices including sexual harassment and rape. She knows the mine she worked in is still using child labour and continued to use child labour even throughout the COVID lockdowns.

Against all the odds, survivors like Daphine are fighting back. Through SOMERO Uganda's advocacy projects, child labour survivors have been empowered to go back to school and are given an opportunity to speak about issues that directly affect them and how they can join the efforts towards the elimination of child labour.

Survivors like Daphine are working with student groups in Africa to raise the injustices they face. Many of Africa's mines are owned by foreign companies which take most of the profits and leave communities so poor many children are forced into to child labour to survive. Governments in sub-Saharan Africa are losing $450-$730 million per year in corporate income tax revenues as the result of profit shifting by multinational companies reducing school budgets. This is a bitter pill when children are toiling in mines in at least 32 sub-Saharan African countries.

Courtesy of 100 Million and SOMERO Uganda, Busia District, Eastern Uganda, May 2022.

IMPACT ON AFRICA

So many companies avoid tax routinely that in a working paper published by the IMF, researchers estimated the annual global tax loss in the extractive sector alone at US$44 billion per year[76]. These losses have an unequal impact because it is, as the IMF notes it is, "*a sector which is revenue critical for many developing economies*"[77].

Corrupt foreign businesses are able to profit more, and for longer, in Africa than in their own countries. Not because Africans are more corrupt, but because the chances of being caught are lower. When sub-Saharan African government budgets per person are one thirtieth (1/30th) of the European Union's[78] regulatory budgets are naturally lower.

Africans being harmed by foreign corruption have negligible access to justice, because so many high-income governments turn a blind eye when shareholders in their country profit.

Africa's minerals end up in the phones and computers and cars across the world. A quarter of all cobalt from Glencore's mine in Katanga province, DRC was sold to Tesla in 2020 in a deal for 6,000 tonnes a year[79]. Elon Musk has recently held talks to buy 20 percent of Glencore[80].

It is also no longer just the 'West' exploiting Africa's resources. For 20 years China has played a major role in the economies of African countries. They have helped some countries but are also a major holder of African debt and extract undervalued resources (most of Katanga's mineral exports now go to China[81]).

The Russian Wagner group, infamous for their role in invading Ukraine in 2022, have been active in Africa for several years using their superior weapons and brutal approach. For example, in Sudan in 2017, *"guarding mineral resources, and suppressing dissent against the government of President Omar al-Bashir, all in exchange for gold exports to Russia"*[82].

Even smaller countries are now active in Africa, such as the now largest importer of Sudanese gold, the UAE being involved in the current fighting in Sudan[83].

Now the multinationals are mostly publicly listed and internationally owned, however, the tradition of price manipulation and ignoring concerns from poorer countries continues.

INVESTMENT IN AFRICA

Not all countries and companies are being exploitative, and Africa needs more foreign investment not less. One of the reasons Glencore and others get away with such extreme profiteering is the lack of competition.

If other companies came in with better offers to African governments, the offshoring of profits and tax avoidance might not be quite as extreme. Examples like *Fairphone* show how even medium size companies can invest well[84].

Investment firms can help by prioritising investments in business that make and declare a profit in Africa. The share of earnings generated in Africa[85] is a useful indicator for how companies actually account (some have shifted more packaging and processing to their African factories but still account exports as unprocessed to avoid paying tax in Africa).

Securing a greater share of the profits from Africa's resources to stay in Africa will only grow in importance. The utilisation of Africa's minerals is set to increase dramatically over the next few decades. For example, **the World Bank predicts that global demand for cobalt alone will increase by 460% between 2018 and 2050[86].**

Encouraging better behaviour by individual companies is important but to address the systemic continent-wide problem we need to look at the rules governing taxation internationally and the broader issue of tax justice.

TAX INJUSTICE

Achieving tax justice is critical to education justice. The total tax revenue for a country divided by the number of children is an important indicator and closely related to education spending. If we consider the same 20 countries we compared in Figure 9, plus South Africa, we can see the growth of tax revenue per child in *Figure 19* is remarkably similar to the growth of education expenditure per child.

The gap between tax revenue per child between a relatively poorer European country such as Malta and the highest sub-Saharan African country with tax data, South Africa, has grown from $1,224 in 1976 to $46,798 today.

Apart from South Africa, the lines for the other five African countries regularly able to collect the data to international standards are so low that it is difficult to see the changes for recent years.

However, if we compare the change in tax revenue per *person* in the first six years of the SDGs on a bar chart, we can see the recent changes clearly (*Figure 20*). **This is a key reason why the SDGs are failing and is despite the huge increase in profits made on Africa's natural resources in the same six years.**

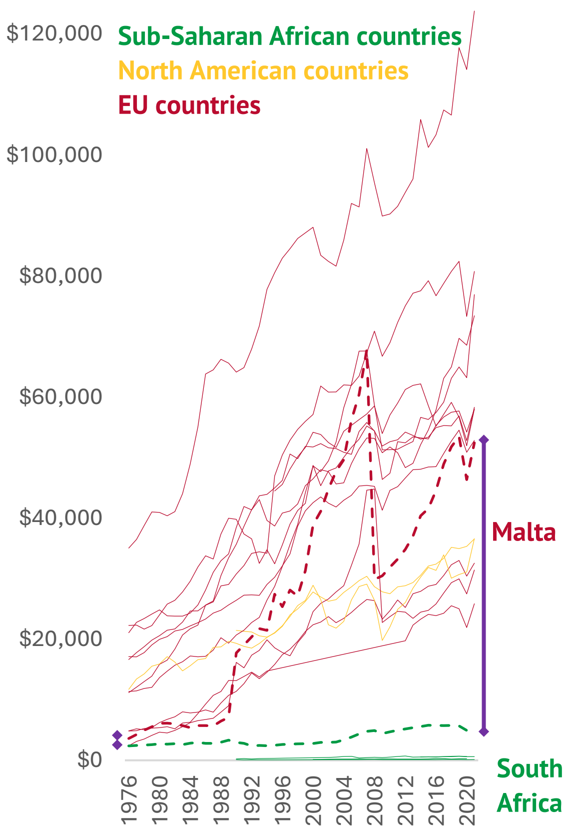
Tax injustice is a central obstacle to greater equality in education and a more equal future for the world. So why is tax revenue on Africa's resources so low and how do exploitative companies get away with stealing the profits from African governments?

UNDER-PRICING

One of the main methods of tax avoidance by multinationals operating in Africa is done by internal transfer pricing. Quite simply, this means that they sell the resources they hold in Africa to their parent company outside of Africa for a fraction of the real price and then pay less in taxes to African governments.

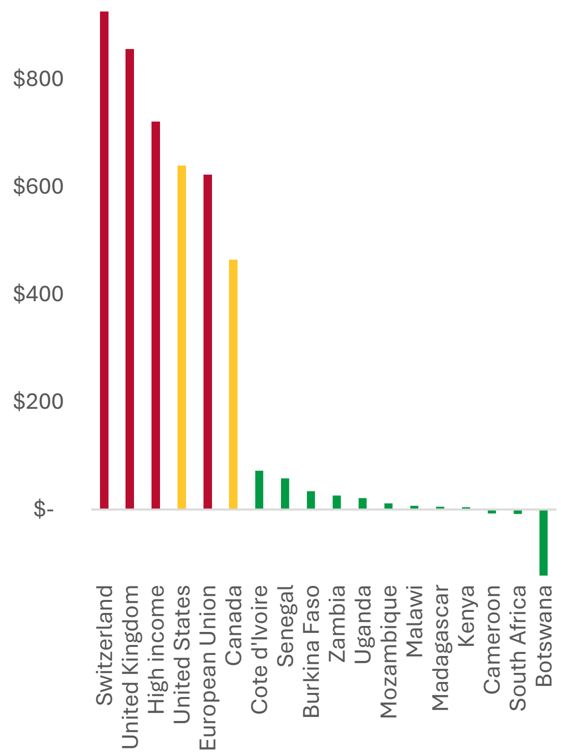
Under-pricing is widespread and it is particularly hard to estimate the revenue lost because the resource is not properly recorded in the African country's GDP. Companies keep records for their auditors in their headquarter countries, but those auditors are under no legal obligation to report it, and they do not.

FIGURE 19: TAX REVENUE PER CHILD (1976-2021), CONSTANT USD, COUNTRIES WITH DATA



Sources: Calculations from World Bank

FIGURE 20: CHANGE IN TAX REVENUE PER PERSON (2015-2021), CONSTANT USD



Sources: Calculations from World Bank

A rare glimpse of the staggering scale of this practice was seen when a 2009 draft audit report concerning Glencore's copper mining in Zambia through the Mopani mine was leaked to an NGO in Belgium[87]. It showed how millions of tonnes of copper had been *undervalued* to such a degree that the Mopani mine was barely covering its costs each year despite making millions for Glencore.

The result was little profits formally declared in Zambia, little tax paid to the Zambian government, little benefit to young people in Zambia from their country's copper.

Action Aid estimated that this single company's practices *"potentially cost the Zambian government up to £76m a year in lost corporation tax"*[88]. With, for once, concrete evidence of the fraud, the Zambian government launched a dispute with the OECD as Glencore's behaviour clearly broke even their tax rules.

However, Glencore just declined to cooperate with the OECD, so the OECD said there was nothing they could do. The OECD's own rules were unenforceable to help non-member country Zambia[89] despite the clear evidence.

It took many years before Glencore's Mopani mine was fined the equivalent of $13 million by the Zambian supreme court,[90] a case belatedly supported by the OECD.

Tax injustice is clearly still a problem as since the SDGs started, over $6 billion more of Zambia's natural resources have been used,[91] and in the same six years, Zambian GDP per person actually fell[92] and 250,000 *more* Zambian children were out of school[93].

Zambia has 11 times the rate of infant mortality[94], 19 times the rate of maternal mortality[95] and less than one two hundredth of the per child education budget[96] of Switzerland where Glencore is based.

Trade data between countries shows the scale of tax avoidance affecting African countries is in the tens of billions of dollars, but despite various AU and UN reports evidencing this, little action to end the injustice has been taken by the rich countries which control the OECD.

The Trade Justice Movement showed that in 2018 alone $21 billion in profits were shifted out of African countries (*Figure 21*). **Over $2 billion a year is still leaving Zambia, more than twice the country's entire education budget[97].**

Since the start of the SDGs in 2015, over $6 billion more of Zambia's natural resources are being utilised in the global economy, but GDP per capita went up only 20 cents and 250,000 more Zambian children are out of school.

A decade after asking for the OECD's help, more than twice Zambia's entire education budget leaves the country each year in profit shifting.

FIGURE 21: PROFITS SHIFTED OUT OF THE COUNTRY IN 2018 (MISALLIGNMENT METHOD)

South Africa	$4,963,000,000
Morocco	$2,966,000,000
Zambia	$2,257,000,000
Congo, Rep.	$1,889,000,000
Egypt	$1,167,000,000
Nigeria	$1,099,000,000
Tunisia	$1,090,000,000
Congo DRC	$650,000,000
Kenya	$447,000,000
Angola	$420,000,000
Cote d'Ivoire	$409,000,000
Mozambique	$389,000,000
Tanzania	$355,000,000
Ghana	$194,000,000
Senegal	$192,000,000
Liberia	$151,000,000

Source: Trade Justice Movement
(Profits based on location minus profits reported)

SHIFTING COSTS IN AND PROFITS OUT

Alongside under-pricing exports from Africa there are also a whole host of other company tax abuses. Many result in the multinational's local offices and companies in Africa paying disproportionately large costs to the multinational's head office outside of Africa.

Doing this to avoid paying tax is already illegal, but it is difficult to stop, especially when the funds are channelled through tax haven countries whose secretive laws allow companies to hide this information. A huge proportion of the multinational investment in Africa is now facilitated via tax havens and economic exploitation is increasing, as unchecked multinational power grows.

Two common examples of costs shifted into Africa are *intercompany debt* and *Intellectual Property (IP) rights*.

With *intercompany debt*, an investment to build a plant or factory in Africa is treated as a loan, not an investment, and the loan interest from the head office is then set at a high and variable rate well above commercial interest rates. Each year, however much income is made by the multinational's company in Africa, the head office charges a similar amount in loan repayments. This ensures they declare a low or zero profit to African tax authorities.

With *IP rights*, the head company charges a large and varying amount for using the company name. Again, this is set at a high enough value year to year so that the company in Africa does not report a taxable profit.

OECD 'TAX REFORM'

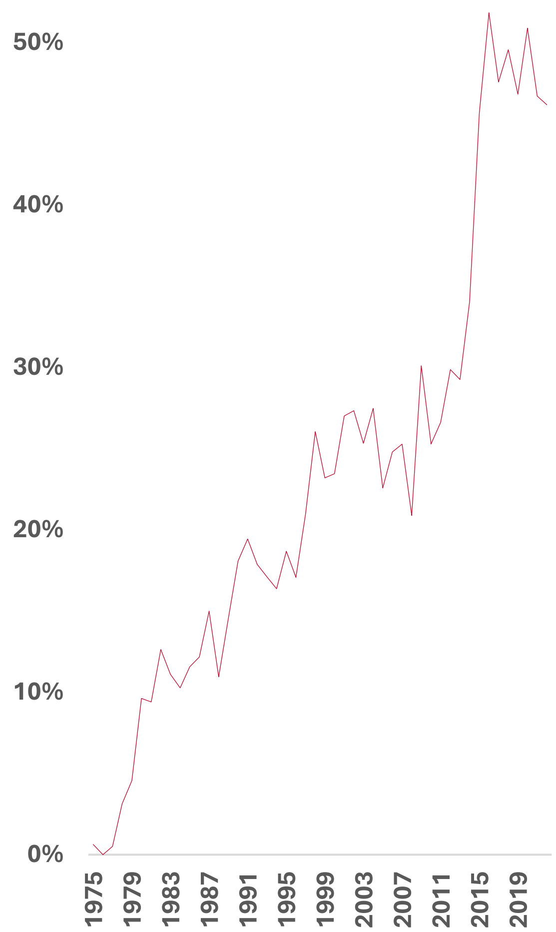
So, if we know how this massive tax injustice happens, how do we stop it? The use of tactics such as these are a major problem, and now even developed countries such as the US are being impacted. Increasing multinational company profit shifting is one of the most understated global trends in recent decades, (*Figure 22*).

Profit shifting was tolerated for decades when it was mainly lower-income countries losing out. However, once many of the largest companies decided they do not want to pay tax anywhere, and it affected the richest countries, things have changed. This trend, combined with new digital services taxes in countries such as Kenya and a call by the Africa Group at the UN for a UN Tax convention, finally led to movement in the OECD.

"The City of London together with the network of UK crown dependencies and overseas territories – is responsible for nearly a third of global revenue losses to corporate tax"

Tax Justice Movement

FIGURE 22: SHARE US MULTINATIONALS' FOREIGN PROFITS BOOKED IN TAX HAVENS, %



Source: EU Tax Observatory

The first page of the new OECD minimum tax agreement states that all extractive industries will simply be excluded from the process.

In 2016, the OECD launched an 'Inclusive Framework' to tackle base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS). Unfortunately, countries outside the OECD could only become full participants in the rule-setting process if they accepted in full the results of the first BEPS process (2013-2015), over which they had no say, *and* if they paid fees to the OECD[98].

Three proposals were made from France, the US, and from developing countries in the G24 group (which includes 11 African countries) and the OECD took on the role of combining them. However, in the OECD's 'unified proposal' six months later '*the content of the G24 proposal was ignored in its entirety*'[99].

This is entirely in keeping for the OECD, an organisation set up by high income countries at the end of the colonial period in 1961, that has ensured global tax affairs were managed in their interests by ignoring many of the tax abuses of high-income countries (*see Box A*).

Regardless of the motivation and the side-lining of the G24 proposal, this process still presented an opportunity for Africa. The US had indicated its willingness to allow a new minimum global corporation tax, meaning African governments might finally receive a fairer share from the extraction of their country's natural resources.

The OECD convened and led the negotiations, and a new global tax rate was agreed upon in return for signatory countries scrapping plans for a digital services tax.

However, as predicted[100], the discussions had side-lined many of the African countries participating in the process. The final agreement set a Global Minium Tax rate at 15%, but with exemptions it is closer to 10% in practice[101]. Additionally, it will only apply to companies with revenue of over $20 billion[102],more than the GDP of 34 African countries, so not many companies will pay it.

The final blow for Africa came on the first page of the new tax agreement, which simply stated that *extractive industries would be excluded* from the process (*Figure 23*). So not only did the OECD ignore the previous G24 group proposal, but it also ensured that the deal would exclude a key issue for many African countries. As a result, many African countries refused to sign the agreement[103]. However, the deal moved ahead anyway.

BOX A: EXTRACTS FROM "LITANY OF FAILURE: THE OECD'S STEWARDSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL TAXATION" REPORT BY TAX JUSTICE MOVEMENT

"Infamously, the OECD's early 2000s 'blacklist' of uncooperative tax jurisdictions failed to include any of its own member states - many of which are among the most pernicious tax havens....The only country the OECD targeted for sanctions on the basis of its tax haven policies is Liberia; a fact that has prompted allegations of racial bias."

"The OECD continues to give a pass to those of its majority-white member nations who facilitate cross-border tax abuse.......Political corruption and transnational organised crime run on the architecture of global financial secrecy, provided by a handful of nations in the Global North, which the OECD BEPS process has signally failed to remedy."

"Indeed 'the UK Spider's Web' – comprising the City of London together with the network of UK crown dependencies and overseas territories – is responsible for nearly a third of global revenue losses to corporate tax abuse. Together with the other countries making up 'the Axis of Tax Avoidance' – former colonial power the Netherlands, along with Switzerland and Luxembourg – it is responsible for 46 percent of total corporate tax revenue losses."

"The United States, as the world's largest provider of financial secrecy services, meanwhile tops the Financial Secrecy Index ranking as the largest provider of 'financial secrecy services' in the world."

"The global tax agreement delivered by the OECD will serve only to reify structures of racial discrimination by maintaining massive outflows of revenue from Global South nations and into the financial centres of the Global North. What meagre impact it would have in curbing cross-border tax abuse by multinational corporations would accrue almost entirely to the same OECD member states which are responsible for facilitating massive levels of international tax abuse in the first place."

Source: **Tax Justice Movement,** Litany of Failure: The OECD's Stewardship Of International Taxation May 2024

TAX INJUSTICE – A NEW HOPE

Motivated in part by the complete failure of the OECD to consider the G24 proposal and its inherent structural bias to high-income countries, the Africa Group[104] at the UN advanced its proposal for a new UN tax convention (a legally binding multilateral instrument) on fairer global tax policy.

After two years, the proposal was finally tabled in November 2023 and a vote was held at the UN[105]. This opportunity was jeopardised by a last-minute wrecking amendment from the UK Government, which tried to remove the word 'Convention' from the motion proposing the UN Tax Convention[106] (*Figure 24*).

The wrecking amendment received support from all the high-income countries in North America and Europe (apart from Norway), who want to retain the current unfair tax system including the OECD's leadership role. However, thankfully the amendment failed and the new UN tax convention is now being negotiated and this will take place over the next couple of years.

We have already seen the same rich countries demand that the convention protects the role of the OECD in global tax rules[107]. These blocking attempts are futile, as it was precisely the problems with the OECD that led to the need for a UN Tax Convention in the first place. The UN is a far more democratic and globally representative space than the OECD, which has no African members.

FAIRER CHOICES: UN TAX CONVENTION

The new UN Tax Convention is a historic opportunity to establish a new rule-based global tax system that allows all governments to receive a fair share of the profits made in their country. **It would make a transformative difference increasing annual education budgets in Africa by billions of dollars and reducing global inequality.**

The UN tax convention hearings have started, and government representatives need to be informed about the views of their citizens on tax justice.

Young people, particularly those living in the richer countries whose governments are trying to weaken the processes, must be actively involved if this exceptional opportunity is to be realised. **The next couple of years present a once in a generation chance to establish fair international tax rules. It must not be missed.**

FIGURE 23: p.1 OECD AGREEMENT ANNOUNCING THE NEW GLOBAL MINIMUM TAX,

The OECD/G20 Inclusive Framework on Base Erosion and Profit Shifting solution to address the tax challenges arising from the digitalisation of components of each Pillar are described in the following paragraphs.

A detailed implementation plan is provided in the Annex.

Pillar One

Scope

In-scope companies are the multinational enterprises (MNEs) with global tu and profitability above 10% (i.e. profit before tax/revenue) calculated using a the turnover threshold to be reduced to 10 billion euros, contingent on succes of tax certainty on Amount A, with the relevant review beginning 7 years aft force, and the review being completed in no more than one year.

Extractives and Regulated Financial Services are excluded.

Source: OECD

FIGURE 24: UK AMMENDMENT, DEC 2023

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: amendment to draft resolution A/C.2/78/L.18/Rev.1

Promotion of inclusive and effective international tax cooperation at the United Nations

Replace operative paragraph 1 with the following text:

1. *Emphasizes* that developing a United Nations framework on international tax cooperation is needed in order to strengthen international tax cooperation and make it fully inclusive and more effective;

Replace operative paragraph 2 with the following text:

2. *Recognizes* that developing a framework will also help in accelerating the implementation of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development;

Replace operative paragraph 3 with the following text:

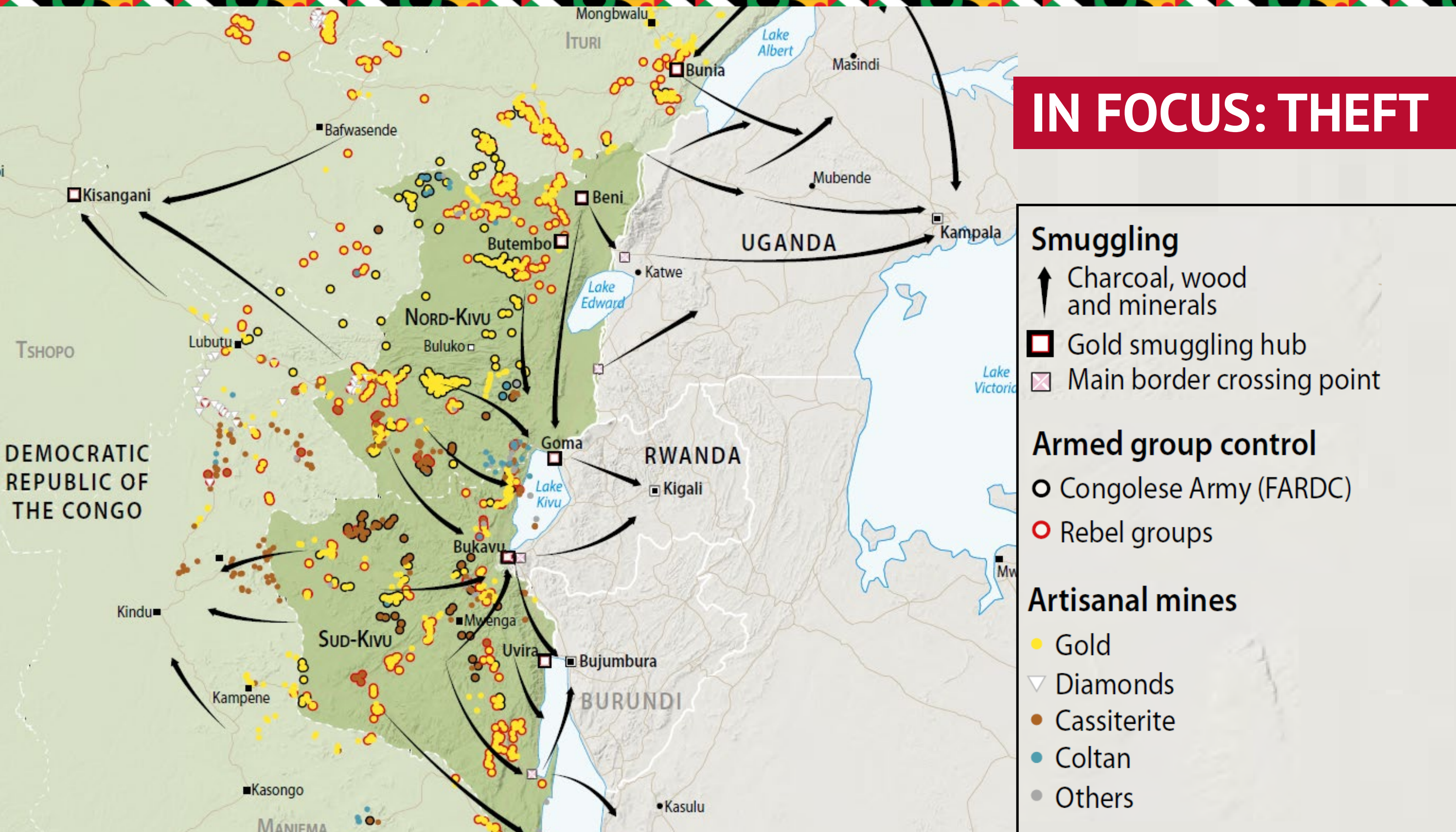
3. *Decides* to establish a Member State-led, open-ended ad hoc intergovernmental committee for the purpose of drafting terms of reference for a United Nations framework on international tax cooperation;

Identical apart from removing the word 'Convention'

Source: United Nations

The next couple of years present a once in a generation chance to establish fair international tax rules. It must not be missed.

IN FOCUS: THEFT



Source: RHIPTO, INTERPOL and Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime

FIGURE 25: MILITIAS, MINERALS AND SUPPLY ROUTES IN EASTERN DRC

African countries and finance ministries also lose tax revenue through theft, with African resources literally stolen, and the goods transported to companies that buy resources through illegal supply chains (minerals like Colton are only stolen to sell to companies).

Most of these stolen minerals end up entering supply chains to rich countries. Sometimes it is initiated by a company, other times companies turn a blind eye to resources sourced from criminal enterprises. **Either way those buying the stolen goods ultimately fund the militias and expand the illegal markets.**

In Eastern DRC alone, the theft is worth hundreds of millions of dollars every year and supports "*well over 25 armed groups continuing to destabilize eastern DRC*"[108]. **Interpol estimates 17% of the income financing non-state armed groups in the world is derived from illegal mining like this**[109].

Instead of the proceeds benefiting young people and financing education in the DRC, the profits are split between foreign companies, foreign countries and militias.

The armed groups then use their proceeds from supply chains to expand operations, deepening the cycle of violence and injustice.

It is not just the DRC, according to the Daphne Project and the Libyan National Oil Corporation, "*about US$750 million to US$1 billion worth of Libyan oil is smuggled to Malta each year*", with the oil "*transferred from ship to ship about 12 miles off the Malta coast*"[110].

A Chatham House report calculated the government losses from illicit hydrocarbon trade from Nigeria between US$3 - $8 billion (2-5 times the Nigerian education budget)[111].

These crimes occur everywhere but they are more costly in Africa and the African authorities have less resources to stop them. The armed groups would not steal the resources if there were not eager buyers.

Companies and countries receiving these stolen goods could do a much stronger job at stopping the theft - they would if it was occurring in their country. The new EU supply chain act is a start, but it needs to be adopted globally and urgently strengthened.

DEBT INJUSTICE

Unfortunately tax is not the only injustice damaging education in Africa, debt is also a critical issue.

Debt servicing, the amount a country has to pay in a year to service its debts, is now at **the highest level ever recorded for lower income countries** [112] and the crisis is particularly affecting African countries.

Annual debt servicing costs for low and middle income countries in sub-Saharan Africa have trebled in just a decade to $100 billion a year (*Figure 26*). This is now more than is spent on education in sub-Saharan Africa[113].

This means African countries not only have a lower GDP, and governments a lower tax revenue, than they should but a huge portion of government budgets, ***worth $80 per African each year,***[114] are now spent on debt servicing. Debt repayments are now significantly more than aid, which sees $49 per person[115] being transferred into Africa each year (*see page 39 for more on aid*).

The trend in constant USD is similar as can be seen in *Figure 27* which shows in 14 African countries debt servicing has increased by over 500% since 2011.

HOW DID THE DEBT CRISIS DEVELOP?

In the 2010s additional lending by commercial investors seeking high returns in a period of low interest rates, saw a significant increase in private sector lending to countries in Africa and elsewhere. There was also extra lending by multilaterals and governments with China joining high income countries in lending large amounts.

Interest rates started to climb from 2015 particularly for African countries and then they were then hit by a succession of global crises. These included the Covid-19 pandemic and the invasion of Ukraine leading to a huge fuel price surge with the "*greatest global food security of our time*"[116], and the worst droughts in four decades that "*would not have been possible without climate change*"[117].

These series of crises drove up interest rates, and though all countries were impacted, it created a perfect storm for lower income countries who are much more vulnerable to the external shocks from these crises yet were left out of global responses. We look at four of the most critical factors in turn.

FIGURE 26: DEBT SERVICING COSTS, LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, CURRENT USD, 2011-2023

Source: World Bank

FIGURE 27: INCREASE IN DEBT SERVICING COSTS, % CHANGE IN CONSTANT USD, 2011-22

Uganda	1655%
Togo	1521%
Tanzania	1125%
Central African Republic	966%
Benin	892%
Rwanda	826%
Lesotho	782%
Ghana	680%
Angola	555%
Congo, Rep.	553%
Senegal	547%
Sierra Leone	539%
Cameroon	513%
Kenya	505%

Source: Calculations from World Bank

1) DISCRIMINATORY COVID RESPONSE DROVE DEBT

The COVID pandemic decimated the income that the loans were expected to generate. **Even by the end of 2024, low and middle-income country economic activity is projected to still be five percent below pre-pandemic projections[118].**

Everyone was affected by COVID, but the world's unequal response ensured Africa suffered twice over. A major cause of the acute debt crisis now is that sub-Saharan Africa was shockingly ignored in the G7's $12 trillion 'global agenda for action'[119] pandemic response, receiving just 0.1% of it in increased aid (ODA) in 2020[120] (*Figure 28*). The airline industry bailout alone was six times larger[121].

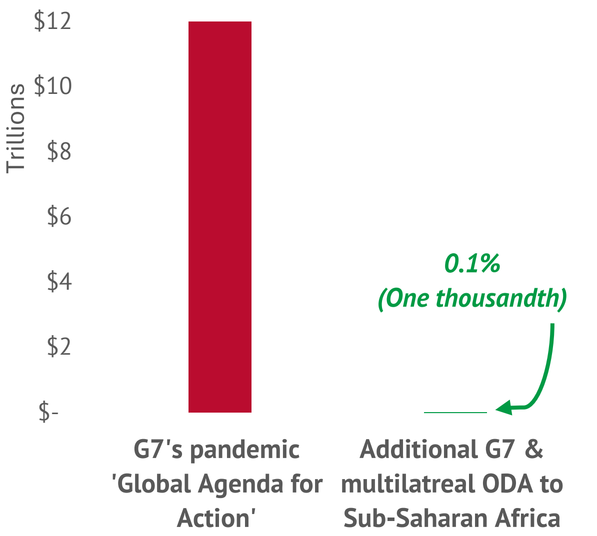
It was an appalling decision, just like the immoral choice by rich countries to hoard vaccines whilst simultaneously choosing to reject African requests to at least share how to make the vaccines for over a year (blocked particularly by Germany, UK and Switzerland)[122]. The 'skyrocketed' revenues of rich country Pharma companies, (*Figure 29*), helps explains why; Pfizer, BioNTech, and Moderna made $1,000 profit every *second* between them in 2021[123].

The resultant vaccine inequality could not be clearer (*Figure 30*). As the *Justice for Africa's Children* report in 2023 demonstrated: '*humanity faced a common enemy like never before with COVID-19, but our response was to leave the poorest to fend for themselves*'[124].

For just one week of the G7 COVID emergency funding, all low-income country debt could have been cancelled[125].

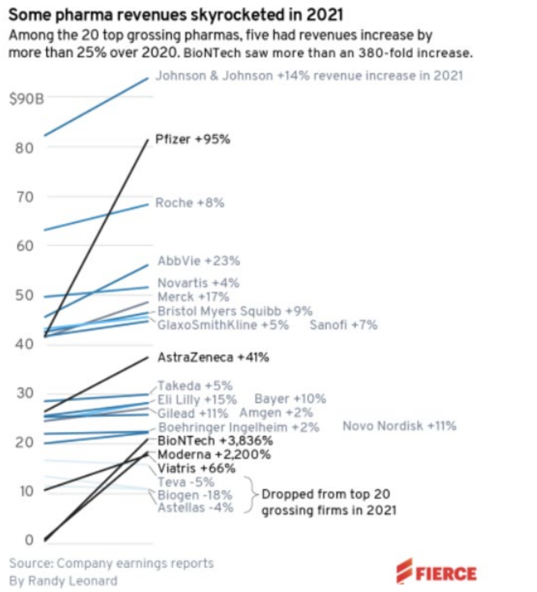
Instead G7 countries committed even more active harm. Directly with the UK slashing ODA to Africa by 65 percent since 2019 despite the pandemic[126], and indirectly with the quantitative easing[127] funding given to the banking sector and their shareholders in rich countries.

FIGURE 28: G7 GLOBAL AGENDA FOR ACTION V'S LOW/LOWER-MIDDLE INCOME EXTRA ODA



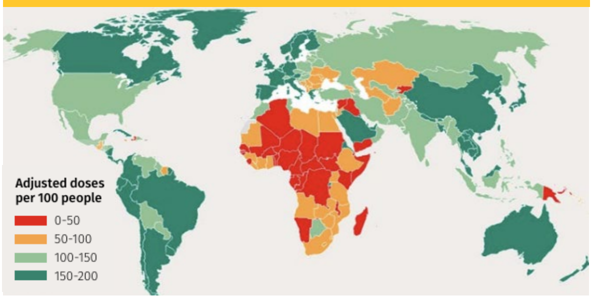
Sources: US Government & OECD

FIGURE 29: PHARMA REVENUE CHANGES 2021



Source: Fierce Pharma

FIGURE 30: PRIMARY DOSES COVID-19 VACINE ADMINISTERED PER 100 PEOPLE, SEP 2022



Source: OWID, WPP

2) 'QUANTITATIVE EASING'

A significant proportion of reckless lending has originated from rich country '*Quantitative Easing*'. This is when governments create new money to prevent a liquidity crisis (a shortage of money in the economy).

The money in quantitative easing is often created by governments buying their own government's bonds from their own country's banks. This boosts the income of the rich country's banks, and their shareholders, and gives them more money to lend.

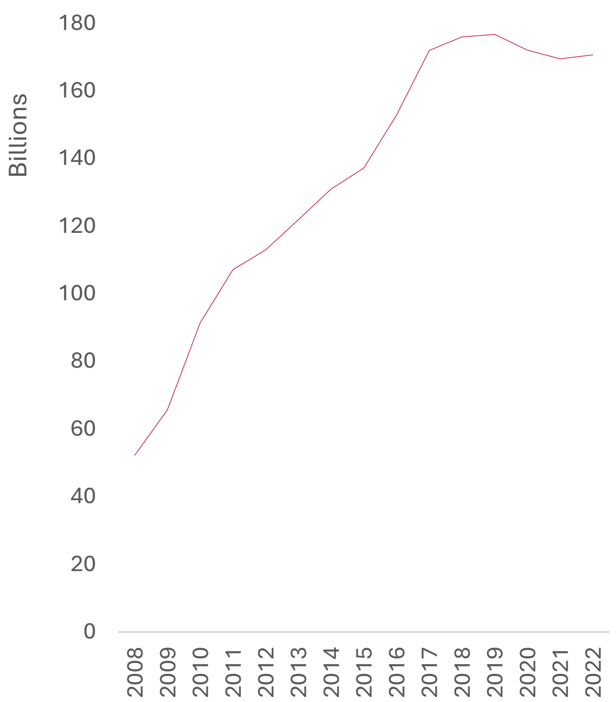
There have been two major rounds of quantitative easing by rich countries this century, the first in 2008-2012 was worth $5.5 trillion in the US and UK alone, and the second during the COVID pandemic saw high income countries give another $10 trillion to their banks. These quantitative easing programmes were not trivial sums. the latter increased the *global* money supply by 30 percent in just two years[128].

The knock-on effects on Africa are shockingly under researched but it is clear the first issue in 2008-2010 led to artificially cheap credit for countries. Banks sought to utilise their extra resources and so there was a huge rush in rich countries lending money by making bond purchases across the developing world. The price of borrowing fell and the volume sharply increased (*Figure 31*) to a reckless level that could not withstand interest rates later returning to normal.

By the second set of rich country quantitative easing during the pandemic there was already a sovereign debt crisis so there was not an increase in lending to Africa. However, the huge increase in the money supply had an inflationary impact "*two to four times larger than those of conventional monetary policy*"[129].

The subsequent additional rise in US interest rates to counter the inflation, caused a major depreciation in the value of African currencies which fell by a sixth between January 2022 and July 2023[130]. With 60 percent of public debt held in USD[131], this alone led "*to the region's rise in public debt by about 10 percentage points of GDP on average*"[132] in 2022.

FIGURE 31: PRIVATE DEBT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, CURRENT USD



Source: World Bank

3) SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

The effect of quantitative easing might not have been so one sided if all countries were able to increase their money supply. The IMF recognised that lower-income countries, who also had a liquidity crisis, could not do that. So to help them, the IMF decided to act like a central bank for the world and issue $650 billion in **Special Drawing Rights (SDRs)**.

This is another complicated term that is an important factor in the current debt crisis. In effect SDRs are issued by the IMF and can be exchanged for any national currency, so releasing $650 billion in SDRs was a way to help all countries secure more of their currency.

This was a far smaller amount of money than the trillions rich countries had created for themselves, but still significant and looked like some much-needed good news for lower income countries during the pandemic, particularly those in Africa who had been so discriminated against in the initial global COVID response.

Then UK finance minister Rishi Sunak, chair of the 2021 G20 pre-meeting, boasted the announcement on SDRs "*paves the way for crucial and concerted* ***action to support the world's low-income countries***"[133]. Later, IMF Managing Director Kristalina Georgieva highlighted "*it will* ***particularly help our most vulnerable countries*** *struggling to cope with the impact of COVID-19*"[134].

However, having enjoyed the complimentary headlines, *Figure 32*, the UK and other rich countries that control the IMF decided shamefully to keep most of the money for themselves. *Figure 33* shows how much the SDR allocation was worth per person, **$20 per African, yet 19 times more per European.**

After this reprehensible decision, the IMF Managing Director and French President Macron tried to persuade rich countries to reallocate 15% of SDRs back to low-income countries. After two years this was finally agreed though some countries may not deliver.

Even if it finally happens, it is via IMF control and African per person IMF allocations will *still be* less than 10% of European allocations (a lower weighting than the infamous US three-fifths clause)[135].

When the IMF acts like a central bank for the world, creating money with an emergency issue of SDR, allocating it this way is discriminatory. It should have been ringfenced for lower income countries, or at the very least distributed according to population, but it was not. Who made this decision? The very same rich countries who benefited from it.

High income countries have enough votes to control the IMF, for example the UK and Belgium have more votes at the IMF than all the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa put together, as they have since colonial times[136].

Giving almost all the SDRs to the richest countries was not only immoral but made the debt crisis much worse; as a result African countries lost out on $83 billion[137]. Indeed, if the 2021 emergency IMF SDR issue had been ringfenced for low and lower middle-income countries, African countries would have received $192 billion, enough to cancel all low-income country debt in Africa[138]. **It is an injustice that can only be corrected by a balancing SDR issue.**

FIGURE 32: UK GOVERNMENT RELEASE ON SDR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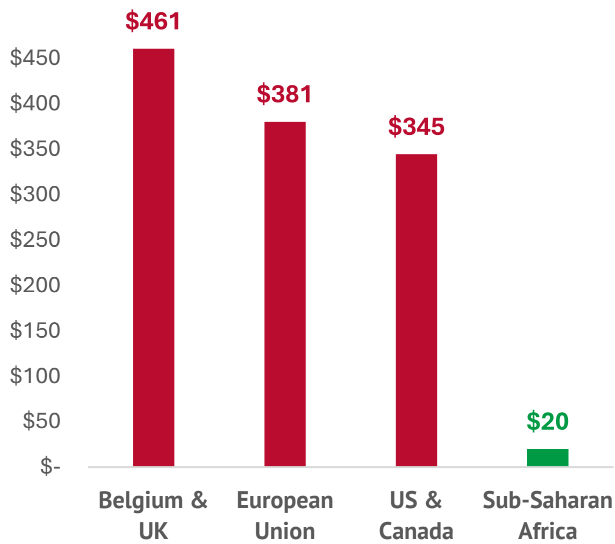
News story

Chancellor and G7 Finance Ministers agree milestone support for vulnerable countries

Chancellor Rishi Sunak and his G7 counterparts today agreed to back proposals for vulnerable countries to receive further financial support during the global pandemic (19 March).

Source: UK Government

FIGURE 33: IMF SDR ALLOCATION PER PERSON



Source: International Monetary Fund & World Bank

> *"In any national political system, we would reject the notion that rich people should have more voting power than poor people, and more influence over economic policy decisions. We would see this as corrupt and morally repulsive. And yet such plutocracy is normalised in the World Bank and the IMF."*
>
> ***Dr Jason Hinkel***

> *"We need to reform a morally bankrupt global financial system. The system was created by rich countries to benefit rich countries. Practically no African country was sitting at the table of Bretton Woods Agreement; and in many other parts of the world, decolonization had not taken place. It perpetuates poverty and inequalities."*
>
> ***UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres***

4) INVASION OF UKRAINE

The fourth crisis has been Russia's invasion of Ukraine which has had major consequences, further driving up inflation in commodity and food prices[139].

In East Africa, the World Food Programme reported the price of a local basket of food had increased by more than 55 percent in a year[140] following the invasion of Ukraine. (This was also exacerbated by the impact of the climate crisis which can also be considered an external factor, see *page 43* for more on climate).

A 2024 ODI report on the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on Africa estimates African annual GDP losses will be greater than $7 billion and that "*Global commodity price increases also prompted an increase in interest rates in high-income countries, which in turn triggered personl outflows, exchange rate depreciation and higher borrowing costs for many African countries"*[141].

Many African governments should not have borrowed that scale of money, but it is clear that the returns on the investments have been devastated by factors outside of African government control.

Sometimes by design, sometimes by indifference, the actions of the richest countries have created in a few short years the largest debt crisis in history and young people in Africa are paying the price.

The IMF, and the rich countries controlling the IMF, must recognise their role and the exceptional circumstances and support an emergency SDR release to cancel the debt.

HAS THE DEBT CRISIS HIT AFRICA THE MOST?

Some of the injustices do affect other regions, and the debt response must be applied to all affected low and lower-middle income countries, but the unique combination has unquestionably affected Africa the most.

Of the nine countries the IMF themselves assess as in debt distress (unable to pay their debts) seven are African and a majority of high-risk countries are African.

In total, 38 of 48 sub-Saharan countries (79%) are either in debt distress or at high or medium risk (*Figure 34*).

It is even more one sided in terms of the number of people affected. **95% of those living in countries in debt distress are African and 90% of all the people living in a country at high or medium risk are also African[142].**

Such a large proportion of the countries in unsustainable debt are African that it could be called the Africa Debt Crisis.

FIGURE 34: AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN DEBT DISTRESS OR AT HIGH OR MEDIUM RISK, IMF

Medium Risk	High Risk	In Debt Distress
Benin	Burundi	Congo, Rep.
Burkina Faso	Cameroon	Ghana
Cabo Verde	Chad	Malawi
DRC	CAR	Sao Tome & Pr.
Cote d'Ivoire	Comoros	Sudan
Guinea	Djibouti	Zambia
Lesotho	Ethiopia	Zimbabwe
Liberia	The Gambia	
Madagascar	Guinea-Bis.	
Mali	Kenya	
Mauritania	Mozambique	
Niger	Sierra Leone	
Rwanda	South Sudan	
Senegal		
Somalia		
Tanzania		
Togo		
Uganda		

Source: **IMF**

DID AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS BORROW MORE?

Given the debt crisis has affected African governments, you might think that African governments borrowed more. However, governments in African developing countries borrowed less than other developing countries.

Debt has increased across all developing countries, but rose much faster outside of sub-Saharan Africa in total (*Figure 35*) *and* per person[143].

However, due to the other historical and modern injustices, Africa's GDP per person is much smaller. So, *the increases have been higher in percentage terms* for African developing countries than others. This is true across low-income, lower-middle income and upper-middle income countries (*Figure 36*).

African countries also have had much less capacity to respond to the crises and have been the hardest hit by them.

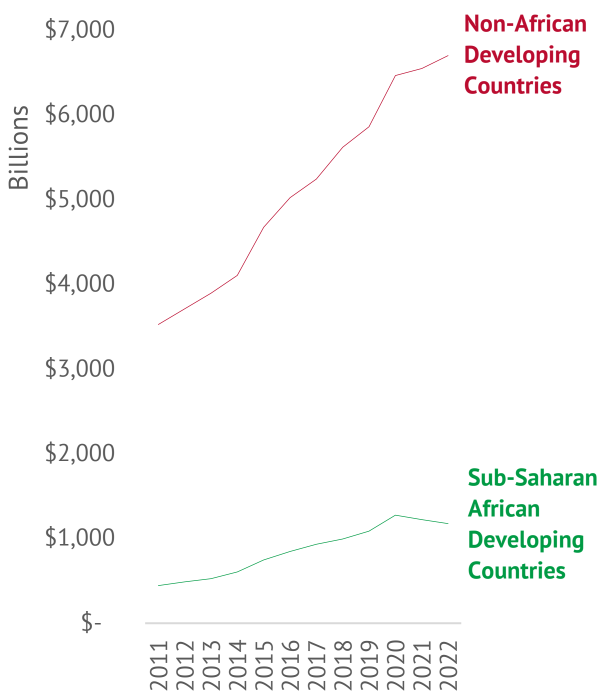
The worldwide spike in interest payments affected African countries first. The market for government bonds closed up first in Africa and there has been a more immediate impact on African government budgets.

The debt crisis has been devastating the lives of young people in Africa for several years now, but there has been a lot of indifference to the hardship faced and very little action. Over a hundred million African children are now growing up in countries where their government is effectively bankrupt.

Some may ask if the debt crisis would be a bigger issue, and whether the world would be doing more if people in other parts of the world were equally affected.

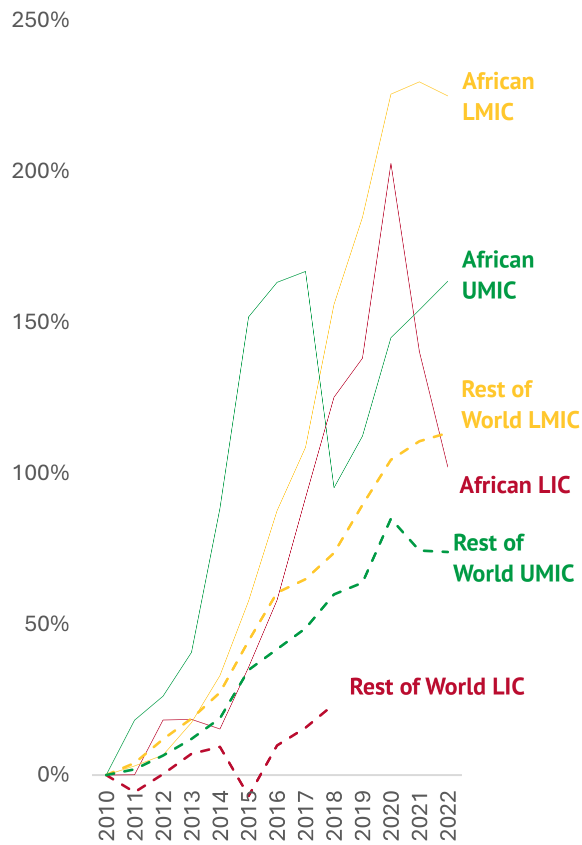
It has been said that leaving the unsustainable debt in place will be death by a thousand cuts. Given that **in the indebted African countries at risk, some 1.9 million young children died unnecessarily from poverty in 2021**[144], death by a million cuts might be more accurate.

FIGURE 35: DEVELOPING COUNTRY DEBT, $



Sources: IMF & *World Bank*

FIGURE 36: DEVELOPING COUNTRY DEBT, %



Source: IMF

IN FOCUS: IMF BAILOUTS FOR WHO?

The 12 Managing Directors of the IMF so far – can you spot the pattern in the locations of their countries?

Even though lower income countries have to pay much higher interest rates, when something goes wrong, such as crops failing or an investment not succeeding, their creditors do not always lose out (as they would with a failed business investment).

Instead, when action is finally taken, the IMF comes in and bails the creditors out (it is called a country bail out, but the truth is overseas creditors are the ones who are paid by the IMF). The low-income country then repays the IMF over a longer time period, so another generation of children suffer.

Why are the IMF so focused on paying off creditors rather than pushing for debt cancellation when an investment fails or loans become unpayable? The location of these creditors and the make-up of the IMF's shareholders are important factors.

The IMF is controlled by the world's richest countries, as it has been since it was founded in colonial times. This is unjust and affects how and for whom the IMF is run. For example, in 78 years the Managing Director of the IMF has always been selected by European countries (as part of a 'gentleman's agreement'[145] where the US selects the World Bank President)[146].

Managing Director Images courtesy of Wikimedia commons except for Ivor Rooth ***CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 on Flickr***

The control by the richest countries means too often the IMF engages with debt problems from the perspective of looking after creditors rather than truly helping the country in crisis. Ensuring creditors are repaid as much as possible is the priority and instead of full cancellation, most of the debt is left in place.

Under pressure African finance ministers and central banks are understandably keen to avoid a 'default' (where they cannot pay debt that is due), but it is not in the countries long term interest to indebt the next generation to long term IMF loans.

This can also mean harmful conditions by the IMF, including limits on education and other social spending. An EI, ActionAid and PSI report in 2021 highlighted that "***IMF austerity cuts in just 15 countries blocked the recruitment of over three million nurses, teachers and other essential public sector workers, undermining progress on health, education and gender while blocking climate action in some of the world's poorest countries"[147].***

The situation is critical. Instead of controlling countries for another generation, the IMF and the rich countries that run it must support a major debt cancellation to reset after the pandemic.

IN FOCUS: PRIVATE SOVEREIGN DEBT IN AFRICA

Image in *Public Domain*, *Sourced from* *PickPic.com*

Private sovereign debt has trebled in the last 15 years (*Figure 34)*. For example, Glencore (yes the same Glencore) is the largest private external creditor to Chad[148], giving it undue influence over the government. Glencore also held up the debt relief deal eventually agreed by the G20 countries in 2022[149] (Chad is one of the only four countries helped so far by the G20's common framework).

At the time Tim Jones, head of policy at Debt Justice, said "*The consortium of lenders led by Glencore must be laughing all the way to the bank. They've delayed the debt relief process for the last 18 months. During that time the IMF loans have effectively been paying them off. Their reward is to keep being paid off in full"*[150].

Another major company, Blackrock is the largest known holder of debt in poorer countries and is the largest private bondholder in Zambia[151]. It refused a request to suspend debt repayments in 2020 at the height of the pandemic, though thankfully it finally relented to pressure in March 2024.

This corporate control of debt also raises concerns of African government autonomy as it gives those companies great control when negotiating other contracts with the same countries.

For example, Friends of the Earth assessed that BlackRock owns more oil, gas, and thermal coal reserves than any other investment management company with total reserves amounting to 30 percent of total energy-related emissions from 2017[152].

Debt for years has been used by other countries to control and influence African countries. The then President of Burkina Faso Thomas Sankara said "*Debt is a cleverly managed reconquest of Africa*"[153] as long ago as the 1980s. It should not be a surprise if companies, many larger than most African countries, now try to have the same control.

This is why a sovereign debt mechanism is so essential; companies with mining interests and rogue debt traders cannot be allowed to hold bankrupt countries to ransom.

EVEN WORSE TO COME

Unbelievably, the debt crisis it is now set to get much worse. In a new report, the World Bank predicts the crisis will become even more critical in the next two years.

The World Bank's *International Debt Report, (Box B)*[154], released in Dec 2023, focuses mainly on low and middle-income countries (LMICs), and only rarely breaks out the specific crisis facing Africa or its impact on Africans, but nevertheless it is a concerning assessment.

It identifies how knock-on effects from richer countries will drive debt costs up even further for developing countries stating that "*Monetary tightening in advanced economies has adverse effects*"[155] and will "*exacerbate vulnerabilities*" in low and middle income countries "*by putting pressure on domestic financial systems via currency depreciation, ... the potential for currency crises..... tighter financial conditions... and by depressing external demand*"[156].

Long term debt flows are at "*record lows and turning negative for the first time since the beginning of the millennium*"[157]. This will continue to worsen due to elevated interest rates which in the US have been "*the sharpest in nearly four decades*"[158]. This is a particular problem as a large share of African debt is in US dollars.

The World Bank expects interest costs to continue to grow for poorer countries and assess that *"Repayments on publicly guaranteed debt are expected to increase by 56% in the next two years"*[159]. This will be a calamity unless action is taken to cancel the debt. There will be major consequences for governments and millions more young people pushed into extreme poverty with fatal results.

Even this bleak prediction may well be an underestimate, as the World Bank notes "*Risks to the outlook in LMICs are tilted to the downside. They include elevated geopolitical tensions, a heightened risk of financial stress, persistent inflation, and weaker external demand*"[160].

"*There hasn't been a single dollar of debt relief from the [G20] common framework*" World Bank's chief economist in April 2024

BOX B: EXTRACT WORLD BANK'S INTERNATIONAL DEBT REPORT, DEC 2023

"Total net debt flows to LMICs turned negative in 2022 with outflows policy in advanced economies to curb inflation raised borrowing costs, pricing some LMICs out of the markets...as a result, there was a net outflow of US$127.1 billion from LMICs to bondholders in 2022".

"Debt service payments by LMICs are the highest level in history, and are forecast to continue to grow. ... Over the decade, the number of low-income countries with an external debt-to-export earnings ratio that exceeded 300 percent rose from two to eight in 2022 (Burundi, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Sudan, and Uganda)." [These are all African countries but the report does not note this].

"The amount to service external PPG debt for the next two years will increase by 39 percent in low-income countries relative to the amount for the previous two years".

[Principal repayments] "*are expected to rise by 56 percent over the same period*".

"This increase takes place during a time of rising interest rates and largely unfavorable exchange rate movements, which exacerbated the fiscal burden of external debt service payments. As a result, servicing external debt could become increasingly burdensome for many LMICs and could crowd out spending on other priorities."

Source: **World Bank,** International Debt Report 2023 ©*Washington, DC: http://hdl.handle.net/10986/40670*
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The World Bank expects principal repayments "*to rise by 56 percent*" in the next two years.

IMPACT ON EDUCATION

The debt crisis has already affected education budgets in many African countries. In 2012, the amount of money spent by African governments on debt was around half of the money spent on education. It is now over 100% and growing (*Figure 37*).

If we consider some of the individual countries who are in debt distress or at high risk of it, the trend of debt payments overtaking education spending is even clearer (*Figure 38*). We can see how sharply debt has risen, it is now nearly twice the education budget in Rwanda, Congo and Cameroon and will be worse when data is updated.

Those paying for the debt crisis include the African children who no longer have a teacher to learn from or classroom to go to. Millions of African children due to start school this year have lived their whole lives with their country trapped in unsustainable debt.

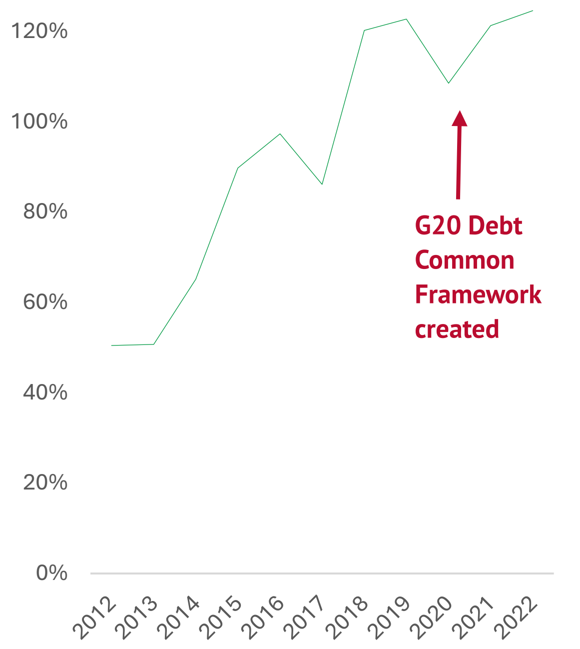
This is already the worst debt crisis there has ever been. With repayments increasing by 50% in the next two years it is so unsustainable that the only option is to cancel the debt. The only question is how many will have to suffer, and for how long, before the debt is cancelled?

Recent protests in Kenya have seen scores killed as the President tried to raise taxes to pay for debt that takes 61 cents in every dollar raised in tax[161] It is immoral and outrageous that rich countries continue to expect Kenya to make this level of debt repayments given that the debt is unsustainable, it was recklessly lent and the debt crisis has been exacerbated by rich country policies.

The G20 common framework on debt, introduced in 2020 to help mitigate the crisis, has not made any noticeable difference to education. It has helped only four countries in four long years and has even left much of the debt in place. In April 2024, the World Bank's chief economist highlighted how "*there has not been a single dollar of debt relief from the common framework*"[162].

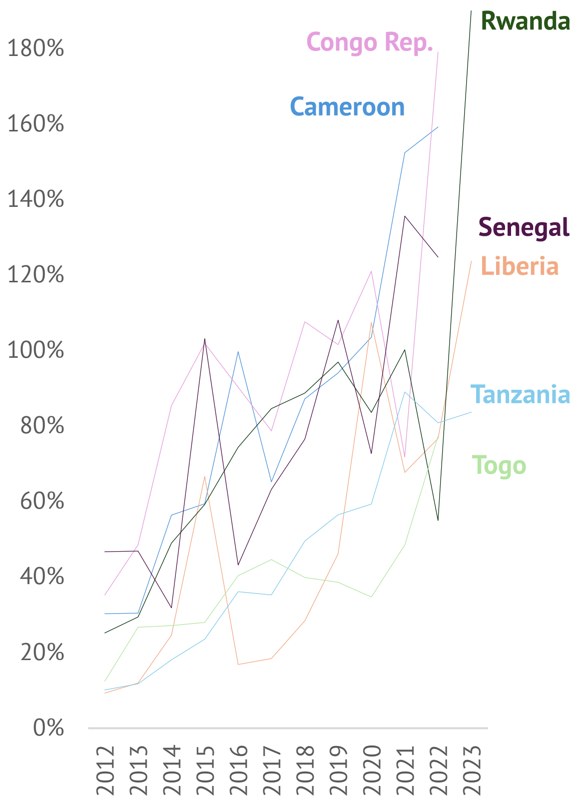
There are over 100 million African children out of school, yet two billion dollars a week is paid in debt repayments by African governments. Wealth in high income countries has increased by $9 trillion since 2012. **How rich do wealthy countries need to be before the injustice ends?**

FIGURE 37: ANNUAL DEBT SERVICING TO EDUCATION EXPENDITURE RATIO, SUB-SAHARAN LOW AND MIDDLE -INCOME COUNTRIES



Source: World Bank

FIGURE 38: ANNUAL DEBT SERVICING TO EDUCATION RATIO



Source: World Bank

REFORM THE DEBT SYSTEM

Reform to the debt system is dangerously long overdue. Countries need to be able to borrow money, but there also has to be changes in how sovereign debt is managed and guaranteed.

The percentage growth of external debt has significantly outstripped Gross National Income growth in sub-Saharan Africa in the last decade which demonstrates how most of the loans did not deliver a sufficient GNI return. When investments in business do not work out, investors lose money, the same must apply to investments in countries.

Whereas companies and individuals can go bankrupt, there is not anything that can restructure sovereign debt in the way corporate bankruptcy laws and judicial processes can restructure debt (such as a Chapter 11 in the US).

A sovereign debt restructuring mechanism (SDRM) was proposed over 20 years ago at the IMF but was not agreed[163].

Some of the debt was not even borrowed in a transparent and democratic manner such as in Mozambique[164]. It should be a simple rule that future citizens of a country only pay back debt if it was approved by the legislature and published at the time.

In its International Debt Report, the World Bank offers advice that is bordering on patronising, the World Bank says that "*the challenge* [for poorer countries] *is to redirect spending to areas in need*"[165] and "*improving government spending efficiency*"[166].

When countries have 1% of the government budget per person of high-income countries and have faced crippling debt repayments for several years whilst the G20 protects only themselves, it's an understatement to say this advice is not that useful.

The IMF, the World Bank and the rich countries controlling them have to act on the scale of this crisis they have helped cause before we see more young people die from the drastic budget cuts and the protests against them. The debt is not sustainable, and it must now be cancelled before we sacrifice the future of another generation.

FAIRER CHOICES: DEBT JUSTICE

The IMF should undertake a Special Drawing Rights allocation, ringfenced for low- and lower-middle income countries, that tops up their 2021 emergency SDR allocations to match the $362 per person high income countries received (page 31).

This would provide enough financing to cancel all the low-income country debt and almost half of lower middle-income debt in Africa.

It would provide a funding boost to all poorer countries in the world and would have less than 10% of the impact on global money supply than rich country quantitative easing did.

It is important to change the IMF voting system as well but equality in new *Special Drawing Rights* allocations at least ensures that when the IMF acts as a central bank for the world in issuing emergency liquidity, it is distributed fairly.

The G20 central bank meeting must consider the impacts of their policies on low-income countries and include poorer countries in all future global responses to crises. Increasing the money supply in richer countries only, can have a negative impact on the resources held by other economies

For sovereign debt to be repayable by future citizens it must be published at the time and approved by the correct authority. There needs to be a publicly accessible registry of loan and debt data created and housed in a permanent institution and debt courts in high income countries should not enforce any debt which was borrowed incorrectly.

The G20 debt initiative has failed, in part because of their inability to coordinate across the broad range of creditors. To stop a debt crisis recurring in the future, a sovereign debt mechanism must be established that will mitigate future problems and apply for any countries that go bankrupt. It will slightly increase the price of future borrowing as lenders price in the risk, but it will help ensure no more generations are trapped for years and decades with unsustainable debt.

AID DISCRIMINATION & BROKEN PROMISES

A third major injustice affecting education in Africa is the discrimination and broken promises by high income countries on aid.

DEVELOPMENT FINANCING TARGET

In 1970, the UN General Assembly agreed on a target for aid from donor countries of 0.7% of GNI[167]. As the OECD states this commitment "*has been repeatedly re-endorsed at the highest level at international aid and development conferences ... in 2005, the 15 countries that were members of the European Union by 2004 agreed to reach the target by 2015*" and "*the 0.7% target served as a reference for 2005 political commitments to increase ODA from the EU, the G8 Gleneagles Summit and the UN World Summit*"[168].

If you look how the world has performed since the 2005 G8 meeting, you can see how little progress has been made (*Figure 40*). Despite the commitments, in 54 years, the donor average has never come close to meeting the target. Unfortunately, this broken promise on Overseas Development Aid (ODA) is exacerbated by the appalling way that the aid is distributed even when it is delivered.

DISCRIMINATORY AID ALLOCATIONS

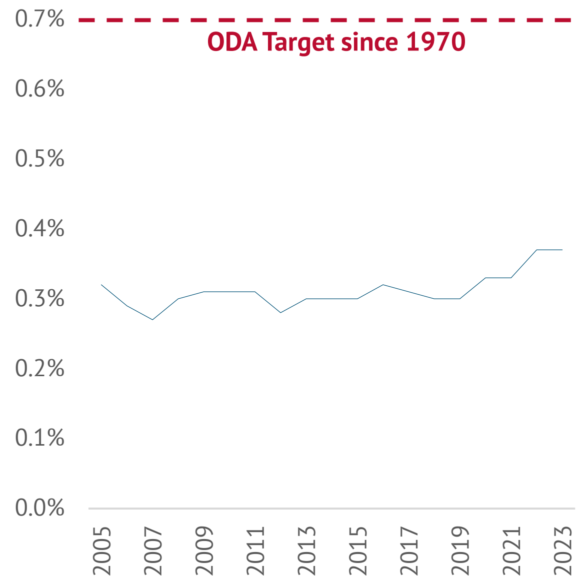
Although people think and expect that aid must go to the poorest people and countries, most of it is allocated not by need, but by rich country foreign policy interests. Indeed, a large proportion of overseas aid is simply misleading as *it never even goes overseas*[169].

The OECD defines ODA as *"government aid that promotes and specifically targets the economic development and welfare of developing countries" and* boasts its donors *"**adopted ODA as the 'gold standard' of foreign aid**"*[170].

If we look what has happened to the share of ODA to sub-Saharan Africa since 2005 the trend is very clear (*Figure 38*). **The share of donor ODA going to sub-Saharan Africa has fallen by nearly half whilst the share of the world's poor that live in sub-Saharan Africa has doubled.**

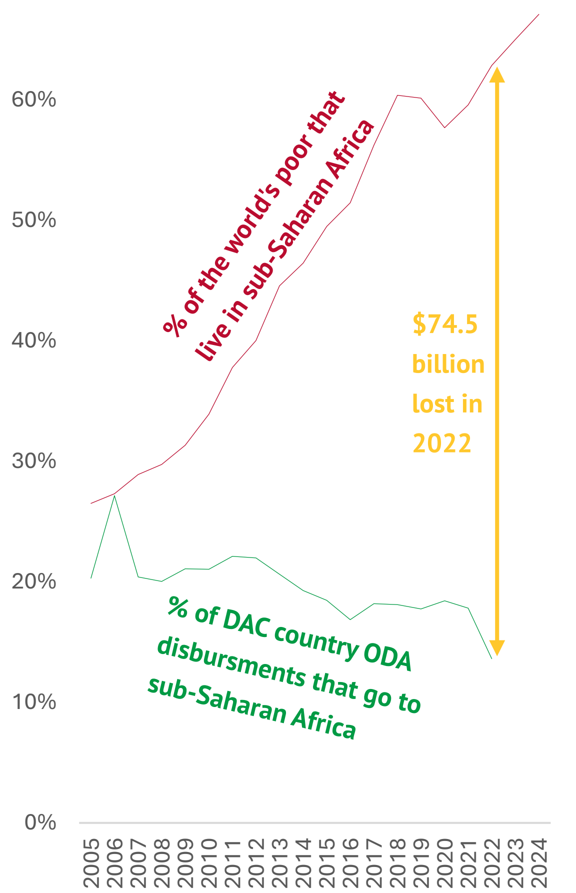
In 2022, sub-Saharan Africa received just 18% of all donor ODA yet it now has 67% of the world's poorest people (those who live on less than $2.15 a day) [171]. **This aid discrimination is a new trend and has cost Africa over 250 billion dollars since the start of the SDGs alone.**

FIGURE 39: DONOR COUNTRY ODA AS A % GNI



Source: OECD

FIGURE 40: % ODA & % OF THE WORLD'S POOR THAT LIVE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, 2005-22



Source: OECD & World Bank

A NEW FAIR SHARE TARGET FOR AFRICA: 0.3% GNI

The *proportion* of aid to Africa although an informative measure, does not take into account the additional broken promises on *how much* aid donors give which makes the situation for African countries even worse.

We need a new aid target specifically for sub-Saharan Africa. How much should be going to sub-Saharan Africa if donors met the 0.7% GNI ODA target?

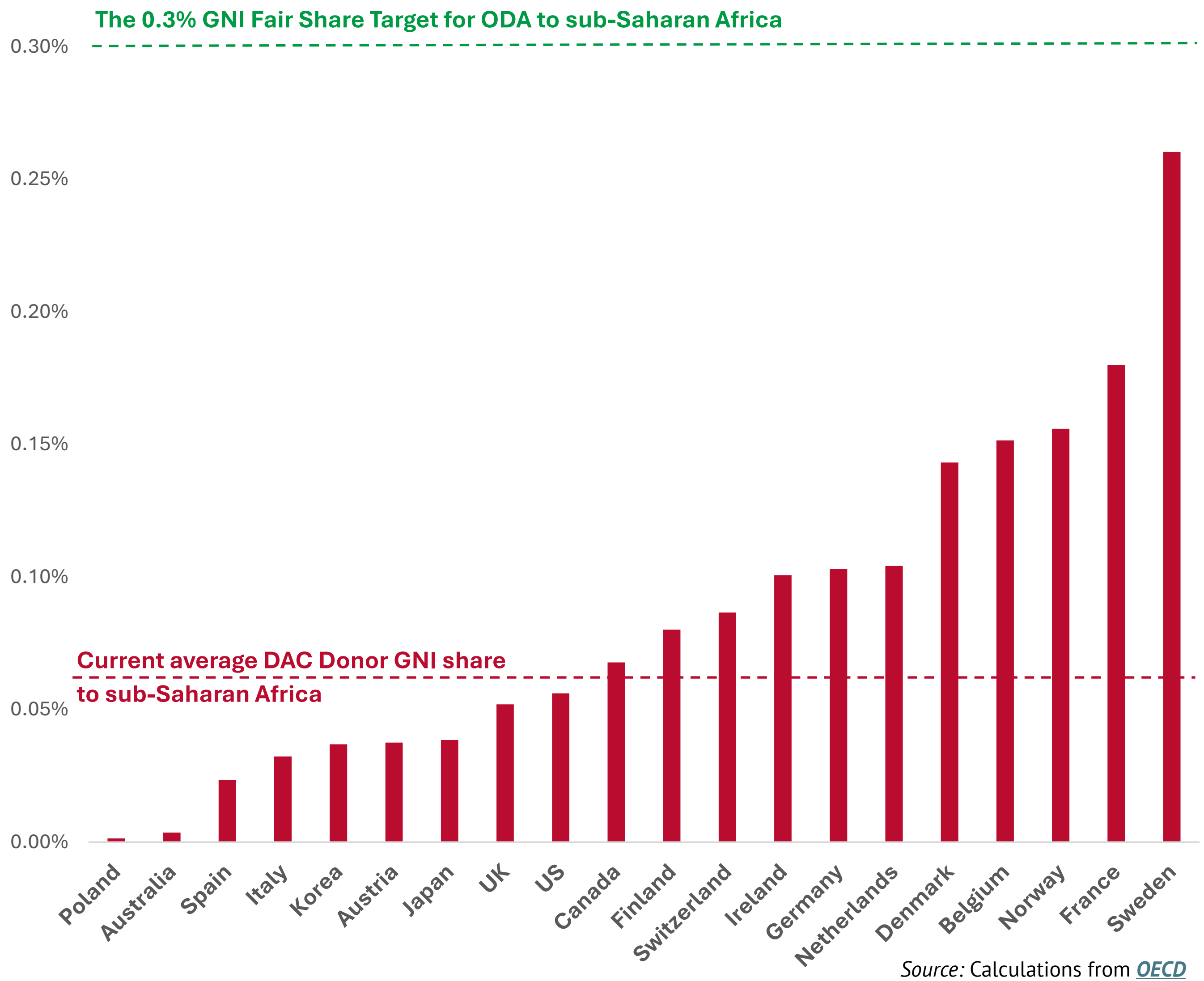
Around two-thirds of aid goes to countries as bilateral aid directly between countries which gives a conservative bilateral aid target of 0.45% of GNI. (The rest goes to multilateral organisations such as the IMF, World Bank and UN).

If the bilateral aid to countries was allocated to African countries without discrimination, then 67% of it would go to the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa (their share of the world's extreme poor) which gives a target of 0.3% ODA GNI.

Do any of the top 20 donors give 0.3% GNI to Sub-Saharan Africa already? Sweden is close but others are far away (*Figure 41*). The average (6.5%) is nearly a fifth of what it should be.

This aid injustice must end. Millions of children are being denied an education and losing their childhood and their future. Given the historical and current exploitation, 0.3% GNI is the least donor countries should provide.

FIGURE 41: ODA TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AS A % OF GNI, 20 LARGEST ODA DONORS



Source: Calculations from OECD

IN FOCUS: UK AID

JAN 2020: LAUNCH OF NEW UK-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP
"WE WANT TO BE WITH YOU, SIDE BY SIDE, EVERY STEP OF THE WAY."


Boris questions relevance of giving huge aid to Zambia

By Mirriam Chabala, 18th June 2020

LOCAL

British Boris Johnson says his country needs to strengthen its position in an "intensely competitive world by making sensible changes" to it's

JUNE 2020: DFID ABOLISHED & UK AID TO AFRICA DEPRIORITISED


Britain spends three times more aid on housing refugees than it sends to Africa

Foreign Office figures show aid to Africa fell to £1.1bn in 2022, compared with £3.7bn of budget spent on refugees in UK

2022: UK ODA TO AFRICA FALLS AGAIN AS MORE UK COSTS COUNTED AS AID

NOV 2020: UK CUTS AID DURING PANDEMIC

In a move its own MPs have called morally reprehensible[172], **the UK has chosen to cut its ODA to Africa (by 65% from 2019 to 2022)[173] whilst the UK government's domestic budget increased**[174].

The first cuts came months after the launch of a new UK-Africa partnership where the UK Prime Minister promised the UK would now be with Africa ***'side by side, every step of the way'***[175].

UK aid fell overall, but the UK cut aid to Africa more sharply[176]. This followed the UK Prime Minister Johnson questioning in parliament why the UK was giving aid to countries like Zambia instead of nearer European countries[177].

Johnson and his successor Prime Minister Sunak also chose to dramatically increase the share of UK aid spent in the UK to over a third[178].

Despite more warm words from Boris Johnson, in July 2021 when hosting a Global Partnership for Education summit, that "***Education is the single best investment we can make in the future of humanity"***[179], cuts to UK education aid continued and it is now lower than administration. (*Figure 42*)

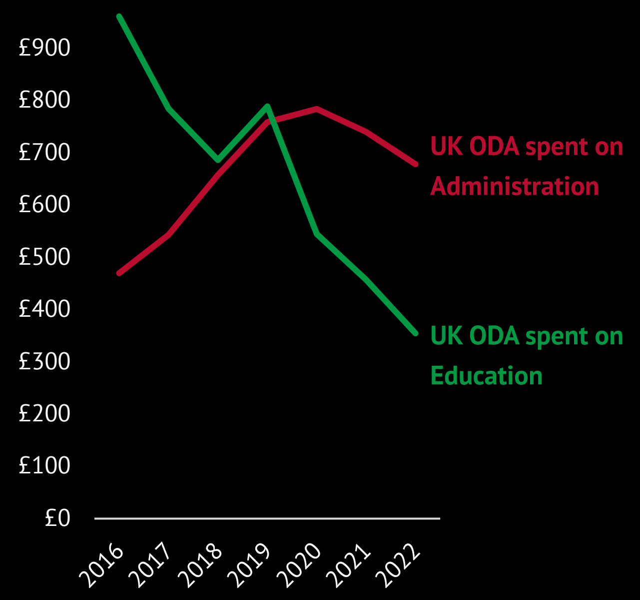
Sunak also created two conditions that must be met before the UK ODA can return to the 0.7% level enshrined in UK law. The Public Sector Net Debt must be falling at the same time as a current account surplus. Historical data shows that only once in the last 20 years have both tests been met[180]. It is a very high bar that undercuts the law.

*Images clockwise from left, **CC BY 2.0** Flickr (credit Graham Carlow); Diggers.org; Wikimedia Commons **CC BY 2.0** (credit Simon Dawson / No10 Downing Street); **TheGuardian.org**. All cropped.*

As this report shows, on top of the huge aid cuts, in the four years since the UK -Africa summit the UK has blocked the COVID vaccine waiver, claimed SDRs would support the world's low-income countries then voted for rich countries to take most of the money, and proposed an amendment to stop the African Tax Convention motion at the UN. ***More like blocking Africa every step of the way.***

The second UK- Africa investment summit due for May 2024 was cancelled. There is now a new UK government but no change of approach yet with further UK efforts to block the UN African tax proposals and no news on returning ODA to 0.7%.

FIGURE 42: UK ODA TO ADMINISTRATION COSTS & EDUCATION, MILLIONS UKP (2016-2022)



Source: UK government FCDO

SPEND AID ON EDUCATION AND ENDING POVERTY

Unfortunately, the injustice is even more severe as the small share of ODA that does make it to Africa is often not spent on social services essential to realising basic rights.

By far the largest item of domestic expenditure in high-income countries is social protection to alleviate and prevent poverty (it is 39.2% of EU government budgets),[181] yet it forms a tiny proportion of donor spending in Africa (0.5-1.5%),[182] despite aid supposedly focusing on poverty.

Donors like to boast about their investments on education, but in 2021 education made up just 4.9% of global bilateral ODA[183]. This is the lowest share in 50 years and the declining trend this century is easy to see (*Figure 43*). **Donors and the Global Partnership for Education tell low-income countries to spend a fifth of government expenditure on education[184] but donors then allocate less than a twentieth of their ODA to education.**

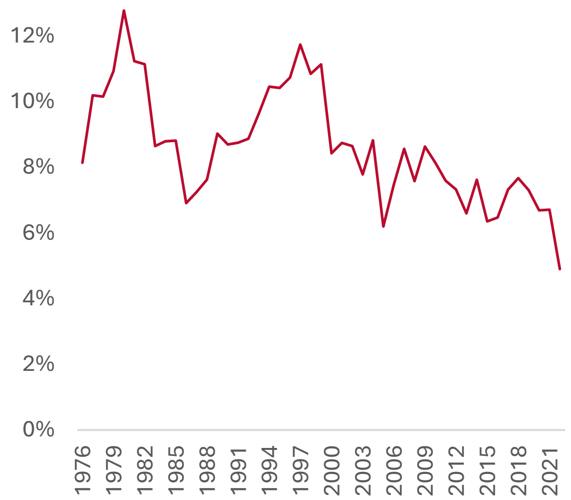
In sub-Saharan Africa only 7.5% of donor ODA[185] goes to education and the under-prioritisation of donor ODA to education is a key reason why the number of African children out of school is increasing.

Faced with these injustices, and the damaging exploitative images from NGOs (*see Page 59 for more on this*), some campaigners have given up on advocating for aid as a core demand. This is understandable, but aid is one of the few opportunities to boost education and introduce social protection for the world's poorest young people.

Aid money can help to rebalance at least a small part of the huge wealth built up in the richest countries from their historic, and often exploitative, accumulation of most of the world's resources. Aid money could solve the teacher crisis in Africa and help break the cycle of poverty and injustice for millions of children.

Aid is not an act of charity, but one of political responsibility in a globalised world. Allocations to Sub-Saharan Africa from rich country aid budgets are inexplicably low, and given injustices on tax and debt, it is hard not to see a pattern of discrimination against Africa.

FIGURE 43: % BILATERAL DONOR ODA THAT IS SPENT ON EDUCATION, GLOBAL



Source: OECD

FAIRER CHOICES: AID TO AFRICAN EDUCATION

If donors spent 20% of their current aid to Sub-Saharan Africa on education, it would raise $7.4 bn for education.

If donors spent current aid budgets according to where the poorest people live, ODA to sub-Saharan Africa would increase by $107 bn with $21.4 bn for education in Africa.

If they also delivered on the 54-year-old commitment to spend 0.7% of their GNI on ODA it would increase by a further $148 bn per year with $29.6 bn for education in Africa.

The funds are there to solve the education crisis that has seen 16 million *more* African children out of school than when the SDGs began. It is time to end the injustice on aid.

High income countries must:

- Allocate African countries their fair share of aid by **adopting a new 0.3% GNI target for sub-Saharan Africa.**
- Spend **at least 20% of the aid budget on education** so every child has a school and a teacher.
- Spend **at least 10% of the aid budget on social protection** for the poorest families so their children can go to school.

For calculation notes see footnotes on page 48

BROKEN CLIMATE PROMISES & FAKE FUNDING

It is difficult to believe, but the misrepresentation on climate financing is even worse than development aid. Before we get to that, we first need to consider the context of the climate crisis.

WESTERN CLIMATE CRISIS

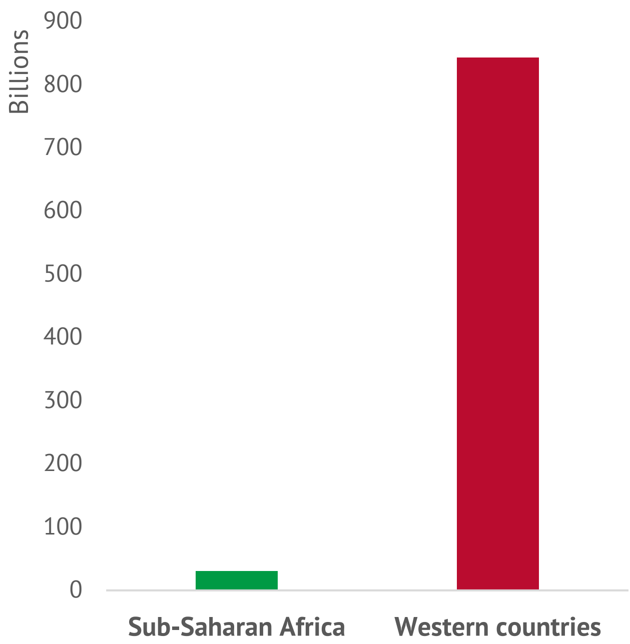
Whilst it is called the *global* climate crisis, and its impact will be felt by everyone on earth, this name also hides the damning reality that the climate crisis was caused by a very specific set of countries.

The average person in sub-Saharan Africa today produces only 30% of the CO_2 emissions of the average American in 1870 [186]. In fact, if every person in the world produced as much CO_2 as the average person in sub-Saharan Africa, global CO_2 emissions would fall by 84% overnight and the world would produce the CO_2 it did in 1950[187].

The larger Western countries (European Union, USA, Canada, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Norway and Switzerland) have contributed 30 times more to the climate crisis than the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa combined (*Figure 44*)

These large Western countries have severely damaged the planet's environment and are responsible for a *majority* of the climate crisis (only Japan, Russia and China come close, and a large portion of Chinese emissions are for goods that are ultimately consumed in Western high-income countries). **All countries are needed to help solve the crisis but the cause is clear and it would be more accurate to call it the *Western* Climate Crisis.**

FIGURE 44: CUMULATIVE CO2 EMISSIONS (TONNES)

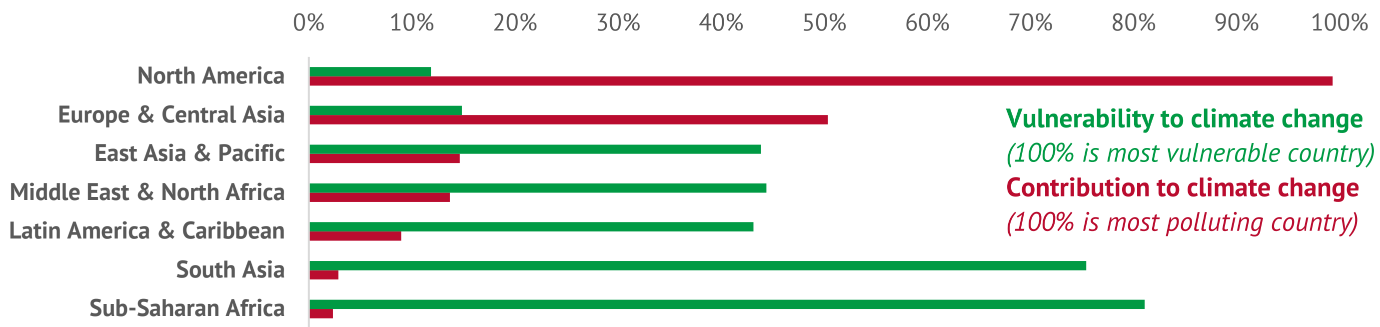


Source: *Our World in Data*

You have to zoom in but *Figure 46* overleaf shows the contribution the world's countries have made to the climate crisis per current population in red (100% is 1,255 tonnes CO_2 emissions per person of the US). It also shows vulnerability to the climate crisis in green (*Notre Dame Vulnerability Index* ranked, 100% is the most vulnerable country and 0% least vulnerable). *Figure 45* is the same graph with the average for each of the world's regions.

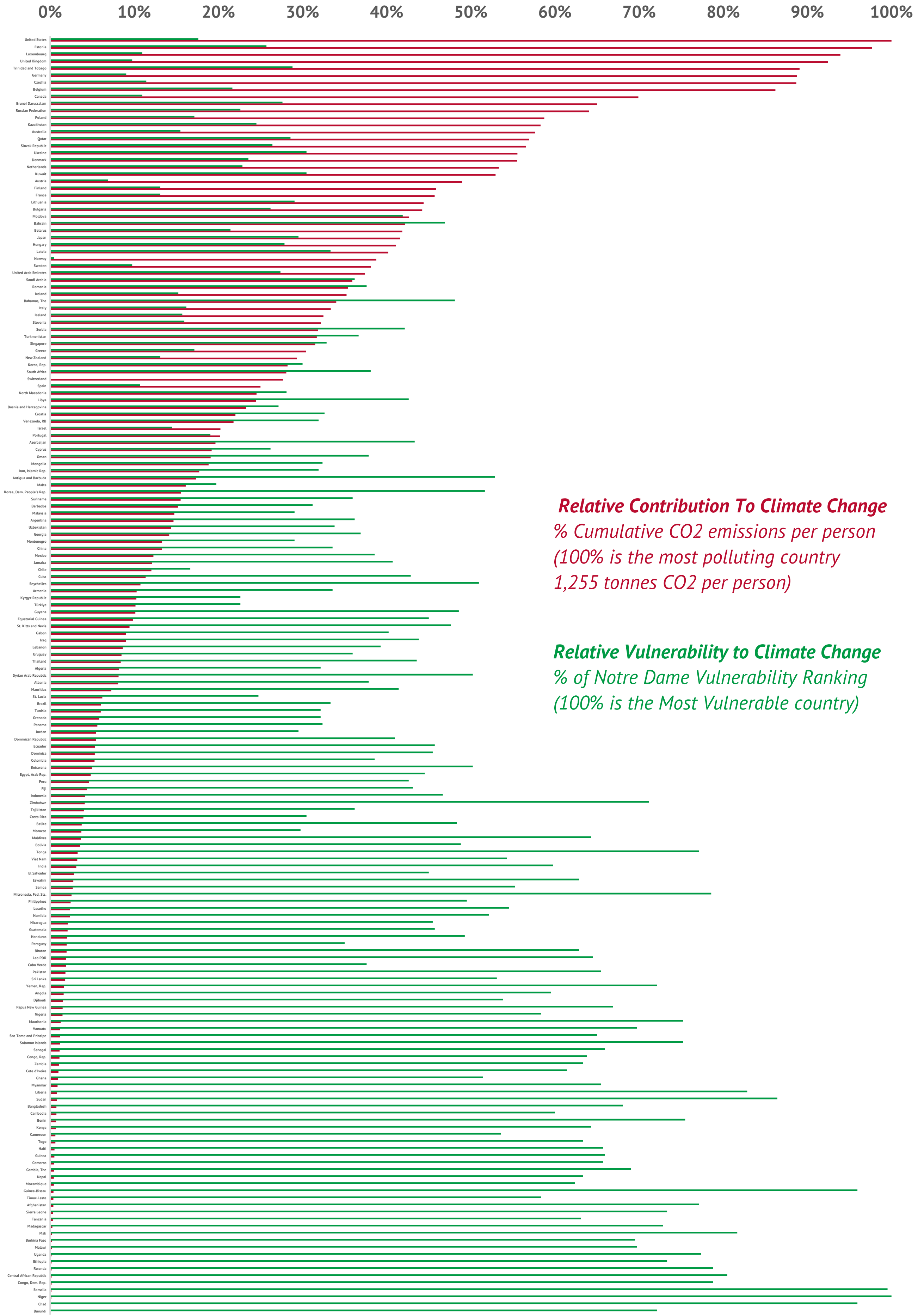
You can clearly see the trend - those regions and countries which are the most vulnerable to the climate crisis have contributed by far the least to climate change.

FIGURE 45: CUMULATIVE CO2 EMISSIONS PER PERSON & VULNARABILITY TO CLIMATE CHANGE, REGIONAL AVERAGE



Sources: Calculations from Our World in Data & Notre Dame-Global Adaptation Index (ND-GAIN) Country Index & World Bank

FIGURE 46: CUMULATIVE CO2 EMISSIONS PER PERSON & VULNARABILITY TO CLIMATE CHANGE, BY COUNTRY



Zoom in to find your country

Relative Contribution To Climate Change
% Cumulative CO2 emissions per person
(100% is the most polluting country
1,255 tonnes CO2 per person)

Relative Vulnerability to Climate Change
% of Notre Dame Vulnerability Ranking
(100% is the Most Vulnerable country)

Sources: Calculations from [Our World in Data & Notre Dame-Global Adaptation Index (ND-GAIN) Country Index & World Bank]

CLIMATE FINANCE

In their efforts to cover up for their inaction and failure to honour financial commitments, the richest countries have undertaken quite staggering manipulation and misrepresentation of the data. As *BOX C* shows, climate finance is in a real mess.

> ***Nearly two-thirds (US$343 billion) of what is currently counted [as climate finance] shouldn't be.***
>
> ***ONE Campaign Analysis***

A number of high income countries have worked out that it is easier to pretend you have spent money on climate funding and to rebrand existing programmes as climate programmes than it is to make new contributions.

However, this does nothing to tackle the climate crisis and erodes goodwill in the countries whose restraint is needed to clean up the mess rich countries have made.

Climate finance is broader than government grants, but even in wider funding streams, the inequality is clear. The Climate Policy Initiative 2021 reported that just $34 billion of the $1.415 trillion in global climate finance was allocated to sub-Saharan Africa (2.4%), despite the high vulnerability[188]. In private finance only $2 billion is allocated to Africa compared to $113 billion in East Asia and $79 billion in the US and Canada alone[189].

FAIRER CHOICES: CLIMATE

Donors must keep their promises on climate financing with a ringfenced allocation for Africa with a clear, specific target for grant funding.

Reform to the funding processes is needed with extra taxes paid by the highest polluters and transparent and actual funding.

Rich countries must stop producing 11 times the per person CO2 emissions and clean up the crisis they created.

BOX C: MANIPUTLATED DONOR DATA

In order to help the poorer countries cope with the climate crisis created by the richest countries, at the Copenhagen Summit in 2009 donor governments pledged $100 billion in annual climate financing by 2020.

To put this number in context, it is less than 1% of the G7's emergency COVID expenditure to protect people and business in richer countries[190].

However, despite this very modest and 10-year away target, high income countries still managed to miss it[191].

Two years late, OECD donor countries finally declared they had met the target in 2022, but the figures included existing projects that had been reclassified as climate projects falsely.

A ONE campaign analysis found "*nearly two-thirds of climate finance commitments counted by the OECD are never reported as disbursed or didn't have much to do with climate to begin with…Only US$204 billion should be climate finance. Nearly two-thirds (US$343 billion) of what is currently counted shouldn't be*"[192].

Out of the most vulnerable countries to climate change, nine of the ten who receive the lowest share of their climate financing needs were African, receiving on average 2.7% of what they need[193].

Compounding this, most of the funding counted as donor commitments was in loans that had to be paid back,[194] increasing the debt crisis.

Some of the funding also came from development budgets, which was not the intent of the climate finance promise in Copenhagen and meant the poorest were paying the price for the new climate projects.

There is such little transparency, as Mark Joven the undersecretary of the Philippines Department of Finance said, ***"This is the wild, wild west of finance. Essentially, whatever [providers] call climate finance is climate finance"[195].***

SAMUEL, GHANA

"IF WE DO NOT ACT DECISIVELY, WE RISK LOSING AN ENTIRE GENERATION OF POTENTIAL LEADERS, INNOVATORS, AND CHANGE-MAKERS"

Samuel Adonteng addressing the ECOWAS Parliament in May 2023

"Education is a powerful tool for social change, and it can help to create a more just and equitable society. Students are often at the forefront of education advocacy, their voices resonating with the urgent need for reform and greater investment in education.

It is vital that we recognize and support these young advocates, their determination reminds us that a more just and equitable education system is not just a dream; it is a necessity for the continent's growth and development. Only through collective action can we hope to overcome these challenges and build a brighter future for all African children."

Growing up in Abossey Okai, in Accra-Ghana, Samuel witnessed firsthand the harsh realities faced by many of his peers. Countless friends struggled to transition to senior high schools and universities, trapped in a cycle of poverty and child labour that robbed them of their education and dreams.

Over the past few years, Samuel has co-led campaigns to ensure that young people have access to quality education and are protected from the injustice of child labour including the Africa Education Enrolment Programme, the Africa Girls Back to School Campaign in partnership with UNESCO and now the Justice for Africa Campaign. Samuel is a passionate activist and his life is a testament to the power of education and how it can turn around the fortunes of children in poorer communities.

Education systems in Africa are marred by deep-seated injustices, primarily stemming from chronic underfunding and inequality. Despite the continent's vast potential, many governments struggle to allocate adequate resources for education, leaving countless students without access to quality learning environments. It is disheartening to see how the world has largely turned a blind eye to education financing inequality in Africa and the lives of children yearning for opportunities.

Samuel and his colleagues in All-Africa Students Union have been relentless in their demand for fair and equal education systems, advocating to ensure every child has the chance to learn and thrive.

DISCRIMINATORY GOVERNANCE & FAIRER FUTURE

As detailed in each section so far, the unjust decision-making on tax, debt, aid and climate is enabled by the discriminatory international governance system. It is an underlying driver of the increasing inequality in our world.

When you consider how many critical global meetings and institutions have unfair and undemocratic representation, the continuous sidelining and deprioritisation of African concerns in international agreements is less of a mystery.

The OECD has led on global tax policy for decades. It has 38 member countries yet not a single one is African[196]. It is mostly OECD members trying to block progress on a UN Tax Convention[197].

Until recently only one of the 54 African countries was a member of the G20, helping to explain why the G20 Framework on debt has been so slow and piecemeal in dealing with Africa's debt crisis.

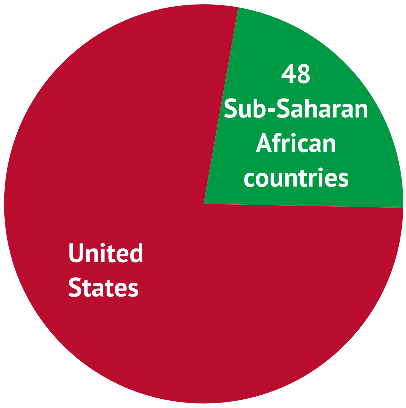
No African country is a member of the G7, which is partly why sub-Saharan Africa received one thousandth of the G7's pandemic 'global agenda for action'[198].

There is no accountability for the majority of rich countries who have missed the aid target for every one of the last 50 years and now spend 18% of their aid in sub-Saharan Africa when 67% of the extremely poor are African. The OECD effectively marks its own member's homework on climate finance as well (and misreporting is rife).

Perhaps the most damaging, voting power at the World Bank and IMF is dominated by non-African countries. The United States has three times more votes than all 48 sub-Saharan African countries put together[199] (*Figure 47*). This is why the emergency liquidity issue of Special Drawing Rights was not fairly allocated and why the IMF's advice to African countries can be biased and often does more harm than good (*see BOX D*).

Education inequality is likely to continue to grow unless and until this discriminatory governance is addressed.

FIGURE 47: IMF VOTE SHARES, US AND SSA



It is also vital to remember that change is possible. Though a broader range of countries and companies now benefit from exploiting Africa there are also many allies for global reform.

Institutions established during the colonial era must stop perpetuating colonial power dynamics in the 21st century.

Global decision-making fora must be equal, democratic, and decolonised – it is unacceptable that the world continues to allow the wealthiest to make the rules the poor must live by.

BOX D: IMPACT OF IMF'S UNJUST VOTING POWER

The IMF has held a significant amount of control over many African governments since the end of colonialism in a way which is poorly understood in rich countries.

Failures include the forced adoption of extreme austerity rejected by richer countries, a lack of understanding and accountability to the communities being 'managed', dogmatic economic policy, hostility to welfare, cuts to education[200] and enforcing access for multinationals without ensuring tax returns to the finance ministry.

It is no coincidence that some of the countries in East Asia that have been making the most progress have been those with the ability to resist the control of the IMF. As Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel-winning economist and former World Bank chief economist said, "*the IMF's lurch to extreme monetary policy … reflects the interests and ideology of the Western financial community*"[201].

COMBINED FINANCIAL IMPACT

If we calculate the combined financial impact of these injustices on Africa, it is clear that the huge inequality in education expenditure and increasing extreme poverty have not just magically appeared but are the direct result of decisions and choices that have been made.

In a world that has never been richer, reversing these devastating trends and finally delivering Justice for Africa is possible, it simply requires making different decisions and choices. It is within the world's power.

If we consider both the immediate and long-term actions we could take to reduce education inequality, we can quickly see the more positive and equal future the world could have if we act across the injustices.

FIGURE 48: FUNDS RAISED BY IMMEDIATE ACTIONS

UNJUST DEBT CANCELLED: A new SDR issue ringfenced for low & middle-income countries to match the $362 high-income country SDR 2021 emergency allocation	
Increased sub-Saharan government expenditure if new SDR issue cancels all low-income country and 48% of lower-middle income country debt	*$55,419,985,706*
20% share for education	**$11,083,997,141**
AID DISCRIMINATION ENDS & 0.7% TARGET MET	
Additional funding if 20% of donor ODA went to Education	**$7,397,559,149**
Additional ODA funding if Sub-Saharan aid discrimination ended	*$107,089,691,227*
20% Share for education	**$21,417,938,245**
Additional SSA ODA funding if donor countries met 0.7% target	*$148,351,958,639*
20% Share for education	**$29,670,391,728**
AFRICAN GOVERNEMNTS SPEND 20% ON EDUCATION	
Extra funds for education	**$14,792,001,721**
ADDITIONAL ANNUAL AFRICAN EDUCATION FUNDING	**$84,361,887,984**

Sources: Calculations from OECD/DAC & UNESCO

FAIRER CHOICES: IMMEDIATE EDUCATION FUNDS

Decisions we can take now would have an immediate effect and make a dramatic difference for education equality within two years (*Figure 48).*

The discriminatory allocation of SDR's in 2021 must be rectified with a new SDR issue ringfenced for low and lower middle-income countries. Increasing their 2021 SDR allocations to the $362 per person high-income countries received would cancel the debt of all low-income countries and 48% of sub-Saharan African lower-middle income countries. It saves $55 billion in debt service costs per year releasing $11.1 billion for education[202].

Allocating 20% of current ODA to education, would increase African education funding by $7.4 billion[203]. If donors also end their discrimination against sub-Saharan Africa in bilateral ODA, then ODA to Africa would increase by $107 billion ($21.4 billion for education)[204]. If donors finally meet the 0.7% GNI aid target, it would raise a further $148 billion ($29.7 billion for education)[205].

It is the focus of other reports, but if African governments also committed to a 20% allocation to education from domestic budgets, currently 16.16%, it would raise a further $14.8 billion[206].

Together, these immediate changes would **more than double education expenditure in sub-Saharan Africa ($84.4 billion increase)** and provide enough funds to fill the professional teacher gap in Africa[207], build the missing schools and allow school feeding and basic healthcare for the most vulnerable children (*Figure 49*). **It would transform the life chances for young people in Africa**.

FIGURE 49: COSTS OF IMMEDIATE IMPROVEMENTS

Ending the teacher crisis in Africa	$45,189,400,000
Equipment, school building and non-teacher costs	$15,063,133,000
School feeding and school health programmes for all	$5,800,000,000
ANNUAL COST OF IMMEDIATE EDUCATION IMPROVEMENTS	**$66,052,533,000**

Sources: Derived from UNESCO & International Task Force on Teachers for Education & 100 Million

FAIRER CHOICES: TAX & GOVERNANCE JUSTICE

The immediate steps address several extreme modern injustices and are vital, but these would not even return education budget inequality to the levels seen in 1976 at the end of the governmental colonial era. The education budget differential between the countries with data in *sub-Saharan Africa* and the *Rest of the World* would change from 24:1 today to 12:1 by 2026 (it was 9:1 in 1976)[208].

To create a more equal world than 1976, we must also end the longer-term tax and governance injustices.

If the critical discussions on a new tax convention at the UN succeed in the next few years, African countries could collect a fair percentage of tax and help ensure GDP per person grows more equally. Combined with ending discriminatory global governance it would allow the incredible ingenuity, passion and skills of African youth to play a full and more equal role in the world's future.

If sub-Saharan African GDP per person grows at the same rate as the rest of the world for the next fifteen years it would allow education budgets to reach 30% of the current world average by 2040[209].

Africa would then be able to finally realise the youth dividend allowing the continent to make the same overall gains other regions have. Within the lifetime of gen Z, we could end the most extreme and centuries long aspects of education inequality.

RELATED INJUSTICES:

As mentioned in the introduction, there has still been no compensation or restitution for the centuries of exploitation, colonialism, and slavery which deeply affected Africa. Reparations need to be made to compensate for historical injustices.

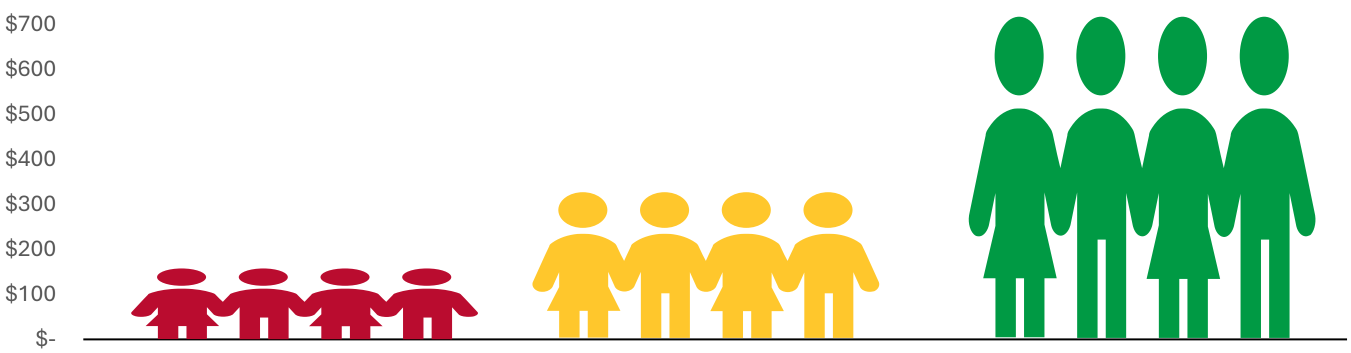
Social Protection is critical for children from poorer families to take up their place in school. If 20% of ODA, less than half of what EU countries spend domestically, was ringfenced for social protection it could fund benefits to every child and new mother living in a low-income African country.

A new super-rich tax being discussed at the G20[210] could raise funds and help curtail the environmentally damaging behaviour of multi-millionaires and billionaires. If the revenue was ring-fenced for environmental initiatives in the world's poorest countries, it would boost adaption strategies that ensure carbon zero growth and mitigate some of the damage Africa and small island states face from the Western climate crisis.

Inequality within countries also needs to be addressed, including fully realising women's rights, disability rights, and ending child marriage.

All these changes would lead to a safer and more sustainable future for all the world's young people. The extremely unequal world we have inherited does not force us to have an unequal future.

FIGURE 50: POTENTIAL FUTURE EDUCATION BUDGETS PER CHILD IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, CONSTANT USD



Current sub-Saharan African Education budgets

By 2026 with the immediate actions to double sub-Saharan African education budgets

By 2040 education per child budgets reach 30% of the current rest of the world budget. Ending tax and governance injustices allows African GDP/capita to grow at the global rate.

Sources: Calculations from [World Bank & UN Population Division]

HOW

DRIVERS OF INJUSTICE

As we have seen, there is no question the world has the money to end the injustices facing Africa. Global wealth has nearly quadrupled since 1976, increasing by over $60 trillion even after inflation.

The issue is how that wealth is being distributed and spent. The world could easily afford to employ more teachers to solve the professional teacher gap, so every child has the opportunity to go to school. The world could easily provide every extremely poor family a basic payment so every child can afford to take that opportunity.

It is a fallacy to think these problems are beyond our technical knowledge or even experience. We know how to do it, country after country has bought in systems to universalise education and provide welfare, many over a hundred years ago. So how are these injustices still in place?

SELF-INTERESTED COMPANIES AND COUNTRIES

The causes of all major injustices are incredibly complex and multifaceted, and there will always be those who exploit others for their own financial or political gain.

Beyond the influence self-interested companies and countries have at the international level to keep global injustices in place (such as blocking international debt relief deals and opposing the UN tax convention), we must also consider the influence they have at the national level.

There is also long track record of companies and countries interfering in national African elections to ensure their interests and profiteering are protected. This continues today from Russia's direct[211], and China's indirect[212] interference to Western companies 'undermining democracy'[213].

However, many other long-standing injustices, with powerful vested interests have been overcome, so how are the injustices against Africa still in place? We consider organising and movements later, but before that we need to consider how ignorance masks the exploitation.

BOX E: INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL FACTORS

The 2023 Justice for Africa's Children report calculated that 95% of the cost of modern injustices facing children in Africa were caused by international factors and 5% from national factors by African leaders.

Many African people will rightly protest to their own governments when bread prices or education fees rise. There is a lot to criticise, and the selection of African leaders is something young Africans can influence, at least in theory.

However, if we stop there those most responsible for inequality, the countries supporting and benefiting from discriminatory global governance whilst enforcing unsustainable debt, and the companies extracting disproportionate profits whilst evading tax, are let off the hook. We must protest to both.

SHIFTING THE BLAME

This report is focused on international structures that perpetuate or sustain injustice against Africa. How Africa is discussed and perceived by those outside the continent, especially in rich countries, plays a key role in enabling this exploitation.

By accident and by design, the scale of, and reasons behind, high-levels of extreme poverty and injustice in Africa are often hidden or misconstrued. Blame and responsibility is generally shifted away from those benefiting, or even perpetuating, this exploitation, and onto those being exploited.

This shift has a significant impact: if the true causes behind the growing inequality faced by people in Africa remain obscured, the effectiveness of any mass movement to end it is undermined from the outset, if it ever begins.

To redress this, the report considers three of the most common misconceptions of why extreme poverty and injustice persists in Africa, before looking at possible motivation and some of the surprising actors complicit in this false framing.

CHALLENGING THE MISPERCEPTIONS

1) CONFLICT & MILITARY EXPENDITURE

One common misconception is that Africa continues to experience extreme poverty because of high levels of conflict on the continent.

Conflict is devastating for the safety, rights and lives of all those in affected areas. It is a major cause of malnutrition and kills Africans every day. The ongoing fighting in DRC, persistent crisis in the Sahel, war in Sudan, multiple instability threats in Nigeria, and bitter battles in Somalia and Ethiopia are further recent reminders of the terrible cost of conflict. Peace-building efforts must be prioritised.

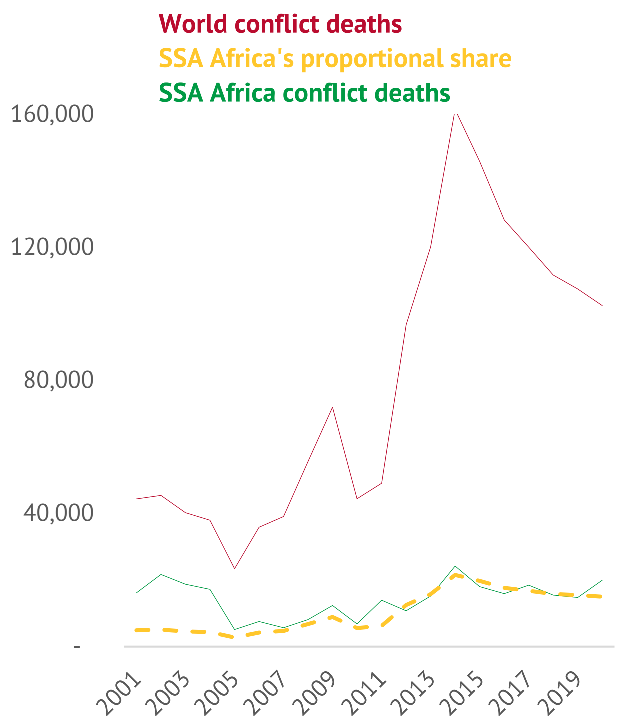
With tiny government budgets, eager international buyers for illegal supply chains, a continent of colonial drawn borders and literacy rates similar to those of the US Civil War, greater African instability could be expected.

However sub-Saharan African deaths in conflict in the last 20 years (green) are broadly in line with its proportional share of the world total (dotted yellow) in Figure 51. **One conflict is one too many, but conflict is not the main reason for the growing global inequality facing Africa.**

A related claim is that Africa is poor because African governments spend all their resources on the military. Though too high, **military expenditure in all 48 sub-Saharan African countries put together is less than Italy alone[214]** and far below others (*Figure 52*). In 2020, the *annual increase* in US military expenditure was more than the *total* sub-Saharan Africa military expenditure[215].

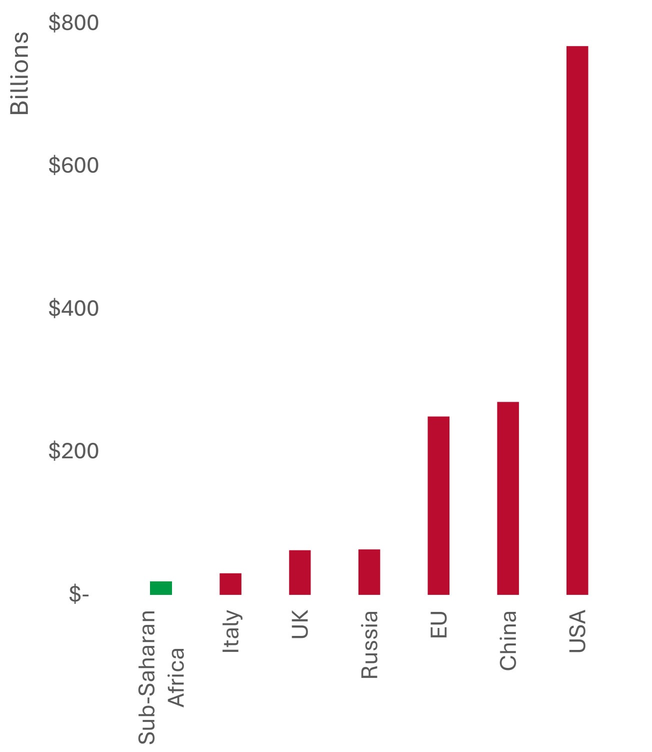
Of the world's top 100 arms manufacturers none are in Africa[216]. Weapons are bought in from outside, including by the Russian Wagner group, foreign supported Islamic State terrorists and subsidised exports from rich countries. After decades of efforts a multilateral UN Arms Trade Treaty was agreed in 2013. Most African countries signed it, Russia has not[217] and the US withdrew after opposition from the NRA's lobbying arm.[218]

FIGURE 51: COMBINED CONFLICT FATALITIES 2001-20



Source: University of Uppsala

FIGURE 52: MILITARY EXPENDITURE (USD), 2021



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

IN FOCUS: PATRICE LUMUMBA

The former Katanga province, where Glencore mines Coltan for Elon Musk's Tesla has a long history. It is the same Katanga that was coveted by Cecil Rhodes and subsumed by the King of Belgium in the 1890s.

When the DRC became independent in 1960, within 11 days Belgian troops and a Belgian company's private army helped Katanga to breakaway from the new country.

The first DRC Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, was then assassinated by a Belgian execution squad in Katanga a few months later because "*the Belgians wanted to protect their mining money.*"[219].

Professor Nzongola-Ntalaja assessed Lumumba's policies to "*have full control over Congo's resources in order to utilise them to improve the living conditions of our people was perceived as a threat to western interests*"[220].

Image: CC0 1.0, Wikimedia Commons, credit Herbert Behrens, cropped

Britanica explains "*because of its wealth, size, and proximity to white-dominated southern Africa, Lumumba's opponents had reason to fear the consequences*" and adds the grisly and upsetting details of his death[221].

The information took decades to come to light via the CIA, but most African countries have examples of major interference by foreign countries in their politics. As the links between Shell oil and the military junta who killed playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa[222] and *Team Jorge's*[223] recent manipulation of elections in Africa show, companies interfere too.

From the US-Russia backed fighting in the Cold War to the UAE-Saudi backed fighting in Sudan today, foreign powers still fund conflicts in Africa. European countries invented most modern warfare fighting each other for centuries. Would Europe have ever been able to find democracy and peace if other continents had flooded European countries with weapons and backed their autocratic leaders?

2) POPULATION

Another commonly cited reason for extreme poverty in Africa is population growth and it is often used by people living in richer countries to justify not helping people living in poorer countries. Before we consider the situation in Africa today it is important to understand what has happened globally in recent decades.

All regions of the world have had high birth rates in their history and all regions have seen a drop in birth rates when GDP per person increased and extreme poverty fell.

In 1960 at the end of the colonial era, the world was facing a risk of exponential population growth with a global fertility rate of 4.7 births per woman and 137 countries with a rate above 5[224]. Increased family planning, education, and per person GDP growth led to fertility rates falling.

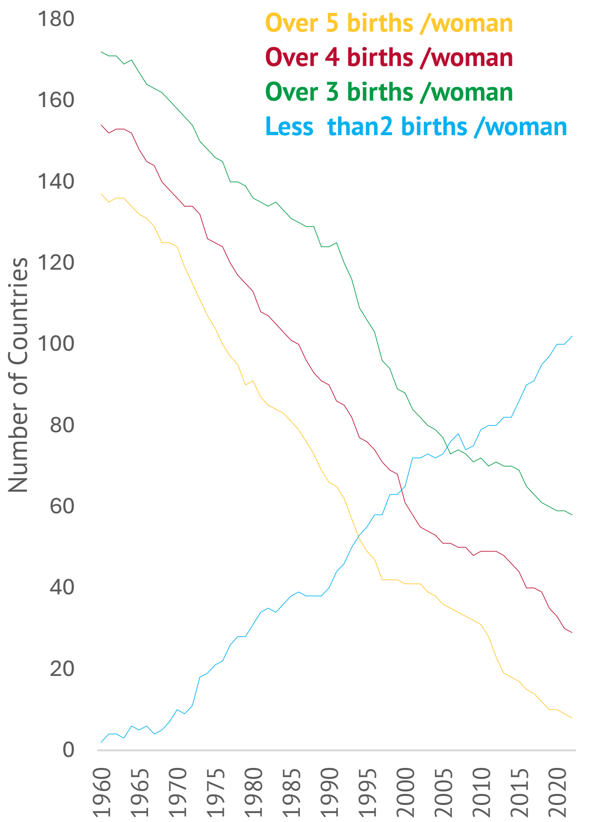
There were appalling violations of women's rights including forced sterilisations in India and China and ethnic minority rights in the US[225]. The vast majority of countries though successfully used "*positive, voluntary measures such as empowering women, providing access to effective modern birth control, and encouraging the choice to have a smaller family*"[226].

In 1960, 137 countries in the world had a fertility rate above 5, today it is just eight countries (*Figure 53*). These changes and the drop in the overall global fertility rate from 5.32 to 2.26, (*Figure 54*) shows that attempts by some to create a global panic on population are wrong.

Global fertility rates are nearly at the 2.1 'replacement rate' [227] and demographers have known for some time that the world will stabilise around 11-12 billion (the UN predictions in 1973 and 1982 for the global population in 2000 and 2010 are very accurate)228. The driver of the climate crisis is not population changes but the incredibly unequal consumption (see Box F).

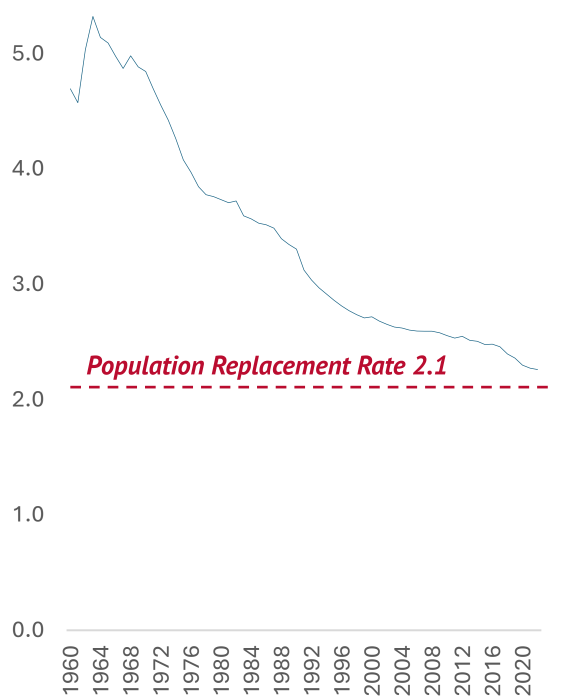
Population increases typically drive significant economic growth and when falling poverty begins to bring down birth rates, the 'youth dividend' (a proportionally large economically active population for several decades caused by previously high birth rates that are now falling) creates a big boost to GDP per person.

FIGURE 53: NO. OF COUNTIRES WITH FERTILITY RATE OVER 5, OVER 4, OVER 3 & LESS THAN 2



Source: World Bank

FIGURE 54: GLOBAL FERTILITY RATE



Source: World Bank

However, in some African countries this has not happened. So much of Africa's population driven economic growth has been extracted abroad in tax, trade and debt injustice that GDP per person has flatlined. This has meant extreme poverty persisted and fertility rates have fallen more slowly, especially as many women who wanted to use contraception had no access. It is poverty that drives population growth more than the other way around.

In the first seven years of the SDGs, the changes in GDP per person have been similar in sub-Saharan countries with fertility rates below and above five. It is clear population growth is not the main cause of the increasing inequality in Africa in the last decade.

Only eight sub-Saharan African countries still have a fertility rate over 5, down from 46 in 1976 (*Figure 55*) but nevertheless those eight countries do need to have a more sustainable growth rate. You can also see their high fertility rate reflects the incredibly low secondary school rates completion rates for girls and a lack of women's and adolescent's rights *(Figure 56)*.

When adolescent girls are not forced into child marriage and are allowed to complete school, when women who want access to contraception can get it, then the fertility rate will decline. When women are allowed to make sustainable choices for their families, it helps the country grow more sustainably too. **Investment in women's health, sexual and reproductive health and the rights of adolescent girls by national governments and donors is critical.**

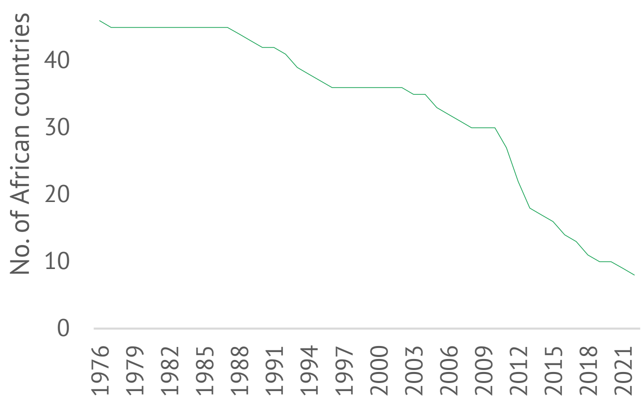
BOX F: CLIMATE CONSEQUENCES?

Population growth is also raised in relation to the climate crisis. There is an environmental benefit to reducing extreme poverty, and an expansion of women's rights and sexual and reproductive health rights is important especially in the few remaining countries with high fertility rates.

But population is not the cause of the climate crisis, it is due **to high-income country CO2 emissions per person being 11 times higher than in Africa, a proportion is unchanged since 1990**[229].

Global CO2 levels would be the same if the world had 50 billion people with average sub-Saharan CO2 emissions[230]. Richer countries must reduce their incredibly high CO2 consumption. Populationist theories are often racist at heart, many do not support women's rights or sexual and reproductive health, and they all shift blame away from those who caused and are causing the crisis.

FIGURE 55: NUMBER OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITH FERTILITY RATE ABOVE 5



Source: World Bank

FIGURE 56: COMPARING KEY INDICATORS FOR THE 8 AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITH FERTILITY RATES ABOVE 5

	Child Marriage Rate	Female Secondary School Comp. Rate	Adolescent fertility rate (births per 100 women aged 15-19)	Women aged 15-49 years who can't access modern contraception (%)	Contraceptive prevalence, any method (% of married women ages 15-49)	Overall Fertility Rate
Niger	76%	1%	17	63%	11%	6.7
Chad	61%	3%	14	83%	5%	6.2
Somalia	45%	n/a	12	98%	10%	6.2
DRC	29%	27%	11	67%	18%	6.1
CAR	61%	5%	16	72%	15%	5.9
Mali	54%	5%	15	59%	10%	5.9
Angola	30%	16%	14	70%	20%	5.2
Nigeria	30%	51%	10	64%	18%	5.1

Sources: UNICEF & UNESCO & World Bank & UN DESA

3) CORRUPTION

Corruption is corrosive. It damages the economy, diminishes trust in government and society, and restricts access to public services. Though it is destructive and urgent action is needed to curb its prevalence, **the common perception that corruption is the principal cause of poverty in Africa is wrong.**

A *Justice for Africa* GDP per person analysis of Transparency International's *Corruption Perceptions Index* showed most African countries have less corruption than expected given poverty levels and after adjusting for income none of the ten worst countries for corruption are in Africa[231].

When the state runs out of funds and is unable to pay the police or officials their salary, then bribes are almost inevitable as has been seen all over the world. There is nothing more corrupt about African governments, just higher levels of extreme poverty and smaller levels of government budgets.

The largest corruption is almost always instigated or enabled by those outside Africa. It was a Swiss company that advised and supported the Kenyattas to set up 'untraceable' trust funds in the British Virgin Islands[232]. Switzerland only made it a criminal offense for a company to bribe a private individual in 2015 and about half of the rich countries in the OCED still allowed companies to deduct bribes paid to foreign officials from their taxes in 1996.

In the most prolific African corruption case in recent times, Isabel dos Santos in Angola, it was European accountants, lawyers and consultants who supported corruption including accounting firm PWC (*see Box G*).

In actuality, corruption within Africa is dwarfed by the illegal transfer and theft of Africa's resources by the corrupt in richer countries, and the scale of corporate bribery (*page 19*). It requires considerable ignorance or wilful misrepresentation of reality to blame only corruption in Africa for global inequality.

It is vital for securing investment to be accurate about the scale and split responsibility of corruption. **Corruption in Malawi is not the main reason Malawi is 148 times poorer than Switzerland[233] and it is not the main reason for extreme education inequality.**

BOX G: ISABEL DOS SANTOS AND PWC

Angolan prosecutors have charged businesswoman and daughter of Angola's former authoritarian president, Isabel dos Santos with 12 crimes, accusing the former billionaire of causing state losses of around $219 million while she was head of state-owned oil company Sonangol.

This was done "*with the help of accountants, lawyers and consultants in Portugal, Malta*" [234] and the indictment also names several of dos Santos' associates as co-defendants, along with the Angolan unit of accounting giant PwC.

As the ICIJ details *"Prosecutors accused executives working for PwC's Luanda and Lisbon offices of profiting from auditing contracts worth more than $10 million and consultancy deals with some of dos Santos' shell companies.*

PwC Portugal was already under scrutiny by Portuguese authorities, which searched the offices last year at the request of the Angolan government. Alongside Boston Consulting, ICIJ's Luanda Leaks investigation found that PwC played a major role in the dos Santos business empire, charging lucrative fees for advice on avoiding Angolan taxes and striking deals, including some involving Sonangol"[235].

In December 2023, De Santos lost a legal battle in London[236] to prevent a freeze on $733 million of her assets and is already subject to asset freezes in Portugal, the US and other countries. However, like the case with Swiss based Glencore's $1.5 billion fine, the money raised is not necessarily going to be given back to the countries affected where it could a lot of good and may stay in the US and UK.

About half of the rich countries in the OCED still allowed companies to deduct bribes paid to foreign officials from their taxes in 1996.

Switzerland only made it a criminal offense for a company to bribe a private individual in 2015

RACIST VIEWS

Beyond these three common misperceptions, it is important to ackowledge that many of the views held on Africa are not just ignorant, they are racist.

There is not much data on the prevalence of racist views about Africa in countries like the US, but there is data that measures the proportion of racist views held within the US more generally which is an indicator of the problem. With apologies for the terms used, if we look at the percentage of white American's holding generally racist views in the US, we can see a long-term decline (with several questions being discontinued as response rates became too low for the polling company, *Figure 57*).

However, some racist and dehumanising views still polled highly in recent times, including that white people are more intelligent and more hardworking which on the eve of Barack Obama's presidency stood at 23% and 42% respectively.

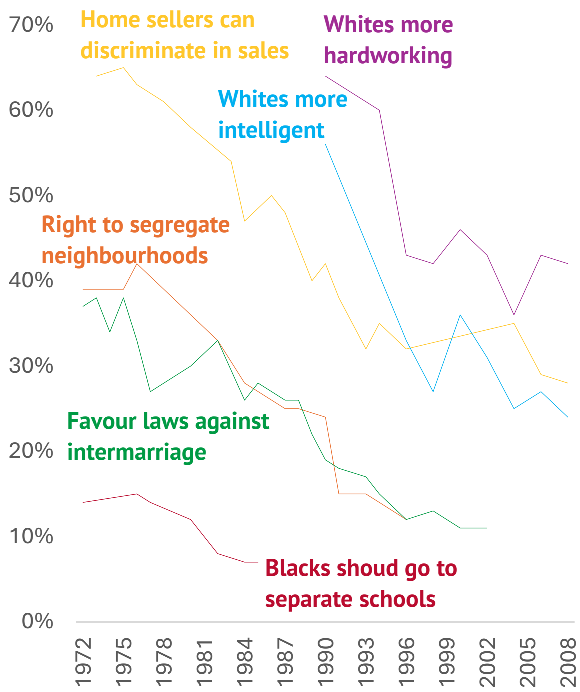
A negative impact of social media in recent years, is the increased platform it provides for racist misinformation which has helped the far right grow[237] and risks reversing the general decline in racism. Violence attributed to online hate speech has increased worldwide[238].

Some elected leaders have also made incendiary comments about Africa. When the 45th US President, talking privately with senators about Africa, said "*all these shithole countries*"[239] it showed his real opinions. Indeed, his first wife Ivana Trump said, in 1990, that Donald Trump from time to time reads a book of Hitler's collected speeches[240]. In 2002, future UK Prime Minister Johnson wrote offensively of Africa[241] (*see opposite*).

Africa remains vulnerable to racist views and any efforts to address the injustices facing Africa will have to counter racism and those who exploit it. In Europe far-right parties have made gains, particularly in France and Germany, and in the US the 45th President is running for re-election and continuing to make even more inciteful remarks against migrants.

Even many who would reject the overt racism of white supremacy, will still hold sub-conscious biases that affect

FIGURE 57: WHITE AMERICAN'S SELF COMPARISION TO BLACK AMERICANS, 1972-2008



Source: Social Trends in American Life, Bobo, Charles, Krysan and Simmons

"The continent may be a blot, but it is not a blot upon our conscience. The problem is not that we were once in charge, but that we are not in charge anymore".
Future UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson writing about Africa, The Spectator magazine, February 2002

Ivana Trump told her lawyer Michael Kennedy that from time to time her husband reads a book of Hitler's collected speeches, My New Order, which he keeps in a cabinet by his bed.

"*Did your cousin John give you the Hitler speeches?*" I asked Trump.

Trump hesitated. "*Who told you that?*"

"*I don't remember,*" I said.

"*Actually, it was my friend Marty Davis from Paramount who gave me a copy*"

Future US President Donald Trump interviewed in Vanity Fair magazine, September 1990

"White supremacy and neo-Nazi movements are more than domestic terror threats. They are becoming a transnational threat… These and other groups have exploited the pandemic to boost their ranks through social polarization and political and cultural manipulation."
UN Secretary-General António Guterres, speaking at the Human Rights Council in February 2021

WHO FRAMES HOW AFRICA IS SEEN?

the way they think and the degree to which they act on the clear injustices facing Africa.

After disproving some of the common misperceptions about why Africa's share of extreme poverty is increasing so severely, it is important to consider how these misperceptions become popular in the first place. Some of it is racist in origin but much is simply ignorance.

How hasn't the globalisation of communications and travel, and the work of academics and civil society, led to more informed views inside and outside Africa on the reality of life in Africa and the international injustices Africa faces?

It is a critical question because an accurate understanding of exploitation is essential to ending it. **We need to consider how views on Africa are framed and who is framing them.**

MEDIA FRAMING

Media framing has a significant impact on public opinion, especially in areas where the public are unlikely to have personal experiences.

A 2019 study[242] highlighted the impact of the media on perceptions of global poverty within the UK. It showed how newspapers often linked the causes of poverty to mismanagement, corruption and local conflicts and relatively little attention to perspectives of justice and equality, and the liability of the West for poverty in the developing world (*see Box H*).

African news stories in the majority of international media are hard to come by. Not enough journalists cover the international meetings where the injustices to Africa occur, few of them report it and even fewer editors prioritise it.

When charity Care International ranked the most forgotten humanitarian crises, all ten were in Africa (*Figure 58*).

So much of the media in the world is owned by billionaires, major financial corporations or is state controlled. It is not in their interest to make or promote content about extreme poverty, child labour or out of school African children. It can be in their interests to distract audiences from extreme inequality and unfair tax laws and, in richer countries, to support cuts to aid or scapegoat refugees and migrants.

BOX H: UK STUDY ON MEDIA FRAMING ON POVERTY AND ITS IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION

"Approximately two-thirds of the articles cited a cause and in most of these stories blame was put on local governments in developing countries. Newspapers often linked the causes of poverty to mismanagement, corruption and local conflicts....In addition, there was virtually no coverage of 'good' or 'responsible' local governance in the media.

The 'bad governance' narrative was rarely countered by examples of discontinued conflicts, peace and better governance in general. Consequently, newspapers reflected the narrative that good governance in developing countries does not exist....which is reflected in strong public perceptions of corruption and little confidence in local governments in developing countries"

Both the media and the public pay relatively little attention to perspectives of justice and equality, and the liability of the West for the poverty of the developing world."

Source: Vossen, M and Schulpen,L Media frames and public perceptions of global poverty in the UK: Is there a link?

FIGURE 58: TOP TEN HUMANITARIAN CRISES THAT DID NOT MAKE HEADLINES IN 2023, CARE

1) Angola
2) Zambia
3) Burundi
4) Senegal
5) Mauritania
6) Central African Republic
7) Cameroon
8) Burkina Faso
9) Uganda
10) Zimbabwe

All 10 countries are African

Source: Care International

NGO FRAMING

Unfortunately some NGOs aiming to alleviate African poverty also propagate negative views on Africa. Too many large NGO communications budgets prioritise marginal fundraising returns over explaining the injustices Africa face and so broadcast dehumanising images and videos accordingly.

The same 2019 study that showed media overfocuses on bad governance in the developing world also showed NGOs "*avoided the 'governance' topic altogether leaving [the media's] negative views unchallenged*"[243].

Most major charities also fail to use their massive fundraising communications budgets to educate the public about why extreme poverty still exists in a world that has never been richer.

The 25 largest humanitarian NGOs spent $1.5 billion on fundraising in 2013-4[244]. Too many of them have '*ending poverty*' as their mission whilst undermining that aim by misleading the public on the systemic changes required.

In contrast, environmental and human rights NGOs such as Amnesty[245] and Greenpeace[246] use longform fundraising adverts that also explain the political causes. Greenpeace UK is set up as a company not a charity to ensure they can discuss political issues freely[247].

Hundreds of millions of people continuing to live in extreme poverty is not an inevitability, but due to unjust global decision-making. However, it is a rare development charity TV advert that explains why or how. These NGOs might be bolder if they were led by the communities most affected.

Only 19% of British people say the Empire was a bad thing and only 21% say Britain should regret historic colonialism[248]. Americans believe 28% of the government budget goes towards foreign aid when the truth is 1%[249].

These figures demonstrate the communications failure of the development NGOs that prioritise raising money for themselves over explaining the causes of extreme poverty.

BOLDER AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

African leaders also have to face their responsibility for the lack of awareness of the injustices Africa faces. Too many African leaders repress the protests of young people in their country instead of taking those protests and raising the issues at the UN and international fora.

The leadership of the African Union and the Africa group on tax at the UN shows what is possible but there is a lot more African leaders can do on the international stage.

African Leaders must be bolder in refusing to pay debts that are unsustainable and unjust, in challenging tax avoidance by companies, and in declining to engage in international fora until and unless the emergency IMF Special Drawing Rights are allocated fairly and development and climate finance promises are kept.

Nationally, there is a lot more that leaders must do to challenge perceptions on African governments. When African leadership is poor it is a gift to those seeking an excuse to continue their exploitation of Africa.

Beyond the damage it does when limited government funds are wasted on leaders expenses, and when international exploitation and theft is facilitated by African middle men, it also helps perpetuate negative perceptions of Africa that enable the ongoing exploitation of the continent.

It is the subject of other reports and campaigns by the All-Africa Student Union, and by national student unions across the continent, but bolder national leadership to end education inequality is essential and would realise significant education financing (*see page 48*). It would also ensure protests can focus on the international drivers of the shocking increase in education inequality between the world's young people.

IN FOCUS: KENYA DEBT CRISIS – SUPPORT OR REPRESS?

In Kenya, debt servicing costs have increased by 500% in the last decade alone (Figure 59) and **debt now costs Kenya more than half of its annual tax revenues to service**. This is completely unsustainable and needs to be cancelled.

Instead, the rich countries that control the IMF have done minimal restructuring and pushed the Kenyan government to hugely increase taxes, many of them regressive and paid by the extremely poor, so international creditors are repaid.

African leaders in Kenya and other countries such as Nigeria should be supporting their citizens protests and taking the issues to the international community rather than suppressing them with violence. They must stop doing the bidding of the rich country banks. Many protestors have died in Kenya in the last few months and more have suffered already from the debt crisis.

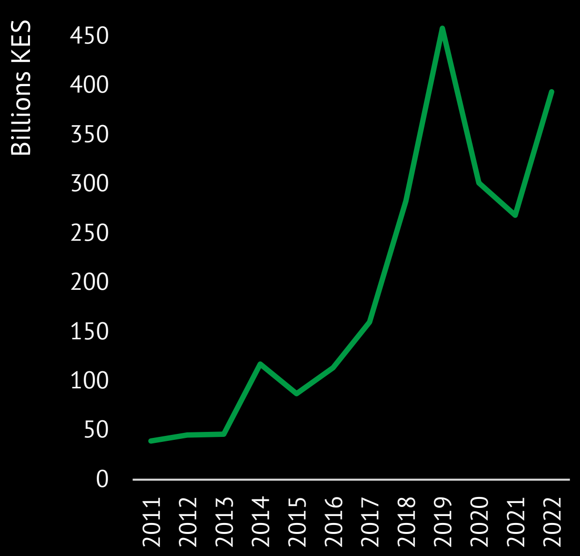
Over five million *more* Kenyans live on less than $2.15 a day since the start of the Sustainable Development Goals and the number of ***malnourished people* in Kenya has increased by six million since the debt crisis began** (Figure 60).

Because of the series of crises outlined in this report, poverty is even more extreme. Most citizens cannot pay additional regressive taxes for elites and for yet more repayments to international banks.

It also shows the short sightedness of the policies of western countries in recent years. As Nanjala Nyabola put it *"A stable Kenya is crucial to western geopolitics, yet western institutions are also central to destabilising the country"*[250]. Action must be taken by richer countries to cancel the unrepayable debt now before the situation spirals.

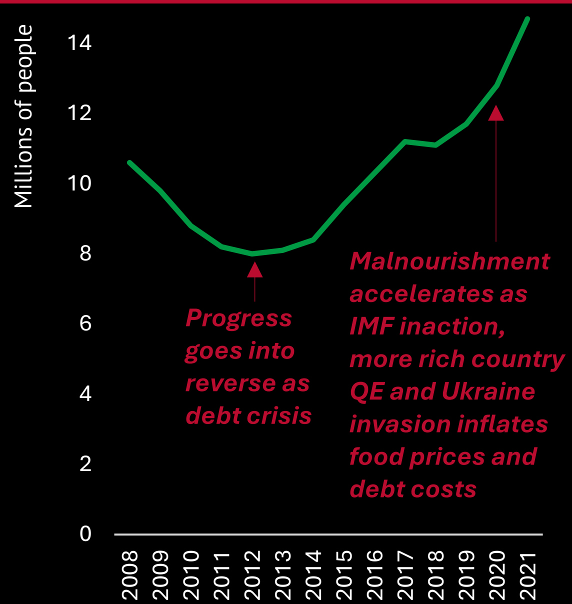
Image: CC by 3.0, Wikimedia Commons, Credit: Capital FM Kenya

FIGURE 59: KENYAN ANNUAL DEBT SERVICING, KENYAN SHILLING (KES)



Sources: World Bank & Exchange-rates.org

FIGURE 60: MALNOURISHED PEOPLE IN KENYA



Source: FAO

RESEARCH

It is also important to consider the impact of research biases on perceptions of Africa. African research is particularly underfunded and a majority of published academic research on Africa is undertaken by non-African researchers.

A study in 2019-20 showed how even for three leading African journals, 70% of articles were written by non-Africans and only 12% of articles were written by Africans based in Africa[251]. This is an incredible reflection on the state of inequality in higher education in the world today.

Furthermore, much of the research undertaken by African researchers is funded by international actors. Some of it is helpful, but it inevitably skews priorities.

The same study also showed the narrow focus of much of the research, "*85 percent of all articles are country case studies, and one-third examine the micro-level. A tiny minority (7.6 percent) takes into account a broader picture, such as Africa as a whole or subregions. ...only 21 percent consider a period of more than ten years...only 3 percent combine the big picture with the longue durée, ...comparisons with other world regions are practically absent*"[252].

Despite the health challenges in Africa, a review of 11 health funder research grants in 2018 found that "Africa received only 0.8% (583 out of 76,435) of the grants provided" [253]. It adds that *"Unfortunately, the much-anticipated hope that locally generated evidence will inform the development of local solutions in African countries would remain a pipe dream, without building such research capacity"*[254].

Strong investment by finance ministries in higher education can build in country expertise and greater national level research into how countries can reduce tax evasion, profit shifting and negotiate better contracts. When governments in Asia developed stronger internal research and negotiation capacities it helped them increase their share of global wealth.

FAIRER FUTURE: COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

International institutions produce a lot of analysis and reports on the state of the world and the rights of children and young people. Unfortunately, many of them either miss or hide the critical trends as they do not disaggregate their analysis or focus on the human cost.

International researchers and report writers could:

- Contextualise the huge wealth and education inequalities in their data analysis.
- Give greater attention to trends of Africa against the *Rest of the World*, rather than comparing Africa with *World* totals that also contain African data. So many accidently or deliberately misrepresent the scale of the regional trends in Africa with this simple error.
- Contrast what data means for the young people involved. How likely are they to experience something positive or negative and how does that contrast with young people elsewhere.
- Contextualise data with historical trends. The rates of child marriage, youth illiteracy, and infant mortality are from over a century ago in high income countries, before the inventions of the telephone and the TV. Despite all the advances in medicine, the maternal mortality rate faced by women today in sub-Saharan Africa is higher now than it was in England 200 years ago in the early 1800's.
- Consider the critical scaled solutions used in other countries. Every country that has achieved universal education has a major public education system and you need social protection systems to eliminate extreme child poverty.
- Count people and children rather than just rates which mask the human cost and can hide the growing number of people affected.

"I WANT MY FRIENDS TO GO TO SCHOOL AND BE WELL EDUCATED."

Janet was seven years old when she first became a child labourer in Liberia, forced to hawk on the streets of the capital, Monrovia, to support her family. She used to have to wake up early to start selling sugarcane and sweets among cars and on the streets.

The rates of child labour for children aged 5-11 years old are rising at unprecedented rates. Janet has now returned to school and become a 100 million youth activist and has called on the government of Liberia to end child labour and deliver the right of education for all. Working together with the National Student Union in Liberia (LINSU), Janet has met members of parliament to demand greater education funding.

However, the 100 Million campaign in Liberia have been unable to get visas to meet with international institutions based in Europe and the United States to discuss the growing inequality between countries and the modern injustices behind the huge increase in child labour. Young people in other countries need to stand with young people in Africa if their voices are to be heard.

Courtesy of 100 Million Liberia, May 2022

TALENT EXODUS

A related challenge for higher education in Africa is when scholarships bring top African students to study in developed countries and then entice them to stay abroad due to '*better opportunities*'.

Individual freedom is important, but there are major recruitment drives from universities outside of Africa encouraging top students to study abroad (often labelled as aid) which leads to a brain drain.

This exodus of talent deprives African countries of the very skills and knowledge it needs to develop its own institutions and economies and creates a long-term deficit in human personal. This perpetuates a cycle where the continent remains dependent on external expertise and support.

Scholarships have a role to play but they should be undertaken alongside strengthening African educational institutions. By not investing in local universities and only enticing the best students to move abroad, the capacity to produce and retain world-class talent within Africa is weakened.

Supporting local institutions helps retain talent and build educational ecosystems that are more attuned to African realities and needs. This could include improving infrastructure, research capacity, and academic programs within the continent.

Furthermore, international scholarships often target those who are already relatively privileged, neglecting the most vulnerable and marginalized students. Scholarship schemes must avoid exacerbating existing inequalities within Africa.

By primarily sending African students abroad, there is a missed opportunity for developed countries to contribute directly to the improvement of African institutions through knowledge transfer.

Conversely if more universities were willing to send experts to the continent it could foster a more collaborative and sustainable development model.

This is not just an issue within higher education. The deliberate targeting of health staff from African countries has also caused significant challenges in recent years. In several English-speaking rich countries, health ministries have worked out that it is cheaper to poach health staff from Africa than train their own.

In Zambia, there are over 10,000 patients per doctor[255], yet over 10% of Zambian doctors are treating patients in the US, UK, Australia or Canada[256].

In just one year in 2021 the UK hired over 500 doctors from Sudan which was almost 5% of the *total* number of doctors in Sudan[257]. Yet Sudan has a doctor patient ratio that is 22 times worse than the UK[258] and nearly half a million Sudanese children under the age of five have died since the SDGs started in 2016[259].

It is also getting worse, in 2021, one in four nurses working in the UK's National Health Service came from overseas, compared to one in six in 2016[260].

Individuals have the right to take offers, and health professionals should be better supported when they do move. However systematic, well-funded mass recruitment campaigns from rich countries weaken fragile health systems especially when they are not coupled with investments in African Higher Education to train health staff in the future.

Just *nine* sub-Saharan African countries showed an estimated **loss of returns from investment of $2.17 billion to train the doctors who were recruited to work in high-income countries[261].**

Yet another injustice that overstretched African education budgets can ill afford and yet another illustration of how the African perspective is not considered. Despite the volume of reporting on immigration in Europe (so often dehumanising and racist), the skills and added value of African immigrants are downplayed and the impact of the talent exodus on Africa is simply ignored.

CHANGING OUR FUTURE: DOWN TO US

CALL TO ACTION FOR THE WORLD'S STUDENTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

A personal appeal from the All-Africa Students Union Secretary General, Peter Kwasi Kodjie:

After reading this report, after seeing the evidence for yourself, you have an important choice to make. Will you join our fight to realise the fundamental rights of our peers who have been marginalised for far too long?

We need systemic change, and it won't be easy, but this struggle is a litmus test for the values of equality, justice and solidarity that we profess to hold dear. Students and young people have a proud legacy of refusing to accept injustice, wherever in the world it takes place. We did so during the global Anti-Apartheid movement, and we must unite and rise again today.

A new youth and student led campaign has begun, with activists starting to mobilise across Africa but to succeed we need everyone who wants to end the injustices Africa faces to work together. We must recognise that in an increasingly interconnected world our liberation is bound together. Wherever you live, it is our collective moral responsibility to do all we can to ensure every child and young person in Africa has the same access to education as those born into privilege.

Choosing hope for a better, more equal world over despair is non-negotiable. As writer Rebecca Solnit reminds us "your opponents would love you to believe that it's hopeless, that you have no power, that there's no reason to act, that you can't win. Hope is a gift you don't have to surrender, a power you don't have to throw away."

It is time to choose courage over complacency, action over apathy. It's time to deliver Justice for Africa. Please join us.

ACT NOW

A) JOIN OUR MOVEMENT AND TAKE ACTION

As the African proverb reminds us “if you want to go fast, go alone, if you want to go far, go together”.

Justice for Africa is a new youth and student-led global collective of organisations uniting to demand an end to the rigged international rules on tax, debt and aid that undermine education financing in Africa and reform of global institutions where African votes are worth less than others. Convened by the All-Africa Students Union, 100 Million campaign, and Global Students Forum we invite any youth or student organisation that supports the call for Justice for Africa to join us here.

With supporting organisations in 40 countries across five continents already, together we organise global mobilisation days, collaborate on international advocacy, distribute awareness content and meet regularly to amplify each other’s efforts. Learn more and take action with us at www.100million.org

B) EDUCATE YOURSELF AND OTHERS

Unless we choose to educate ourselves and others about the modern injustices against Africa perpetuated by today’s generation then the injustice will continue.

Educating ourselves on the reality of injustice in Africa allows us to actively challenge misinformation and negative framing, arms us with evidence of why education inequality is rising to refute false assumptions and makes us strong advocates for the changes needed to achieve Justice for Africa.

We all have a choice over what content we consume and share, send this report and its findings to your networks, seek out African-led reporting and diversify your social media feeds. Ignorance is not an option; it is part of the problem.

C) ADVOCATE FOR CHANGE

To end the many international injustices detailed in this report and achieve education for all in Africa, governments and international institutions must act. High-income countries that unfairly dominate global governance must end their systemic discrimination of Africa and African governments must stop suppressing people protesting against extreme inequality but instead echo their demands in international fora.

As a citizen, especially if you live in a democracy, your political representatives are supposed to work for *you*, advance *your* concerns, help build the country, international community and future *you* want to see.

Use this power to loudly advocate for your government to deliver the recommendations below that could solve the rising education inequality crisis and transform the life chances of young people in Africa. Advocate on the streets, in letters, on social media, in meetings or during future Justice for Africa global mobilisations: make them impossible to ignore any longer.

I.TAX:

- **All governments** must support the critical UN Tax Convention negotiations and the introduction of a binding and just new international tax system that ensures tax is paid where wealth is created.
- **All governments** must stop turning a blind eye to companies exploiting Africa by tax avoidance and evasions. Prosecutions need to be sought for those breaking the law and where fines occur in another country, the money must be sent to the country where the offence took place.
- **African governments** must stop tax exemptions for multinational and national corporations and strengthen their capacity to collect taxes and stop illicit financial flows.

II.FINANCING:

- **High-income governments** must fulfil their responsibility to provide 0.7% of GNI in ODA including:
  - Spending aid money in the poorest countries with sub-Saharan African countries receiving 0.3% of GNI in bilateral aid from all DAC donors
  - Ringfencing 20% of ODA for long term education and 10% of ODA to social protection
  - Mobilising full funding for climate adaptation and mitigation for all developing countries
- **African governments** must ringfence 20% of their budget for education and a further 10% for child, maternity and disability benefits and universal school feeding programmes.

III. DEBT:

- **High-income governments** must use their disproportionate power in the global governance system to end the worst ever debt crisis by supporting an emergency issue of IMF Special Drawing Rights ringfenced to rectify 2021's discriminatory allocation by ensuring all countries receive the $362 per person high income countries received with funds:
  - Cancelling all debt for low-income countries and lower-middle income countries with debt servicing to income levels above the IMF threshold of 14%.
  - Providing additional financing for low and lower middle income countries with lower debt levels.
- **High-income governments** must agree to create a Sovereign Default Mechanism that gives countries the same protection as corporates and introduce new rules so sovereign debt is only enforceable on future generations if the loan is publicly reported in debt registers and has the approval of the parliament/assembly.

IV. GLOBAL GOVERNANCE REFORM:

- **High-income governments** must back instead of block international system reform, including equal representation of African countries and equal per person distribution of any global liquidity injections.
- **High-income governments** must support efforts to redistribute voting powers in the IMF to be equal, democratic and decolonised and reorganise IMF country teams to prioritise the needs of the counties they advise, including tax justice, cancelling unsustainable debt and ending loan conditionalities.

REFERENCES & CALCULATION NOTES

NOTE ON DATA:

Every figure in this report has a zero on the x axis so you can see the true gradient and proportion in all the comparisons.

Notes on the calculations are provided with the references and marked in green. If you know of improvements in the calculations, please do let us know – our campaign aims to be as accurate as possible.

Links are provided so you can explore the data for yourself and some notes are provided to show more details on the calculations for those who would like to reuse them or investigate further.

SOURCES FOR FIGURES:

FIGURE 1: UNESCO, *Indicator: Graduation ratio from first degree programmes (ISCED 6 and 7) in tertiary education, female (%) code GGR_6t7_F..* **– Available from:** https://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx *In the left hand side themes menu select EDUCATION -> Other policy relevant indicators -> Gross Graduation ratio from tertiary education. On the chart change the indicator to '**Gross Graduation ratio from first degree programmes (ISCED 6 and 7) in tertiary education, female (%)**'*

FIGURE 2: UNESCO, FIGURE 1 Indicator & **WORLD BANK,** *Indicator: Lifetime risk of maternal death (1 in: rate varies by country)* - **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.MMR.RISK

FIGURE 3: UNESCO & WORLD BANK - SAME SOURCES AS FIGURE 2

FIGURE 4: UNESCO - SAME SOURCES AS FIGURE 1 *& on the chart also change the indicator to '**Gross Graduation ratio from first degree programmes (ISCED 6 and 7) in tertiary education, male (%)**'*

FIGURE 5: UNESCO, **Education-Estimates.org '*Out of School Children*' – Available from:** https://education-estimates.org/out-of-school/data/ *Change 'Target' box to 'Aggregate' & Change 'Select indicator to 'Out of School Children' & Change 'Select Education Level' to 'All' & Change Select Sex to 'Total' Rest of World – is the World total minus the sub-Saharan Africa region*

FIGURE 6: UNESCO - SAME SOURCES AS FIGURE 5

FIGURE 7: UNESCO, *Indicator code IllPop_Ag15t24..* **– Available from:** https://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx *In the left hand side themes menu select EDUCATION -> Other policy relevant indicators -> Number of illiterates -> Illiterate Population (and check on chart* **'Youth Illiterate Population, 15-24 years, both sexes (number)'** *is selected. Africa total adds together the North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa totals in the Sustainable Development Goal regions, the Rest of the World is calculated by subtracting that from the World total. The % is then the share of world total each year.*

FIGURE 8: WORLD BANK Indicator: Literacy Rate, Adult total (% of people ages 15 and above). **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS *Use latest year* **& CLARK, GREGORY,** 'The great escape: The industrial revolution in theory and history' - **Scientific Figure on ResearchGate**. **Available from:** https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Literacy-in-England-1580-1920_fig3_228553349 & **MINTZ, STEVEN** 'The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Statistics Education in America, 1860-1950' **. Available from:** https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/teacher-resources/statistics-education-america-1860-1950

FIGURE 9: UNESCO Indicator Government Expenditure on Education in Constant USD **– Available from:** https://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx *In the left hand side themes menu select EDUCATION -> Other policy relevant indicators -> Government Expenditure on Education amount -> Government Expenditure on Education in Constant USD Illiterate Population (and check on chart '**Government expenditure on education in constant US$**' is selected* **')'** Retrieved14Jul23 & **WORLD BANK** Indicator: Population ages 0-14, total **from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.0014.TO *Divide the education expenditure in each year by an estimated 0-17 population (0-14 population from three years before plus 20% of current 0-14 population) for an estimate of budget per child.*

FIGURE 10: UNESCO & WORLD BANK - SAME SOURCES AS FIGURE 9

FIGURE 11: UNESCO Indicator: Government expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP - **Available from:** https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/ *Check 'Target' box is 'Education 2030 FFA'*

FIGURE 12: WORLD BANK Indicator: GDP per Capita (constant 2015 US$) - **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD

FIGURE 13: WORLD BANK - SAME SOURCES AS FIGURE 12

FIGURE 14: WORLD BANK - SAME SOURCES AS FIGURE 12

FIGURE 15: BBC NEWS Explore DR Congo in maps and graphs, (27 November 2012 sourced from UN), **Available from:** https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15722799

FIGURE 16: WORLD BANK Indicator: Total natural resource rents (% of GDP) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.TOTL.RT.ZS **&** Indicator: GDP (constant 2015 $) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD *Multiply them both together to get Natural Resource Rent values in constant USD*

FIGURE 17: WAR ON WANT & Curtis, Mark The New Colonialism Report, Britain's scramble for Africa's energy and mineral resources (2016) **Available from:** https://waronwant.org/sites/default/files/TheNewColonialism.pdf

FIGURE 18: FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES Africa Colonial Map **Available from:** https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/colonial-presence-africa

FIGURE 19: World Bank Indicator: Tax revenue (% of GDP) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.TAX.TOTL.GD.ZS **& *multiplied by*** Indicator: GDP (constant 2015 US$) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD **&** *divided by Extracted population 0-17 derived from* Indicator: Population ages 0-14, total **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.0014.TO *(0-14 population from three years before plus 20% of current 0-14 population) for an estimate of 0-17 population.*

FIGURE 20: World Bank Indicator: Tax revenue (% of GDP) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.TAX.TOTL.GD.ZS **& *multiplied by*** Indicator: GDP per capita (constant 2015 US$) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD

FIGURE 21: Trade Justice Movement, State of Tax Justice 2023 **Available from:** https://taxjustice.net/reports/the-state-of-tax-justice-2023/

FIGURE 22: EU Tax Observatory, *(Figure 2.7)* Global Tax Evasion Report 2024 **Available from:** https://www.taxobservatory.eu/www-site/uploads/2023/10/global_tax_evasion_report_24.pdf

FIGURE 23: OECD Statement on a Two-Pillar Solution to Address the Tax Challenges Arising from the Digitalisation of the Economy, October 2021 **Available from:** https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/topics/policy-issues/beps/statement-on-a-two-pillar-solution-to-address-the-tax-challenges-arising-from-the-digitalisation-of-the-economy-october-2021.pdf

FIGURE 24: United Nations, UN.org Draft Resolution A/C.2/78/L.18/Rev.1 **Available from:** https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/ltd/n23/356/75/pdf/n2335675.pdf **&** Proposed Amendment to the resolution **Available from:** https://www.un.org/en/ga/second/78/docs/A-C2-78-CRP7.pdf

FIGURE 25: RHIPTO, INTERPOL and Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime World Atlas on Illicit Financial Flows **Available from:** https://globalinitiative.net/analysis/world-atlas-of-illicit-flows/ *(graphic derived from Norwegian Center for Global Analysis, 2015, International Peace Information Service, IPIS 2017).*

FIGURE 26: World Bank International Debt Statistics 2024, **Available from:** https://databank.worldbank.org/source/international-debt-statistics Select on left hand side: *Country* – 'Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding high income); *Counterpart-Area* – 'World'; *Series* – 'Debt service on external debt total (TDS, current US$); *Time* - tick all years through '2012-2023'

FIGURE 27: World Bank International Debt Statistics 2024, Debt Service on external debt, total (TDS, current US$) **Available from:** https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/debt-statistics/ids *Click on Databank: IDS (Timeseries) button and then select for 'Series' the indicator Debt Service on external debt, total (TDS, current US$) and compare for country and year* **&** *then use* Indicator GDP (current US$) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD **&** Indicator GDP (constant 2015 US$) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD *to change from current USD to constant 2015 USD and then take the % increase.*

FIGURE 28: White House Carbis Bay G7 Summit Communiqué **Available from:** https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/06/13/carbis-bay-g7-summit-communique/ **& OECD/DAC** Table 29. Net Disbursements of ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa by Donor **Available from** https://web-archive.oecd.org/temp/2024-06-20/77893-statisticsonresourceflowstodevelopingcountries.htm Select Net Disbursements of ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa by Donor and compare 2019 and 2020 for G7 countries and multilaterals [*If archive is not available the same data can be found in DAC2A: Aid (ODA) disbursements to countries and regions*) **Available from:** https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLE2A Select Recipient 'Sub-Saharan Africa', Measure 'Official development assistance (ODA) disbursements, Price base 'Constant prices', Donor 'Multilateral & G7, Time period 2019,2020 to calculate additional aid in 2020 over 2019]. *If you include 2021 it gives 0.014% compared to 0.010% for 2020*

FIGURE 29: Fierce Pharma The top 20 pharma companies by 2021 revenue **Available from:** https://fiercepharma.com/special-reports/top-20-pharma-companies-2021-revenue

FIGURE 30: OWID,WPP Primary vaccine coverage of population by country **Available from:** https://pandem-ic.com/primary-vaccine-coverage-of-population-by-country-map-2/ *Accessed 14th Sep 2022*

FIGURE 31: **World Bank** International Debt Statistics, Indicator, 'External debt stocks, private nonguaranteed (PNG) (DOD, current US$) *Click on Databank: IDS (Timeseries) button and then select for 'Series' the indicator **External debt stocks, private nonguaranteed (PNG) (DOD, current US$)** and then for 'Counter-Part Area' select **World** and then for Country **select sub-Saharan Africa excluding High Income Countries** [there is only one sub-Saharan African country that is high income which is the Seychelles and the data is not available for that country so this is as a slight underestimate for sub-Saharan Africa] and then select relevant years* **Available from:** https://databank.worldbank.org/source/international-debt-statistics

FIGURE 32: **UK GOVERNMENT** News story: Chancellor and G7 Finance Ministers agree milestone support for vulnerable countries (19th March 2021) **Available from:** https://www.gov.uk/government/news/chancellor-and-g7-finance-ministers-agree-milestone-support-for-vulnerable-countries

FIGURE 33: **International Monetary Fund** 2021 General SDR Allocations **Available from:** https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/special-drawing-right/2021-SDR-Allocation **&** **World Bank** Indicator: Population, Total **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL

FIGURE 34: **IMF** List of LIC DSAs for PRGT-Eligible Countries As of April 30, 2024 **Available from:** https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2023/imf-world-bank-debt-sustainability-framework-for-low-income-countries

FIGURE 35: **IMF** Central Government Debt (Percent of GDP) **Available from:** https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/CG_DEBT_GDP@GDD/SWE **&** *Multiply by* **World Bank** Indicator GDP (constant 2015 US$) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD

FIGURE 36: **IMF** Central Government Debt (Percent of GDP) **Available from:** https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/CG_DEBT_GDP@GDD/SWE

FIGURE 37: **World Bank** International Debt Statistics 2024, **Available from:** https://databank.worldbank.org/source/international-debt-statistics/ *Select on left hand side: Country – 'Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding high income); Counterpart-Area – 'World'; Series – 'Debt service on external debt total (TDS, current US$); Time - tick all years through '2012-2023' . Then use* Indicator GDP (current 2015 US$) **Available from** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD to get a % of debt to GDP. *Then divide by* Indicator Government expenditure on education, total (% of GDP) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS

FIGURE 38: Same as Figure 37 selecting countries

FIGURE 39: **OECD DAC** Creditor Reporting System (CRS) **Available from:** https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/

FIGURE 40: OECD DAC 2A, Available from: https://data-explorer.oecd.org/vis?fs[0]=Topic%2C1%7CDevelopment%23DEV%23%7COfficial%20Development%20Assistance%20%28ODA%29%23DEV_ODA%23&pg=0&fc=Topic&snb=19&df[ds]=dsDisseminateFinalDMZ&df[id]=DSD_DAC2%40DF_DAC2A&df[ag]=OECD.DCD.FSD&df[vs]=1.1&dq=.DPGC.206.USD.Q&lom=LASTNPERIODS&lo=5&to[TIME_PERIOD]=false **& World Bank** Poverty and Inequality Platform **Available from:** https://pip.worldbank.org/poverty-calculator

OECD - Click on Recipient: *Sub-Saharan Africa* and *All recipients,* Time Period: *2005-2022*, Donor: *DAC countries*, Measure: *Official Development Assistance (ODA) ODA disbursements.* Divide the two columns to get the % of country and regional ODA allocated by DAC countries to SSA.

PIP – Poverty: *Population Living in Poverty – select DOWNLOAD ALL REGIONAL DATA which you see by hovering over the blue download button. Divide sub-Saharan Africa by World for each year to get the percentage of the poorest living in sub-Saharan Africa.*

FIGURE 41: OECD DAC 'Table 29, Net Disbursements of ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa by Donor' **Available from:** https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/statisticsonresourceflowstodevelopingcountries.htm Then click on the link for Net Disbursements of ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa by Donor. & 'DAC Members' official development assistance in 2022 on a grant equivalent basis **Available from:** https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/statisticsonresourceflowstodevelopingcountries.htm Calculating the proportion of SSA GNI% by dividing SSA Net disbursement by country by the global net disbursement and the multiplying by the GNI % divided by total gross disbursement

FIGURE 42: UK government FCDO, Additional Tables: Statistics on International Development, Table 4a, **Available from:** https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/statistics-on-international-development-final-uk-aid-spend-2022

FIGURE 43: OECD, Aid (ODA) by sector and donor [DAC5] **Available from:** https://data-explorer.oecd.org/vis?fs%5b0%5d=Topic%2C1%7CDevelopment%23DEV%23%7COfficial%20Development%20Assistance%20%28ODA%29%23DEV_ODA%23&pg=0&fc=Topic&bp=true&snb=10&df%5bds%5d=dsDisseminateFinalDMZ&df%5bid%5d=DSD_DAC1%40DF_DAC5&df%5bag%5d=OECD.DCD.FSD&df%5bvs%5d=1.0&pd=%2C&dq=ALLD.528....Q.&to%5bTIME_PERIOD%5d=false&ly%5brw%5d=SECTOR&ly%5bcl%5d=TIME_PERIOD&vw=tb Select Price Base - Constant USD and Donor – Official donor, Measure – Bilateral ODA Commitments. Divide the figure for Education sector by the total for all sectors

FIGURE 44: Our World in Data Cumulative CO2 emissions based on the Global Carbon Project **Available from:** https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/cumulative-co2-emissions-region *(Accessed Dec 2023).*

FIGURE 45: Our World in Data Cumulative CO2 emissions based on the Global Carbon Project **Available from:** https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/cumulative-co2-emissions-region *(Accessed Dec 2023) &* **Notre Dame-Global Adaptation Index (ND-GAIN) Country Index** Country Index **Available from:**

https://gain.nd.edu/our-work/country-index/ *(Accessed Sep 2022)* **& World Bank** Indicator: Population, Total **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL Calculate the CO2 emissions per person for each country and then convert to a % of the highest country. Calculate the ND-GAIN % by dividing the Vulnerability Score for each country score by the highest ND-GAIN score by 100 to get a %. Then calculate the average results for each region.

FIGURE 46: Our World in Data & World Bank - same sources as Figure 45 but don't do the last step of calculating the regional averages.

FIGURE 47: International Monetary Fund, 'IMF Voting Power', 2024 **Available from:** https://www.imf.org/en/About/executive-board/eds-voting-power

FIGURE 48 Individual figures provided from the relevant section of the accompanying *FAIRER FUTURE* box on the same page with the following sources:

SDR - International Monetary Fund 2021 General SDR Allocations **Available from:** https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/special-drawing-right/2021-SDR-Allocation **& World Bank** Indicator: Population, Total **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL First calculate the share of SDRs that would have been allocated to sub-Saharan Africa if they had been allocated by population and then work out the share to sub-Saharan Africa if they had been ringfenced to low and middle income countries and allocated by population. Deduct actual allocations for sub-Saharan Africa from both figures and convert into USD by multiplying by the average value of SDR in the 2021 $650 billion issue. Also see references #202.

ODA – OECD / DAC
– For the first calculation of the education 20% additional funding - deduct the current SSA ODA Allocation to education from 20% of SSA ODA. See references #203 for detailed breakdown.
- For the second calculation, multiply the first figure by Africa's 67% of the global total people living under $2 divided by the proportion of current ODA allocated to SSA in 2022 23.9%. In effect multiplying the SSA current ODA allocation by (67%-23.9%)/23.9 % to get the additional funding. Then take 20% for Education. See references #204 and on page 39 for more details on sources for 67% and 23.9%.
- For the third calculation multiply the latest SSA ODA allocation (2022) plus the second calculation by (0.7%-0.37%)/0.37% to get the additional funding. 0.7% is the target ODA and 0.37% 2022 ODA GNI% to SSA. For education take 20% of the additional funding. For further information on sources see references #205

UNESCO – Derive the 20% domestic contribution by calculating the % shortfall from 20% multiplied by the current domestic education budgets population weighted by country (16.6%) – i.e. 20% target minus the current education % government allocation, then divide by the current education % government allocation and then multiply by the current education budget in USD $. For further information see references #206.

FIGURE 49: Individual figures in the table are calculated from:

UNESCO & International Task Force on Teachers for Education, Global Report on Teachers, 2024 **Available from:** https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000388832 p.135 table 6.3 For the first number combine the total for teachers ($6,481 million and $38,704.4 million) to get sub-Saharan African teacher financing shortfall of $45,189,400,000. For the second number use the estimation of teacher costs as a share of total education budget in the same report on p.136 – 75%. To work out non teacher costs divide teacher costs by 3.

Laureates and Leaders for Children & 100 Million Campaign, Justice for Africa's Children Report, January 2023, **Available from:** https://www.laureatesandleaders.org/resources - for the third figure see p.66 School feeding and school health programmes calculation for the world's most vulnerable children $5.8 million, 86% of these children live in Africa but the full cost is included here.

FIGURE 50: World Bank Indicator: Government expenditure on education, total (% of GDP) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS & Indicator: GDP (current US$) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD **& UN Population Division** Total population by five-year age group **Available from:** https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/ Calculate the U18 population by adding 0-4 & 5-9 & 10-14 & 60% of 15-19 age groups. Additional funding per child is calculated by adding the amounts listed in Figure 48 divided by the number of children in the relevant countries.

FIGURE 51: University of Uppsala Battle Related Deaths, One Sided Conflicts, and Non-State Actors **Available from:** https://ucdp.uu.se/exploratory **& World Bank** Indicator: Population, Total **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL

FIGURE 52: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute SIPRI Military Expenditure Database **Available from:** https://milex.sipri.org/sipri

FIGURE 53: World Bank Indicator Fertility rate, total (births per woman) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN

FIGURE 54: World Bank Indicator: Fertility rate, total (births per woman) **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN

FIGURE 55: World Bank - Sources the same as Figure 54

FIGURE 56: UNICEF Global Databases, Female U18 Child Marriage Rate **Available from:** https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-protection/child-marriage/ **& UNESCO** SDG Release, Completion rate, upper secondary education, female (%) **Available from:** https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/ *(Accessed 4 February 2024)* **& World Bank** Indicator: Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19) *(latest year)* **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT **&** Indicator: Contraceptive prevalence, any method (% of married women ages 15-49) *(latest year)* **Available from:** https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.CONU.ZS **&** Indicator: Fertility rate, total (births per

woman) *(latest year)* **https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN** **& UN DESA** SDG Indicator database, select indicator 3.7.1(SH_FPL_MTMM) **Available from:** **https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/dataportal/database**

FIGURE 57: Bobo, Charles, Krysan and Simmons Social Trends in American Life 2012 **Available from:** **https://journalistsresource.org/criminal-justice/white-racial-attitudes-over-time-data-general-social-survey/**

FIGURE 58: Care International, CARE report launch: Breaking the Silence - the 10 most under-reported crises of 2023 (January 2024) **Available from: https://www.careinternational.org.uk/press-office/press-releases/care-report-launch-breaking-the-silence-the-10-most-under-reported-crises-of-2023/**

FIGURE 59: World Bank, International debt statistics, debt service on external debt, Select Indicator: 'TOTAL DEBT SERVICE (TDS, CURRENT US$)'; County – Kenya; relevant year **Available from: https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/debt-statistics/ids & EXCHANGE-RATES.ORG** - USD/KES average Exchange Rates for each year **Available from:** **https://www.exchange-rates.org/exchange-rate-history/usd-kes-2011**

FIGURE 60: Food and Agricultural Organization, Indicator Number of undernourished people (millions) **Available from: https://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/FS**

REFERENCES:

[1] **UNESCO UIS,** Government expenditure on education, constant US$ (millions), X_USconst_FSgov, https://data.uis.unesco.org/ & **UN Population Division,** File POP/02-1: *Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands),*. https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/ *(Adding 5-9,10-14,15-19 together for school age population estimate).*
DATA: Belgium $6548, France $4,615, Italy $3,528 Portugal, $1,279, Spain $1,176, UK $5,547, Average =$3,782; Botswana $200.49, Cameroon $91.30, Congo, Rep. $519.37, Cote d'Ivoire $539.94, Egypt, Arab Rep. $129.18, Eswatini $106.48, Ghana $155.65, Kenya $166.92, Lesotho $38.74, Madagascar $64.99, Morocco $218.68, Niger $23.03, Nigeria $164.42, Seychelles $553.13, Togo $33.85, Zambia $165.30 , Average African country = $198.22**, Difference in average $3,584**

[2] Ibid - using latest year gives difference of **$13,259, 3.7 times more than 1976**

[3] **UNESCO UIS,** Indicator **GGR_6t7_F..** gives female graduation rate of 58.3% for Europe for latest year & **World Bank,** Indicator **SH.MMR.RISK** gives 0.0087% for the European Union for latest year so graduation rate chances are 670,015% higher for graduation than lifetime risk of maternal death.

[4] **Ibid** gives graduation rate 3.28911% for latest year and lifetime risk of maternal death 2.439% for latest year so chances of graduation are 34.85% higher

[5] **UNESCO UIS**, Indicator GGR_6t7_GPIA *Gross Graduation ratio from first degree programmes in tertiary education, adjusted gender parity index* gives 26% gap for 2000 and 13% gap for 2017.

[6] **UNESCO UIS**, Education Estimates.org shows 102,003,333 children out of school in Africa and 296,770,611 children out of school in other countries, 25.6% share for Africa

[7] Ibid gives 89,632,364 for Africa in 2010 and 105,332,592 for 2023 an increase of 15,700,228

[8] **101 American School Statistics: 2024 Data**, Trends & Predictions, https://research.com/education/american-school-statistics#secondary shows in 2019, 15.3 million students enrolled in high school (9th to 12th grade).

[9] *International Labour Office and United Nations Children's Fund (2021) Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*, **ILO/UNICEF** New York https://www.ilo.org/ipec/Informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang--en/index.htm

[10] Ibid gives 92,200,000 for Africa child labourers in 2020 (latest year) & *International Labour Office (2017) Global Estimates of Child Labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016*, **ILO Geneva** https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_575499/lang--en/index.htm ; gives 72,113,000 for Africa for 2016 for an increase of 20,087,000 and divided by 208 gives an average of 96,512 more African child labourers each week & **Forbes World Billionaire's List**, https://www.forbes.com/billionaires/ gives 2,781 Billionaires in 2023 and 1,810 billionaires in 2016 and increase of 971 divided by 364 weeks gives 2.67 billionaires a week.
[11] **UNESCO UIS**, Education Estimates.org shows 403,100,000 children out of school in the world in 2000 and 87,250,000 in sub–Saharan Africa giving **315,850,000** children out of school in the rest of the world in 2000. It also shows 244,400,000 children out of school in the World in 2024 of which 100,800,000 are in sub–Saharan Africa giving **143,600,000** children out of school in the rest of the world in 2024. This means a fall of **172,250,000** in the rest of the world between 2000 and 2024.
[12] **UNESCO UIS,** *Completion rate, upper secondary education, both sexes (%)*, https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/
[13] **UNESCO UIS**, *Youth literacy rate, population 15-24 years, both sexes (%),* https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/
[14] **UNESCO UIS,** Indicator GGR_6t7.., *Gross graduation ratio from first degree programmes (ISCED 6 and 7) in tertiary education, both sexes (%) gives 55.52% for Portugal in 2021 and Indicator, Completion rate, primary education, both sexes (%) gives 52.70% primary school completion rate for Madagascar in 2022* .
[15] **UNESCO, UIS** https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/ *Completion rate, upper secondary education, female (%), gives 2.71% for Chad in 2019 & World Bank Indicator* *SP.DYN.IMRT.FE.IN* *Female Infant mortality rate* gives 5.94% for Chad in 2021 minus the 0.38% rate for high income countries (as a maximum estimate of the current proportion of infant deaths that are unavoidable) gives 5.56% in avoidable deaths.
[16] **UNESCO UIS** *Completion rate, secondary education,* https://data.uis.unesco.org/ both sexes UNESCO (%) & Percentage of children aged 5-17 years engaged in child labour UNICEF
[17] **UNESCO UIS**, IllPop_Ag15t24.. *Youth illiterate population, 15-24 years, both sexes (number) for 1991* gives *41,050,548 for North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa combined against* 125,917,437 for the world minus Africa meaning 24.6% of 15-24 year olds who are illiterate lived in Africa in 1991 & for 2022 gives 52,915,908 for Africa and 36,046,085 for the rest of the world meaning 59.5% of 15-24 year olds who are illiterate lived in Africa in 2022.
[18] **Ibid** & **UN Population Division,** File POP/02-1: *Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands),*. https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/ Adding 15-19 and 20-24 gives 15-24 populations for Africa and World to work out proportion gives ratio of 31.6% for Africa in 1991 and 12.4% for the rest of the world in 1991 a multiple of 2.55 and in 2021 gives 19% for Africa and 3.1% for the rest of the world in 2021 a multiple of 6.18
[19] **UNESCO**, World Inequality Database, (https://wid.world)
[20] **Ibid**
[21] **World Bank,** Indicator NY.GDP.MKTP.KD**,** GDP in Constant USD 2015 gives World GDP as $36.50 trillion in 1991 and $89.96 trillion in 2022, a 2.46 times increase
[22] *International Labour Office and United Nations Children's Fund (2021) Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*, **ILO/UNICEF** New York https://www.ilo.org/ipec/Informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang--en/index.htm
[23] **UNESCO**, *Youth literacy rate, population 15-24 years, both sexes (%)* https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/ gives the highest of the countries in figure 9 as Senegal with 78.14% and 5 countries below 50%.
[24] **Mintz, Steven** *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Statistics Education in America, 1860-1950 shows White literacy rate of 89% in 1870 and a Black literacy rate of 20%,*
[25] National Centre for Education Statistics, 120 years of Literacy https://nces.ed.gov/naal/lit_history.asp
[26] Only some countries had enough UNESCO data for education expenditure in the 1970s through to the 2020s –10 sub-Saharan African countries and 11 European countries were included in the Figure but the trends in those countries with partial data points are very similar and the African countries with no data are the very poorest where the budgets are likely to be even lower.
[27] **UNESCO,** *Government Expenditure on Education Constant* https://data.uis.unesco.org/ & **UN Population Division,** *File POP/02-1: Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands),* In all 48 UNESCO countries with comparable data on education expenditure from the early 1970s to today, 10 are African, 16 European and 22 Asian or Latin American *https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/* adding 5-9,10-14,15-19 together for school age population estimate gives $330 for Asia and Latin America in 1976 (or latest year 1972-5) and $1,089 in 2022 (or latest year 2018-2021). Equivelent figures for Europe give $6,762 in 1976 and $13,709 for 2022.
[28] **UNESCO,** *Government Expenditure on Education Constant* https://data.uis.unesco.org/ & **UN Population Division,** *File POP/02-1: Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands),*. *https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/* adding 5-9,10-14,15-19 together for school age population estimate gives the following table for the 48 countries with data in the years 1972-1976 & 2018-2022:

Country	CONSTANT USD $ Education Expenditure 1976 (or latest year 1972-75) *UNESCO*	CONSTANT USD $ Education Expenditure 2022 (or latest year 2018-2021) *UNESCO*	School-aged population 1976 (5-19) *calculated from UN Population Division data*	School-aged population 2022 (5-19) *calculated from UN Population Division data*	Expenditure per child 1976	Expenditure per child 2022	Change in Budget per child 1976-2022
Norway	9,993,920,580	39,511,087,910	614,546	954,092	$16,262	$41,412	$25,150

Luxembourg	638,552,020	3,122,595,700	56,130	101,699	$11,376	$30,704	$19,328
Denmark	11,273,414,270	28,068,166,470	745,302	979,334	$15,126	$28,660	$13,534
Finland	5,934,717,870	19,083,765,750	794,484	910,937	$7,470	$20,950	$13,480
Austria	10,646,001,210	25,585,871,070	1,157,185	1,286,367	$9,200	$19,890	$10,690
Belgium	14,866,419,190	38,094,636,850	1,547,207	1,985,791	$9,609	$19,184	$9,575
Netherlands	25,848,607,770	52,333,011,620	2,360,703	2,869,647	$10,950	$18,237	$7,287
Ireland	2,240,374,120	14,522,745,380	553,472	1,014,479	$4,048	$14,315	$10,268
United Kingdom	74,645,307,610	167,126,744,870	8,305,082	11,982,459	$8,988	$13,948	$4,960
France	58,343,412,950	157,226,343,190	8,335,644	11,712,300	$6,999	$13,424	$6,425
Malta	61,566,630	857,397,060	61,751	67,323	$997	$12,736	$11,739
Italy	47,026,624,570	87,785,235,870	8,022,219	8,181,066	$5,862	$10,730	$4,868
Spain	11,326,110,260	66,281,355,190	5,749,913	7,268,986	$1,970	$9,118	$7,149
Portugal	3,200,906,480	11,739,613,920	1,529,575	1,475,186	$2,093	$7,958	$5,865
Cyprus	158,490,600	1,514,798,100	133,744	195,254	$1,185	$7,758	$6,573
Greece	1,991,954,980	7,809,290,740	1,181,432	1,583,526	$1,686	$4,932	$3,246
EUROPE	**278,196,381,110**	**720,662,659,690**	**41,148,385**	**52,568,445**	**$6,761**	**$13,709**	**$6,948**
Hong Kong SAR, China	996,808,670	13,691,956,680	1,081,737	866,811	$921	$15,796	$14,874
Singapore	629,153,510	9,872,032,080	558,498	724,583	$1,127	$13,624	$12,498
Korea, Rep.	3,418,581,330	83,495,833,140	8,062,175	6,880,927	$424	$12,134	$11,710
Bermuda	126,125,600	94,656,310	9,935	10,096	$12,696	$9,376	-$3,320
Chile	1,542,841,580	15,944,161,730	2,246,953	3,674,518	$687	$4,339	$3,652
Barbados	186,485,970	210,241,720	56,310	51,361	$3,312	$4,093	$782
Argentina	2,518,145,530	22,644,364,850	4,487,100	10,721,152	$561	$2,112	$1,551
Malaysia	993,337,890	14,157,406,230	2,723,858	7,835,572	$365	$1,807	$1,442
Jamaica	587,344,940	773,585,580	404,674	634,117	$1,451	$1,220	-$231
Peru	1,845,625,110	8,945,602,310	3,170,194	8,843,446	$582	$1,012	$429
Guyana	87,696,810	197,279,480	166,447	225,256	$527	$876	$349
Ecuador	376,373,300	3,986,047,010	1,500,653	4,719,908	$251	$845	$594
Paraguay	106,378,300	1,365,342,380	572,330	1,862,954	$186	$733	$547
El Salvador	132,552,610	1,039,063,720	854,287	1,703,896	$155	$610	$455
Guatemala	343,914,430	2,893,448,560	1,288,606	5,756,595	$267	$503	$236
Jordan	217,231,860	1,498,494,250	377,433	3,503,878	$576	$428	-$148
Sri Lanka	295,152,820	1,785,791,670	2,877,348	5,240,415	$103	$341	$238
Iran, Islamic Rep.	3,466,823,860	6,702,994,430	6,886,145	19,736,317	$503	$340	-$164
Nicaragua	149,059,700	606,020,370	615,134	2,012,595	$242	$301	$59
Papua New Guinea	282,443,450	487,100,540	536,323	3,246,179	$527	$150	-$377
Myanmar	84,825,520	1,645,466,300	6,163,301	13,494,897	$14	$122	$108
Pakistan	841,145,770	6,575,813,920	13,627,790	80,655,787	$62	$82	$20
ASIA & LATIN AMERICA	**19,228,048,560**	**198,612,703,260**	**58,267,226**	**182,401,256**	**$330**	**$1,089**	**$759**
Cote d'Ivoire	1,412,886,500	2,697,935,580	1,389,619	10,354,100	$1,017	$261	-$756
Ghana	660,019,730	2,727,308,310	2,115,032	11,270,961	$312	$242	-$70
Kenya	1,034,702,840	4,642,255,740	2,797,397	19,419,713	$370	$239	-$131
Lesotho	17,280,710	167,165,150	249,370	731,828	$69	$228	$159
Congo, Rep.	324,094,780	437,011,750	318,614	2,162,713	$1,017	$202	-$815
Zambia	350,523,040	1,017,673,940	1,002,933	7,507,804	$349	$136	-$214
Cameroon	223,186,290	1,277,948,140	1,371,953	10,087,572	$163	$127	-$36
Togo	28,101,810	300,689,740	491,545	3,110,759	$57	$97	$39
Niger	44,341,510	463,616,440	1,134,542	10,102,094	$39	$46	$7

Madagascar	204,303,490	403,761,600	1,596,311	10,327,555	$128	$39	-$89
AFRICA	**4,299,440,700**	**14,135,366,390**	**12,467,313**	**85,075,098**	**$345**	**$166**	**-$179**

[29] **UNESCO,** *Government Expenditure on Education Constant* https://data.uis.unesco.org/ & **UN Population Division,** *File POP/02-1: Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands),.* *https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/* adding 5-9,10-14,15-19 together for school age population estimate gives public education expenditure in Malta as $857 million (latest year) against a school aged population of 70,510 giving an annual spend of $12,519 which on a 180 day school year gives $67.55 per day and $540 for eight days. Public education expenditure in Malawi is $361 million (latest year) against a school age population of 8.3 million giving an annual average expenditure of $43.12 or twelve years of school expenditure as $517.

[30] **UNESCO,** *Government Expenditure on Education Constant* https://data.uis.unesco.org/ gives $3.12 billion for Luxembourg (latest year) and Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Togo combined expenditure of $2.3 billion (latest year)

[31] **UN Population Division,** *File POP/02-1: Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands), https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/* adding 5-9,10-14,15-19 together for school age population estimate gives school aged population of Luxembourg as 104,095 , and 50,690,169 for Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Togo combined

[32] **Ibid** gives Norway a $39.5 billion education budget for 945,000 school aged children and Tanzania, Sao Tome and Principe, The Gambia, Liberia, Cabo Verde, Djibouti, Burundi, Lesotho, Mauritania, Togo, Chad, Malawi, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Madagascar, Benin, Congo, Rep., Niger, Rwanda, Mauritius, Zimbabwe, Congo, Dem. Rep., Uganda, Mozambique, Mali, Burkina Faso, Zambia, Senegal, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire a combined $18.3 billion education budget for 236.3 million school aged children

[33] **World Bank,** Indicator NY.GDP.MKTP.KD**,** GDP in Constant USD 2015 gives World GDP as $23 trillion in 1976, roughly doubling to $45 trillion by 1998 and roughly doubling again to $90 trillion in 2022, a 2.46 times increase

[34] **World Bank,** Indicator NY.GDP.MKTP.CD, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD, GDP in ***Current*** USD gives world wealth of $100.9 trillion in 2023, and 0.2% gives over $200 billion a year, significantly more than the global funding estimates needed to achieve universal education. For example **UNESCO** & **International Task Force on Teachers for Education, 2024,** *Global report on teachers: addressing teacher shortages and transforming the profession* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000388832 estimates the total cost of closing the professional teacher gap is as $120 billion with teachers an estimated as 75% of the costs of an education system. The **UNESCO Global Monitoring Report 2020,** https://old-sdg4e.gn.apc.org/index.php/act-now-reduce-impact-covid-19-cost-achieving-sdg-4-unesco-gem-september-2020 estimated the financing gap for achieving SDG 4 on universal education as $148 billion for low and lower middle income countries. Later GMR reports only cost the lower national 2030 education plans because "*Costing the achievement of these targets, as we attempted twice before in 2015 and 2020, is no longer relevant, as these are unattainable by the original deadline*", Yuri Murakami, GEM report, https://world-education-blog.org/2023/04/14/the-annual-financing-gap-to-achieve-sdg-4-targets-is-almost-100-billion/

[35] **UNESCO UIS**, *Expenditure on education as a percentage of total government expenditure (%),* https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/

[36] **Ibid** gives, Malta 12.66% and Madagascar 14.07%

[37] **UNESCO,** *Government Expenditure on Education Constant* https://data.uis.unesco.org/ & **UN Population Division,** *File POP/02-1: Total population (both sexes combined) by five-year age group, region, subregion and country, annually for 1950-2100 (thousands),.* *https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/* adding 5-9,10-14,15-19 together for school age population estimate & gives Burundi $28 per child and Switzerland $30,065 per child for 2018 (latest year). **UNESCO UIS**, *Expenditure on education as a percentage of total government expenditure (%),* https://sdg4-data.uis.unesco.org/ show Burundi spends 20.64% of its government budget on education – if it spent 100% per child education expenditure would rise to $137.55 still some 218 times smaller than Switzerland

[38] **World Bank**, *Tax Revenue ($ of GDP) Indicator GC.TAX.TOTL.GD.ZS,* https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.TAX.TOTL.GD.ZS gives 10.24% for Madagascar in 2021 & **World Bank** *GDP / capita current, Indicator NY.GDP.PCAP.CD* https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD which gives $503.35 for 2021. Multiplied together gives $51.53 tax revenue per person in 2021 for Madagascar

[39] **World Bank**, Indicator NY.GDP.PCAP.KD https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD gives 1976 Sub-Saharan Africa $1,531, European Union $15,853 (multiple 10.35) and North America $28,280 (multiple 18.47) & for 2022 gives Sub-Saharan Africa $1,623, European Union $34,159 (multiple 21.04) and North America $60,961 (multiple 37.55)

[40] **Ibid** - $1,531 in 1976 and $1,623 in 2022

[41] **Ibid** shows GDP/capita in constant USD is lower in 2022 than 1976 in Burundi, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo, Dem. Rep., Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Zimbabwe

[42] **Ibid** shows United States $28,583 in 1976 and $62,789 in 2022, growth in GDP / capita constant of $34,206

[43] **Ibid** – calculation $34,206.39 / 16,801 days gives $2.03 growth per day in the United States compared to annual sub-Saharan African growth of $91.96 / 46 years gives $2.00 per year

[44] Investopedia (2021) *Countries With The Most Natural Resources*. Available at: https://www.investopedia.com/articles/markets-economy/090516/10-countries-most-natural-resources.asp

[45] **Mining-Technology.Com** derived from **GlobalData**, *Diamond production in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and major projects, https://www.mining-technology.com/data-insights/diamond-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo/*

[46] **University of Waterloo Earth Sciences Museum**, https://uwaterloo.ca/earth-sciences-museum/resources/detailed-rocks-and-minerals-articles/coltan

[47] Council for Foreign Relations (October 2020). *Why Cobalt Mining in the DRC needs urgent attention.* https://www.cfr.org/blog/why-cobalt-mining-drc-needs-urgent-attention

[48] https://www.strategyand.pwc.com/m1/en/strategic-foresight/sector-strategies/technology/tech-champions.html estimates the digital economy will reach 25% of global GDP by 2025 (which will be over $25 trillion).

[49] **Amnesty International,** "*THIS IS WHAT WE DIE FOR" HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO POWER THE GLOBAL TRADE IN COBALT* 2021, https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/AFR6231832016ENGLISH.pdf

[50] **Investingnews.com** (September 2021) *Top Copper Production by Country.* https://investingnews.com/daily/resource-investing/base-metalsinvesting/copper-investing/copper-production-country/

[51] **World Gold Council** (June 2021) *Mine production.* Available at: https://www.gold.org/goldhub/data/historical-mine-production

[52] **BizVibe (2020**) Top 10 Diamond Producing Countries in the World 2020, https://blog.bizvibe.com/blog/topdiamondproducing-countries

[53] **United Nations Environment Programme.** https://www.unep.org/regions/africa/our-work-africa (accessed 12 October 2022).

[54] **World Bank,** *Total Natural Resource Rents (% of GDP*), Indicator NY.GDP.TOTL.RT.ZS, *https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.TOTL.RT.ZS & GDP (constant 2015 US$)* Indicator, NY.GDP.MKTP.KD *https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD*

[55] *International Labour Office and United Nations Children's Fund (2021) Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*, **ILO/UNICEF** New York https://www.ilo.org/ipec/Informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang--en/index.htm gives 92,200,000 for Africa child labourers in 2020 (latest year) & *International Labour Office (2017) Global Estimates of Child Labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016*, **ILO Geneva** https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_575499/lang--en/index.htm ; gives 72,113,000 for Africa for 2016 and increase of 20,087,000.

[56] **World Bank and UNICEF** *Global Trends in Child Monetary Poverty According to International Poverty Lines*, https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/publication/global-trends-in-child-monetary-poverty-according-to-international-poverty-lines gives the number of children living on $2.15 a day from 2017-2022) and the % and number in 2022 that were from sub-Sahara Africa (71.1% and 237.03 million) & **World Bank** *Global Estimate of Children in Monetary Poverty: An Update*, https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/966791603123453576/pdf/Global-Estimate-of-Children-in-Monetary-Poverty-An-Update.pdf gives a % share for sub-Saharan Africa in 2017 of 65.8% for the $1.90 poverty level. Using this percentage gives sub-Saharan African children living under $2.15 a day as 229 million in 2017, so an increase in 8 million from 2017-2022. (Also Projections for African adults from *Poverty and Inequality Platform Poverty Calculator – Population living below the poverty line (2017 PPP).* Available at https://pip.worldbank.org/poverty-calculator gives 385 million in sub-Saharan Africa for 2015. For 2022 the world data and all but two regions are published – projections show sub-Saharan Africa will be between 452-3 million. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099835007242399476/pdf/IDU0965118d1098b8048870ac0e0cb5aeb049f98.pdf show an even larger increase of over 65 million.

[57] **FAO**, *Number of undernourished people (millions)* https://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/FS gives 175.8 million people for 2015 and 260.6 for 2021 (latest year) giving an increase of 84.8 million people . An estimate using the same proportion of children as those living on less than $2.15 in sub-Saharan Africa (52.4%) from **World Bank and UNICEF** *Global Trends in Child Monetary Poverty According to International Poverty Lines*, https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/publication/global-trends-in-child-monetary-poverty-according-to-international-poverty-lines, gives an estimate of 45 million more children.

[58] **War on Want,** *Curtis, Mark, The New Colonialism Report, Britain's scramble for Africa's energy and mineral resources 2016*

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[60] **'America and West Indies: September 1672', Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 7, 1669-1674, (London, 1889***), pp. 404-417. British History Online* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol7/pp404-417 [accessed 28 June 2024].

[61] Over 25% held of MPS held East India company shares **Dalrymple (2019**) in https://senecalearning.com/en-GB/revision-notes/a-level/history/aqa/the-british-empire/1-2-1-the-british-empire-and-india

[62]**Office of National Statistics** (2020) '*The proportion of UK shares held in the rest of the world increased again to set a record high, at 56.3% of the value of the UK stock market.'* https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/investmentspensionsandtrusts/bulletins/ownershipofukquotedshares/2020

[63] **The Guardian**, 5th Nov 2017, '*Revealed: Glencore's secret loan to secure DRC mining rights'* https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/05/revealed-glencore-secret-loan-drc-mining-rights-paradise-papers

[64] The Guardian, *'Marc Rich: controversial commodities trader and former fugitive dies aged 78; Rich – who founded international commodities conglomerate Glencore – was for a time one of America's most wanted men',* 26th June 2013, *https://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/jun/26/marc-rich-commodities-trader-fugitive-dies "He was also on the FBI's most wanted list for almost two decades"*

[65] Reuters, '*Glencore prepares to pay up to $1.5 bln to settle U.S., UK, Brazil probes*' , 24th May 2022 https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/glencore-appear-court-us-uk-over-corruption-probe-2022-05-24/ gives details of the $1.1 billion US settlement & The Guardian, *'London court forces Glencore to pay record £281m for bribery in Africa'* 3rd November 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/nov/03/london-court-forces-glencore-to-pay-record-281m-for-bribery-in-africa gives details of the £281m in UK fines, confiscated profits and costs as punishment for "sustained criminality".

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[174] ***UK Office for Budget Responsibility*** *Historical Public Finances Database,* April 2019 -Mar 2020 UK Government expenditure after debt repayments 37.7%, April 2022- March 2023 after debt repayments 41.2% (with debt repayments the increase is even higher from 39.3% to 45.7%)

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[187] **Ibid** the current emissions per capita rate for sub-Saharan Africa gives 0.0000007681 Mt per person which multiplied by **Ibid** the 2022 world population 7,950,946,801 gives 6.1 Gt and the world emissions in 1950 were 6.26Gt. Today emissions are 37.10Gt meaning 6.1Gt is 16% of today's emissions

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Sub-Saharan Africa's share equates with cancelling the total debt for all low income countries and 48% of the debt for lower-middle income countries in sub-Saharan Africa which would release $55 billion in reduced debt servicing costs (sum the latest year of debt servicing costs for all low income Sub-Saharan Africa countries and 48% of lower-middle income Sub-Saharan African countries).

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You then work out the gap to the 20% target as 0.12486% and then multiply that by the 2022 ODA to SSA to get $7,397,559,149

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Country	CONSTANT USD $ Education Expenditure 1976 (or latest year 1972-75)	CONSTANT USD $ Education Expenditure 2022 (or latest year 2018-2021)	School Aged population 1976 (5-19)	School Aged population 2022 (5-19)	Budget per child 1976	Budget per child 2022	Change in Budget per child 1976-2022
AFRICA	**$4,299,440,700**	**$14,135,366,390**	**12,467,313**	**85,075,098**	**$345**	**$166**	-$179
REST OF THE WORLD	**$297,424,429,670**	**$919,275,362,950**	**99,415,611**	**234,969,700**	$2,992	$3,912	**$921**
Multiple					*9*	*24*	

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