

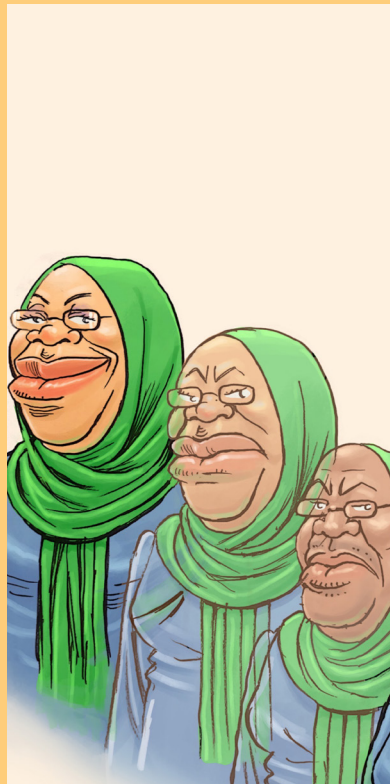
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The Continent

Tanzania's moment of truth

*Ni wakati wa
kueleza ukweli
kuhusu Tanzania*





Cover: No one likes to speak ill of the dead. Nevertheless, many Tanzanians breathed a quiet sigh of relief at the passing of former president John Magufuli. His successor, Samia Suluhu Hassan, initially promised to be less authoritarian. But then people started disappearing. To make this story more accessible to Tanzanian audiences, we are publishing it in English (p13) and Kiswahili (p16).

Inside:

- **Sudan:** A history of relentless destruction (p7)
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CHINA

Let's just keep this between yuan me

One million jobs! Over \$50-billion in new investment! Thirty massive infrastructure projects! These were among the grand pledges made by President Xi Jinping at the China-Africa forum in Beijing on Thursday. In the audience were a group of 51 mostly very old men, known collectively as “African heads of state and government”, who are vying amongst themselves for a slice of this pie. Notably, the Chinese president did not mention the thorny issue of bilateral debt: some African countries have racked up enormous bills during previous Chinese investment drives, and are struggling to pay them off. This is a major contributing



Hey, Big Spender: President Xi Jinping speaks at the opening of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in Beijing on Thursday. Photo: Greg Baker/POOL/AFP

factor to the debt crisis faced by the continent, which is exacerbating the cost of living crisis.

MPOX

The first vaccines promised to the DRC have finally arrived

A plane touched down in Kinshasa on Thursday afternoon carrying 99,100 doses of a vaccine for mpox, donated by the European Union. The disease has killed 629 and infected over 4,000 in the country in 2024. Another 100,000 doses are expected to arrive on Saturday. The plan is to distribute the vaccines in the six most-affected provinces, although this is complicated by the need to keep the doses at -90°C.

KENYA

Seventeen killed as fire rips through school dormitory

At least 17 boys were killed when a fire tore through the dormitory of the Hillside Endarasha Academy, a boarding school in Nyeri, in the early hours of Friday morning. Another 14 boys were injured. The victims were between nine and 13 years old. President William Ruto has ordered a full investigation, saying that those responsible for the blaze will be held to account.



Tiarable ordeal: Chidimma Adetshina has been crowned Miss Universe Nigeria. Photo: Benson Ibeabuchi/AFP

BORDERLESS BEAUTY

Young, beautiful and objectively Nigerian-South African

In Lagos on Saturday night, Chidimma Adetshina won the Miss Universe Nigeria pageant – on only her second visit to the country. Adetshina is a South African national who grew up in South Africa, with Nigerian heritage. She was forced to withdraw from the Miss South Africa competition after a vicious online campaign – endorsed by the new minister of sport, Gayton McKenzie – questioned whether she was South African enough. “It was a very horrible experience, and I wouldn’t wish it on anybody,” she told *Silverbird TV*. She will now travel to Mexico for the global Miss Universe pageant.

UGANDA

Bobi Wine hospitalised after... assaulting a tear-gas cannister?

A surgeon at Nsambya Hospital in Kampala this week removed pieces of shrapnel from the leg of Robert Kyagulanyi, the rapper-turned-politician better known as Bobi Wine. How the shrapnel got there is a subject of dispute. According to Bobi Wine’s political party, a tear-gas canister was aimed directly at the opposition leader, in what they described as an attempt on his life. A police spokesperson adopted a more passive voice, saying Wine’s motorcade blocked a public road and “during the ensuing altercation, it appears he sustained injuries.”

GLOBAL INEQUALITY

UN boss calls for African debt relief

António Guterres, the secretary-general of the United Nations, has warned that African states will experience more social unrest unless their debt crisis is addressed. “They have no access to debt relief, scarce resources, and insufficient concessional funding to respond to the basic needs of their population,” he said at the China-Africa forum in Beijing. According to *Reuters*, Guterres described global financial architecture as “outdated, ineffective and unfair.”

ESWATINI

Absolute love in an absolute monarchy

The last absolute monarch on the African continent, 56-year-old King Mswati III, is taking a 16th wife. The bride in question is 21-year-old Nomcebo Zuma, who just happens to be the daughter of former South African president Jacob Zuma. A palace spokesperson dismissed criticism of the union. “Love has no eyes to see or count age. Love happens between two people. It can happen between a person who is 100 years old and a person who is above the average of what is permitted constitutionally,” he told the *BBC*. At least



Leave him on reed! Nomcebo Zuma, third from left, is to marry King Swati III. For love, allegedly, and of her own free will. Photo: Emmanuel Croset/AFP

one of the king’s wives has accused him of domestic violence.

GERMANY

And then turn right before you hit Poland

The Alternative für Deutschland, a far-right party, won the most votes in the state election in Thuringia on Sunday – the first time a far-right party has finished first in a regional poll since World War II. It also performed strongly in neighbouring Saxony. One senior AFD leader, Björn Höcke, was recently convicted of using a Nazi slogan in his speeches. Despite its neo-Nazi leanings, the party has been gaining in popularity for several years now, with Germany’s political establishment seemingly powerless to do anything about it.

DRC

A prison break gone very, very wrong

An attempted prison break in the early hours of Monday morning turned into a bloodbath at the notorious Makala prison in Kinshasa. At least 129 people are reported to have died – some suffocated in the crush of people trying to escape, others shot by prison guards. Makala is the country’s largest prison, but was only built to house 1,500 people. The current population is ten times that number, with many prisoners held indefinitely without charge, or in remand while their cases crawl through the country’s judicial system – a process that can take years.



Anointed: The new Maori monarch, 27-year-old Nga Wai Hono i te Po Paki.

Photo: DJ Mills/AFP

AOTEAROA

The king is dead, long live the queen

At an emotional ceremony on Thursday, 27-year-old Nga Wai Hono i te Po Paki was anointed by Maori elders as Queen of the Kiingitanga – a confederation of Māori tribes, originally established in 1858 to resist colonisation. Her father, the previous monarch, was buried on the same day. The new queen has no official powers in New Zealand (known as Aotearoa in the Māori language), but will wield considerable cultural influence. Her ascension to the throne comes amid a controversial push by the country's rightwing government to roll back Māori rights.

REPUTATION LAUNDERING

Philanthropist, researcher, arms dealer

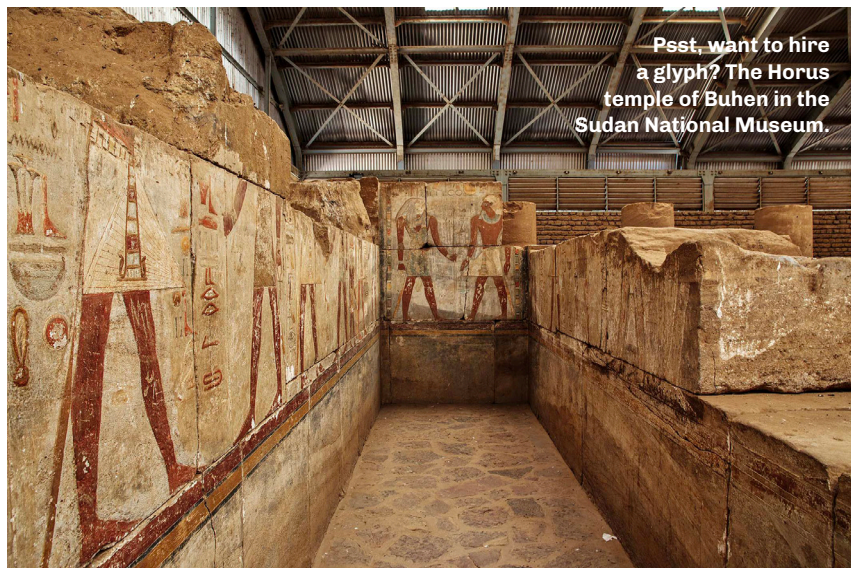
Nearly two-thirds of African youth are thinking about moving abroad to improve their prospects. This is according to the latest African Youth Survey, published by the Ichikowitz Family Foundation, a non-profit established by South African tycoon Ivor Ichikowitz. The report was covered by *Al Jazeera*, *VOA*, *RFI* and *OCCRP*. None of these outlets saw fit to mention that Ichikowitz owns Africa's largest private arms dealer, Paramount Group, and could uplift African youth by not selling weapons to their oppressors.

METEORS

Leave space for a headline here

On 25 August, a piece of rock from space slammed into the Earth's atmosphere. On the southern tip of Africa, stargazers "saw a bright blue-white and orange streak of light moving through the sky", according to the *Mail & Guardian*. The rock broke into pieces on impact, some of which have been recovered and analysed by South African scientists. They identified it as an achondritic meteorite, and will analyse it further to figure out where in space it originated.

Sudan



Psst, want to hire a glyph? The Horus temple of Buhen in the Sudan National Museum.

RSF determined to leave no war crime untried

With genocide already ticked off the list, Hamdan Dagalo's forces now stand accused of looting cultural artefacts to erase Sudan's history.

Liban Mahamad

More than 200 Sudanese professors and researchers have written to the president of South Sudan asking for his help in returning artefacts looted from

the National Museum of Sudan this year.

This was after the national broadcaster, SBC, reported over the weekend that it had confirmed the long-suspected looting, thanks to satellite images. These showed “trucks loaded with items”

leaving the museum earlier this year, heading toward the border with South Sudan.

The museum, which houses antiques from every Sudanese civilisation, going as far back as the Stone Age, is located in a part of Khartoum that is currently controlled by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). The paramilitary group has been fighting the national army since April 2023. In the early months of the war, RSF fighters were filmed rummaging through another museum in the territory they control: the M Bolheim Bioarchaeology Laboratory, which holds ancient skeletons dating back to 3000 BCE.

In the early months of the war, RSF fighters were filmed rummaging through another museum in the territory they control: the M Bolheim Bioarchaeology Laboratory

Earlier this year, historical artefacts from the national museum started showing up online for sale.

A piece of Jibbeh Tunic from the 1800s Mahdist military rule over Sudan was posted on eBay for sale at \$200. A Facebook post offered artefacts for sale, saying it would accept US dollars and deliver them to Port Sudan. Suspicion grew that RSF had looted the national museum.

“The RSF launched a war on the very identity of the country” Reem Abbas, a Sudanese researcher and fellow at the Tahrir Institute for Middle East policy, told *The Continent*. “By targeting

museums, cultural centres, universities and research centres, they seek to undermine Sudan’s cultural centre, which lies in the Nile area, and they will contest the history and land of the indigenous communities.”

Contesting identity is a thread that runs through many of the war crimes accusations the RSF faces. In Darfur, where it has been repeatedly and credibly accused of genocidal violence, these accusations arose because of its targeting of black Sudanese people. ■

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1880-1898 Jibbeh tunic From The Mahdist Military In Sudan

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Desecration: A Jibbeh Tunic from the 1800s Mahdist military rule over Sudan was posted on eBay for sale at \$200.

East Africa

Man kills Olympian. Again.

Rebecca Cheptegei paid the ultimate price for outpacing the man in her life. She's far from the only woman athlete to have done so.



Photo: Felix Sanchez Arrazola/Alamy Stock Photo

Kalungi Kabuye

Ugandan athlete Rebecca Cheptegei died on Wednesday from injuries she had sustained on Sunday, when her former boyfriend poured petrol on her and set her alight. She became the third woman athlete to die at the hands of a man in western Kenya in the past three years.

Cheptegei, 33, built a solid 15-year career running cross country, marathons and other long distance races. She represented Uganda at the Paris Olympics

last month and held the Ugandan national women's marathon record.

She was born and raised in Bukwo, a Ugandan district bordering Kenya. Over the course of her career, she bought land and built a house in Trans Nzoia county in western Kenya, to be closer to elite training facilities. At the time of her attack, she was reportedly in conflict with her boyfriend, Dickson Ndiema Marangach, a Kenyan athlete, over this property.

On the fateful day, according to Kenyan police, Cheptegei and her two

daughters had just returned from church when Marangach sneaked into her house and attacked. The fire he lit also burnt him, but not nearly as severely as Cheptegei.

She suffered burns over 80% of her body, according to the head of Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital, where she later died.

“It led to multiple organ failure. We tried our best but we did not succeed. Looking at her age and the over 80% burns she suffered, the hope of recovery was slim,” Kimani Mbugua, the head of the hospital’s intensive care unit, told journalists.

“This tragedy is a stark reminder of the urgent need to combat gender-based violence, which has increasingly affected even elite sports,” Kenyan Sports Minister Kipchumba Murkomen said in a statement.

One in three women in Kenya report suffering physical violence or abuse, according to a 2022 official report, and success puts women athletes particularly at risk.

In February 2023, Olympic gold medallist Vivian Cheruiyot told a Kenyan newspaper that her husband had taken control of her properties, including gas stations and farmland, and that, when she objected, he abused her physically and psychologically.

In April 2022, Kenyan-born Damaris Muthee Mutua, 28, was found strangled in the town of Iten, a world-famous high-altitude training centre. The October before that, World Athletics Championships bronze medallist Agnes Tirop was found stabbed to death, again

in Iten. In both instances, their intimate partners were the suspected murderers.

In 2021 Edith Muthoni, a 27-year-old runner living in Nairobi, was found with her throat slit with a machete. In 2014 another woman Kenyan runner, Lucy Kabuu, was sued by her ex-husband for control of half of her properties.

Some 34% of women in Kenya report suffering physical violence or abuse, according to a 2022 official report, and success puts women athletes particularly at risk.

“The husbands expect them to bring home money,” Njeri Migwi, the executive director of Usikimye, an advocacy group that focuses on gender-based violence, told the *New Yorker* in 2023. “The minute they want certain levels of independence, the men abuse them.”

The men implicated in these attacks have faced few consequences. Mutua’s body was found in the house of an Ethiopian athlete named Eskinder Hailemaryam Folie, and a police autopsy said she was strangled. Folie went on the run, and was reported to have gone back to Ethiopia. He is still at large. Tirop’s husband, Ibrahim Rotich – a man 15 years her senior, who became her manager after meeting her as a secondary school student – was arrested for her murder and reportedly confessed. He is out of prison on bail.

It remains to be seen what, if any, charges will be brought against Dickson Ndiema Marangach. ■

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Round and round on the carousel of big egos we go

Libya is once again being pulled apart at the seams by its rival administrations.

Kiri Rupiah

The end may be in sight for a standoff that plunged Libya into chaos last month, after the country's two governments reached an agreement over who will lead the central bank.

On Tuesday, the Benghazi-based House of Representatives and the High State Council in Tripoli released a statement saying they had agreed to jointly appoint a central bank governor and board of directors within 30 days, potentially ending a saga that saw the previous governor of the Central Bank of Libya, Saddiq al-Kabir, fleeing the country to parts unknown.

Whoever governs Libya's central bank must serve two masters: Commander Khalifa Haftar in Benghazi and Prime Minister Abdulhamid al-Dbeibah in Tripoli.

Haftar, a notorious warlord who has been accused of war crimes, commands the Libyan National Army and is the de

facto leader of eastern Libya. Dbeibah is the leader of Libya's internationally recognised government, based in Tripoli in the country's west.

Since 2014 Libya has been split between these two administrations. A short-lived unity ended after a year in 2022 when the Benghazi-based parliament withdrew its confidence in Dbeibah's government, appointing its own prime minister, Osama Hammad. International governments and institutions still recognise Dbeibah's Tripoli government.

The central bank in Tripoli is the only internationally recognised repository of Libya's oil revenues, but most of the oil wells are in eastern Libya. Of the 1.18-million barrels of oil Libya produces a day, only 130,000 are from an oil well



Boom or bust: Military engineers conduct a controlled detonation of an explosive device uncovered just south of Tripoli. Photo: Mahmud Turkia/AFP

outside Haftar's territory, according to *Reuters*. Oil constitutes 97% of Libyan exports, more than 90% of government revenues, and 68% of GDP, according to the African Development Bank.

In the months leading up to August, central bank governor Kabir had become increasingly vocal in his criticism of Dbeibah's spending. In a recent interview with *The Financial Times*, Kabir had accused the prime minister of being a spendthrift who had "painted a misleadingly 'rosy' picture of the economy in his speeches". This made him unpopular with the Tripoli government, a rift that came to a head on 18 August.

On that day, an unidentified group of armed men abducted the bank's head of IT, Musab Msallem, from his house. In response, the bank suspended all operations. Msallem was released unharmed, a few hours later. The *Al Monitor* newspaper reported that Richard Norland, the UN's special envoy to Libya, had said the abduction was an attempt to get Kabir to resign.



A country torn apart: Fighters from the Government of National Accord capture part of Tripoli from the forces of Khalifa Haftar. Photo: Mahmud Turkia/AFP

The next day, the Dbeibah-allied Presidency Council, headed by Mohammed al-Menfi, announced it was dismissing Kabir. The move was quickly rejected by the Haftar-allied parliament, even though, according to Claudia Gazzini of Crisis Group, for the past eight years, it has been trying to kick Kabir out.

Kabir's firing was unilateral, illegal and in violation of United Nations accords that require consensus between the eastern and western governments on the appointment of a central bank governor, Gazzini said.

Citing "force majeure" with Kabir's firing, Haftar began oil blockades halting production at the El Feel, Amal, Nafoora and Abu Attifel fields. By 28 August Libya's oil production was down to 590,000 barrels per day and this week and on Monday exports at major ports were halted, *Reuters* reports.

Short of all-out war, oil blockades are a favourite tactic of the Benghazi administration, to bring the Tripoli faction to heel, political scientist Jalel Harchaoui told *The Continent*.

Pro-Haftar protesters blockaded oil ports for months in 2022, after Benghazi withdrew confidence in the Tripoli administration.

During the current crisis, the central bank has not been able to conduct transactions until the matter of its leadership is resolved. According to Harchaoui, this uncertainty has led financial institutions that use the US dollar for transactions to take a wait-and-see approach – and the dinar is tanking slowly on the black market. ■

Tanzania is at a dangerous crossroads

President Samia promised to chart a more democratic course for the country. It's not too late to make good on her vow, but the red flags are getting redder.

Deus Valentine

Last month, all of Tanzania's major political parties held rallies to commemorate International Youth Day. There was one major exception: Chadema, the largest opposition party, had planned a big rally in Mbeya, a city in the south-west of the country.

But it never happened.

Shortly before the event was scheduled to take place, it was banned by Tanzanian police, who said the rally was likely to trigger violent protests. Commissioner Awadh Juma Haji said police would do everything in their power to resist such "glaring threats to public order". In particular, Haji took issue with a statement by a Chadema youth leader which called for opposition supporters to be "inspired by our colleagues in Kenya".

In Kenya, months of widespread protests – driven by young Kenyans, and organized via social media – piled pressure on President William Ruto. A brutal response by state security forces, which killed dozens, failed to quell the unrest. Eventually, Ruto fired his entire cabinet and was forced to halt planned tax hikes.

Wary of similar scenes playing out on the streets of Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Mbeya, Tanzania's authorities banned the Chadema rally and arrested more than 500 young Chadema supporters as they attempted to gather in defiance of the ban.

The police also roughed up senior Chadema leaders – including secretary-general John Mnyika, national vice-chairman Tundu Lissu and central committee member Joseph Mbilinyi – and then detained them for 48 hours.

The scenes were reminiscent of the violent authoritarianism that characterised the presidency of the late John Magufuli, who died in office in 2021. In those dark days for Tanzania's democracy, opposition parties were forbidden from holding rallies by presidential decree, and their leaders faced both judicial and physical persecution. Tundu Lissu, for example, only narrowly survived an attempt on his life in which he was shot 16 times.

Magufuli's successor, President Samia Suluhu Hassan, initially promised to be different. She has allowed independent news outlets to operate, and, in January 2023, she reversed the presidential ban on opposition rallies. This meant that

other political parties could campaign freely for the first time since 2016. She has been praised by business leaders for creating a better climate for international investment, and has pursued a science-based public health policy – a far cry from Magufuli’s infamous and deadly Covid denialism. On her watch, commissions on criminal justice and democratic reform outlined potential fixes for the foundations of Tanzania’s democracy, although neither has yet led to any concrete change.

“Certainly, Tanzania is less sinister and less mad since she took over,” observed *The Economist* earlier this year.

Bad habits

But with local elections happening in November, and presidential elections planned for next year, President Samia’s administration appears to be reverting to some of her predecessor’s bad habits, of which the banned Chadema rally is just the latest example.

Another is the recent call, made by Zanzibar’s police commissioner Hamad Khamis Hamad, to effectively censor political speeches. He said the police would review every speech made during political rallies, with the aim of identifying utterances made against the state, or aiming to incite hatred.

These comments appear to be directed towards ACT-Wazalendo, another major opposition party, which has used its rallies to make serious allegations of corruption and electoral fraud against the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (the party denies these allegations).

An even more ominous trend is that



Magufuli II: President Samia Suluhu Hassan had been seen as ‘less sinister’ than her predecessor. Photo: AFP

opposition figures keep disappearing.

In July, regional police in Tanga confirmed that they were holding Kombo Mbwana, a Chadema district leader – some 30 days after Mbwana went missing. He has not been presented before court, despite appeals by his lawyers.

Two other Chadema leaders – Dioniz Kipanya from Rukwa and Deusdedith Soka from Temeke in Dar es Salaam – have also gone missing in the past month, with no word from authorities.

Last month, the Tanganyika Law Society released a list of 83 people, including Mbwana and Kipanya, who have disappeared recently under mysterious circumstances.

“The police have repeatedly denied the occurrence of such incidents, only for it to later be revealed that the incidents were indeed true. In some cases, the police have even arrested good citizens who reported these incidents, accusing them of spreading false information,” the law society said.



Where are they now? Chadema leaders Deusededith Soka (left) and Dioniz Kipanya have gone missing. Police have finally admitted to detaining Kombo Mbwana (right).

Dangerous direction

Taken together, these incidents show that President Samia's government is heading in a troubling direction – a direction that is all too familiar to Tanzanians who lived through Magufuli's regime. This perception is not helped by the return of some key Magufuli allies – initially sidelined by President Samia – to key positions in government.

The most egregious example of this is Paul Makonda, the former Dar es Salaam commissioner who gained global notoriety when he formed a task force to arrest members of the capital city's LBTQIA+ community. After spending three years out of political office, the president appointed him to lead the country's third-largest city, Arusha, earlier this year.

The warning signs are clear. Nonetheless, it is not too late for the president to make good on her initial promise. Halting the disappearances, and holding someone accountable for them, is a good place to start.

But the real test of her commitment to change is whether she is willing

to actually implement the reforms recommended by the commissions on criminal justice reform and democratic reform – commissions that she herself initiated. These reforms would introduce safeguards to prevent the abuse of power by government officials, and would introduce sweeping changes to make the country's electoral system more fair.

The reforms would make President Samia unpopular within the ruling party – after all, the existing electoral system has kept it in power since independence in 1961. But if implemented, they would secure her legacy as one of the most consequential presidents in this country's history. The country's democratic future may hinge on whether she chooses to go down this route, instead of following in her predecessor's footsteps down a much more dangerous path. ■

Deus Valentine is the chief executive of the Center for Strategic Litigation. Thank you to the team at Pambazuko newspaper – a Tanzanian weekly modelled on the format of The Continent – for translating this commentary into Kiswahili



Picha: Drew Angerer/Getty Images/AFP

Tanzania iko kwenye njia panda ya kuogofya

Kuna dalili za kutia doa ahadi za Rais Samia – baada ya kuingia madarakani, kuwa atahakikisha Tanzania inaheshimu misingi ya haki na kuimarisha demokrasia. Hata hivyo, bado hajachelewa kutimiza aliyoahidi, licha ya nchi kugubikwa na matukio ya kuchafua taswira ya uongozi wake.

Na Deus Valentine

Katika kuadhimisha Siku ya Kimataifa ya Vijana, mwezi uliopita, baadhi ya vyama vya siasa vilipanga kuitumia siku hiyo kufanya mikutano na maandamano, kama ambavyo imekuwa ikifanyika kila mwaka.

Pamoja na vyama vyote vikuu vilivyoomba kuadhimisha siku hiyo kwa njia mbalimbali kuruhusiwa, chama kikuu cha upinzani - Chadema, kilizuiwa

kufanya mikutano na hata maandamano yaliyopangwa kufanyika Jiji la Mbeya na maeneo mengine.

Muda mfupi kabla ya maadhimisho hayo kuanza, Jeshi la Polisi lilipiga marufuku kufanyika kwa mikusanyiko yeyote na kukamata viongozi wa juu wa Chadema waliokuwa Mbeya na maeneo mengine walikokuwa wamepanga kuadhimisha siku hiyo.

Jeshi la Polisi lilieleza kuwa lilizuia kufanyika kwa mikutano na maandamano

ya wafuasi wa Chadema baada ya “kupata taarifa za kiintelijensia” kuwa chama hicho kilipanga kuhamasisha wafuasi wake kufanya fujo.

Kamishna wa Operesheni na Mafunzo wa Jeshi la Polisi, Awadh Juma Hajji, alisema jeshi lake litafanya kila linalowezekana kuzuia fujo kwa kuhakikisha usalama wa raia na mali zao. Alidai kauli ya kiongozi mmoja wa Baraza la Vijana wa Chadema (Bavicha); kwamba wafuasi wa CHADEMA na vijana wote, “waache uteja na wajifunze kudai haki kama wenzao wa Kenya.”

Ikumbukwe kuwa nchini Kenya, kwa miezi kadhaa, vijana waliitisha maandamano makubwa maeneo mengi ya nchi hiyo wakilaani na kupinga kuwepo kwa ugumu wa maisha, kuongezwa kwa kodi na kuminywa kwa demokrasia.

Kufuatia maandamano hayo, serikali ilitumia vyombo vya usalama kuzuia, lakini ilishindikana – hata baada ya kuua raia. Kuendelea kwa shinikizo kutoka kwa

vijana hao, maarufu kwa jina la Gen-Z, hatimaye kumlazimisha Rais William Ruto kuvunja baraza la mawaziri na kuweka zuio la ongezeko la kodi.

Ni kutokana na hofu hiyo, kwamba kunaweza kutokea machafuko, hasa katika maeneo ya Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar na Mbeya, Serikali ya Tanzania ilipiga marufuku mikutano ya Chadema na kuwakamata zaidi ya vijana 500 wengi wakiwa wafuasi wa Chadema walipokuwa wakijaribu kukusanyika kinyume na marufuku hiyo.

Katika kamatakamata hiyo, Jeshi la Polisi pia liliwashikilia baadhi ya viongozi wakuu wa Chadema akiwemo Katibu Mkuu, John Mnyika, Makamu Mwenyekiti Taifa, Tundu Lissu na Mjumbe wa Kamati Kuu, Joseph Mbilinyi. Viongozi hao walidai kudhuriwa na kupelekwa katika vituo vya Polisi vya Mbeya, Iringa na Njombe, kabla ya kusafirishwa kwa magari kuelekea Dar es Salaam.



Matukio hayo yanayominya demokrasia, uhuru na haki za kikatiba, yanakumbusha utawala wa “kibabe” wa Rais (awamu ya tano), John Magufuli, ambaye aliamua kuzuia kufanyika kwa maandamano na mikutano ya vyama vya siasa; kwa waliohoji ama kukaidi msimamo huo wa kauli ya Rais Magufuli, walikamatwa, kuteswa na kujeruhiwa, kama ilivyotokea kwa Tundu Lissu, ambaye alinusurikia kifo baada ya kupigwa risasi 16.

Baada ya Rais Magufuli kufariki dunia mwaka 2021, mrithi wake, Rais Samia Suluhu Hassan, ambaye awali aliahidi kuwa tofauti na mtangulizi wake, akaanza uongozi kwa kuruhusu kuwepo uhuru wa vyombo vya habari na kufungulia magazeti yaliyofungiwa. Januari 2023, alibatilisha marufuku ya Magufuli dhidi ya mikutano ya vyama vya upinzani.

Hii ilimaanisha kuwa vyama vya siasa sasa vikawa na haki iliyopokwa - ya kufanya mikutano na maandamano kwa uhuru, baada ya miaka sita ya marufuku, kuanzia mwaka 2016.

Kutokana na msimamo wa Rais Samia na kuanza kutekeleza baadhi ya ahadi zake, Watanzania na jumua ya kimataifa “walimwaga sifa” kwa kiongozi huyo wa Tanzania, ambapo pia mazingira mazuri ya biashara yalivutia kiasi kikubwa cha wawekezaji.

Rais Samia alionekana kuwa tofauti na mtangulizi wake, Rais Magufuli ambaye alifika mahali akapingana na ukweli wa kisayansi kuhusu maambukizi ya UVIKO-19. Badala yake, aliunda timu ya wataalamu walioongoza mabadiliko ya sera juu ya janga hilo.

Katika uongozi wa Rais Samia, alianza pia kwa kutangaza mageuzi kwenye masuala ya haki kwa kuunda Tume ya Haki Jinai na kikosi kazi juu ya demokrasia na kuahidi kurejesha misingi ya demokrasia.

Mapema mwaka huu, gazeti maarufu la *The Economist*, liliandika; “kwa hakika, sasa Tanzania ina kiwango kidogo cha uonevu kwa raia wake na imepunguza kwa kiasi kikubwa mambo yaliyokuwa yakiitia aibu kwa kuminya haki.”

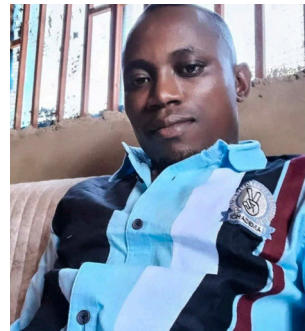
Uamuzi hatarishi

Wakati Tanzania inajiandaa kwa uchaguzi wa serikali za mitaa utakaofanyika Novemba, mwaka huu na uchaguzi mkuu wa kuwapata rais, wabunge na madiwani, uliopangwa kufanyika mwaka kesho, uongozi wa Rais Samia unaonekana kurejea kwenye baadhi ya mienendo hatarishi ya mtangulizi wake, Rais Magufuli.

Baadhi ya matukio mabaya ambayo yanaonekana kumelea kwa sasa ni pamoja na kutekwa, kupotea kwa watu na kuzuia haki ya kukusayika na kufanya siasa; mfano mzuri ikiwa ni kupigwa marufuku kwa mikutano ya Chadema hivi karibuni.

Mbali na matukio hayo, kauli ya hivi karibuni ya Kamishna wa Polisi Zanzibar, Hamad Khamis Hamad, inaashiria kurejea kwa ubabe wa dola dhidi ya vyama vya siasa. Kauli yake kwamba jeshi hilo litafuatilia kwa karibu kauli za wanasiasa wote wanapokuwa majukwaani ili kubaini endapo zina viashiria vya kuchochea wananchi kuchukua serikali limeibua maswali kuliko majibu.

Hakika kauli hiyo inabeba viashiria



Kulia-kushoto: Deusededith Soka, Dioniz Kipanya na Kombo Mbwana.

kuvitisha vyama vya siasa na viongozi wao ili wasizungumze, jambo ambalo linakinzana na maono ya Rais Samia wakati akiingia madarakani. Kauli hii inaonekana kuelekezwa kwa viongozi wa Chama cha ACT-Wazalendo, ambao wamekuwa wakikemea rushwa na kutuhumu kuwepo kwa mipango michafu ya kuvuruga uchaguzi inayofanywa na chama tawala, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), hata hivyo, chama hicho kimekuwa kikikanusha madai ya ACT.

kuwepo kwa matukio ya kupotea na kuteswa kwa wanachama wa vyama vya upinzani na wakosoaji wa mienendo ya serikali, ni hatua nyingine inayoongeza shaka kwenye ahadi za Rais Samia.

Julai, mwaka huu, Jeshi la Polisi mkoani Tanga, lilithibitisha kumshikilia Kombo Mbwana, kiongozi wa Chadema wa wilaya – kwa siku 30, baada ya kutoweka. Pia viongozi wengine wawili wa Chadema; Dioniz Kipanya kutoka Rukwa na Deusededith Soka kutoka Temeke, Dar es Salaam - wametoweka hadi leo, ikiwa ni zaidi ya mwezi mmoja, bila taarifa yoyote kutoka kwa mamlaka.

Sambamba na matukio hayo, Chama cha Wanasheria Tanganyika (TLS), kilitoa orodha ya watu 83, wakiwemo Mbwana na Kipanya, ambao walitoweka katika mazingira ya kutatanisha.

“Jeshi la Polisi limekuwa likikanusha mara kwa mara kutokea kwa matukio hayo, lakini baadaye inabainika kuwa matukio hayo ni kweli, halafu kitu cha kushangaza, Polisi inakamata raia wema wanaoripoti matukio haya, wakiwatuhumu kwa kueneza habari za uongo kwenye mitandao,” kilisema chama cha wanasheria hao.

Mwelekeo wa hatari

Kuwepo kwa idadi inayoongezeka ya matukio maovu – yaliyozoeleka wakati wa utawala wa Magufuli, na sasa yakirejea, kunafanya watu washindwe kuona tofauti kubwa kati yake na wakati wa sasa wa uongozi wa Rais Samia.

Kibaya zaidi, kurejeshwa madarakani kwa marafiki wa Magufuli, ambao awali Rais Samia “aliwaweka pembeni,” nako kunajenga picha kuwa huenda Tanzania inaelekea “kulekule” kwenye mazingira

ya uonevu, kuminywa kwa demokrasia, kuteswa na kutofuatwa kwa katiba.

Kurejeshwa kwa Paul Makonda kwenye nafasi ya uongozi ndani ya CCM na baadaye kupelekwa kuwa Mkuu wa Mkoa wa Arusha, hakujaandoa makovu aliyoacha kwa kuumiza watu wakati akifanya kazi chini ya Magufuli.

Makonda akiwa kiongozi wa Dar es Salaam, alidaiwa kuunda vikosi kadhaa vilivyokuwa na malengo maovu ya kushambulia watu kwa madai ambayo mengi hayakuweza kuthibitishwa. Njia zilizokuwa zikitumika kufuatilia watu zilikuwa zikionea, kutesa na hata kuminya haki ya kuishi kwa wengine .

Kuibuka kwa matukio haya ya hovyoyanachafua taswira ya nchi na sifa za Rais Samia, kwa wananchi wake na hata mbele ya jumuiya ya kimataifa. Hata hivyo, bado Rais Samia hajachelewa. Anao muda wa kureke na kukomesha mambo hayo ili kuendelea kujenga imani na matamano aliyohadi wakati akiingia madarakani.

Kitu kingine kikubwa kinachoweza kujenga imani zaidi, ni kwa Rais Samia kutekeleza mambo muhimu yanayopendekezwa na tume za mageuzi ya haki jinai na mageuzi ya kidemokrasia - ambayo aliyaasisi mwenyewe.

Endapo mambo mengi yatatekelezwa kutoka kwenye mapendekezo ya tume alizounda Rais Samia, uhakika ni kwamba kutakuwa na mabadiliko makubwa kwa viongozi kutekeleza majukumu yao, kuimarishwa kwa demokrasia na kutetea misingi ya haki za binadamu.

Pamoja na kwamba kuridhia kutekelezwa kwa mageuzi hayo kutamfanya asionekane

“kiongozi wa maana sana” ndani ya chama chake - CCM, lakini Rais Samia atakuwa amecha alama katika uongozi uliotukuka kwa Tanzania na kuheshimiwa kuwa kiongozi wa mageuzi makubwa.

Akiridhia na kusimamia mambo hayo, Rais Samia atajijengea sifa binafsi na pekee ya kuwa kiongozi aliyeamua kufuata misingi ya haki na demokrasia kwa lengo la kuwa na Tanzania yenye amani, utulivu wa kweli na maendeleo jumuishi. ■

Deus Valente ni Mtendaji Mkuu wa Kituo cha Ushauri wa Kimkakati



Shukrani za dhati kwa timu ya gazeti la Pambazuko - gazeti la kila wiki la Tanzania lenye ushirikiano na The Continent - kwa kutafsiri kazi hii kwa Kiswahili.

Pambazuko ni gazeti la kila wiki linalosambazwa bure kwa njia ya WhatsApp, likiwa limesheheni habari za uchambuzi na uchunguzi kutoka Tanzania na maeneo mengine. Pia huchapisha baadhi ya makala zilizotafsiriwa kutoka The Continent. Ili kutumiwa nakala moja kwa moja kwenye simu yako, tuma ujumbe wa WhatsApp kwa nambari +255 744 768 263.

African women are online – but at what cost?

Big Tech's global boom fuelled a rise in the varieties of violence African women suffer. Our governments have yet to figure out how to protect us.

Maya Misikir

Moroccan norms about sex outside marriage, abortion or same sex relations are often attributed to its being a Muslim-majority country – but are in fact rooted in its colonial-era criminal code, which was copied from the French penal code first drafted during the time of Napoleon in 1810. That criminal code, still in effect today, is a threat to the safety of Moroccan women, local lawyer and women's rights activist Ghizlane Mamouni told *The Continent*.

“In one case, a woman came to report that an intimate partner was threatening to broadcast her intimate videos. She was advised not to confess that she has had sex outside wedlock, or that the prosecutor would be forced to arrest her first,” Mamouni said. “We could only offer her psychological support.”

Because of those archaic laws on sex, the woman could not take advantage of more modern Moroccan legislation: a 2018 law that criminalises capturing and broadcasting private images of others.

Such legal absurdities repeat in many formerly-colonised countries, making the

law a double-edged sword for vulnerable groups, especially as technology changes the volume and nature of gender-based violence, according to a new study led by the Dutch NGO Rutgers.

But they are just one example of the gaps in our understanding and reactions to what the researchers call “technology-facilitated gender-based violence”.

For her work advocating for gender equality in Morocco, Mamouni has received death threats from people who in the analogue world might not have had access to her. A list of 22 people, including herself, was posted online, naming them “enemies of Islam”, and calling for them to be killed. In her experience, authorities tend to treat such threats as trivial.

“The authorities think that what happens online is virtual and not real but when you get a message telling you that they know where your kids go to school, believe me, this is very real,” she said.

The study led by Rutgers, in collaboration with Abaad, Equimundo, and Sonke Gender Justice, looked at technology-facilitated gender-based violence across seven countries including Morocco, Rwanda, South Africa, and



A protester in Rabat holds up a sign in French that says: 'The texts of the law silence all opposition or freedom of speech.' Photo: Fadel Senna/AFP

Uganda. It affirms that this type of violence is not yet widely recognised, and many legal gaps and inconsistencies frustrate women's protection. It finds reporting mechanisms are often lengthy and complicated, which leads to under-reporting, making it hard to see the full picture of the harm. There is little understanding on how this violence presents.

There are cases where women do not see the interactions as violence, said Namuma Mulindi of the South Africa-based Sonke Gender Justice. "We see it happen a lot to younger people, high school students, and they don't open cases. We're doing community education on issues, like [that] sharing others' intimate photos is a criminal act."

Sometimes, the victimised people don't even know it's being done to them, especially when it takes the form of what Sandra Aceng, of the Women of Uganda Network, calls "spouse-ware": spyware or surveillance software to monitor one's intimate partner without their consent.

When the relationships go sour, some

have then punitively broadcast this private information in what is commonly known as "revenge porn". This is the most common form of online violence that Ugandans face, according to the Women of Uganda Network.

But even when women recognise the violence and speak up, social ideas of morality, gender roles and patriarchal views shape the response they get even from peers and the general public.

When Ethiopian singer Igitu went public about sexual violence she experienced at the hands of a ride-hailing driver, anonymous online accounts blamed and ridiculed her. Such reactions validated an earlier report that said online harassment of women in Ethiopia was "normalised to the point of invisibility".

While authorities, peers, the general public or even victims struggle to react appropriately to or even name technology-facilitated violence, its impacts are undeniable: it shames and silences women, and restricts their participation in public life. ■

PHOTO ESSAY

From Paris again – no notes

With a day of Paralympics competition to go, African athletes are only a couple of medals over the 39 brought home from the Olympics. North Africa has dominated the continent's outing, with Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco winning at least eight medals each. Kenya, which is Africa's most successful team in the ableist Olympics, has so far won only one medal (a silver). But who really cares about medals, anyway? Nigeria, obviously: Mark Onyinyechi's gold and Esther Nworgu's silver in powerlifting, and Mariam Eniola's badminton bronze are a definite improvement on last month's Olympics' performance, on which no further elaboration is warranted.



Heavy lifting: Nigerian Esther Nworgu celebrates with a coach after winning the silver medal at the end of the Powerlifting Women's up-to-41kg final at the 2024 Paralympic Games at La Chapelle Arena, in Paris, France, on Wednesday. Photo: Franck Fife/AFP



Track star: Ethiopia's Yayesh Gate Tesfaw, left, and her guide Kindu Sisay Girma celebrate after winning gold in the women's 1500m T11 athletic event during the Paris 2024 Paralympic Games at the Stade de France in Saint-Denis on Monday. Photo: Dimitar Dilkoff/AFP



Crossing the line: Namibia's Lahja Ishitile is embraced by her guide Sem Shimanda after winning the Women's 400m T11 final at the in the Stade de France last Saturday. Photo: Franck Fife/AFP



Leaps and bounds: Lynda Hamri of Team Algeria competes in the Women's Long Jump - T12 Final where she won a bronze medal on Sunday, on day four of the 2024 Paralympic Games.



Full speed ahead: Skander Djamil Athmani of Team Algeria celebrates taking gold in the Para Athletics Men's 100m - T13 Final on day four of the games in Paris. Photos: Michael Reaves/Getty Images



And after triumph, they triumph again

Photo: Ulrik Pedersen / NurPhoto via Getty Images

Karien Jonckheere in Paris

There are few who could better sum up the spirit of the Paralympic Games than South African Mpumelelo Mhlongo.

The sprinter stormed to Paralympic gold in the T44 100m, but then in his next event, the long jump, he was grouped with the T64 class who enjoy the benefit of jumping with springy blade prosthetics.

Mhlongo jumped further than ever, breaking his own T44 world record with a leap of 7.12m. But it was only enough for fifth place against the rest of the field.

“So be life. Sometimes these things happen,” said the pragmatic Mhlongo afterwards. “This is the best version of myself and there’s nothing more I could possibly do on the world’s greatest stage.”

There have been so many examples of people putting their best selves forward at the Paralympics. Raoua Tlili, small in stature at 1.33m but a giant of her sport,

is Tunisia’s most successful Paralympian. She claimed an incredible fifth straight shot put gold in the F41 class, and then added a discus title to that a few days later.

Namibian sprinter Lahja Ishitile suffered an eye infection when she was seven, was completely blind by 11, and 16 years later blazed to gold in the T11 400m alongside her guide Sem Shimanda.

South Africa’s Lucas Sithole lost both his legs and an arm when he was hit by a train at the age of 12. On Wednesday, he and partner Donald Ramphadi secured quad doubles bronze, becoming the first African athletes to grace the podium in wheelchair tennis.

There are also those who will leave Paris without a medal. But for many, 12 days of living in a village that’s fully accessible and inclusive and rubbing shoulders with athletes who have faced similar challenges to their own, has given a glimpse of exactly what’s possible. ■

Are governments passing the test on education?

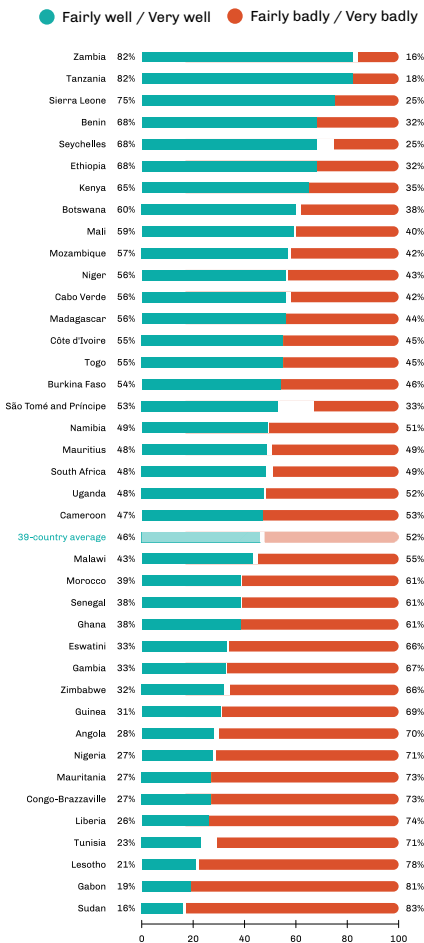
Education expert Lant Pritchett likes to say that “schooling ain’t learning”. Literacy is an essential component of real education – without it, you can’t learn much else. Ahead of International Literacy Day (8 September), we ask: How well are African governments addressing their people’s educational needs?

On average across 39 countries, Africans are split: A slim majority (52%) say government is failing students, while 46% rate its efforts positively. This varies dramatically by country, with approval ranging from 16% and 19% in Sudan and Gabon to 82% in Zambia and Tanzania.

Poor respondents (37%) and the highly educated (42%) are least likely to give their government a pass mark. That’s no surprise: The poor are probably worst affected by poor-quality education, while those with post-secondary qualifications may be better informed about what learning involves, and thus more critical.

On the plus side, majorities of the elderly (56%) and the better-off (53%) give their governments positive scores. Could it be because they are furthest removed from, and least affected by, the deficiencies of public education?

How well is government addressing educational needs? | 39 African countries | 2021/2023



Source: Afrobarometer is a non-partisan African research network that conducts nationally representative surveys on democracy, governance, and quality of life. Face-to-face interviews with 1,200-2,400 people in each country yield results with a margin of error of +/- two to three percentage points.



In defiance of loss, we love

A world-wandering love finds itself in music, in the harmonics of pain, and in the deep fullness of time.

Jacqueline Nyathi

Bonnie and Mansour meet in mid-century New York. They have things in common: very messy childhoods, and time spent in France. But how they meet comes about through very unusual circumstances, perhaps destiny: Bonnie is

adrift in the world, toiling away for now in the basement of a record company – where she comes across liner notes for Mansour’s debut album. Intrigued, she later creates album art for it and sneaks it into the pile going out for printing. After she’s caught – by her lover’s wife, no less – she finally meets Mansour. It’s something much deeper than love at first sight.

But there are many currents flowing below and between their lives; their love story is fraught and full of pain, as they leave New York after a tragic death, and move back to Europe. This is an achingly lyrical story, with fully realised, memorable Black characters.

Mansour is an orphan, a man with a crippling medical condition, and also a Black man living in 1960s and 70s France, United States, and Switzerland. He has the air of tragedy about him, but struggles forward always. His adoptive mother seems cold, until you learn about her own battles. Bonnie’s mother, too, is paying forward inherited, generational pain. But Bonnie and Mansour are bound by more than pain, and that gives the story hope.

Sennaar has created an evocative atmosphere in this rare and beautiful visualisation of Afro-diasporic life in mid-century Europe. With rhythms similar to Caleb Azumah Nelson’s *Open Water*, and equally lyrical, the story here goes deeper, and though there is a thread of fabulism woven through, Sennaar’s storymaking has us taking it all in our stride.

They Dream in Gold is a love letter to love itself, and to difficult families. ■

THE QUIZ

0-3

"I think I need to start reading more newspapers."

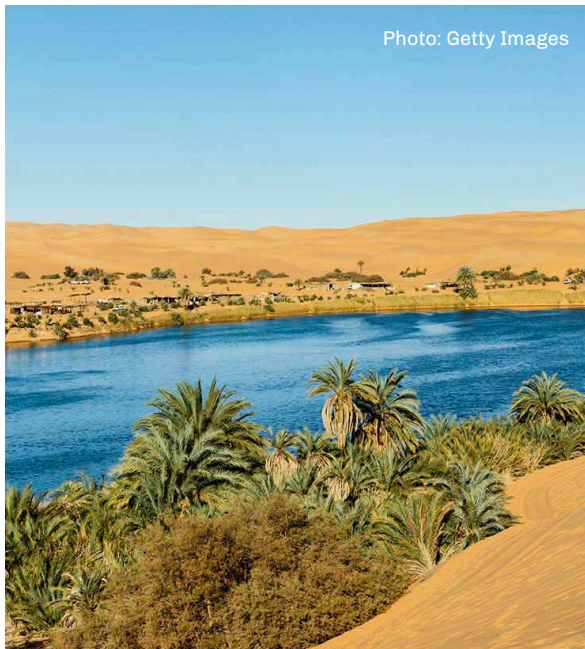
4-7

"I can't wait to explore more of this continent."

8-10

"I still can't figure out why everyone's so excited to see an ancient oasis."

Photo: Getty Images



- 1_** John Magufuli was once the president of which country?
- 2_** What is South Sudan's official language?
- 3_** Which now-defunct African country participated in the inaugural Paralympic Games?
- 4_** One other African country also participated. What was it?
- 5_** What is the name of Africa's northernmost country?
- 6_** True or false: "Togolien" is the demonym for people from Togo.
- 7_** The 1966 Mengo Crisis, also called the Kabaka Crisis, took place in which country?
- 8_** Gaberoun (pictured), an oasis dating back to Roman times, is found in which country?
- 9_** In which year did Abiy Ahmed become prime minister of Ethiopia?
- 10_** Who was the first president of Botswana?

HOW DID I DO? WhatsApp 'ANSWERS' to [+27 73 805 6068](tel:+27738056068) and we'll send the answers to you!

To internal conflict, add internal conflict

The TPLF is tearing itself apart, which could further destabilise Tigray and Ethiopia.

Yohannes Woldemariam

The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) was founded in 1975 to resist the repressive Derg regime in Ethiopia. It subsequently waged a formidable armed struggle and, when the Derg collapsed in 1991, hastily organised a coalition with other ethnic elites to fill the power vacuum. But now out of power itself, the TPLF is beset with internal disagreements that threaten to further destabilise Tigray and the country.

Under the charismatic Meles Zenawi, the TPLF became the country's dominant political force – holding together Ethiopia's complex ethnic mosaic through a combination of economic delivery, repression and the (rarely implemented) promise of self-government. After the death of Meles in 2012, its new leadership lacked his nous and popularity, and lost control of the government.

In 2018, they retreated to Tigray following Abiy Ahmed's rise to power as prime minister. Soon, they were at war with Abiy, who had centralised power under his control, undercutting regional power centres and its holders, like the TPLF in Tigray.

The two-year Tigray war between the TPLF and Abiy's forces devastated the region's residents and infrastructure alike. The conflict only stopped because a peace deal was signed, but the precise implications of that agreement are ambiguous and there is now conflict *within* the TPLF about how it should be interpreted.

On the surface the disagreement is about whether the TPLF should compromise with Abiy or take a hardline approach. Some TPLF leaders were disappointed when the National Election Board of Ethiopia rejected its application to be fully reinstated as a political party. Instead, the electoral authority declared the TPLF to be a new political party that would have to operate under special conditions, in line with new legislation detailing how legal recognition can be returned to groups with a "history of violent activities".

"We will never register as a new party," said TPLF chairman Debretsion Gebremichael. This position was immediately contradicted by the TPLF's vice chair, Getachew Reda, who issued a scathing statement that accused other TPLF leaders of corruption and described Gebremichael's actions – including his



Internal conflict: TPLF fighters proceed through Mekele during the 2020-2022 Tigray war in Ethiopia. Photo: Yasuyoshi Chiba/AFP

efforts to organise a party congress – as “illegal movements by a group that does not represent the TPLF”.

The infighting between Gebremichael and Reda has deeper roots. It is as much about a long-running power struggle to control the TPLF as it is about how to respond to Abiy and the electoral board. It reflects a history of factionalism within the TPLF, which has included purges, expulsions and a split in 2001 that saw some prominent leaders imprisoned.

When it was strong and had momentum, the TPLF could endure these splits and reconstitute itself. The current splits come when the movement is at its weakest point for a generation.

Given the intensity of the divisions, there is a serious risk of internal conflict within Tigray, which can only undermine the prospects for postwar reconstruction.

A disunited Tigrayan front is also likely to complicate progress in the peace process, as local fragmentation in other regions has. In turn, that will add to the many challenges facing Abiy as he attempts to deal with a perfect storm of rising food prices, growing instability in regions such as Amhara, and rising tensions with nearby governments.

Much will depend on what happens to the Tigray Defence Forces, which are estimated to number 200,000. If the forces split or take sides between Gebremichael and Reda, Tigray and Ethiopia could enter uncharted territory. ■



Yohannes Woldemariam is an independent researcher who writes about the Horn Africa. This analysis was produced in collaboration with Democracy in Africa.

THE BIG PICTURE

Gathering dust: A haboob advances on a grove in Dongola, Sudan. These giant clouds of dust occur across the world (and on Mars and Titan, one of the moons of Saturn) but got their name in Sudan.

Photo: AFP



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