

# Africa Trends

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## Editor's Note

In this edition of Africa Trends, Ahana Banerjee traces the historical ties between India and Tanzania and explores the scope for growth of economic and diplomatic relations. Sneha Bhura highlights the geopolitical reasons behind Egypt's acceptance of the \$4.7 billion renaissance dam proposed by Ethiopia on Blue Nile tributary and Rajiv Nayan examines the role African countries played in the approval of the Arms Trade Treaty by the UN General Assembly and its implications for Africa.

There have been significant political developments across Africa in recent months. In the aftermath of the series of regime toppling protests and demonstrations popularly known as the Arab Spring, several African countries are still in the process of installing and consolidating democratic governments. In this context, the interim President of Egypt announced a national referendum on the new draft of the Constitution, which if successful, would be followed by elections. Meanwhile Libya's interim parliament extended its mandate by a year to draft the country's constitution and hold elections thereafter. In Tunisia, where elections are expected to be held this year, Mehdi Jomaa was appointed as the head of a caretaker government.

The continent continued to be wracked by ethnic conflict and civil wars. South Sudan witnessed the eruption of ethnic violence between the Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups after an alleged political coup by the country's Vice President. In Mali, Tuareg rebels ended a five month old ceasefire with the government and took up arms again while CAR was tossed into a violent civil war between the Muslim majority and Christian minority. The United Nations Security Council approved a resolution for the deployment of more French and African troops to support MISCA, the African Union led mission in CAR. On a positive note, the DRC government signed a peace deal with M23 rebels in Uganda and the M23 agreed to end the rebellion and transform itself into a political party. Insurgency also continued to plague African nations with both Nigeria and Cameroon facing and trying to control the threat from Boko Haram militants.

On the economic front, Africa and China continued to ink deals on infrastructure and development projects. The Ethiopian Roads Authority awarded road construction projects estimated over 2 billion Ethiopian Birr to Chinese companies, while the Angola Institute of Geology signed a \$62 million deal for the construction of infrastructures such as laboratories and headquarters along with technical assistance and training with a Chinese firm. The Energy Minister of Djibouti signed an agreement with Shanghai Electric for the construction of a 63 KV power line.

We hope you find this issue useful!

## Commentary

### INDIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH TANZANIA

The commentary explores the historical relations, evolution of diplomatic ties, economic growth and ideological commonalities between India and Tanzania.

**AHANA BANERJEE\***

Speaking at the banquet hosted by the President of Tanzania, during his 2011 visit to Tanzania Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, said:

Our two countries belong to different continents but for centuries we have been neighbours across the Indian Ocean. Maritime trade and people to people exchanges have drawn us closer. We have shared historical experiences. Today we seek to build a modern and dynamic partnership on the strength of these traditional bonds.<sup>1</sup>

These traditional ties and the spirit of mutual cooperation between Tanzania and India have been consistently reinforced through various international co-operations such as the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) and later through the various initiatives of South-South Cooperation. The most recent example of such South-South solidarity was the 2008 India - Africa summit hosted by India to advance and strengthen the ties between India and Sub-Saharan Africa where President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, of Tanzania was co-chair. The traditional ties between India and Tanzania have their historical roots in the migration of Indian traders to East Africa. The colonial dimension played a significant role in migratory patterns. It should be noted that Indian traders, mostly settled in the other British colonies of Kenya and Uganda and the British protectorate of Zanzibar. Tanzania or Tanganyika, which was then a German colony, did not become a prime destination, till the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Migration to Tanzania gained momentum after the end of the First World War, when Tanzania was granted to Britain as a mandated territory. Increasing commercial linkages between India and East Africa formed the base of India and Tanzania relations during this period of colonisation. A survey of Asiatic Indians Resident Abroad in 1921 showed that of the total of 65,000 Indians resident in East Africa, Tanzania (15,000) came second only to Kenya (23,000) in terms of the number of Indian residents<sup>2</sup>. Other estimates state, that about 100,000 Indians were settled in Tanzania and Zanzibar by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>. The variations in the estimates notwithstanding, the increasing interaction between Tanzania and India became clear by the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Indians in Tanzania played a crucial role, not only in its economy, but also in its politics and became a distinctive part of the country's social fabric.

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**...Indians in Tanzania played a crucial role, not only in its economy, but also in its politics and became a distinctive part of the country's social fabric.**

Later, after the independence of Tanzania in 1960, and the inclusion of Zanzibar as a semi-autonomous region, the Indian Diaspora began to constitute a significant demographic element in the country. A recent article in the *Economist* highlighted that Indian businessmen have been a presence in East Africa, including Tanzania, for over a century. This has resulted in an amalgamation of cultures to a degree, wherein Indians have ceased to be 'outsiders;' instead the migrants and traders have become part of the country<sup>4</sup>. These ties further the cause of South-South solidarity, a fact which was made manifest by the shared ideology of Nehru and Nyerere regarding the Non-Aligned Movement and the common need for increased economic and developmental cooperation.

The official diplomatic ties between India and Tanzania can be traced back to Tanzanian independence. The Indian High Commission was set up in Dar-es-Salaam on November 19, 1961<sup>5</sup>. Other diplomatic offices include the Consulate General of India in Zanzibar, set up on October 23, 1974<sup>6</sup>. Cooperation between India and Tanzania was largely driven by ideological factors, which made way for economic and technological cooperation formalised through agreements and Memorandum of Understandings (MoU). Through the 1960s and 1970s India and Tanzania signed multiple agreements on cooperation, which included: the Agreement on Friendship and

**... ideological factors, made way for economic and technological cooperation formalised through agreements and Memorandum of Understandings (MoU).**

Technical, Economic and Scientific Cooperation (1966); and the Trade Agreements of 1972. In the 1990s, the agreements signed included: an MoU on Technical Cooperation in the field of Posts and Telecommunications (1996); and an agreement on the establishment of Joint Business Council (1997). The 2000s witnessed even more vigorous cooperation when no less than 13 Agreements (including MOUs) were signed. The issues covered in these MOUs range from defence to health, trade and loan waivers to commercial agreements like the Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (DTAA) and Letters of Intent on cooperation in mining and steel sectors. In addition to the agreements, India has cemented its relations with Tanzania through multiple high level visits, business community interactions and investments<sup>7</sup>. More recently the relations between the two countries

were further strengthened by the visit of the Indian minister of state for external affairs, Preneet Kaur. This visit confirmed India's partnership with Tanzania in certain critical spheres, such as, development projects, water augmentation and farm equipment<sup>8</sup>.

The traditional ties, ideological commonalities and diplomatic efforts have had significant economic impact. Between 2005 and 2012, India's exports to Tanzania went up from \$191.21 million to \$880.63 million. The exports from Tanzania to India, in the same period went up from \$64.18 million to \$480.10 million<sup>9</sup>. This shows that both trading partners are stepping up their investment and trade relations with each other. In other words, the India and Tanzania economic relations have yielded mutual benefit.

In addition to the booming trade, India and Tanzania have also strengthened their relations through cooperation in human resources, health, education and infrastructure, among other areas. India in the recent years has granted multiple 'Lines of Credit' to Tanzania, the most recent of which amounted to, \$178.125 million, which was signed in 2012<sup>10</sup>. In addition to such lines of credit, a number of Indian corporations have been investing heavily into Tanzania. These corporations include the likes of Oil and Natural Gas Corporation, India's biggest oil explorer, which in August

2012 purchased a 10 per cent stake in a Mozambican offshore gas field for \$2.6 billion. The ONGC stated that “the field has the potential to become one of the world’s largest.”<sup>11</sup> This shows that the India Tanzania relations are seen as an opportunity for advancement, by both countries, and is not restricted to the governmental level alone.

In 2011, Tanzanian President J.M. Kikwete said that he looked towards India for technology and investment<sup>12</sup>, indicating that increased cooperation was on the cards. However, the real core of India’s relation with Tanzania lies in its people to people relations. The role of People of Indian Origin (PIO) and other Indian settlers is crucial in strengthening the historical bond shared by these countries across the Indian Ocean.

The years to come will require increased movement of trade, capital and human resources from both India to Tanzania as well as vice versa. The flow of human capital and trade has laid the foundation for a relationship which continues to have a great scope for growth.

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<sup>1</sup> Singh, Manmohan (2011), *Speech by PM at Banquet hosted by President of Tanzania*, 27 May 2011, MEA, <http://www.mea.gov.in/outoging-visit-detail.htm?339/Speech+by+PM+at+Banquet+hosted+by+President+of+Tanzania>

<sup>2</sup> Shirras, Findlay G (1931), ‘Indian Migration’, in Walter Willcox (ed.), *International Migration, Vol II: Interpretations*, NBER (Bombay), pp 591 – 616, <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5120.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Tanzania, <http://moia.gov.in/pdf/Tanzania.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Chinese Businessmen in Africa get the attention, but Indians are not far behind, *The Economist*, 26 October, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21588378-chinese-businessmen-africa-get-attention-indians-are-not-far>

<sup>5</sup> India-Tanzania Relations (2013), The High Commission of India to Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam, MEA [http://www.hcindiatz.org/pdf/india\\_tanzania\\_relations.pdf](http://www.hcindiatz.org/pdf/india_tanzania_relations.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> India-Tanzania Relations (2013), The High Commission of India to Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam, MEA [http://www.hcindiatz.org/pdf/india\\_tanzania\\_relations.pdf](http://www.hcindiatz.org/pdf/india_tanzania_relations.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Preneet Kaur visit to strengthen ties with Tanzania, *Business Standard*, 5<sup>th</sup> July, 2013, [http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/preneet-kaur-visit-to-strengthen-ties-with-tanzania-113070500981\\_1.html](http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/preneet-kaur-visit-to-strengthen-ties-with-tanzania-113070500981_1.html)

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Op.Cit. 4

<sup>12</sup> Varadarajan, Siddharth (2011), ‘Tanzania, India find “South-South” ties in good health’, *The Hindu*, Chennai, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/columns/siddharth-varadarajan/tanzania-india-find-southsouth-ties-in-good-health/article2054421.ece>



## Commentary

### EGYPT'S ABOUT TURN ON ETHIOPIA'S RENAISSANCE DAM

'...in view of the rapidly changing geopolitical scenario in the Horn of Africa along with a steadily weakening Egypt, the gradual acceptance of the controversial dam was probably on the horizon'.

**SNEHA BHURA\***

In what some see as a startling change of stance, Egypt has said that it is now willing to reconsider its staunch opposition to the Renaissance Dam that its neighbour, Ethiopia, is in the process of building; and that it will also mull over participating in the construction of the same.<sup>1</sup> The proposed dam on the Blue Nile tributary is officially known as the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam and is pegged to supply the much-needed hydropower to a resurgent Ethiopia, but it also has the potential to endanger the future of downstream countries like Egypt and Sudan, as a thus far, belligerent Egypt has been asserting. But in view of the rapidly changing geopolitical scenario in the Horn of Africa along with a steadily weakening Egypt, the gradual acceptance of the controversial dam was probably on the horizon.

Ethiopia's Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn has welcomed the cooperation of both Egypt and Sudan and has promised that the dam will be jointly owned by Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt. This apparent show of faith by both parties has been hailed as a positive step forward in the ongoing saga on the Renaissance Dam which will be Africa's biggest hydroelectric dam. In a telephonic interview with *AlMonitor* on October 17, 2013, Mohamed Abdul Muttalib, Egypt's minister for water resources and irrigation said:

Egypt doesn't mind joining the Ethiopian government in building the dam for the service and development of the Ethiopian people. But we must agree on a number of items in a clear way to prevent any damage to Egypt as a result of the dam construction.<sup>2</sup>

He further added that:

During the coming negotiations with Ethiopia over the dam, we will clarify our position regarding the policy and method of operating the dam, the size of the storage lake attached to it, and how to fill it with water in times of flood and drought.<sup>3</sup>

Nile is the longest river in the world with 86 percent of the water flow of the river originating from Ethiopia. The proposed Renaissance Dam, to be built at a cost of \$ 4.7 billion, is a gravity

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dam on the Blue Nile River and is situated in the Benishangul-Gumuz region of Ethiopia, around 40 km east of the border with Sudan. The dam is pegged to fill the 74 billion cubic-metre reservoir it will create, in seven years.<sup>4</sup> Egypt has been maintaining that this hydro-electric project grossly violates the 1959 colonial-era agreement that allocated close to three-fourths of the Nile waters to Egypt, a country which does not have access to other alternative fresh water sources, and is dependent on the Nile for 95 per cent of its water needs. However, the Ethiopians insist that times have changed and the old, unequal water-sharing agreements must be scrapped considering the devastating famines of the 1980s and 1990s and also because they have been largely left out of the water sharing agreements in the past. The population projections for the Nile basin have further compounded the problem of securing waters for the future, with the UN estimating that population of the 11 basin states will rise to 860 million by 2050.<sup>5</sup>

Ethiopia has reassured Egypt that it need not fear about its future water security if the dam is built. The Egyptians however are apprehensive that with the damming of the water in Ethiopia the capacity of Lake Nasser in Egypt is bound to be diminished, thereby reducing the power-generating capacity of Egypt's own hydroelectric plant at Aswan by 40 per cent. At least, till such time that the Renaissance Dam is completed, that is by 2017, downstream countries like Egypt and Sudan will have to contend with reduced water flows. Ethiopian officials have, however, pointed out that the storing of water in Ethiopia will lead to a lower loss of water by evaporation as it has a cooler climate. Each contending argument is as strong as the other and any resolution of the impasse can only favour the country that currently has a greater geopolitical clout. And Egypt seems to be at the short end of the stick on this front.<sup>6</sup>

**...any resolution of the impasse can only favour the country that has a greater geopolitical clout.**

Various factors indicate that a change in the geopolitical situation in the Horn of Africa favours Ethiopia. With the disintegration of Somalia, Ethiopia's regional presence in the Horn of Africa has strengthened since its traditional foe, who had political designs over the Ogaden region, has been eliminated. Also, the partition of Sudan has weakened the bargaining position of downstream countries in the Horn of Africa, and this includes Egypt as well. The participation of Ethiopia in the region of Abyei—that is being fought over by both Sudan and South Sudan—as UN peacekeeping forces since 2012, the calamity in Darfur, and the international isolation of the Sudanese president has further diminished the power of Sudan to fight a protracted battle over the dam with Ethiopia. The blossoming of a warmer relationship between the West and Ethiopia, especially with regard to their endorsement of developmental-infrastructure projects such as dams, apart from the ready availability of Chinese technical and financial help has made matters worse for Egypt, whose fragile internal situation is diminishing its ability to deal with regional and international actors.

As one diplomatic source involved in the negotiations between Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia recently admitted to the *Al Monitor*, '...Egypt's decision doesn't mean compromising its water rights, but Egypt needs special capabilities in the next phase to negotiate and to hold on to its cards for pressure to not accept the dam if it harms [Egypt.]'<sup>7</sup>

Various reports and studies released by Ethiopia with respect to the observation of safety standards for downstream countries like Egypt and Sudan in the building of the dam have been inconclusive and unfit for implementation. This was underscored in a June report by a team of international experts who claimed that the Ethiopian findings were 'very basic, and not yet at a level of detail, sophistication, and reliability that would befit a development of this magnitude, importance,

**...not been any environmental and social impact assessment of the building of the dam with regard to these downstream countries.**

and with such regional impact.<sup>8</sup> Also, there has so far not been any environmental and social impact assessment of the building of the dam with regard to these downstream countries. That Egypt might exploit these loopholes to manoeuvre a winning strategy for itself seems far-fetched. Further clarity on this can only be achieved in the next two months, when Egypt and Ethiopia discuss the various terms and conditions for a truce on the negotiating table.

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- <sup>1</sup> 'Nile should be a source of African collaboration, says Egypt FM', *ahram online*, 22 October, 2013 at <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/84511/Egypt/Politics-/Nile-should-be-source-of-African-collaboration,-sa.aspx> (Accessed on 25 November 2013)
  - <sup>2</sup> 'In Switch, Egypt May Join Ethiopia in Nile Dam Project', *AL Monitor*, 21 October, 2013 at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/egypt-ethiopia-dam-reconciliation.html> (Accessed on 25 November 2013)
  - <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
  - <sup>4</sup> 'Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan Mull New Probe Nile Dam Impact', *Bloomberg*, 21 October, 2013 at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-10-21/egypt-ethiopia-and-sudan-mull-new-probe-nile-dam-impact.html> (Accessed on 26 November 2013)
  - <sup>5</sup> 'Egypt, Ethiopia Headed for War Over Water', *Al Monitor*, 18 March, 2013 at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/03/egypt-ethiopia-water-war.html> (Accessed on 26 November 2013)
  - <sup>6</sup> 'Water Wars: Egyptians condemn Ethiopia's Nile Dam Project', *National Geographic*, 27 September, 2013 at <http://news.nationalgeographic.co.in/news/2013/09/130927-grand-ethiopian-renaissance-dam-egypt-water-wars/> (Accessed on 25 November 2013)
  - <sup>7</sup> 'In Switch, Egypt May Join Ethiopia in Nile Dam Project', *AL Monitor*, 21 October, 2013 at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/egypt-ethiopia-dam-reconciliation.html> (Accessed on 25 November 2013)
  - <sup>8</sup> 'Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan Mull New Probe Nile Dam Impact', *Bloomberg*, 21 October, 2013 at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-10-21/egypt-ethiopia-and-sudan-mull-new-probe-nile-dam-impact.html> (Accessed on 26 November 2013)

## Viewpoint

### ARMS TRADE TREATY AND AFRICA

On April 2, 2013, the UNGA approved the draft text of the ATT- 154 countries voted for the treaty, three voted against and 23 abstained. It remains to be seen whether the treaty succeeds in fulfilling the goal of curbing violence in Africa.

**RAJIV NAYAN\***

Africa is a continent of developing countries. But unfortunately, in recent years, conflict and violence have dominated the continent. Illicit arms are considered to be one of the principal reasons for violence and conflict in Africa. Besides, the government also has to buy arms to ensure the security of the state and citizens. A consortium of non-governmental organisations estimated that Africa loses over 18 billion dollars every year because of violence. Most of all, it was the Kalashnikov rifles that were really wreaking havoc in the African societies. As a result, like India, Africa has also demonstrated a greater interest in regulating small arms and light weapons.

On April 2, 2013, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly approved the draft text of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) - 154 countries voted for the treaty, three voted against and 23 abstained. Of the 23 countries that abstained, only three were from Africa. These were Angola, Egypt and Sudan. Earlier, on March 28, 2013, the passage of this treaty was blocked in the Negotiations Conference by Iran, North Korea and Syria. Later, the three countries opposed it in the General Assembly as well. The treaty was opened for signature on June 3, 2013. As of December 26, 2013, 115 countries have signed the treaty, and 9 have ratified it. Thirty-one signatories are from Africa and two of those have already ratified. Nigeria was the first African signatory country to ratify the treaty, followed by Mali.

**...Africa loses over 18 billion dollars every year because of violence.**

For years, the UN General Assembly had been passing resolutions for an ATT, but it was the 2009 resolution that set in process negotiations for the current treaty. That resolution required the convening of four sessions of the Preparatory Committee in 2010 and 2011, to ensure that the legally binding instrument is balanced and effective. The resolution prescribed the convening of a 'United Nations Conference' on ATT in 2012, which met from July 2, 2012 for four consecutive weeks. During the period, the member countries were expected to formulate 'a legally binding instrument on the highest possible common international standards for the transfer of conventional arms.'

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Though the July 2012 Diplomatic Conference failed to agree on a treaty, a draft treaty was circulated. This draft treaty had provisions for control of select categories of weapons systems and their ammunition. Some proposals had been made earlier in the preparatory meetings as well. The African countries played an active role not only during these crucial negotiations and submitted their position papers individually, but also as members of different groups. Prior to this, when a Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) was set up to examine the feasibility, scope and draft parameters of a comprehensive, legally binding instrument for establishing common international standards for the business in conventional arms, five African countries – Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa – were part of it.

African countries had been trying to regulate the undesirable flow of arms even before this. In this regard some moves such as the Bamako Declaration on an 'African Common Position on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons' to eradicate dumping of excess weapons; and the Best Practice Guidelines of the Nairobi Protocol had been in place for affected African countries. However, the African countries did not find these moves sufficient to stop the flow of illicit arms. Yet, these countries and analysts from the continent stated that these moves had helped in constructing the 2013 treaty. African leaders in general wanted an international standard for regulating conventional arms, and supplier countries to have the major obligation of checking aberrations in the illegal or legal arms flow.

As the GGE gave the mandate for a comprehensive ATT, the African countries, too, evolved their positions. The ATT was not just for small arms and light weapons, some major platforms such as aircraft and battle tanks were gradually added to its scope. The treaty also included ammunition and the research and development of defence items. Generally, the developing world was sceptical of the inclusion of defence research and development, yet the African countries chose to overlook such provisions and appeared determined to support the treaty. In fact, among the developing countries, the overwhelming support of the African and Caribbean groups made the ATT feasible in 2013.

During negotiations, Africa appeared to be a divided house. Some wanted a robust treaty, but some preferred a greater scope for flexibility. For example, Egypt advocated a politically binding treaty for a long period, but a country like Nigeria preferred a legally binding treaty. The current treaty is legally binding. The geographical division among African states became apparent during negotiations. Some analysts assessed that the division occurred because some countries were suppliers and others were merely recipients. There was also a division because some countries maintained that they needed arms to defend themselves and for some, the purchases were a mere drain on their resources.

Although a number of forces, including international organisations like the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research and some faith groups were trying to influence African countries, the real driving force behind the African countries' support for the ATT were the international NGOs who are heavily invested in these countries. They not only worked and collaborated with civil society groups in African countries but also interacted very closely with the governments. These NGOs were pushing these countries to evolve a common, undivided position on the ATT. Though some differences persisted among the countries on the nature of the treaty, even till the very last, yet most of the African countries working under the direction of the NGOs backed the evolved treaty.

**... among the developing countries, the overwhelming support of the Africa and Caribbean groups made the ATT feasible in 2013.**

Most of the African countries did not take into account the inherent imbalances in the treaty. Article 7 of the treaty consists of an export and export assessment. This article gives enormous power to the licencing authorities of exporting countries that may deny licences on the basis of highly subjective criteria, provided in the various subsections and clauses of the article 7. Importing countries also have to provide 'appropriate and relevant information' such as end use or end user documentation. The treaty has some positive provisions to importing countries such as following their own national laws when providing information about 'pending and actual export authorisation'.

Currently, the treaty has yet not entered into force. As the treaty can be amended only six years after it enters into force, there is no scope for the inclusion of concerns of those African states that are staying away from the treaty. The treaty needs to be ratified by fifty countries for entry into force. After the operationalisation, it will be really interesting to see whether the treaty succeeds in fulfilling the goal of curbing violence in Africa because of the illicit and illegal supply of small arms. The Regional Centre of 'Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering State' could act as a watchdog.



## Book Review

**James Fergusson, *The World's Most Dangerous Place: Inside the Outlaw State of Somalia***

Bantam Press by Transworld Publishers, 2013, ISBN: 9780593068366, 432 pp.

**DIVITA SHANDILYA\***

*The World's Most Dangerous Place: Inside the Outlaw State of Somalia* takes us into conflict-ridden Somalia, notorious for its poverty, corruption and lawlessness and widely regarded as a failed state. James Fergusson, has authored other books on Afghanistan and the Taliban and is an award winning freelance journalist who has previously written for *The Independent*, *The Times* and *The Economist*. The book is a vivid account of how Somalia descended into a war zone, facing one of the most violent insurgencies in the world.

The modern state of Somalia came into existence in 1960 when British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland united to form the Somali Republic under a civilian government. At the time of its independence there was much optimism about the state touted as a model of democracy in Africa by many. A military coup, devastating civil war and many failed governments later, Somalia has emerged as a cautionary tale of the chaos and destruction that accompany anarchy.

The most recent and unfortunate outcome of this failure of governance has been the emergence of Al-Shabaab, an Islamic extremist group formed when a faction of hardliners split from the Islamic Union Courts after dismantlement and defeat by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia and its Ethiopian allies in 2006. Subsequently, Al-Shabaab allied itself with the Al Qaeda and seized control of a sizeable amount of territory in Southern Somalia where it has imposed its strict interpretation of Sharia law and launched a war against "foreign interventionists", converting Somalia into a new front for global *jihād*.

Fergusson begins his narrative in 2011, when the UN mandated African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was making significant advances against Al-Shabaab in the Somali capital of Mogadishu. He describes how the Al-Shabaab's foot soldiers in Somalia seem to be mainly boys and young men who have either been coerced into fighting or have turned to terrorism due to extreme poverty and ignorance. In fact, Al-Shabaab's ideology does not find resonance with a majority of the people, people who think that the extreme *Wahabbism* practiced by Al-Shabaab is at odds with the moderate Sufi culture of nomadic Somalis. It is well known that Al-Shabaab's mostly foreign leadership inducts fighters from other war zones such as Afghanistan and Pakistan besides the mal-adjusted, disgruntled members of the Somali diaspora.

The Al-Shabaab has also been successful in exploiting the clan divide that has been the root cause of many, if not all problems in Somalia. Fissures run deep and the 'clanism' which led to the twenty year civil war, continues to haunt Somalis; the insurgency has been organised around

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the north-south clan divide, most visible in the rivalry between fighters of the Isaaq and Rahanweyn clans. Even the Somalian diaspora, which has been able to escape the gruesome clan violence at home, continues to be polarised along clan lines.

The author has travelled through nine countries across four continents to understand the horrific effect the war has had on the psyche, of not only the people living directly in the crossfire, but also of those in other countries, mainly Britain and the United States of America. The Somalian diaspora are noted for their atrocious performance at school, high levels of unemployment and affiliation with - often - very violent gangs that revolve around clan loyalties. These young Somalians, extremely vulnerable and exposed to radicalisation, prompted the British prime minister, David Cameron, to describe Somalia as 'a failed state that directly threatens British interests.'

Fergusson observes that the international community has repeatedly failed Somalia as they have gone from military intervention to stolid indifference and back. Many Somalians interviewed by Fergusson believe the West made a critical error in mistaking a preference for Sharia law, imposed by the Islamic Courts Union, the only government since Siad Barre's regime that was able to bring some stability back to the region, as support for Islamisation that could make Somalia a safe haven for Islamic extremists. Their subsequent intervention plunged Somalia into further conflict.

The book is highly readable and well written. Fergusson has painstakingly researched the myriad aspects of Somalian society from clan divisions, the role of Islam and radicalisation of the diaspora to the chewing of Qat, a locally grown intoxicant, in order to make sense of the origins of the civil war and the insurgency. It is a rigorous analysis that is very helpful for understanding Somalia during the period selected by the author.

At the outset, Fergusson wonders if he has been too harsh in his choice of title, especially in light of recent positive political developments in the region. The Al-Shabaab was pushed back from their southern strongholds, such as Kismayo, by a joint force of AMISOM, Kenyan and Ethiopian troops. The threat of piracy in the Gulf of Aden has also been significantly reduced due to sustained efforts of the Puntland government on land, and international counter-piracy measures at sea. The Federal Government of Somalia was established after the TFG's mandate ended in late 2012 and a new president was elected by a newly selected parliament, believed to be the first genuine presidential poll in a generation.

But, as Fergusson points out, these gains are perilously fragile. The clan elders responsible for selecting the new parliament have been accused of rigging it along clan lines, giving rise to the fear that it may again disintegrate owing to clan rivalry. The threat of Al-Shabaab has certainly not been eliminated. The recent attacks on Westgate Mall in Nairobi and in front of Jazeera hotel in Mogadishu are indicative of an attempt at resurgence. There is also the very real threat that AQIM and Boko Haram might strike an alliance with Al-Shabaab to synchronise and coordinate their funding and training. If the positive advances are not consolidated upon soon, Somalia may well continue to live up to its reputation of being the most dangerous place in the world.



## News Track

### UNSC calls for implementation of UN Integrated Strategy for Sahel

The UN Security Council expressed its willingness to find a solution to security, political, humanitarian and development issues in the Sahel region during a meeting on peace and security in Africa. The UNSC termed the situation in the Sahel region as alarming and requested quick and effective implementation of the UN Integrated Strategy for Sahel. This Integrated Strategy is based on good governance in the region and on national and regional security mechanisms capable of facing cross-border threats. The UNSC also mentioned that the implementation of the strategy should be in close consultation with countries of Sahel, Western Africa and Maghreb, along with regional and multilateral donors and partners.<sup>1</sup>

## Northern Africa

### Egypt

#### Egypt's Interim President Adly Mansour announces referendum on Egyptian Constitution in mid-January next year

Interim President of Egypt, Adly Mansour has announced a national referendum on the new draft of the constitution, to take place on 14-15 January 2014. In a speech at a ceremony on December 14, 2013 the President called on those who opposed the current political settlement to "give up on their stubbornness," and to join the nation. The drafting committee submitted the amended draft to Mansour on December 3, 2013. According to the transitional roadmap announced by the interim authorities after the ouster of former President Mohamed Mursi in July 2013, the amended constitution must be approved by a national referendum. A successful referendum vote would be followed by elections. During the amendment process, the constitutional drafting committee decided to leave the decision of whether to hold presidential or parliamentary elections first to President Mansour.<sup>2</sup>

### Libya

#### Libya federalists announce creation of Oil Company; Libya's interim parliament extends its mandate by a year

Supporters of a federal system in Libya have set up a company to sell oil from terminals they have seized in the east, in the latest challenge to the government. The announcement was made

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<sup>1</sup> "Security Council requests quick implementation of UN Strategy for Sahel", *Sahrawi Mission*, December 16, 2013 at <http://www.sadr-emb-au.net/security-council-requests-quick-implementation-of-un-strategy-for-sahel/>

<sup>2</sup> "President announces referendum on Egyptian constitution on 14, 15 January", *Ahram Online*, December 14, 2013 at <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/89074/Egypt/Politics-/President-announces-referendum-on-Egyptian-constit.aspx>

on November 10, 2013 by the Cyrenaica Political Bureau, an autonomous group that set up in October 2013 its own government in the east in a move that angered the central authorities. Speaking at a news conference in the eastern town of Ajdabiya, Abd Rabbo-al Baraassia self-proclaimed head of government, also said a central bank would be formed for the region. Meanwhile, the government in Tripoli said companies were trying to buy Libyan oil outside of the official channels and threatened to use force against those responsible. The instability has caused production to drop to around 250,000 barrels per day, compared with 1.5 million barrels per day before the crisis, according to the National Oil Company, causing estimated losses of \$13 billion (10 billion euros).<sup>3</sup>

Libya's interim parliament voted on December 23, 2013 to extend the country's post-revolutionary transition, giving itself an extra year to oversee the writing of a constitution and the holding of new elections, members said. Islamist lawmaker Mohammed Sammoud said that 102 members out of 120 who attended the session voted in favor of the new transition plan, setting a deadline for drafting the country's constitution to August 2014. This will be followed by elections and a new parliament will be handed power by December 24, 2014. According to the old timetable, the current interim parliament should have elected a constituent panel, drafted the constitution, held a referendum on it and then called for parliamentary elections before February 2014. The decision is expected to spark anger among many Libyans. Demonstrations in recent months have denounced what they see as poor performance of the parliament and its government. Many Libyans have criticized the parliament for failing to come up with an effective policy to rein in powerful militias. Proponents of the extended transition, however, say the alternative is a power vacuum when the current parliament's term expires.<sup>4</sup>

## Sudan

### Sudan and Ethiopia agree on border demarcation

Neighbours Sudan and Ethiopia have agreed to resolve all their border demarcation disputes, Sudanese minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Karti announced on December 3, 2013. The Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn had arrived in Khartoum on the same day to hold talks with Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir. "Sudan and Ethiopia have ended the border disagreement on 'Fashaga' area," the Sudanese minister confirmed. "The two presidents will sign a historical document putting the final demarcation lines," he added. Joint Sudanese-Ethiopian ministerial committees have signed a number of cooperation agreements on several domains including border, security, economic, agricultural, educational and cultural levels. Speaking in Khartoum, Ethiopia's Foreign Affairs minister Tederos Adhanom said the two parties are working to create peaceful borders between them. State media said that the Sudanese and Ethiopian leaders will

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<sup>3</sup> "Libya federalists announce creation of oil company", *The Daily Star*, November 11, 2013 at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2013/Nov-11/237514-libya-federalists-announce-creation-of-oil-company.ashx#ixzz2niIVt68T>

<sup>4</sup> "Libyan interim parliament extends mandate by year", *Washington Post*, December 23, 2013 at [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/libyan-interim-parliament-extends-mandate-by-year/2013/12/23/ccb16bca-6be1-11e3-a5d0-6f31cd74f760\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/libyan-interim-parliament-extends-mandate-by-year/2013/12/23/ccb16bca-6be1-11e3-a5d0-6f31cd74f760_story.html)

also visit the Sudanese border state of Gadarif on December 4, 2013 to inaugurate the electricity line project which will link the two countries. The border areas between Sudan and Ethiopia have witnessed sporadic conflicts involving farmers on the both sides.<sup>5</sup>

## South Sudan

**According to South Sudan President the government quashed a coup attempt by soldiers loyal to former Vice President Riek Machar; Political Strife in South Sudan sets off ethnic violence; UN addresses Indian concerns on South Sudan**

South Sudan's President Salva Kiir says an attempted coup by soldiers loyal to his former deputy Riek Machar has been put down. Mr Kiir said the government was in full control of the capital, Juba, after a night of heavy fighting between soldiers in the presidential guard. The alleged attempted coup is a manifestation of months of political unrest, which escalated in July 2013 when President Salva Kiir dismissed his deputy, Riek Machar. Mr Machar and other senior politicians accused the president of intolerance and dictatorship. Differences between Mr Kiir and Mr Machar mirror the complex ethnic and political divisions across the poor nation. Mr Kiir is from the majority *Dinka* ethnic group and Mr Machar, belongs to the second largest *Nuer* group. These divisions extend to the army, which owes allegiance to the politicians. The instability is exacerbated by the presence of many illegal arms, mostly from the years of war with Sudan.<sup>6</sup>

After President Salva Kiir announced that his government had headed off a coup attempt by his former vice president last week, South Sudan was tossed into uncertainty and upheaval. Hundreds are believed to have been killed in the capital, Juba, with thousands more fleeing into the bush to escape the violence. The former vice president, Riek Machar, has denied any involvement in a coup attempt, accusing the president of using the unrest as a pretext to crack down on his opponents. But while both sides debate what ignited the fighting, the aftermath has taken on a life of its own, revealing longstanding tensions in a fledgling new nation that international officials worry could ultimately tear it apart. Rebels are believed to have taken control of some of the country's oil fields. The fighting has taken on an ethnic dimension with *Dinka* and *Nuer* ethnic groups targeting each other, human rights workers say. The United Nations said that the upheaval in recent days had forced 20,000 people to seek refuge at its compound in Juba, raising humanitarian concerns.<sup>7</sup>

India's strong concerns over the security and mandate of its peacekeepers in South Sudan found support from several U.N. Security Council members who unanimously passed a resolution that

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<sup>5</sup> Mohammed Amin, "Sudan and Ethiopia agree on border demarcation", *The Africa Review*, December 3, 2013 at <http://www.africareview.com/News/Ethiopia-and-Sudan-agree-on-border-demarcation/-/979180/2097244/-/va1xjsz/-/index.html>

<sup>6</sup> "South Sudan quashes coup attempt, says President Kiir", *BBC*, December 16, 2013 at [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25396853?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=\\*Morning%20Brief&utm\\_campaign=MB%2012.16.13](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25396853?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=*Morning%20Brief&utm_campaign=MB%2012.16.13)

<sup>7</sup> Isma'il Kushkush, "Political Strife in South Sudan Sets Off Ethnic Violence", *The New York Times*, December 21, 2013 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/22/world/africa/political-strife-in-south-sudan-sets-off-ethnic-violence.html?src=recg>

directly addresses the situation faced by Indian soldiers. India, which has lost seven of its soldiers this year in the world's newest country, highlighted issues related to the mandate of the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) specially the difficult conditions in which the Indian peacekeepers work, standing in frontline of the violence. While India is not in the Security Council, it was able to "influence" the UNSC resolution in a "significant manner", as it highlighted key issues "proactively" with the powerful U.N. body. India was also able to work closely with the "pen-holder country", the United States., in the final language of the South Sudan resolution that approved a temporary increase in the strength of UNMISS to up to 12,500 military personnel and 1,323 policemen from a current combined strength of 7,000. India got "valuable support" for its view from Russia and troop contributing countries like Pakistan and Guatemala inside the Council.<sup>8</sup>

## Tunisia

### Tunisia Industry Minister Mehdi Jomaa to be new PM

Tunisian politicians have agreed on a new prime minister after talks between the ruling Islamist Ennahda party and the opposition. Mehdi Jomaa, industry minister, will head a caretaker government until elections are held in 2014. Mr Mehdi Jomaa's name was one of six put forward for the post by the parties involved in the negotiations. Tunisia has been in crisis since the assassination of two opposition politicians earlier this year. The appointment is part of a deal reached on December 12, 2013 that will see the moderate Islamists hand over power to end the political deadlock.<sup>9</sup>

## Western Africa

## Mali

### Tuareg rebels call an end to 5 month ceasefire

Separatist Tuareg rebels ended a five month old ceasefire with Mali's government and took up arms again following violence in the Northern city of Kidal in Mali. A statement by Attaye Ag Mohamed, one of the founders of the MNLA groups, said that the political and military wings of the Azawad (MNLA, MAA and HCUA) declared the lifting of the ceasefire with the central government in Bamako, putting all their military positions on alert. The declaration came a day after Malian troops clashed with stone-throwing protestors who blocked a visit by the Prime Minister to Kidal, a northern rebel stronghold.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> "UN addresses Indian concerns on South Sudan", *The Hindu*, December 26, 2013 at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/world/un-addresses-indian-concerns-on-south-sudan/article5503739.ece>

<sup>9</sup> "Tunisia Industry Minister Mehdi Jomaa to be new PM", *The Africa Review*, December 15, 2013 at <http://www.africareview.com/News/Tunisia-Industry-Minister-Mehdi-Jomaa-to-be-new-PM/-/979180/2112514/-/10e73cs/-/index.html>

<sup>10</sup> "Malian separatist rebels end five-month ceasefire", *The Telegraph*, November 30, 2013 at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/mali/10485593/Malian-separatist-rebels-end-five-month-ceasefire.html>

## Nigeria

### Maiduguri airbase attacked by Boko Haram insurgents; Military operation by Nigerian military kills 50 insurgents

Boko Haram insurgents attacked several areas of Maiduguri, Nigeria including a military airbase. Local residents said that hundreds of heavily armed gunmen besieged the air force and army bases, razing buildings and setting shops and petrol stations ablaze. Brig Gen Chris Olukolade, a spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, said that two helicopters and three decommissioned military aircrafts had been incapacitated during the attack. Reports said that several people were killed as the terrorists planted explosives in targeted areas in the city.<sup>11</sup>

Nigerian military killed 50 members of Boko Haram as they tried to cross Cameroon's border. The Defence headquarters confirmed the death of the insurgents and also said that it destroyed about 20 vehicles which were used by the militants to carry out attacks on Mohammed Kur Barracks in Bama LGA of Borno a few days ago.<sup>12</sup>

## Mauritania

### Counter terrorism agreement signed between France and Mauritania

Mauritania and France signed a counter-terrorism agreement which promotes co-operation programmes in security training, new technologies and other areas. The agreement was signed in Nouakchott, Mauritania by French Interior Minister Manuel Valls and his Mauritanian counterpart Mohamed Ould Ahmed Rara. The agreement will also improve governance and training for the police in Mauritania according to Valls.<sup>13</sup>

## Sierra Leone

### Japan and Sierra Leone sign agreement on power distribution system

Sierra Leone's High Commissioner to the Republic of Ghana, Alhaji Osman Foday Yansaneh and his counterpart, Naoto Nikai, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to Sierra Leone in the Ghanaian capital, Accra, signed an agreement in which the government of Japan has agreed to give Sierra Leone a grant of Y1.55bn for "Urgent Improvement of Power Distribution System in Freetown." After the signing, the Japanese Ambassador reaffirmed his government's commitment to supporting the socio-economic development of Sierra Leone. Yansaneh called

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<sup>11</sup> "Nigeria crisis: Boko Haram attack Maiduguri airbase", *BBC News Africa*, December 02, 2013 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25187142>; Also see, "Scores killed as Boko Haram attacks Air force Base in Maiduguri", *Vanguard*, December 02, 2013 at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/12/scores-killed-boko-haram-attacks-air-force-base-maiduguri/>

<sup>12</sup> "Nigeria says scores dead in Boko Haram battle", *Aljazeera*, December 24, 2013 at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/12/nigeria-says-scores-dead-boko-haram-battle-20131224103527748300.html>

<sup>13</sup> "Mauritania, France sign security agreement", *Magharebia*, November 21, 2013 at [http://magharebia.com/en\\_GB/articles/awi/features/2013/11/21/feature-02](http://magharebia.com/en_GB/articles/awi/features/2013/11/21/feature-02)



for more Japanese support in Agriculture, Food Security, Education, Energy, Rural Development and Sanitation.<sup>14</sup>

## *Eastern Africa*

### Kenya

#### **ICC Case against Kenyan President appears to be collapsing**

The case against Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta at the International Criminal Court (ICC) appears to be on the brink of collapse. Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda told judges that she had insufficient evidence to bring the case to trial. The case was scheduled to start on February 5, 2014 but Bensouda has asked for a delay of three months so she can look for more evidence. Kenyatta is facing charges of crimes against humanity which stem from electoral violence that hit Kenya following a disputed presidential poll in December 2007. He is charged with murder, persecution, forcible population displacement, and rape as an indirect perpetrator. The crimes allegedly took place in the towns of Nakuru and Naivasha in Kenya's Rift Valley. In a separate case, Deputy President William Ruto and journalist Joshua Arap Sang went on trial in September 2013 on similar charges.<sup>15</sup>

### Ethiopia

#### **Chinese Firms to Undertake Two Billion Birr Road Projects in Amhara and Southern regions of Ethiopia**

The Ethiopian Roads Authority (ERA) awarded over 2 billion Birr road construction projects to two Chinese companies in an agreement signed on December 19, 2013. The roads, totaling 121.5km, are found in the Amhara and Southern regional states. The road in Amhara will be undertaken by China First Highway Engineering (CFHE) for 1.55 billion Birr. Called the Dessie-Kutaber-Tenta Junction Road, it will be upgraded to asphalt. The other road, in the Southern regional state, is the design and construction of a 54.7km gravel road from Omo-Kuraz Sugar Factory Number 2 Junction to Omo-Kuraz Sugar Factory Number 3 Junction. This project is awarded to Sino Hydro for 459 million Birr. Financing for the projects will come from the Ethiopian government and the Kuwait Fund.<sup>16</sup>

### Tanzania

#### **Tanzania's trade with India to double in coming years**

According to Executive Director of the Tanzania Chamber of Commerce Industry and Agriculture

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<sup>14</sup> "Sierra Leone News: Japanese give Y1.55bn grant for Freetown electricity", *Awoko news*, December 29, 2013 at <http://awoko.org/2013/12/23/sierra-leone-news-japanese-give-y1-55bn-grant-for-freetown-electricity/>

<sup>15</sup> J.J., Wangui, "Kenya: ICC Case Against Kenyan President Unravels", *allafrica.com*, December 20, 2013 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201312230534.html>

<sup>16</sup> Bethlehem Melka, "Chinese Firms to Undertake Two Billion Birr Road Projects in Amhara, South", December 22, 2013 at <http://addisfortune.net/articles/chinese-firms-to-undertaketwo-billion-birr-roadprojects-in-amhara-south/>

(TCIA), trade between India and Tanzania is likely to double by 2016. The Executive Director was speaking at a gathering of Tanzanian business people and Indian delegation visiting Tanzania under the auspices of Confederation of Indian Industries (CII). The bilateral trade between India and Tanzania stands at \$1.4 billion. Indian exports to Tanzania includes pharmaceutical products, iron, alloy steel, electrical apparatus, motor vehicles, machines and tractors while Indian imports from Tanzania include cashew nuts, sesame, minerals and cotton. CII (Andhra Pradesh) had organized business delegation visit between 8 December 2013 to 18 December 2013 to three African Countries (Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia) with an aim of enhancing business ties between India and Africa.<sup>17</sup>

## Djibouti

### **GCC provides USD 200 million for development in Djibouti; Djibouti Signs Power Deal with Shanghai Electric**

At the end of a two day summit on December 11, 2013, the Arab Gulf countries decided to provide USD 200 million to support development in Djibouti. The leaders of the six Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) decided to extend the financial assistance to support development projects in Djibouti for the next five years. The task has been assigned to the GCC Secretariat to coordinate with the presidency to channel the funding for Djibouti.<sup>18</sup>

Djibouti's Energy Minister, Ali Yacoub Mahamoud and the regional director of Shanghai Electric, Shi Shizhong, signed an agreement for the construction of a 63KV power line on December 16, 2013. The 90km line links Ali-Sabieh and Nagad regions of the country. The completion of the project will boost supply of energy to the future railway line which will link Djibouti to Addis Ababa. In July 2013, Djibouti President Ismail Omar Guelleh and Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn launched the construction of Djibouti-Ethiopia electric railway line measuring 784 km.<sup>19</sup>

## Mauritius

### **India, Mauritius sign MoU for capacity building and skill development; Mauritius, India agree to 'limitation of benefit' clause in the revised tax treaty between the two countries**

India and Mauritius signed an agreement in the field of skill development and capacity building aimed at development of micro and small units. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) K H Muniyappa and Mauritius Minister of Business, Enterprise and Cooperatives Jangbahadoor Seetaram, an official release said. Under the MoU, surveys and feasibility studies

<sup>17</sup> "Trade with India could double over next few years", *Daily News*, December 17, 2013 at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/biz/25935-trade-with-india-could-double-over-next-few-years>

<sup>18</sup> "GCC provides USD 200 mln for development in Djibouti", *Kuwait News Agency*, December 11, 2013 at <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=2349899&Language=en>

<sup>19</sup> "Djibouti Signs Power Deal With Shanghai Electric", *allafrica.com*, December 20, 2013 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201312230172.html>



would also be carried out to identify thrust areas and opportunities for development of these units in Mauritius. Besides, the two ministers discussed the possibility of setting up of a vocational training-cum-incubation centre for the benefit of Mauritian SME sector.<sup>20</sup>

To further ring-fence its jurisdiction from any attempts of round-tripping and money laundering activities, Mauritius has agreed to include a 'limitation of benefits (LOB)' clause in its revised tax treaty with India. While specific details of this clause in the India-Mauritius tax treaty are being ironed out, LoB clauses are typically aimed at preventing 'treaty shopping' or inappropriate use of tax pacts by third-country investors. The LOB clause limits treaty benefits to those who meet certain conditions including those related to business, residency and investment commitments of the entity seeking benefit of a Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (DTAA). While a DTAA is already in place between two countries, it is being revised amid concerns that the Indian Ocean nation was being used for round-tripping of funds to and from India; although Mauritius has always maintained that there have been no concrete evidence of any such misuse.<sup>21</sup>

## Somalia

### Parliament approves Abdiwali Sheikh as the new PM of Somalia; Aid agencies 'paid Somalia's al-Shabab' during famine of 2011

Somali Federal Parliament on December 21, 2013 approved Abdiwali Sheikh Ahmed as the new Prime Minister of the country, nineteen days after the lawmakers ousted former PM Abdi Farah Shirdon. PM Abdiwali Sheikh Ahmed, who was appointed by the President on December 12, 2013 has won the confidence of 239 out of 243 of the lawmakers. President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and Parliament Speaker Mohamed Sheikh Osman welcomed the approval of the Prime Minister Abdiwali Sheikh Ahmed.<sup>22</sup>

Aid agencies paid Somalia's al-Shabab militants for access to areas under their control in the 2011 famine, according to a joint report published by the Overseas Development Institute and the Mogadishu-based Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. In many cases al-Shabab insisted on distributing the aid and kept much of it for itself, the report says. The report adds that some of the groups are still paying al-Shabab to operate in the large parts of Somalia that the group still holds in its control. In 2011 more than 250,000 people died during the famine, caused by a drought. The disaster affected more than 13 million people across the Horn of Africa and triggered a major refugee crisis, with hundreds of thousands of Somalis fleeing the rural areas controlled by al-Shabab.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "India, Mauritius sign MoU for capacity building, skills", *The Economic Times*, December 2, 2013 at [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-12-02/news/44657749\\_1\\_mou-muniyappa-india-and-mauritius-today](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-12-02/news/44657749_1_mou-muniyappa-india-and-mauritius-today)

<sup>21</sup> "Mauritius, India agree to 'limitation of benefit' clause", *Moneycontrol.com*, December 8, 2013 at [http://www.moneycontrol.com/news/current-affairs/mauritius-india-agree-to-limitationbenefit-clause\\_1004464.html?utm\\_source=ref\\_article](http://www.moneycontrol.com/news/current-affairs/mauritius-india-agree-to-limitationbenefit-clause_1004464.html?utm_source=ref_article)

<sup>22</sup> "Parliament approves Abdiwali Sheikh as the new PM of Somalia", *Somali Current*, December 21, 2013 at <http://www.somalicurrent.com/2013/12/21/parliament-approves-abdiwali-sheikh-as-the-new-pm-of-somalia/>

<sup>23</sup> "Aid agencies 'paid Somalia's al-Shabab' during famine", *BBC News*, December 9, 2013 at [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25295821?utm\\_source=Saithru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=\\*Morning%20Brief&utm\\_campaign=MB%2012.09.13](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25295821?utm_source=Saithru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=*Morning%20Brief&utm_campaign=MB%2012.09.13)

## Central Africa

### Democratic Republic of Congo

#### Peace deal signed between Congo and M23 rebels

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) government signed a peace deal with M23 rebels in Kampala, Uganda. Two declarations were signed between the two parties, comprising of 11 points agreed on by both. These include a decision by the M23 to end the rebellion and transform itself into a political party, amnesty to M23 members for acts of war and insurgency and the demobilisation of former M23 rebels. The declaration, which was signed in the presence of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and President Joyce Banda of Malawi, also included an agreement on the release of those M23 members held by the DRC (Congo) for war or rebellion and called for the return of those displaced by fighting. It also called for the formation of a committee to handle property and land that was confiscated, stolen or destroyed.<sup>24</sup>

### Central African Republic

#### UNSC sanction to military action by France and AU

The UN Security Council unanimously approved a French sponsored resolution authorising an increased military action by France and African troops in the Central African Republic. The resolution came amid reports that at least 100 people have died in Bangui, the country's capital, in the heaviest clashes in the city in months. The resolution authorises the deployment of an African Union led force, known as the International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (MISCA), for a year with the mandate to use "appropriate measures" to protect civilians and restore security and public order. President Hollande said after the resolution was passed that the number of French troops in CAR would be doubled from 600. The French forces were also allowed to take "all necessary measures" to support MISCA for a temporary period.<sup>25</sup>

### Cameroon

#### Cameroon tightens security to guard against Boko Haram; CAR gunmen attack Cameroon

Cameroonian authorities have set up tighter border controls in the Far North region of the country to guard against infiltration by Boko Haram fighters from neighbouring Nigeria. A rapid response military unit has also been deployed in the northern regions. Albert Sidi, who is in charge of economic, social and cultural affairs at the Far North governor's office said that the main challenge is safeguarding the borders so that they don't import the Boko Haram problem. But authorities admitted that it is impossible to completely secure Cameroon's longest border as cross border movement is easy because of similar ethnic communities in Cameroon's Far North and

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<sup>24</sup> "Congo signs peace deal with M23 rebels", *Reuters*, December 12, 2013 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/12/us-congo-democratic-deal-idUSBRE9BB13320131212>

<sup>25</sup> "UN passes resolution on CAR military action", *Aljazeera*, December 06, 2013 at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/12/un-okays-increased-military-action-car-201312515535052625.html>

northeastern Nigeria who have family on either side of the border, speak the same language and share common culture.<sup>26</sup>

Residents of Eastern Cameroon said that armed men dressed as soldiers from the Central African Republic (CAR) crossed over from the CAR and attacked military installations and markets. The governor of Cameroon's East region, Ivaha Diboua Samuel Diuedonne said that the armed med from Central African Republic attacked offices, military posts and looted shops. Five of the invaders were killed, along with one Cameroon soldier and a civilian.<sup>27</sup>

## Angola

### Ministry of geology signs deal with CITIC; Angola accused of banning Islam

The Angola Institute of Geology (IGA) signed a contract for the construction of infrastructures under the National Geology Plan (PLANAGEO) with the Chinese firm CITIC in Luanda, Angola. The project, estimated to cost \$62 million, includes the construction of laboratories, headquarters and correspondents' networks, equipment, technical assistance and training. The contract was signed by the IGA Director General and by the CITIC's Deputy Director for Africa and the signing will be followed by the construction of the infrastructures within 18 months.<sup>28</sup>

Angola was accused of banning Islam amid reports of the country's mosques being shut down and allegations of intimidation against women who wear the veil. The Islamic Community of Angola (ICA) claims that eight mosques have been destroyed in the past two years. Religious organisations in Angola are required to apply for legal recognition and a religious group needs more than 100,000 members and to be present in 12 of the 18 provinces to gain legal status. According to David Ja, President of the ICA, there are only an estimated 90,000 Muslims in Angola. But, officials in the largely Catholic nation have denied any attempt to ban Islam. According to the Angolan government there is no official position that targets the destruction or closure of places of worship, whichever they are.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> "Cameroon takes steps against Boko Haram", *IRIN Africa*, December 27, 2013 at <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99396/cameroon-takes-steps-against-boko-haram>

<sup>27</sup> "Armed Men From CAR Attack Cameroon", *Voice of America*, November 18, 2013 at <http://www.voanews.com/content/armed-man-from-car-attack-cameroon/1792198.html>

<sup>28</sup> "Ministry of Geology signs infrastructure construction deal", *Agencia Angola Press*, December 19, 2013 at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/angola/en\\_us/noticias/economia/2013/11/51/Ministry-Geology-signs-infrastructure-construction-deal,2c570edf-af5a-48ac-bd7d-20d225079a7d.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/angola/en_us/noticias/economia/2013/11/51/Ministry-Geology-signs-infrastructure-construction-deal,2c570edf-af5a-48ac-bd7d-20d225079a7d.html)

<sup>29</sup> "Angola accused of 'banning' Islam as mosques closed", *The Guardian*, November 28, 2013 at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/28/angola-accused-banning-islam-mosques>

## *Southern Africa*

### South Africa

#### Zuma receives clean chit over Nkandla expenditure

President Jacob Zuma has been cleared in an inquiry by the South African government into allegations that he abused state money and used it to upgrade his private residence. South Africa's ombudsman Thuli Madonsela, had found that Zuma had derived substantial benefits from the upgrade in a provisional report and had urged him to repay some of the \$20 million cost. But, the Public Works Minister Thulas Nxesi, said that no state funds were used to build the President's private residence. He further said that the government had spent money on the house, in the rural district of Nkandla in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province, for security reasons.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> "South Africa report clears Jacob Zuma over Nkandla", *BBC News Africa*, December 19, 2013 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25448386>

## Call for Contributions

IDSa invites book reviews and commentaries for publication in Africa Trends, our bimonthly newsletter on Africa. Submissions can focus on issues relating to African countries, and focusing on political and economic developments. We would also be interested in articles analysing bilateral, regional and multilateral developments of strategic significance to India's engagement with African countries.

Commentaries can range between 1,000-1,500 words (excluding footnotes) and book reviews between 600-1,000 words. Guidelines for contributors may be found at: <http://www.idsa.in/africatrends>. Submissions may be emailed to the Editor at [idsa.africatrends@gmail.com](mailto:idsa.africatrends@gmail.com).

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