

# Africa Trends

Volume 1, Number 5  
September-October 2012

*A Bimonthly Newsletter on Africa*



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE  
STUDIES & ANALYSES

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## Editor's Note

In this fifth edition of Africa Trends, Sneha Bhura examines Sino-African ties against the background of the recently concluded fifth ministerial conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC); Ahana Banerjee provides a closer look at a recent amendment in the Namibian labour law that has caused friction amongst various stakeholders; Sanjeev Shrivastav assesses US President Barack Obama's Africa policy; and Keerthi Sampath Kumar reviews the book *Crafting an African Security Architecture – Addressing Regional Peace and Conflict in the 21st Century* edited by Hany Besada.

There were a number of significant events we followed over the months of September and October. Libya's post-revolution reconstruction faced a setback with the death of the American ambassador to Libya on the eve of September 11. J. Christopher Stevens was killed by suspected Islamist militants at the American embassy in Benghazi. The attack was seen as motivated by the release earlier that month of a documentary depicting the Prophet Muhammad in controversial light.

In Mali, Algerian diplomat, Tahar Touati, was killed by the militant group, the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), after being held hostage for five months. Touati was abducted along with seven other diplomats in a raid by MUJAO on the Algerian consulate in Gao in April this year. In Bamako, the Malian government agreed on an ECOWAS plan to deploy a 3,300-strong intervention force to retake northern Mali; the plan remained unsupported by Mali's opposition and military. Reports suggested that the militant groups who control northern Mali were amassing forces in anticipation of a possible military intervention.

In October, Rwanda was elected to the UN Security Council despite a UN report that suggested that Rwanda has supported the M23 rebel group in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Rwanda replaced South Africa in the Council's non-permanent seat for Africa. Meanwhile, Somalia elected a new president in September in an indication of improving security in the war-torn country. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud is the first leader to be elected to the post following the 1991 overthrow of President Said Barre. Mohamud is a professor and activist and has previously worked with national and international organisations.

Labour protests in South Africa spread to other areas across the gold and platinum-producing regions surrounding Johannesburg, with riots bringing production to a halt at a number of mines. President Jacob Zuma has announced plans to invest nearly US\$ 100 billion in infrastructure to create jobs and address rising inequality, low wages, and poverty.

South Sudan is hoping to benefit from a new e-government project sponsored by the Indian government. The Pan-Africa e-Network Project is aimed at enhancing tele-education and tele-medicine, and is estimated to cost more than US\$ 115 million.

We hope you find this issue useful!

## Viewpoint

### FOCAC 2012 - SINO-AFRICAN TIES SURGE AHEAD

FOCAC 2012 went well beyond numbers and initiated the process of addressing serious concerns of a mature relationship by moving away from the narrow constraints of economic transactions.

**SNEHA BHURA**

Characterising Sino-African relations as a robust partnership would be an understatement, if the recently concluded fifth ministerial conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is any indication. For not only has China surpassed all expectations by pledging a staggering US\$ 20 billion credit line, which is double the amount promised in the last FOCAC conference in 2009, it has also opened up newer vistas of cooperation translating into a deeper and more constructive brand of engagement. Even though the fifth ministerial summit of the FOCAC did not receive the hyperactive media attention of the first, it is safe to consider the summit as being a high watermark in the trajectory of Sino-African relations in its own understated way. In fact, FOCAC 2012 went well beyond numbers and initiated the process of addressing serious concerns of a mature relationship by moving away from the narrow constraints of economic transactions.

FOCAC, the triennial summit initiated in October 2000, has evolved into the most important platform for African and Chinese policymakers to institutionalise and further Sino-African relations. Once airily dismissed as a land of abject poverty and vicious political paralysis, Africa today is considered as being the most exciting place to be - what with it harbouring seven out of the 10 fastest growing economies and IMF estimates pegging it to grow by 6 per cent in 2012. Through the last four summits down to the present one, held in Beijing from July 19 to July 20, 2012, the Chinese foray into Africa has only become deeper. Beyond the obvious motivation of securing energy supplies and mineral resources to feed its gargantuan economy, China's imprint on Africa has come to shape the contours of its image as a global player, one that is growing increasingly conscious of how its power projection is perceived in the international political landscape.

It makes sense for China to tenaciously root for resource-rich Africa since other regions such as the Middle East, Central Asia and South East Asia appear relatively more hostile. The numbers speak for themselves. Other notable emerging markets like Brazil and Turkey have started to make substantial investments in Africa resulting in the proliferation of jobs in their own domestic constituencies. But China constitutes Africa's biggest and strongest trade partner today, upstaging the United States in 2009. The trade between China and Africa peaked in 2011, amounting to US\$ 166.3 billion, surpassing Africa's trade with the US and other important European countries. The trade figures between the two have registered a 16 fold increase since 2000. China imported US\$ 93.2 billion worth of oil and natural resources from Africa in 2011. Official figures available till the middle of 2012 reveal that China has pumped US\$ 45 billion into Africa, which includes US\$ 15 billion in direct investment. More than 2,000 Chinese enterprises are believed to be involved in business ventures in 50 African countries. Sectors which attract the bulk of Chinese investment include core infrastructure-related areas such as mining, construction, finance and manufacturing, unlike the West which is fixated on conditional aid for community and humanitarian

development. China's conservative restraint with regard to sermonising on Africa's political setbacks and its business-as-usual approach has made China a less complicated ally for the Africans. President Hu Jintao's statement at the opening of FOCAC 2012 - "We will give genuine support to African countries' independent choice of development paths" - bears testimony to the continued Chinese adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal political landscape of Africa.

Even though the Africans have not instituted a formal monitoring mechanism to evaluate the status of the declarations made at previous FOCAC summits, there is a general consensus that promises have been fulfilled. The theme of the FOCAC 2012, "Build on past achievements and open up new prospects for the new type of China-Africa strategic partnership", might sound hackneyed, but some of the contents of the Beijing Action Plan (2013-15) released at the end of the conference do show signs of going beyond rhetoric. In a definite departure from the commitments made in previous summits, the latest one makes a passing mention of efforts "to combat illegal trade and circulation of small arms and light weapons". The *Africa-China-EU Expert Working Group on Small Arms and Light Weapons* and the *Chinese Arms Control and Disarmament Association (CACDA)* are manifestations of this assertion. Even this modest development is a significant step forward, since the subject of military aid is extremely controversial in the context of Sino-African relations with China causing a deluge of illegal arms in African conflict zones. According to various authoritative sources, over the last decade, arms exports from China have increased to the extent that today, it is the sixth largest arms exporter in the world. The sub-Saharan region in Africa is one of the main recipients of these. Cheap assault rifles and ammunitions of Chinese origin have been found in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the Ivory Coast, Somalia, and Sudan, in repeated violation of UN sanctions. Domestic production of arms is booming in China. It has gone up by 95 per cent between 2007 and 2011. China, which is a major participant in arms trade shows in Africa, currently sells weapons to 16 African countries. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), it has a 25 per cent share of the African arms market, excluding South Africa. China repeatedly refuses to comply with UN injunctions regarding illegal arms transfers and has used its political clout in the UNSC to block the release of confidential reports citing China's role in fuelling internal conflicts by illegal arms transfers. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Chinese state plays a covert role in abetting such transfers or is incapable of exercising control over a diffuse group of arms manufacturers.

There is a stronger focus on civil society/people-to-people exchange by harnessing human capital from universities and think tanks - initiatives meant for enhancing China's soft power. One can sense a heightened urge for engaging with the African Union (AU) what with the pledging of "600 million RMB Yuan in free assistance to the African Union within three years starting from 2012". However, this does not imply any shift in the general Chinese policy of engaging African countries bilaterally for major investment deals. Growing ties with AU will continue to play only a symbolic role in highlighting the growing friendship between China and the African continent as a whole, perhaps leading to military partnerships in the distant future. China knows it will lose leverage within the continent if all the African countries start speaking with one voice.

**China is set to remain a status-quo power in terms of its security objectives in Africa. It still does not possess the military might of the United States to project a unilateral military diplomacy in Africa and will have to remain dependent on the good will of others in order to protect its economic interest in Africa.**



The presence of United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon at the opening of the conference was telling as it raised the profile and credibility of FOCAC as a major international event.

**FOCAC 2012 was arguably bigger in scope and commitment. The fact that it turned out to be so in the backdrop of a crucial change of Chinese leadership in October 2012, the democratisation of Libya and Egypt, and a still fragile world economy, is evidence enough of the importance of Africa for China.**

However, the most significant declaration to come out of the conference pertains to the launching of the "Initiative on China-Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security". This undertaking is fraught with implications for the other great powers in the continent, as China slowly but surely starts to sail in hitherto uncharted waters in the realm of military diplomacy. Although any overt military presence in the form of naval bases or deployment of trained Chinese soldiers is unlikely in the next decade, China has cautiously begun to adapt its security policy in Africa, at least in collaboration with regional organisations, if not unilaterally. Africa's major energy deposits are located in the conflict-ridden areas of the Sudan and the Gulf of Guinea where the United States is also enhancing its stakes. At the same time, India is gradually expanding its influence in the Indian Ocean. As China ventures deeper into Africa, the practical considerations of protecting Chinese citizens and companies is a major concern for the Chinese diplomatic establishment. Nevertheless, China is set to remain a status-quo power in terms of its security objectives in Africa. It still does not

possess the military might of the United States to project a unilateral military diplomacy in Africa and will have to remain dependent on the good will of others in order to protect its economic interest in Africa. It is to be borne in mind that Africa's economic stability is largely dependent on the constant stream of natural resources from Africa, and China will therefore continue to follow the path of security cooperation for at least the next ten years.

The conference publicly revealed some lingering apprehensions of the African side. South African President Jacob Zuma's unusual candour, in noting that the transactions between the two countries will become "unsustainable" in the long run if China continues to export manufactured goods for African raw materials, revealed that China needs to rectify increasing imbalances in the relationship. Chinese companies are accused of maltreating domestic labourers and defiling the environment. In addition, Chinese companies over the years have not shown any signs of transferring technology to foster African entrepreneurship. Interestingly, the World Wildlife Fund was commissioned in this year's FOCAC to draft proposals for incorporating the concept of 'green economy' into the rubric of China-Africa ties. No other FOCAC conference had invited an international NGO before. China announced that it will implement the "African Talents Program" to train 30,000 personnel across a wide range of sectors, offer 18,000 government scholarships, and build various cultural and vocational skills training facilities in a number of African countries. At the summit, China promised to import more African non-mining products and make investments for the development of the African industry. The number of duty-free goods coming in from Africa will soon increase. The number of agricultural centres and Chinese doctors in the continent are also set to increase. Such measures signify a more development-oriented strategy and show that China is keen to brush aside notions of itself as a neo-colonial oppressor.

FOCAC 2012 was arguably bigger in scope and commitment. The fact that it turned out to be so in the backdrop of a crucial change of Chinese leadership in October 2012, the democratisation of Libya and Egypt, and a still fragile world economy, is evidence enough of the importance of Africa for China. It will definitely take more than high-profile PR-oriented diplomatic visits,

like the 11-day Africa tour by the US Secretary of State immediately after the conference, to offset the Chinese influence in Africa.

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## Country Watch

### NAMIBIA: CONTROVERSY OVER AMENDMENT IN LABOUR ACT

A recent amendment in the Namibian labour law has caused friction amongst various stakeholders.

**AHANA BANERJEE\***

Issues of labour and labour rights in southern Africa, highlighted by the recent brutality towards South African mine workers in Marikana, do not engender unusual concerns. It needs to be noted that all such labour unrest or controversy in southern Africa is not violent in character. The case in point is of Namibia, where an amendment to Section 128 of the Labour Act, aimed towards regulating the labour hire system, has generated much argument, contributing ultimately to a fear of increased unemployment. The stated amendment, effective from August 1, 2012, requires companies which hire labour on a temporary basis from labour hire agencies to recognise such labourers as employees of the company. Furthermore, under the amended act, such labourers are to be given the same rights and benefits as given to permanent employees and would include protection against unfair dismissal and the right to join trade unions. Considering it as a positive move for protecting the rights of labourers and ensuring adequate compensation for services, the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) has supported the amendment. However, this support is contrary to the stand taken by most employers and labour-hire agencies that have criticised the amendment.

As the uproar in the legislative and business corridors continued, the Namibian Employers Federation (NEF) reacted strongly by stating that such amendments do not take into account industrial practicalities and that they undermine a company's need to hire temporary labour. According to Tim Parkhouse, secretary general of the NEF, strict labour legislation inhibits an economy instead of helping it; he further commented that the issue of labour hire arose because of some bad labour hire agencies and companies who refused to fully compensate the temporary labour. However, he stated that temporary labour is crucial in an economy and legislative amendments against it would harm the prospects of growth<sup>1</sup>. The controversy became more acute as the African Personnel Services (APS), the largest labour hire agency, fired 7,000 of its employees. While this was cited by employers as being the result of an innate flaw in the amendment, the NUNW posed the question of "did those people have those jobs in the first place and is Africa

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<sup>1</sup> Aungwa N, "Labour Law Very Strict-NEF", Namibia Economist, August 10, 2012 at <http://www.economist.com.na/headlines/1646-labour-law-very-strict-nef>

**The controversy and the consequent role of the judiciary obligates one to note that while inequity continues to be a challenge in southern Africa, reconciliation and redressal can well be carried out within the domains of domestic institutions, and justice can be rendered by an effective civil judiciary.**

Personnel Services really an employer as labour hire companies do not by their very nature go out and create employment as they would want us to believe.”<sup>2</sup> These questions have done little to deter the APS, but the government held that the amendment “only closes a loophole that enabled the user enterprises to evade responsibility toward the persons working for them”<sup>3</sup> and that it does much to ensure equitable labour rights.

This current issue may be viewed as an extension of the 2007 legislation of the Labour Act. Section 128 of the Labour Act 2007 had outlawed the labour hire system altogether. This ban was challenged by the APS which initiated judicial proceedings against the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, charging that the ban under Section 128 was unconstitutional as it interfered with the fundamental right to “practice any profession, or carry on any occupation, trade or business”<sup>4</sup> under Article 21 (1) of the constitution. The Supreme Court of Namibia upheld the grounds of the petition which led the government and the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare to undertake the process of amending the relevant Section. However, as the date of the implementation of the Amendment came closer, the NEF was seen to be getting jittery to the point that a last minute meeting was held on July 20 to persuade the government to defer the date of implementation.

With no postponement in the date of implementation of the amended section, the APS has once again taken the government and the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare to court on grounds that the amendment bans labour hire in effect and therefore is unconstitutional in nature. The case was last heard on September 27, 2012 when the government’s attorney argued that the amendment neither bans nor regulates labour hire but tries to ensure that companies do not evade their duties towards their employees. The final verdict is yet to be out but it has generated speculation on whether the amendment would push up the unemployment figures with companies not hiring more labour than what is absolutely required. An argument used in this context has been that a ‘barrier to firing is a barrier to hiring’<sup>5</sup>. Despite the reasons given by the employers and the subsequent response from the labourers, the fact that stands out is that a matter of such deep political and economic consequence is being played out within the political and social institutions of the country. It is important to note that violent resistance or disorder was not observed in this case and the amendment to the Labour Act, 2007 of Namibia was carried out and debated within constitutional premises. This is in sharp contrast to what has made

<sup>2</sup> Amukwaya Y, “NUNWU Roars At Labour Hire”, Namibia Economist, August 10, 2012 at <http://www.economist.com.na/headlines/1645-nunw-roars-at-labour-hire>

<sup>3</sup> Nunuhe M, “Labour Brokers Should See New Law Positively”, New Era, August 13, 2012 at <http://www.newera.com.na/articles/46875/Labour-brokers-should-see-new-law-positively>

<sup>4</sup> Heita D, “Employers Resist Labour Law Amendments”, New Era, July 12, 2012 at <http://www.newera.com.na/articles/46323/Employers-resist-labour-law-amendments>

<sup>5</sup> Aungwa N, “Labour Law Very Strict-NEF”, Namibia Economist, August 10, 2012 at <http://www.economist.com.na/headlines/1646-labour-law-very-strict-nef>

headlines with regards to the mine workers' wages controversy in South Africa, the different bases and working conditions among mine workers and casual labourers notwithstanding.

The controversy and the consequent role of the judiciary obligates one to note that while inequity continues to be a challenge in southern Africa, reconciliation and redressal can well be carried out within the domains of domestic institutions, and justice can be rendered by an effective civil judiciary. What finally happens and the consequent reactions of the various interest groups will be disclosed over time, but violence, legal transgressions or any hindrance to the economic prospects seem unlikely.

## Commentary

### THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION'S AFRICA POLICY

Obama's plan for Africa appears to be visionary and deep with regard to security, growth, and development of Africa, its societies and nations.

**SANJEEV KUMAR SHRIVASTAV\***

The Obama Administration has focused its Africa policy mainly on democracy, economic growth, food security, democracy, conflict prevention and mitigation, as well as dealing with transnational threats. These broad strategic objectives of the Administration also indicate the vastness and diversity of the African continent and its varying requirements. The United States has provided a substantial amount of aid to Africa in health programmes.<sup>1</sup>

President Barack Obama announced his Africa policy during a visit to Ghana in July 2009 where he stated, "I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world - as partners with America on behalf of the future we want for all of our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect. We must start from the simple premise that Africa's future is up to Africans." During this speech, Obama noted that "I will focus on four areas that are critical to the future of Africa and the entire developing world: democracy, opportunity, health, and the peaceful resolution of conflict."<sup>2</sup>

President Obama's announcement was viewed as a fresh and significant move forward. President George W. Bush's policies toward Africa was mainly focused on health programmes such as the United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), and the Malaria Initiative, which was aimed at providing malaria drugs and preventive assistance to 15 African countries. Meanwhile, President Bush did make efforts to create a Millennium Challenge Corporation, which included several development and democracy related initiatives. On the other hand, President Obama's initiatives were mainly focused on strengthening democratic and economic institutions in Africa. Obama's Africa policy indicated creating strong government as well as economic and civil structures that are essentials for a successful democracy. Obama's policies strived for long-term improvements in the economy, and government accountability, instead of only focusing on short-term gains in areas such as health, food security, and environmental concerns.<sup>3</sup>

The Obama Administration identified five U.S. policy priorities in Africa which are: to strengthen

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Foreign Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa: The FY2012 Request, CRS Report, May 20, 2011 at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41840.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> "Remarks by the President to the Ghanaian Parliament", Accra International Conference Center, Accra, Ghana, July 11, 2009 at <http://www.uspolicy.be/headline/obama%E2%80%99s-speech-ghana>

<sup>3</sup> Franz Essig, "President Obama's New Strategy on Sub-Saharan African Development", Council for a Community of Democracies, June 22, 2012 at [http://www.ccd21.org/news/americas/obama\\_africa\\_policy.html](http://www.ccd21.org/news/americas/obama_africa_policy.html)

democratic institutions; to foster broad-based and sustainable economic growth; to combat disease and improve public health; to prevent, mitigate, and resolve armed conflict; and to help address transnational threats and challenges.<sup>4</sup>

**the policy ... commits to advance U.S. trade and investment in sub-Saharan Africa by improving economic governance, promoting regional integration, expanding African access to global markets and encouraging U.S. companies to trade with and invest in Africa**

It would be worth noting that Sub-Saharan Africa gets over a quarter of total bilateral foreign assistance of the United States. Over the past decade, US aid to Africa has quadrupled.<sup>5</sup> The Obama Administration had requested US\$ 7.8 billion in bilateral foreign assistance for Africa in FY2012. The FY2012 budget request indicated an increase of nearly 10 per cent compared to FY2010 enacted levels for Africa (US\$ 7.1 billion; actual aid reached US\$ 8.1 billion with emergency humanitarian aid included).<sup>6</sup>

On June 14, 2012, the Obama Administration announced its new Africa policy. Announcing this new policy, termed as 'U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa', President Obama stated, "Addressing the opportunities and challenges in Africa requires a comprehensive U.S. policy that is proactive, forward-looking, and that balances our long-term interests with near-term imperatives. This U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa solidifies and advances many of the initiatives that

we have launched since I took office in order to help achieve that balance, and elevates two efforts that will be critical to the future of Africa: strengthening democratic institutions and boosting broad-based economic growth, including through trade and investment. Strong, accountable, and democratic institutions, sustained by a deep commitment to the rule of law, generate greater prosperity and stability, and meet with greater success in mitigating conflict and ensuring security. Sustainable, inclusive economic growth is a key ingredient to security, political stability, and development, and it underpins efforts to alleviate poverty, creating the resources that will bolster opportunity and allow individuals to reach their full potential."<sup>7</sup>

According to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, President Obama believes passionately that Africa's future is now. Clinton noted that the new policy directive is aimed at advancing African democracy by strengthening institutions for more open and accountable governance and for promoting human rights and the rule of law. This new policy is also determined to challenge leaders "whose actions threaten the credibility of democratic processes". According to Clinton, the policy also commits to advance U.S. trade and investment in sub-Saharan Africa by improving economic governance, promoting regional integration, expanding African access to global markets and encouraging U.S. companies to trade with and invest in Africa. Duty waivers under the African Growth and Opportunity Act have increased U.S. trade with Africa.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "U.S. Strategy Towards Sub-Saharan Africa", The White House, June 14, 2012 at [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa\\_strategy\\_2.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> "Clinton Unveils New US Africa Policy", Voice of America, June 14, 2012 at <http://www.voanews.com/content/clinton-unveils-new-us-africa-policy/1211105.html>



This new policy indicates the Obama Administration's commitment to remain a lead contributor in stability and growth of Sub-Saharan Africa's societies and economies. However, it should be viewed as further advancement of existing policies, instead of a new original policy approach. In this new strategy, the Administration appears to maintain its prime focus on strengthening democratic institutions and promoting economic development in Africa. President Obama highlighted the role of young African leaders who are committed to democratic principles as vital for the future of democracy in the region.<sup>9</sup> He noted that "the United States will prioritize efforts to empower the next generation of African leadership... America's partnership with this new generation of Africans will extend beyond our Government to the broad and deepening relationships between our peoples, businesses, and institutions. These roots will drive our path to a future of democracy, peace, and prosperity for generations to come."<sup>10</sup>

On the economic front, this new strategy focuses on plans to promote economic development in Africa by strengthening institutions that support economic development. According to Obama, "promoting sustainable, inclusive economic growth is a key ingredient of security, political stability, and development." According to Obama's plans, improvement in African exports will be achieved by helping its products to meet global health and security standards through increased cooperation and technical assistance. In this regard, the Administration has introduced the 'Doing Business in Africa Campaign', which is an attempt to enhance U.S. private investment in African markets. In this new strategy, Obama also highlights his administration's concerns regarding security and quality of life (health, environment, etc.) in African nations.<sup>11</sup>

However, it is essential to note that the security scenario in Africa is likely to be a major challenge for the Obama Administration since militant Islamist groups, some with links to Al Qaeda, are growing and spreading across Africa. The recent attack on the US consulate in Benghazi in Libya, in which the US ambassador was killed, is a grave reminder of existing security concerns there. Meanwhile, it is evident that under the first Obama Administration, Africa has received renewed and serious attention from the United States, which is likely to advance further in his second term. Obama's plan for Africa appears to be visionary and deep with regard to security, growth, and development of Africa, its societies and nations. Now, as President Obama is set to enter into the second term of his presidency, the real challenge would be keep its focus on implementing its proposed initiatives. Since the Obama Administration believes that Africa's future is now, it would be interesting to observe how far President Obama and his administration would be successful in working for enhanced security, growth, and development of African societies and nations in the next four years.

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<sup>9</sup> Franz Essig, "President Obama's New Strategy on Sub-Saharan African Development", Council for Community of Democracies", June 22, 2012 at [http://www.ccd21.org/news/americas/obama\\_africa\\_policy.html](http://www.ccd21.org/news/americas/obama_africa_policy.html)

<sup>10</sup> "U.S. Strategy Towards Sub-Saharan Africa", The White House, June 14, 2012 available at [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa\\_strategy\\_2.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> Franz Essig, "President Obama's New Strategy on Sub-Saharan African Development", Council for Community of Democracies", June 22, 2012 at [http://www.ccd21.org/news/americas/obama\\_africa\\_policy.html](http://www.ccd21.org/news/americas/obama_africa_policy.html)



## Book Review

*Hany Besada (ed.), Crafting an African Security Architecture - Addressing Regional Peace and Conflict in the 21st Century*

Ashgate Publishing Limited, Surrey, 2010, ISBN: 978-1-4094-0325-8, 222 pp.

**KEERTHI SAMPATH KUMAR**

Since the end of the Cold War, the notion of threats to international peace and security has been constantly expanding. With the rise in intra-state conflicts, especially in the African continent, there is a need to reconfigure the existing institutions to create new elements and norms within the regional and international security architecture. The concept of 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) was introduced in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), which was built on the notion of 'human security'. Against this background, the authors of '*Crafting an African Security Architecture - Addressing Regional Peace and Conflict in the 21st Century*' evaluate the emerging regional security architecture in Africa under the human rights norm, 'Responsibility to Protect'.

The introductory chapter by Hany Besada and others provides the backdrop for the book and gives a bird's eye view of the various arguments made in the book. After the international community failed to react to the Rwandan genocide, the African continent began restructuring its security architecture and thus commenced the pursuit of finding 'African solutions to African problems'. Due to the rising human rights violations in the continent, a shift from 'non-intervention' to 'non-indifference' was made in the newly founded African Union. Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000) incorporated the R2P principle, which reinterpreted the principle of sovereignty. The authors argue that the redefinition of the concept of sovereignty had implications for African peace and security as well as for the international community, on three levels: international, regional and leadership levels. To enhance its role in international peace and security, the AU instituted mechanisms such as the Peace and Security Council, the Panel of the Wise, Continental Early Warning System, and the African Standby Force, to deal with mass atrocities and civil strife. The various dimensions of the AU's institutional preparedness constitute the core of the other 11 chapters. While some of the chapters explore the security architecture by dealing with case studies, the others analyse the institutional framework.

In the second chapter, Siegman Schmidt compares the integration methods of the AU and the European Union, by focusing mainly on the security issues. He contends that the federalist method chosen by the AU is not sustainable in the environment in which it functions as it not only lacks the preconditions necessary for realising this, but also because its integration is limited to the African elite and lacks the support of the broader population. By exposing the loopholes in the AU integration experiment such as the lack of leadership and structural deficits that could have negative ramifications on the African security architecture, Schmidt hopes that this will lead to a process of reform. Another chapter by Stefan Gaenzle and Sven Grimm explores the AU-EU relationship. The authors give an elaborate overview of the EU's involvement in the emerging African security architecture. They explore three interlinked claims - first, EU-Africa relations are emerging out of the narrow confines of the post-World War II matrix; second, EU's support to Africa's Peace and Security Architecture has made it a key security actor in the continent, and

finally, Africa has provided the benchmark for the EU to formulate new forms of coordination for its external policies. However, given the high level of Africa's dependence on EU assistance, the authors caution against overly Westernised models, which will not necessarily receive the approval of African stakeholders.

The chapter by Jakkie Cilliers gives the reader an overview of the peace and security architecture of the AU. The author sheds light on the major achievements of the Peace and Security Council along with a brief examination of the various mechanisms of the security architecture such as the Panel of the Wise, Continental Early Warning Mechanism and the African Standby Force. Against the backdrop of the change in the understanding of Security Sector Reforms (SSR) from state security to human security, Adedeji Ebo and Kristina Powell discuss the role of the AU and the United Nations in SSR and explore the scope for future partnership. In addition to tracing the intersection of the AU's and UN's approaches to SSR, Ebo and Powell, in their chapter argue that though there are inherent challenges in SSR, the AU-UN partnership holds the promise of overcoming these challenges. John Siebert's chapter analyses the role of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the policies it has developed in tandem with the norm of R2P. Despite the IGAD's founding document explicitly mentioning non-interference and preservation of state sovereignty as its tenets, Siebert commends the efforts made by the sub-regional organisation towards recognising state responsibility to protect its citizens, thus contributing to increased peace and security in the Horn of Africa. Though the progress made is tremendous, the author states that IGAD is yet to develop the instruments necessary for comprehensive peace support operations.

In their chapter, Devon Curtis and Gilbert Nibigirwe examine the complexities of a peacekeeping mission involving both the UN and the AU by studying the case of Burundi. The chapter outlines the involvement of the UN and the Organisation of African Unity/AU in the country and elaborates on the mandate and core principles underpinning these missions. In addition, the authors discuss the success of the missions and the consequences of the AU-UN involvement in Burundi. This chapter also highlights the dilemmas and challenges of coordinating peacekeeping activities across institutions and the formation of hybrid missions. The following chapter by Yussef Mahmoud also deals with the case of Burundi focusing on some lessons that could be learned from the challenges that the UN system faces in its efforts to support post-conflict peace building.

Authors Thomas Jaye and John Mark Pokoo in their chapter argue that though the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) process in Liberia was incomplete, it did contribute to the relative peace and security that existed before the October 2005 elections. The chapter also identifies the loopholes in the SSR process in the country, for example, the lack of coordination among donors as well as among Liberian actors. The authors also highlight the lessons of the Liberian case and propose recommendations to enhance the DDR and SSR processes in the country. The next chapter by Ayesha Kajee studies the Darfur conflict and analyses the peacekeeping missions in the region. The author suggests alternatives to enable the major players to fulfill their responsibility to protect the Darfuris as the current multi-faceted global responses to the Darfur crisis face limited success.

Chapters by Benedict Franke and Michael Hammer conclude the book. Franke's chapter deals

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with the African Security Force, its regional component and assesses the progress made thus far. The author cites the weakness of AU's institutional capacity as being a serious impediment to the effective operationalisation of the Force. In the last chapter, Hammer suggests that public accountability in the context of R2P at the global level is essential to ensure that the peace and security goals established for countries in conflict address the needs of the people affected. An oversight mechanism is prerequisite for maintaining a check on the contradictory and corrupt activities of organisations. In conclusion, the author states that the current peace and security mechanism does not meet global, regional and national democratic standards. The author suggests that national parliaments and civil society organisations should take steps to hold governments and multilateral institutions accountable for policies and decisions with respect to all dimensions of R2P.

This edited volume by Hany Besada provides a good introduction for the layperson who is not familiar with Africa's security architecture. The book is easy to read and every chapter of the volume provides a comprehensive overview. However, despite the various issues that the volume engages with, there is no view from the south of the African continent. A chapter or two exclusively on southern Africa's contribution to the security architecture could have given a continental perspective to the book. Another drawback that the book suffers from is the lack of a concluding note from the editor. In his introductory chapter, Hany Besada argues in favour of revisiting the R2P norm and touches upon the need for a better analytical framework that comprises 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. Perhaps, a separate chapter with concluding remarks and greater elaboration of the aspects of R2P that need revisiting would have been more beneficial for the readers.

# News Track

## *Northern Africa*

### Egypt

**US pumps greater financial aid into Egypt; Egypt appoints new Intelligence Chief; Morsi fails to tame Egypt's judiciary; En masse pardon for Arab Spring revolutionaries in Egypt**

With Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi prioritising economic revitalisation, the Obama Administration will soon be sending the largest ever US trade delegation to Egypt and has also relieved Egypt of US\$ 1 billion of debt. Morsi has also been successfully courting China to invest and aid Egypt financially. The eagerness of the United States to help Egypt financially can be seen in the context of Morsi's first state visit after his electoral victory being to China. Apart from the debt assistance, the US Administration is also in the process of negotiating a US\$ 4.8 billion loan between Egypt and the International Monetary Fund.<sup>1</sup>

Mohammed Raafat Abdel-Wahed, who was instrumental in securing the release of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit from Palestinian militants in exchange for 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in 2011, was appointed Egypt's new intelligence chief by President Morsi on September 20. The new appointment was made following the killing of 16 Egyptian soldiers in the Sinai Peninsula on August 5.<sup>2</sup>

President Morsi could not replace Abdel Maguid Mahmoud, the Chief Prosecutor from the Mubarak era, after clashes between supporters and opponents of Mubarak broke out in Tahrir Square injuring more than 110 people in the wake of the ruling court's decision to acquit office bearers responsible for assaulting protestors during former President Hosni Mubarak's time. The clashes, which took place on October 13, has proved to be a big setback for the newly appointed president who has been expanding his influence quite rapidly following his election. The chief prosecutor has said that he is determined to continue serving his post.<sup>3</sup>

A post on President Morsi's official Facebook page has declared an en masse amnesty for crimes "in support of the revolution". Those arrested from January 25, 2011 (the first day of the revolution) to June 30, 2012 (the day Morsi took office) have been granted pardon as per the post published on October 8, 2012. The decree, if officially implemented, will encompass all those who are awaiting

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<sup>1</sup> "To back democracy, U.S. prepares to cut \$1 billion from Egypt's debt", The New York Times, September 3, 2012 at [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/04/world/middleeast/us-prepares-economic-aid-to-bolster-democracy-in-egypt.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/04/world/middleeast/us-prepares-economic-aid-to-bolster-democracy-in-egypt.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

<sup>2</sup> "New Intelligence Chief helped to broker Israel's release", The New York Times, September 20, 2012 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/20/world/middleeast/egypt-new-intelligence-chief-helped-to-broker-israelis-release.html>

<sup>3</sup> "Egypt leader Morsi backs down in row with prosecutor," BBC News, October 13, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19935961>

trial or already serving jail sentences, but excludes people accused of murder. According to Morsi's legal adviser, Mohammed Gadallah, the amnesty is believed to be "one of the revolution's most important victories".<sup>4</sup>

## Libya

### US Ambassador to Libya killed by militants; Former Human Rights lawyer elected as Libya's new PM

The US Ambassador to Libya, J. Christopher Stevens, along with three other members of his staff, were killed by suspected Islamic militants at the American embassy in Benghazi on the eve of the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks. The militants were armed with anti-aircraft weapons and rocket-propelled grenades, and were reportedly motivated by the release of a documentary by an American filmmaker depicting the Prophet Muhammad in controversial light. This is the first time that an American ambassador has died in a violent assault since 1979.<sup>5</sup>

A former congressman and human rights lawyer, Ali Zidan, has been elected as Libya's new Prime Minister by the country's newly formed 200-member strong General National Congress. Zidan resigned the post of congressman to run for elections and won 93 votes in a majority win. He had earlier served as a diplomat under former leader Muammar Gaddafi before he defected and joined the National Front for the Salvation of Libya, Libya's oldest opposition movement, in the 1980s. The new prime minister was elected after the dismissal of Mustafa Abushagur who had to abdicate his post 25 days after joining office as he could not present a Cabinet list satisfying legislators.<sup>6</sup>

## Tunisia

### Tunisian general elections to be held in June 2013

The Ennahda Movement, the main player in Tunisia's ruling coalition, has agreed to hold presidential and parliamentary elections on June 23, 2013. The President is expected to be chosen directly by the voters. The ruling coalition's decision to hold the elections next year along with the establishment of an amended parliamentary system is aimed at dispelling mounting criticism from the opposition that the government is displaying autocratic tendencies by avoiding elections. In the country's first free elections last October following the Tunisia revolution, the Islamic Ennahda Movement was declared the winner and formed a coalition government which includes the Congress for the Republic and the Ettakatol, the two secular parties in Tunisia.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> "Egypt's president Mursi pardons 'revolutionaries'", BBC News, October 9, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19877428>

<sup>5</sup> "Libya attacks bring challenges for the US", The New York Times, September 12, 2012 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/13/world/middleeast/us-envoy-to-libya-is-reported-killed.html?pagewanted=all>

<sup>6</sup> "Ali Zidan elected Libya's PM", The Hindu, October 15, 2012 at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/ali-zidan-elected-libya-pm/article3997323.ece>

<sup>7</sup> "Tunisia's ruling coalition agrees to hold elections next June", Reuters, October 14, 2012 at <http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/10/14/tunisia-elections-idINDEE89D00720121014>



## South Sudan

### **Amnesty alleges abuses by South Sudan army; India's e-government pan-African project to help South Sudan; Modest start to Sudan-South Sudan border resolution**

Amnesty International has alleged that South Sudan's security forces have perpetrated "shocking" acts of abuses, including killings and rapes against civilians. The security forces are also believed to have looted property and razed crops. According to the group, the spate of violence against civilians has been occurring in the eastern state of Jonglei during a disarmament campaign. The government in Juba has refused to support the reports.<sup>8</sup>

South Sudan hopes to enrich its society from a new e-government pan-African project driven towards enhancing tele-education and tele-medicine. The new Pan-Africa e-Network Project is sponsored by the Indian government. The various e-projects aim to harness technology and IT services to build numerous projects across the African continent. The Indian government has spent more than US\$ 115 million on the project, which is also expected to encompass Continuing Medical Education (CME) to practicing doctors and nursing staff to update their knowledge and skills.<sup>9</sup>

Sudan is expected to reopen its border crossings with South Sudan in the wake of the signing of a security pact in September, according to Sudanese state media reports. Cross-border trade had halted in the run-up to South Sudan's secession last year and engendered double-digit inflation in the south of Sudan because of goods being procured from Kenya and Uganda at a much higher price.<sup>10</sup>

## Sudan

### **Sudan, South Sudan sign oil agreements; Launch of Sudan's largest gold refinery**

Sudan and South Sudan have finally inked agreements related to trade, oil, and security, somewhat pacifying the violent relationship between the two countries. Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, and Salva Kiir, South Sudan's president, signed the accords after rounds of intense deliberation in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa. The agreement proposed setting up a demilitarised buffer zone and resumption of oil sales. However, border issues remain unsolved along with the dispute over the Abyei region, which both sides lay claims on.<sup>11</sup>

Sudan's first gold refinery, dubbed as one of the largest plants in Africa, was opened by President Bashir on September 20. Many analysts believe that the opening of the refinery is aimed at making up for the loss of revenue from oil with the secession of South Sudan. The Sudan Gold Refinery is

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<sup>8</sup> "South Sudan Security forces abusing civilians: Amnesty", BBC news, October 3, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19810431>

<sup>9</sup> "South Sudan hopeful on pan-African e-government project", IT News Africa, October 9, 2012 at <http://www.itnewsafrika.com/2012/10/south-sudan-looks-to-develop-through-e-govt-project/>

<sup>10</sup> "Sudan to reopen border with South Sudan: state media", Reuters, October 7, 2012 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/07/us-sudan-south-border-idUSBRE8960EY20121007>

<sup>11</sup> "Sudanese leaders Bashir and Kiir sign oil and trade deals", BBC News, September 27, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19748523>



expected to produce more than 328 tonnes of gold every year. The Sudanese Finance Ministry had decided to ban the export of gold ore once the refinery starts functioning. The refinery is also aimed at bringing down levels of gold smuggled to other markets like Dubai since producers could now expect to earn more from selling higher-quality gold through the refinery.<sup>12</sup>

## Algeria

### Former president responsible for multiparty reforms in Algeria dies; Algerian diplomat killed by Islamic militant group in Mali

Former President Chadli Bendjedid, who introduced reforms for setting up a multi-party democracy in Algeria during his time as President from 1979 to 1992 died of cancer at the age of 83, according to Algerian state-run media. Bendjedid was forced out of office by the military just when Islamists were posed to score a major victory in the parliamentary elections because of the reforms he brought in. After his ouster, the army dissolved the Algerian parliament and launched a vicious campaign against Islamists, which led to the Algerian civil war.<sup>13</sup>

The Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), a militant Islamist group based in Mali, has claimed to have killed Tahar Touati, an Algerian diplomat, whom the group had abducted five months ago. The Algerian consulate in Gao in northern Mali was raided by the militants in April 2012 who took seven diplomats hostage. These militants are also believed to have links with the Islamic Maghreb branch of the al-Qaeda. Algerian authorities had failed to respond to an ultimatum by the group to free three of its members.<sup>14</sup>

## Morocco

### S&P downgrades Morocco's ratings; Moroccan judges demand greater independence of judiciary

Morocco's economic outlook has been downgraded from stable to negative by Standard & Poor's (S&P) owing to high deficit, slow reforms, and Europe's financial woes. The rating currently hovers just above junk bond status. Morocco is suffering a budget deficit of 7 per cent of its GDP. Major cuts in the ballooning social subsidies are imminent but that itself poses the danger of major social backlash. Morocco had received a US\$ 6.2 billion precautionary credit line from the IMF in August.<sup>15</sup>

Close to 1,000 Moroccan judges held a rare sit-in on October 6 demanding greater non-interference in the country's judiciary. This unprecedented demonstration was organised by an officially

<sup>12</sup> "Sudan's al-Bashir opens large gold refinery in Khartoum", BBC News, September 20, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19656106>

<sup>13</sup> "Algeria ex-president Chadli Bendjedid dies", BBC News, October 6, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19859499>

<sup>14</sup> "Algerian diplomat 'executed by Mali rebels'", BBC News, September 2, 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19457343>

<sup>15</sup> "S&P revises Morocco's economic outlook to negative", Ahram Online, October 12, 2012 at <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/3/12/55368/Business/Economy/SP-revises-Moroccos-economic-outlook-to-negative.aspx>

banned group called the Judges' Club that was formed in August 2011 to fight for judicial reform. Historically, the king and the Justice Ministry have governed Morocco's courts. According to the Club's founder, Yassine Mkhelli, more than two-thirds of the country's total number of judges, have signed petitions asking for judicial reforms.<sup>16</sup>

## *Western Africa*

### Togo

**US Navy Secretary discusses piracy with Togo; Togo, Benin, US navies conduct anti-piracy exercises**

Togolese President Faure Gnassingbe met with visiting Secretary of the US Navy, Ray Mabus, in the last week of August, and discussed the two countries' common fight against maritime piracy, drug trafficking, terrorism, and cross-border crime. Mabus also attended an international forum held in Togo on maritime piracy and sharing of information between the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) members. Pirate attacks in the region have increased over the past one year, with the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) reporting 32 attacks off the coast of Benin, Nigeria and Togo between January and June this year, compared to 25 in 2011. Most of the attacks have been characterised by high levels of violence and hostage taking. The US has been partnering with Togo and other countries in the Gulf of Guinea to protect against well-organised pirate networks.<sup>17</sup> Later in September, the Togolese, Beninese and US navies held "Operation Hot Pursuit", a military exercise to combat maritime piracy.<sup>18</sup>

### Guinea-Bissau

**Iran, Guinea-Bissau to broaden ties**

Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi has said that Iran is determined to expand cooperation with African countries. Salehi made the statement following a meeting with Guinea-Bissau's President Serifo Nhamadjo in Tehran to discuss bilateral relations, and regional and global developments. Iran has offered to send a technical team comprising energy, industry, mining, banking, agriculture, and health sectors to Guinea-Bissau to explore areas for cooperation between the two countries. A joint economic commission is expected to be formed following the visit. Nhamadjo was in Tehran to attend the 16<sup>th</sup> Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "Moroccan judges hold sit-in calling for greater independence for the judiciary", Associated Press, October 6, 2012 at <http://www.newser.com/article/da1o61k81/moroccan-judges-hold-sit-in-calling-for-greater-independence-for-the-judiciary.html>

<sup>17</sup> "Visiting US navy secretary, Togolese leader discuss piracy", republicoftogo.com, (in French), August 28, 2012

<sup>18</sup> "Togo, Benin, US navies complete anti-piracy operation", republicoftogo.com, (in French), September 18, 2012

<sup>19</sup> "Foreign minister: Iran determined to broaden ties with African states", Islamic Republic News Agency, September 3, 2012

## Mali

### Mali, ECOWAS agree on deployment plan; Spain offers to contribute logistics, intelligence in possible Mali intervention; ECOWAS lists military intervention plan

Mali and the ECOWAS have agreed on a plan to deploy an intervention force to retake northern Mali. The 3,300-strong ECOWAS troops will be based in the capital Bamako. Some ECOWAS member countries, such as Nigeria, will not be contributing troops to the force.<sup>20</sup> This report emerged days after the special representative of the ECOWAS to Mali, Aboudou Cheaka Toure, announced that the ECOWAS had received a clear request from interim Malian president, Dioncounda Traore, for military intervention in the north of the country. Earlier, the Spanish government had announced that it would be willing to participate in any possible military intervention in Mali, though only through provision of intelligence and logistics. Spain has increased its presence in West Africa over recent years.<sup>21</sup> France has also announced that French forces would not participate in combat operations but would only provide logistic support to African forces who are part of the mission.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, a report in the Algerian daily El-Khabar suggests that France has been engaged in military exercises with military personnel from Mauritania and Niger, close to the Mali-Niger border. The exercises are apparently part of an agreement between ECOWAS governments and France on military cooperation.<sup>23</sup>

ECOWAS plans to deploy the force in three stages - in the first, the military capabilities of the Malian army would be strengthened, following which it will be readied to retake the north. In the third stage, the ECOWAS force would be deployed to begin combat in the northern regions. The intervention is still unsupported by members of the Malian opposition and military, who perceive it as a "ploy" to undermine the Malian military's influence on the country's affairs.<sup>24</sup>

Reports suggest that there has been opposition to the planned intervention from members of the March 22 People's Movement (that supported the military coup earlier this year). Some quarters in Mali see ECOWAS and Burkina Faso President, Blaise Campaore, who has acted as a mediator in regional crises, as supporting the interests of Western powers in the Francophone region.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, the independent pan-Arab daily, Al-Quds Al-Arabi, has reported that militant groups in northern Mali have begun amassing forces in anticipation of a possible military intervention there, and have threatened to march on the capital Bamako in any such event.<sup>26</sup> Following an attempt at mediation by a Malian government official with the militant group, Ansar Dine, it has emerged that the group is willing to engage in dialogue with Malian officials or a regional mediator

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<sup>20</sup> "Mali and African regional bloc agree on deployment plan", Al Jazeera, (in Arabic), September 23, 2012

<sup>21</sup> "Spain ready to contribute with intelligence, logistics to intervention in Mali", ABC, (in Spanish), September 1, 2012

<sup>22</sup> "France says military intervention in Mali "matter of weeks" - Algerian report", El-Khabar, (in Arabic), October 17, 2012

<sup>23</sup> "France arms Sahel countries for intervention in Mali - Algerian paper", El-Khabar, (in Arabic), September 28, 2012

<sup>24</sup> "Mali president "clearly" requests regional intervention force", Al Jazeera, (in Arabic), September 8, 2012

<sup>25</sup> "Malian militants protest against regional intervention in north", Misna news agency, September 19, 2012

<sup>26</sup> "Militant Islamists in Northern Mali threatening to march to Bamako", Al-Quds Al-Arabi, (in Arabic), September 28, 2012

and would agree to northern Mali remaining under the government in Bamako, their only demand being the enforcement of Sharia law in northern Mali.<sup>27</sup>

## Nigeria

### Hijacked Indian sailors released after Nigerian Navy intervention

The Nigerian Navy intercepted the Singapore-owned oil tanker Abu Dhabi Star which was taken over by suspected pirates in the Gulf of Guinea, ending a 24-hour hijacking in the first week of September. All 23 Indian sailors who were on board along with the crew were safe following the incident. An official of the Indian Directorate General of Shipping said that the motive for hijacking seemed to have been the cargo fuel onboard the vessel and not for ransom as is the case in most pirate attacks off the Somali coast. The Abu Dhabi Star was anchored around 80 km off the Nigerian coast when it was hijacked. This was the third such incident in the Gulf of Guinea area in the two weeks preceding this attack.<sup>28</sup> A week earlier, a Greek-owned shipping vessel was attacked in Togo's territorial waters by pirates who stole 3 tons of petroleum products off the ship's cargo and left injured two Russian mariners who were on board.<sup>29</sup>

## Ghana

### Ghana leads efforts to fight piracy in Gulf of Guinea

Ghanaian President, John Dramani Mahama, has said that Ghana is leading efforts to ensure greater maritime and naval security in the West African subregion. Ghana has recently acquired naval patrol vessels and vessel tracking devices that will be at the disposal of all regional countries to tackle cases of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Mahama was speaking following a three-nation working visit to Togo, Nigeria and Benin.<sup>30</sup>

## Cote d'Ivoire

### Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire to conduct joint investigations into recent cross-border attacks

The Ghanaian government has announced that it will conduct joint investigations into the recent multiple attacks by armed men against police stations and gendarmerie camps in Abidjan and Noe on the Ivorian side. The attacks, that Ivorian officials believe have been initiated from inside Ghana, led to the Ivorian government closing land, sea and air borders with Ghana on September 21. Air links have since been reopened.<sup>31</sup> This latest incident is the most serious since the end of post-election violence in April 2011; Ivorian authorities have blamed the attacks on supporters of former President Laurent Ghagbo who is awaiting trial at the International Criminal Court on

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<sup>27</sup> "Islamist group envoys meet Malian official in Algeria", Al Jazeera TV, (in Arabic), September 29, 2012

<sup>28</sup> "Indian sailors from hijacked ship off Nigerian coast released", PTI News Agency, September 5, 2012

<sup>29</sup> "Russia reports release of hijacked ship, British crew member said unharmed", Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, Russia, September 10, 2012

<sup>30</sup> "President Mahama says Ghana committed to fighting piracy in Gulf of Guinea", Joy FM text website, September 9, 2012

<sup>31</sup> "Ghana says ready for joint investigations with Ivorian authorities", Le Patriote, (in French), September 26, 2012

charges of crimes against humanity. Ghanaian President John Dramani Mahama has pledged not to allow Ghanaian territory to be used as a base to attack neighbouring nations.<sup>32</sup>

## *Eastern Africa*

### **Burundi**

#### **Burundi now free of land mines**

The US Department of State has announced the release of the 11th edition of 'To Walk the Earth in Safety', its annual report on the US effort to clear land mines and destroy conventional weapons. The report said that over the past year Burundi, Nepal, and Nigeria have been able to declare themselves free of the humanitarian impact of land mines. The United States has spent nearly US\$ 2 billion to help more than 90 countries in the world's largest effort to save lives by making former conflict zones safe and destroying at-risk and unsecured weapons, and munitions.<sup>33</sup>

### **Eritrea**

#### **Eritrea rejects UN rapporteur; Eritrea should back regional peace before re-admission to IGAD**

The Eritrean government has rejected the appointment of Beedwantee Keetharuth, the UN special rapporteur approved by the UN Human Rights Council last July. Keetharuth was sent to Eritrea to investigate the human rights situation in the Horn of Africa, in response to the alleged widespread human right violations by Eritrean authorities. However, Eritrea has opposed the Council's decision and has declined to allow the special rapporteur carry out her duties, on the ground that the decision was politically motivated. Neighbouring Ethiopia has welcomed the appointment.<sup>34</sup>

Kenyan President, Mwai Kibaki has urged Eritrea to support regional peace initiatives before rejoining the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). Kibaki made the statement following a special message he received from the Eritrean President via the Eritrean Ambassador to Kenya. While expressing Kenya's readiness to work closely with neighbouring countries committed to promote regional peace and security, Kibaki underlined the importance for Eritrea to work to ensure peace and security in the Horn of Africa region.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Ivory Coast reopens borders with Ghana", Al Jazeera English, October 8, 2012 at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012/10/201210814213955735.html>

<sup>33</sup> "Burundi, Jordan, Nepal and Nigeria Now Free of Land Mines", IIP Digital, September 28, 2012 at <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/inbrief/2012/09/20120928136778.html#axzz2AsCUTQpt>

<sup>34</sup> "Eritrea Rejects Appointment of UN Special Rapporteur", Sudan Tribune, October 5, 2012 at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article44118>

<sup>35</sup> "Eritrea Should Back Regional Peace Before Re-Admission to IGAD, Says Kenya's President", All Africa, October 30, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201210301530.html>



## Ethiopia

### **China-Africa Think Tanks Forum meets in Ethiopia; Talks between Ethiopia and Ogaden rebels fail; Refugees from Somalia still pouring into Ethiopia; Ethiopia and Qatar restore diplomatic ties**

Chinese and African scholars met in Ethiopia in the Second China-Africa Think Tanks Forum (CATTF II) on October 12, to discuss issues of common interest, including governance, peace, and security. The theme of CATTF II was “Chinese and African Common Interests: Current Issues and Future Perspectives on Governance, Peace, and Security”.<sup>36</sup>

Peace talks between the Ethiopian government and a faction of the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) have ended without a breakthrough. The delegations led by the Ethiopian Defence Minister, Siraj Fegessa, and ONLF leader, Mohamed Omar Osman, held the second round of peace talks from October 15-17 in Nairobi. The Ethiopian government said the peace talks failed after the ONLF faction refused to accept and respect the constitution of Ethiopia and work within its framework. The rebel group accused the Ethiopian government of violating a key principle agreed during preliminary talks held in Nairobi last month.<sup>37</sup>

The population of the Dollo Ado refugee complex in the southeast of Ethiopia has passed the 170,000 mark. Dollo Ado shelters Somali refugees and is the world’s biggest refugee complex after Dadaab in Kenya. Although the rate of arrivals at Dollo Ado has slowed this year, people are continuing to flee conflict and insecurity in southern and central parts of Somalia. Many cite fear of harassment and forced recruitment by armed groups who control large rural areas of the country. Ethiopia has become the largest recipient of Somali refugees in the region so far this year.<sup>38</sup>

Ethiopia and Qatar have agreed to restore diplomatic relations after having been at odds for more than four years. Ethiopia cut diplomatic ties with Qatar in 2008, accusing the Gulf Arab state of playing a destructive role in Ethiopia and in other parts of the East African region, in addition to supporting terrorism and extremism in Somalia, where Ethiopian troops were battling Al Qaeda-linked Islamic radical groups. Qatar’s continued support to Eritrea, with which Ethiopia fought over a disputed boundary in 1998-2000, was also another factor that led to severed ties.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> “China-Africa Think Tanks Forum opens in Ethiopia”, Xinhua News, October 13, 2012 at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-10/13/c\\_131904039.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-10/13/c_131904039.htm)

<sup>37</sup> “Peace talks between Ethiopia and Ogaden rebels failed”, Sudan Tribune, October 19, 2012 at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article44267>

<sup>38</sup> “Somali refugee population still rising in Ethiopia, new camp planned”, UNHCR, October 19, 2012 at <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=508142086&query=Somali%20Refugee%20Population%20Still%20Rising%20in%20Ethiopia,%20New%20Camp%20Planned>

<sup>39</sup> “Ethiopia and Qatar restore diplomatic ties”, Sudan Tribune, October 23, 2012 at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article44308>



## Kenya

### **KDF takes over Kismayu; World's first Climate Innovation Centre established in Kenya; Kenyatta University to open new campus offering education to Somalis**

Kenya Defense Forces have taken over Al Shabaab's stronghold in Kismayu even as the Al Qaeda-linked group insisted they were in charge of the port city. Military spokesman Col. Cyrus Oguna has said that their forces stormed Kismayu but did not confirm any casualty figures. An Al Shabaab commander in Kismayu has dismissed the reports.<sup>40</sup>

A new Climate Innovation Centre (CIC) has been established by the World Bank Group's infoDev programme in Nairobi. The centre aims to help companies working with climate-related technologies to turn ideas into viable businesses. Launched with the financial backing of the British and Danish governments, the Kenyan CIC is the world's first. It is hosted by the Strathmore Business School in collaboration with Global Village Energy Partnership International (GVEP), PricewaterhouseCoopers (PWC), and the Kenya Industrial Research and Development Institute (KIRDI). Other centres have also been planned for Ethiopia, South Africa, India, Vietnam, and the Caribbean.<sup>41</sup>

Kenyatta University is setting up a campus in Dadaab, which is home to a sprawling complex of camps housing around 470,000 refugees, mainly Somalis who crossed the nearby border to escape war and drought in their homeland. Courses in subjects including project management, marketing, finance, and peace and conflict studies will be on offer to refugees and locals in this remote town in northeast Kenya. The site was inaugurated last week, and the first students are scheduled to enroll in January.<sup>42</sup>

## Malawi

### **Malawi facing food insecurity and price rise; Malawi ready to resume talks**

Devaluation of the Kwacha, the Malawian currency, has led to rapid increase in food prices. The late president, Bingu wa Mutharika, had refused to heed calls from the IMF to devalue Malawi's currency, arguing that it would hurt the country's poorest. Yet devaluation by nearly 50 per cent was one of Joyce Banda's first actions. It is particularly bold for a president who has not yet won an election, and in a country where food security is seen as the government's responsibility. In July, the Malawi Vulnerability Assessment Committee had suggested that over 1.6 million people would be unable to meet basic food needs in the next three to eight months.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> "KDF finally sets foot in Kismayu", Capital FM, September 28, 2012 at <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/09/kdf-finally-sets-foot-i-kismayu/>

<sup>41</sup> "Kenya Launches World's First Climate Innovation Centre", Think Africa Press, October 6, 2012 at <http://thinkafricapress.com/kenya/worlds-first-climate-innovation-centre-launches-nairobi>

<sup>42</sup> "Kenyatta University Opens its doors to Somali refugees in Dadaab", Kenya Today, October 15, 2012 at <http://www.kenya-today.com/news/kenyas-kenyatta-university-opens-its-doors-to-somali-refugees-in-dadaab>

<sup>43</sup> "Malawi: Facing the Costs of Food Insecurity and Rising Prices", Think Africa Press, September 28, 2012 at <http://thinkafricapress.com/malawi/agricultural-inflation-joyce-banda-and-future-food-crisis-kwacha-devaluation>

Malawi has expressed willingness to resume talks with Tanzania to resolve a protracted territorial dispute concerning the border in Lake Nyasa. Earlier, Malawi had announced that it was pulling out of discussions on its border conflict with Tanzania. Malawi's President Joyce Banda announced that the development came after Tanzania recently published a new map marking the boundary between the two countries in the middle of Lake Nyasa.<sup>44</sup>

## Rwanda

### Statistics revealed on refugees in Rwanda; Rwanda enters into UN Security Council despite adverse report on Congo

Statistics disclosed jointly by Rwanda's Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs (MIDMAR), UNHCR, and UNWFP indicate that there are currently 57,641 refugees living in Rwanda. They come from different countries in the region, with Congolese comprising about 99 per cent of the figure. These figures are the first exact statistics of refugees living in Rwanda over the last 17 years. Women make up a large part of the total figure along with children aged less than 17 years old.<sup>45</sup>

Rwanda has been elected to the UN Security Council in spite of accusations that it backs the rebellion in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Rwanda's election to the Council was branded a major embarrassment in the wake of a UN report claiming that the country is fuelling a violent uprising in the neighbouring country. Rwanda was unopposed in its bid for a non-permanent African seat in the Security Council, previously held by South Africa. The timing of Rwanda's ascent could hardly be more uncomfortable for the UN Security Council, whose own group of experts has produced a report of its support for the rebel group M23 in the DRC.<sup>46</sup>

## Seychelles

### EU and Seychelles meet on counter-piracy; Seychelles aims for UNSC seat

Rear Admiral Duncan Potts, Operation Commander of the European Union Naval Force Operation Atalanta (EU NAVFOR) met President James Michel of Seychelles in September. They discussed the progress made over the last three years in the fight against piracy, the reduction in number of piracy incidents this year, and the success of anti-piracy efforts and political progress that has taken place following the London Conference on Somalia in February.<sup>47</sup> In another important development in October, Seychelles became the newest member of the Combined Maritime Forces, a multi-national naval partnership aimed at promoting a safe maritime environment.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> "Malawi Ready to Resume Talks", Daily News Online, October 11, 2012 at <http://dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/10385-malawi-ready-to-resume-talks>

<sup>45</sup> "MIDIMAR releases statistics of refugees in Rwanda", The Rwanda Focus, August 29, 2012 at <http://focus.rw/wp/2012/08/midimar-releases-statistics-of-refugees-in-rwanda/>

<sup>46</sup> "Rwanda joins UN Security Council despite damning Congo report", Kenya Today, October 18, 2012 at <http://www.kenya-today.com/global/rwanda-joins-un-security-council-despite-damning-congo-report>

<sup>47</sup> "European Union Naval Force and Seychelles Reinforce Counter-Piracy Commitment", EU NAVFOR Somalia, September 20, 2012 at <http://www.eunavfor.eu/2012/09/european-union-naval-force-and-seychelles-reinforce-counter-piracy-commitment/>

<sup>48</sup> "Seychelles joins multi-national maritime force", Seychelles Nation Online, October 9, 2012 at <http://www.nation.sc/index.php?art=29084>

Seychelles' Vice President, Danny Faure, addressed the 67<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly where he laid out Seychelles' intention to bid for a non-permanent seat in 2017, based on Seychelles' commitments to the rule of law in the Indian Ocean region, as well as its consistent advocacy on the cause of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and climate change. The Vice President spoke of the need for continued action against piracy and urged that improvements in Somalia's political situation be accompanied by an increase in infrastructure investment to improve the rule of law.<sup>49</sup>

## Somalia

**Somalia chooses new president; Somali president escapes injury in Mogadishu hotel bombing; AU urges lifting arms embargo on Somalia; UN urged to fund Kenya's Navy in Somalia; African Union calls for strengthened support to the Mission in Somalia; Uganda threatens to pull out of Somalia; Djibouti drone base expanded to hit Somalia and Yemen**

Hassan Sheikh Mohamud defeated Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed to become Somalia's new president in September. It is the first time since the 1991 overthrow of President Said Barre that a new leader has been chosen inside the country, a development hailed by the UN as a sign of improving security. But the process has been tainted by allegations of bribery and corruption. In a surprise result, Mohamud won a runoff by 190 votes to 79 after the first round failed to produce a clear winner. Mohamud, 57, is a professor and activist who has worked for several national and international peace and development organisations including the UNICEF.<sup>50</sup> Somalia's parliament has also unanimously endorsed Abdi Farah Shirdon as the Prime Minister of Somalia during a session in Mogadishu on October 17.<sup>51</sup>

The newly elected president escaped injury after suicide bombers attacked a hotel in Mogadishu where he was holding a news conference with visiting Kenyan officials on September 12. Islamist militants from Al Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack, which served as a deadly reminder of the challenges facing the new president as he seeks to end more than two decades of conflict.<sup>52</sup>

The AU has revived its push for the lifting of the UN arms embargo on Somalia, to facilitate the proper arming of its forces and urged the world body to authorise the deployment of additional military capacity. This is contained in a communiqué issued after its 337<sup>th</sup> meeting in Addis Ababa on October 11.<sup>53</sup>

The African Union and a United Nations special envoy has urged the UN Security Council to approve funding for a naval component of the AU forces fighting to stabilise Somalia. Kenya is

<sup>49</sup> "Seychelles provides leading voice in defense of island issues", eTN Global Travel Industry News, September 30, 2012 at <http://www.eturbonews.com/31440/seychelles-provides-leading-voice-defense-island-issues>

<sup>50</sup> "Somalia chooses new leader in presidential elections", Kenya Today, September 11, 2012 at <http://www.kenya-today.com/global/somalia-chooses-new-leader-in-presidential-elections>

<sup>51</sup> "Somali Parliament endorses Abdi Farah Shirdon as new PM", Shabelle News, October 17, 2012 at <http://shabelle.net/somali-parliament-endorses-abdi-farah-shirdon-as-new-pm/>

<sup>52</sup> "Somali president escapes injury in Mogadishu hotel bombing", Kenya Today, September 12, 2012 at <http://www.kenya-today.com/news/somali-president-escapes-injury-in-mogadishu-hotel-bombing>

<sup>53</sup> "AU Urges UN Security Council to Lift Arms Embargo on Somalia", Shabelle News, October 13, 2012 at <http://shabelle.net/au-urges-un-security-council-to-lift-arms-embargo-on-somalia/>

the only African nation known to be contributing naval support for the AU's military mission in Somalia (AMISOM). However, Kenyan naval units have not been formally integrated into AMISOM, which is funded largely by the United States and the European Union under UN auspices. Approval of the request to endow AMISOM with a naval component would result in a sizable financial benefit for Kenya.<sup>54</sup>

The Commission of the AU is awaiting the adoption, by the UN Security Council, of a resolution authorising the technical roll over of the current UN support package to the AMISOM. The adoption is pending conclusion of the strategic review of AMISOM and its mandate, to determine how best the mission can further contribute to the stabilisation of Somalia. The AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) has said that the Commission expects that the Security Council will positively respond to the request made and conveyed to the UN Secretary General for the provision of additional support regarding the civilian and maritime components of AMISOM, to take into account urgent needs arising from the realities on the ground.<sup>55</sup>

Meanwhile, Uganda is considering three options, including withdrawing from the Somalia peacekeeping mission, following a UN report alleging that Uganda and Rwanda are supporting M23 rebels who are fighting the DR Congo government. The second option is remaining involved in the operations despite the allegations, while the third is demanding the UN to withdraw the allegations so that UPDF continues with the operations.<sup>56</sup>

The US government is expanding its drone base in the East African nation of Djibouti to escalate its assassination strikes in Somalia and Yemen. The US military has been flying armed drones over both countries from a base in Djibouti and is planning to build a second base in Ethiopia.<sup>57</sup>

## Tanzania

### **US\$ 178.125 million credit line by India for water projects in Tanzania; US and International Maritime Organisation help Tanzania install coastal surveillance system**

The Indian Government is soon to issue a US\$ 178.125 million line of credit to assist in rehabilitating and improving water supply in two Tanzanian cities. The amount is reportedly the second line of credit that the Exim Bank of India would extend to the African country. This credit line is expected to be used exclusively to help develop water infrastructure in Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital. Debnath Shaw, the Indian High Commissioner to Tanzania, said that the negotiations are still underway.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> "UN urged to approve funding for Kenya's Navy in Somalia", Shabelle News, October 17, 2012 at <http://shabelle.net/un-urged-to-approve-funding-for-kenyas-navy-in-somalia/>

<sup>55</sup> "The African Union calls on the UN Security Council to Strengthen its Support to the AU Mission in Somalia", African Union, October 30, 2012 at <http://www.au.int/en/content/african-union-calls-un-security-council-strengthen-its-support-au-mission-somalia>

<sup>56</sup> "Uganda threatens to pull out of Somalia", Shabelle News, October 27, 2012 at <http://shabelle.net/uganda-threatens-to-pull-out-of-somalia/>

<sup>57</sup> "US expands drone base Djibouti to hit Somalia, Yemen", Shabelle News, October 28, 2012 at <http://shabelle.net/us-expands-drone-base-djibouti-to-hit-somaliayemen/>

<sup>58</sup> "India to give \$178 mn credit to Tanzania for water projects", India Water Review, September 12, 2012 at [http://www.indiawaterreview.in/Story/News/india-to-give-178-mn-credit-to-tanzania-for-water-projects/868/1#.UGrURq7\\_LWA](http://www.indiawaterreview.in/Story/News/india-to-give-178-mn-credit-to-tanzania-for-water-projects/868/1#.UGrURq7_LWA)



The installation of an integrated radar and Automatic Identification System (AIS) for coastal surveillance was completed in Tanzania in September. The International Maritime Organisation (IMO), in partnership with the governments of Tanzania and the United States, has spent the past year delivering this system which provides a coastal picture to both the Tanzanian Peoples' Defence Forces as well as civilian authorities at the Dar es Salaam Maritime Rescue Sub-Centre and the integral Information Sharing Centre. Initially conceived as a bilateral military project between the United States and Tanzania, the IMO joined the project to integrate the system for civil and maritime law enforcement use in order to bring all maritime agencies together to counter maritime security threats such as piracy.<sup>59</sup>

## Uganda

### Chinese Ambassador to Uganda gets peace award; Special UN training for Uganda police

The Chinese Ambassador to Uganda, Zhao Yali, has been awarded a key peace award for his role in spearheading peace and development in Uganda. The Chief Justice presented the ABETO Diplomatic Peace Award to Yali at a ceremony in Kampala. Odoki recognised the contribution of the Chinese government to Uganda and said Uganda needs to learn from China that with peace in the country, stability and development can be realised.<sup>60</sup>

The UN Under-Secretary General on the Prevention of Genocide has said that Ugandan police are to get special training that will enable them to mitigate genocide-related atrocities in the region. The training will also be focused on preventing all forms of discrimination, including ethnic cleansing at both domestic and regional levels. Similar trainings are already on going in Kenya, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Egypt, Paraguay, and Argentina.<sup>61</sup>

## Zambia

### Sata for permanent UN seat for Africa; Zambia's trade surplus soars

Zambian President Michael Sata says Africa should have permanent seats in the United Nations Security Council. Sata's statement was in line with the Committee of 10 (C10), which was an AU formation advocating for Africa to have two permanent seats on the Council, with veto powers, and an extra two non-permanent seats to address the historical injustices that Africa suffered and adhere to the geo-political realities of today. Zambia and Namibia are two countries that represent the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region on the C10.<sup>62</sup>

Zambia's trade surplus soared to K502.6 billion in August 2012 from K383.2 billion recorded in July, making it the highest since( January this year. The country had continued to record trade

<sup>59</sup> "Tanzania Gets Maritime Security Surveillance System", World Maritime News, September 18, 2012 at <http://worldmaritimeneeds.com/archives/65580>

<sup>60</sup> "Chinese Ambassador to Uganda gets peace award", New Vision, September 15, 2012 at <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/635244-chinese-ambassador-to-uganda-gets-peace-award.html>

<sup>61</sup> "Ugandan police to get special UN training", New Vision, October 23, 2012 at <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/636718-ugandan-police-to-get-special-un-training.html>

<sup>62</sup> "Sata for Africa UN seat", Times of Zambia, September 26, 2012, at <http://www.times.co.zm/?p=13606>



surpluses since January with the highest being in August 2012. Major export products in August 2012 include intermediate goods category comprising copper cathodes and sections of refined copper accounting for 86.5 per cent. Other export products were from capital goods, consumer goods, raw material categories which collectively accounted for 13.5 per cent of the total exports in August 2012.<sup>63</sup>

## Zimbabwe

### EU urged to renew Zimbabwe sanctions

The European Union is under pressure to consider renewing the targeted measures it recently lifted off members of the ZANU PF regime, because of the invasion of the Save Valley Conservancy. The Conservancy has been under threat for many months by a group of ZANU PF aligned officials and war veterans, who have now been awarded 25-year land leases and hunting permits in the area. This group has also invaded the Conservancy and instilled itself as the new 'leaders'. The takeover has been harshly criticised by Conservancy officials, who have warned that it is a serious threat to the wildlife, conservation, and hunting sectors in Zimbabwe.<sup>64</sup>

## Central Africa

### Central Africa's sub-regional military mission faces funds crunch

The Mission for Peace Consolidation in the Central African Republic that is operating under the auspices of the Central African Economic Community is facing a shortage of US\$ 50 million. The shortage was due to delay in receiving contributions from some member countries.<sup>65</sup>

## Angola

### Angola calls for peaceful resolution of conflict in eastern DRC; Sovereign wealth fund with US\$ 5 billion to be started; First elected President sworn in

Angola called for peaceful resolution of the conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. The stand was reiterated by the Defence Minister on the sidelines of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region that analysed the security situation in the eastern region of DR Congo. The implementation of decisions for the deployment of neutral forces in the eastern border was also analysed.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> "Zambia's trade surplus soars", Times of Zambia, September 28, 2012 at <http://www.times.co.zm/?p=13967>

<sup>64</sup> "EU urged to renew Zim Sanctions over save conservancy invasion", The Zimbabwean, September 3, 2012 at <http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/news/zimbabwe/60524/eu-urged-to-renew-zim.html>

<sup>65</sup> "Sub-regional military mission in Central African Republic faced with shortage of 50 mln USD", Xinhua News Agency, October 9, 2012 at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-10/09/c\\_131895945.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-10/09/c_131895945.htm)

<sup>66</sup> "Angola roots for talks in DR Congo conflict", Africa Review, October 9, 2012 at <http://www.africareview.com/News/Angola+roots+for+dialogue+in+DR+Congo+conflict/-/979180/1529094/-/15spxepz/-/index.html>

In order to ease the impact of commodity price volatility, Angola will start a sovereign wealth fund with US\$ 5 billion in assets. The country is likely to invest in financial securities and stakes in infrastructure and hospitality projects and other industries that exhibit strong growth in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>67</sup>

For the first time in history, Angola swore in an elected president with leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos taking the oath for a fresh five-year mandate.<sup>68</sup> Angola was elected as the first vice-chair of the African Prosecutors Association during the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the organisation.<sup>69</sup>

## Cameroon

**Cameroon signs MoU with India to set up bitumen plant; Cameroon to become Africa's sixth country to use China-made jets; UN Secretary-General commends efforts taken by Cameroon and Nigeria on border issues**

Cameroon and India signed a Memorandum of Understanding to carry out feasibility studies for the setting up of a bitumen plant for the production of material for all-weather roads in Cameroon. If the studies are conclusive, then Cameroon will be the first country in Central Africa to have a bitumen plant. The project is targeted to be completed by 2015 if all studies are conducted within the framework of the MoU.<sup>70</sup>

With the signing of a deal between Cameroon and a Chinese aircraft manufacturer, the country will become the sixth African country to use the China-made turboprop passenger jet. According to the agreement, a Modern Ark (MA)-60 aircraft will be delivered and two other aircrafts are being considered to be bought on loans. Yaounde also agreed to open up flight routes to China.<sup>71</sup>

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon commended the efforts taken by Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission to honour the International Court of Justice ruling over the shared borders of the two countries. The Secretary-General also stressed the importance of addressing the socio-economic, humanitarian, and security needs of the populations affected by the demarcation process. The countries were also encouraged to reach an agreement on the remaining 200 kilometres of land boundary.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> "Angola starts sovereign wealth fund with \$5 billion", Bloomberg.com, October 17, 2012 at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-10-17/angola-starts-sovereign-wealth-fund-with-5-billion.html>

<sup>68</sup> "Angola's Dos Santos sworn in, pledging social improvements", Euronews.com, September 26, 2012 at <http://www.euronews.com/newswires/1670852-angolas-dos-santos-sworn-in-pledging-social-improvements/>

<sup>69</sup> "Angola takes up chair in African Prosecutors Association", Angola Press, October 11, 2012 at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en\\_us/noticias/politica/2012/9/41/Angola-takes-chair-African-Prosecutors-Association,8fec0daf-8e02-4468-8106-0e82583b89c7.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en_us/noticias/politica/2012/9/41/Angola-takes-chair-African-Prosecutors-Association,8fec0daf-8e02-4468-8106-0e82583b89c7.html)

<sup>70</sup> "Cameroon: Government engages Indian firm to construct a bitumen plant", Cameroon Tribune, October 7, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201210080720.html>

<sup>71</sup> "China to deliver passenger jet to Cameroon", ChinaDaily.com, October 15, 2012 at [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-10/15/content\\_15819262.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-10/15/content_15819262.htm)

<sup>72</sup> "Ban lauds Cameroon and Nigeria's commitment to honour border demarcation ruling", UN News Centre, October 11, 2012 at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=43260&Cr=&Cr1=#.UJOTrm-7LNZ>

## Chad

### Chad joins Africa Finance Corporation

Chad became the newest member to join the Africa Finance Corporation. The country will join other African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, and Sierra-Leone as member states of the Corporation.<sup>73</sup>

## Central African Republic

### Surrender of rebel group a boost for peace

With the surrender of 3,000 followers of a Chadian former rebel leader in the capital, Bangui, preparations for their repatriation began. The repatriation marks an important step towards the return of peace and security in northern and north-central Central African Republic.<sup>74</sup>

## Democratic Republic Of Congo

### UN Security Council condemns support to M23 rebel group; Six Indian UN peacekeepers wounded; DRC and South Africa sign oil exploration agreement

According to reports, the UNSC reinstated its condemnation of and demanded an end to all external support to armed groups, especially the March 23 Movement (M23), which have been destabilising the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. The Council also called upon all countries in the region to condemn the M23 as well as other armed groups and to cooperate with the Congolese authorities to disarm these groups.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, six Indian peacekeepers serving with the UN Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) were wounded when their patrol was ambushed in North Kivu province of DRC.<sup>76</sup>

In other developments, South Africa's PetroSA signed a cooperation pact with the Democratic Republic of Congo's Cohydro Sarl, which will enable the two state oil companies to jointly pursue oil and gas opportunities in the DRC. The agreement will establish a strategic cooperation in activities of pre-exploration, exploration, development, and production of hydrocarbons.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> "Africa: Chad joins Africa Finance Corporation", This Day, October 31, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201210310532.html>

<sup>74</sup> "Central African Republic: Boost for peace as rebel group disbands", IRIN News, October 9, 2012 at <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/96496/CENTRAL-AFRICAN-REPUBLIC-Boost-for-peace-as-rebel-group-disbands>

<sup>75</sup> "UN Security Council condemns 'any and all outside' support to M23 armed group in eastern DR Congo", UN News Centre, October 19, 2012 at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=43339&Cr=democratic&Cr1=congo#.UIURew-7LNY>

<sup>76</sup> "Six Indian UN peacekeepers wounded in an ambush in eastern Congo", The Times of India, October 19, 2012 at [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-19/india/34583174\\_1\\_indian-peacekeepers-congo-roger-meece](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-19/india/34583174_1_indian-peacekeepers-congo-roger-meece)

<sup>77</sup> "PetroSA in DRC oil exploration pact", SouthAfrica.info, October 24, 2012 at <http://www.southafrica.info/africa/petrosa-241012.htm#.UJOvaG-7LNY>

## *Southern Africa*

### **Botswana**

**EU pledges 11.6 million euros to Botswana to fight HIV; Japan to lend 8.74 billion yen for Kazungula bridge project**

During the Botswana International HIV Conference at the Gaborone International Convention Centre, head of the delegation of the EU Mission to Botswana and Southern African Development Committee, Gerard McGovern, announced that the European Union would provide •11.6 million to Botswana to fight HIV-linked infant and maternal mortality. He explained that as the largest donor to the Global Fund with 52 per cent of total contributions, the EU would pledge •330 million for the 2011-2013 period.<sup>78</sup>

Botswana's Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Minister and the Japanese ambassador to Botswana have signed an Exchange of Notes agreement under which Japan would lend Botswana ¥8.74 billion towards the construction of Kazungula bridge project over the Zambezi river. The bridge would be built between 2014 and 2018 by Botswana and Zambia at an estimated cost of US\$ 260 million, with both countries contributing equally to the cost. The bridge is expected to drastically reduce time, distance, and transportation costs between Botswana and Zambia, and promote regional economic development and integration in the SADC region.<sup>79</sup>

### **Lesotho**

**UN appeals for US\$ 38 million for Lesotho's food crisis; South Africa and Lesotho discuss trade and investment relations**

The United Nations appealed for US\$ 38.5 million to help nearly a third of the population in Lesotho who are affected by a food crisis. According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the number of people facing food insecurity in southern African countries has increased dramatically and currently over 8 million people in nine countries in the region are vulnerable to food insecurity. Lesotho has experienced a more than 70 per cent drop in domestic agricultural production, owing to a series of flooding, late rains, and early frost.<sup>80</sup>

President Jacob Zuma of South Africa held a meeting with Lesotho's Prime Minister, Motsoahae Thomas Thabane, during the latter's official visit to South Africa along with his Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Energy, Trade and Finance and Home Affairs. The meeting was held to discuss issues including promoting the African Agenda, strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries, and increasing trade and investment. South Africa and Lesotho earlier agreed on the

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<sup>78</sup> "EU pledges additional AIDS cash to Botswana", Mmegi Online, September 26, 2012 at <http://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=1&aid=1513&dir=2012/September/Wednesday26>

<sup>79</sup> "Botswana signs P885m Japan loan for Kazungula", Mmegi Online, October 11, 2012 at <http://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=4&aid=191&dir=2012/October/Thursday11>

<sup>80</sup> "Lesotho: UN Seeks \$38 Million to Respond to Lesotho's Food Crisis", UN News Service, reported in All Africa, September 28, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201209290534.html>

commencement of the construction of Phase II of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, which supplies South Africa with approximately 780 million cubic meters of water per annum.<sup>81</sup>

## Namibia

### **Namibia explores newer market in Norway; Namibia slips to 41<sup>st</sup> spot on Global Gender Index**

A high-level ministerial and business delegation, led by Namibia's Trade and Industry Minister left for Oslo to secure a bigger market share in Norway for Namibian meat. According to a government spokesperson, the delegation will have various meetings to promote investment through joint ventures from Norwegian companies into Namibian agricultural production and agro-processing.<sup>82</sup>

The Namibia Press Agency reported that Namibia slipped nine positions to 41<sup>st</sup> position on the 2012 Global Gender Index due to losses in economic participation and opportunity. The index, prepared by the World Economic Forum (WEF), compared national gender gaps of 135 countries on economic, political, education, and health-based criteria. According to the report, no country in the world achieved gender equality. The report noted that sub-Saharan Africa bridged 66 per cent of its gender gap and performed well on economic participation and opportunity sub-index, ranking just behind Europe, Central Asia, and North America. However, sub-Saharan Africa has the largest gender gap in educational attainment.<sup>83</sup>

## South Africa

### **Labour protests in mining intensified in South Africa; South African police arrest 72 miners of Gold Fields Kloof mines; South Africa to spend US\$ 100 billion on infrastructure; South Africa and Swaziland plans to enhance rail connectivity**

The labour protests gripping South Africa's mines spread to other parts, with riots prompting the country to halt production at a number of mines. Protests spread across the gold and platinum-producing regions surrounding Johannesburg by workers demanding that their wages be raised. In a speech to striking workers, Julius Malema, the former leader of the African National Congress Youth League, called for a national mining strike until wages for all miners were increased to about US\$ 1,500 a month, roughly double or triple to what they were paid now. Separately, amid the turmoil, Anglo American Platinum, which produces about 40 per cent of the world's newly mined platinum, announced that it was shutting down its mining operations near Marikana because of threats against its workers.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> "Zuma hosts Lesotho Prime Minister", Biz Community, October 18, 2012 at <http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/524/83691.html>

<sup>82</sup> "Namibia Targets Bigger Market in Norway", Namibian, reported in All Africa, September 26, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201209260574.html>

<sup>83</sup> "Namibia Slips Nine Spots On Gender Index", Bernama, October 30, 2012 at <http://www.bernama.com.my/bernama/v6/newsworld.php?id=705490>

<sup>84</sup> Lydia Polgreen, "In South Africa, Labor Unrest in Mining Deepens", The New York Times, September 12, 2012 at [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/13/world/africa/south-african-labor-unrest-in-mining-deepens.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/13/world/africa/south-african-labor-unrest-in-mining-deepens.html?_r=0)



South African police arrested 72 sit-in protesters out of 600 protesters from Gold Fields Kloof mines who were protesting in front of Westonaria police station. The protesters were demanding the release of 13 jailed miners. In a separate incident, police fired tear gas and rubber bullets at protesters hurling petrol bombs after a march on an Anglo American Platinum mine in Rustenburg turned violent.<sup>85</sup>

Amid criticism of failing to control labour unrest spreading through much of South Africa, President Jacob Zuma announced plans to spend nearly US\$ 100 billion in infrastructure to create jobs that would address issues like rising inequality, persistent poverty, and low wages. Speaking at a conference on infrastructure, he said that the money would be spent on roads, bridges, and ports in next three years, as part of a US\$ 475 billion plan to upgrade the country's infrastructure over the next decade and a half. He also tried to ease tensions that led to strikes in which 75,000 workers went out of jobs.<sup>86</sup>

Swaziland Railways, Transnet, and Mott MacDonald South Africa formed a project team to advance plans for the US\$ 1.85 million (Rand 15.9 billion) Swazilink connection between Lothair in South Africa's Mpumalanga province and Sidvokodvo, Swaziland. The feasibility studies on the 1067 mm gauge line, which will reduce congestion of Ermelo-Richards Bay heavy-haul corridor, would begin in 2013. The new line will primarily be used by general freight traffic, releasing paths for coal trains on the existing route through the Overvaal tunnel.<sup>87</sup>

## Swaziland

### **Constitutional crisis deepens in Swaziland; ANC calls for political liberation in Swaziland; UK insists on freedom of political parties in Swaziland**

The Swazi House of Assembly passed a vote of no confidence in the prime minister and his cabinet with a majority greater than three-fifths of the House in October. According to the Constitution, the PM had three days to quit or be sacked by the King. However, Barnabas Dlamini, the Prime Minister, stated that he has no intention of resigning, while King Mswati III made no attempt to sack the government. As the constitutional crisis entered into a second week, the kingdom's Deputy Prime Minister, said that he would only resign if people tell him to do so.<sup>88</sup>

Speaking in Johannesburg following the International Solidarity Conference, the African National Congress (ANC) called for political liberation in Swaziland, as part of its call for conflict resolution across the world. The ANC chairperson said that there was a need to focus on liberating countries

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<sup>85</sup> "South Africa police arrest 72 Gold Fields miners", Reuters, October 14, 2012 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/14/us-safrica-strike-goldfields-idUSBRE89D02C20121014>

<sup>86</sup> Lydia Polgreen, "South Africa to Spend \$100 Billion for Jobs", The New York Times, October 19, 2012 at [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/20/world/africa/south-africa-president-jacob-zuma-unveils-100-billion-jobs-program.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/20/world/africa/south-africa-president-jacob-zuma-unveils-100-billion-jobs-program.html?_r=0)

<sup>87</sup> John Batwell, "South Africa - Swaziland link moves forward", International Railway Journal, October 22, 2012 at <http://www.railjournal.com/index.php/africa/new-south-africa-%E2%80%93-swaziland-rail-link-moves-forward.html?channel=538#.UJH5NHn1DGg>

<sup>88</sup> "Swaziland: Constitutional Crisis Enters Week Two", Swazi Media Commentary, October 11, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201210111220.html>

such as Swaziland, adding that this would help to improve the country, which is facing several problems.<sup>89</sup>

Responding to concerns raised by MP James Duddridge that the UK was not doing enough to encourage King Mswati III of Swaziland to be more sympathetic and tolerant of the existence of political parties. A UK Foreign Office Minister told the House of Commons that the UK Government called for political parties to be allowed to operate freely in Swaziland and contest national elections scheduled for September 2013. The UK High Commissioner is expected to visit Swaziland in November 2012 to participate in discussions and to underline the UK's concerns about the current political and economic environment, and press for reform.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Shain Germaner, "ANC calls for Swaziland's liberation", Eye Witness News, October 30, 2012 at <http://ewn.co.za/2012/10/30/ANC-calls-for-Swazilands-liberation>

<sup>90</sup> "Swaziland: UK Calls for Parties to Be Unbanned", Swazi Media Commentary, October 31, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201210310281.html>

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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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