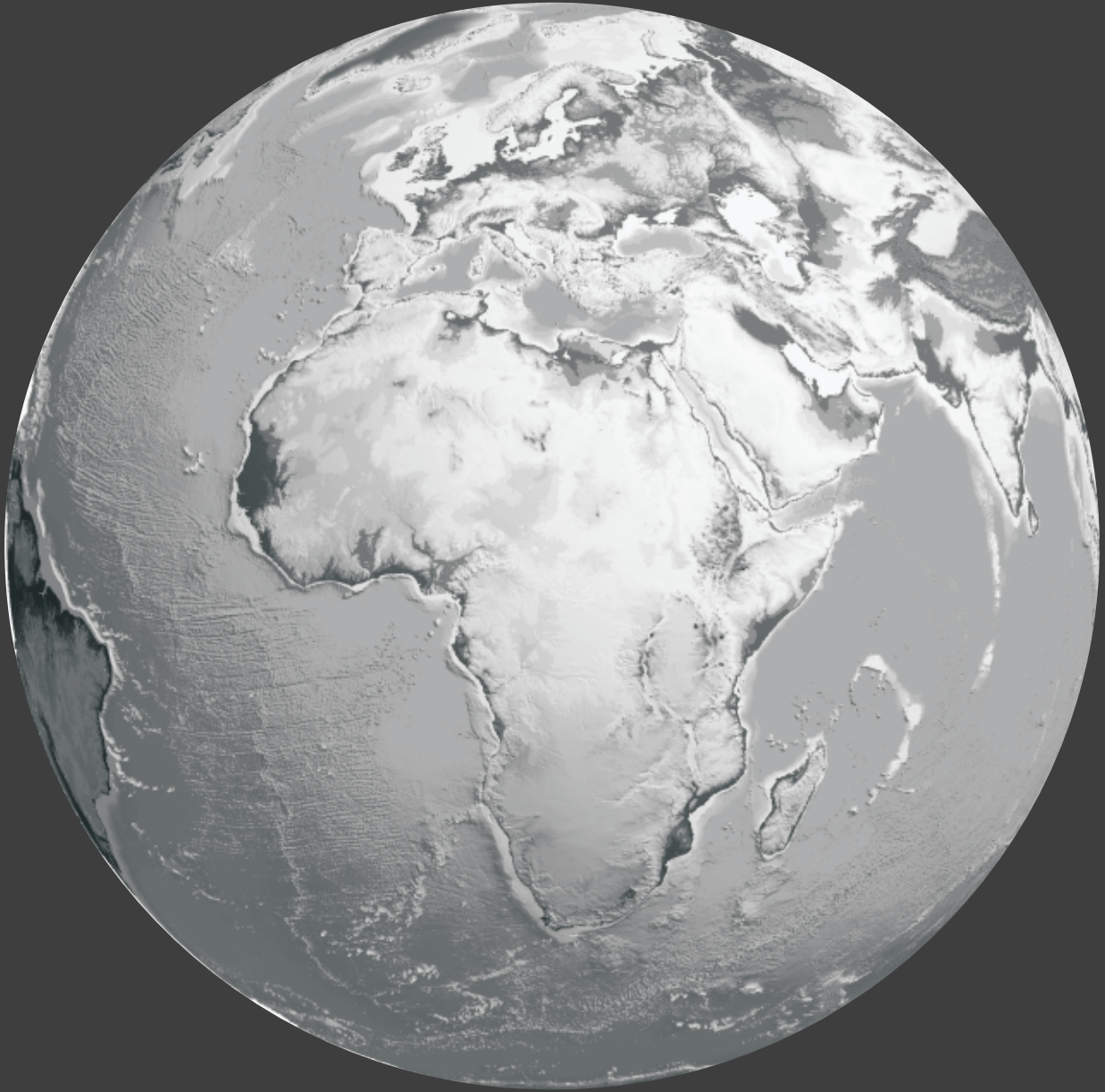


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Editor's Note

We bring you the final issue of 2014.

In this issue, the cover story by Aakriti Sethi critically analyses the American engagement with Africa since President Obama took office. It argues that the US-Africa Leaders' Summit that was convened as late as Obama's second term in office has potential but will take time to grow into something substantial. America's military engagement with the continent though continues to be substantial and will be crucial for the security of the continent. The commentary by Ruchita Beri highlights the importance of Mozambique for India's energy requirements. It points out the potential stumbling blocks in the development of the energy resources in Mozambique and cautions the policy makers to be mindful of them. In the context of the likely internationalisation of domestic terrorist groups, the viewpoint by Saurabh Mishra presents a comparison of the Boko Haram and the Islamic State along select parameters. It concludes that a nexus between the two will be driven more by the needs of the IS and despite the similarities, the relationship will have its share of challenges. The review of the edited book entitled *China and Mozambique: From Comrades to Capitalists* by Kuhoo Saxena takes us back to Mozambique, though this time through the vicissitudes of the China-Mozambique relations. It looks at Chinese engagement in all sectors of the economy and also presents views of the common people, both Chinese and Mozambicans, regarding their experiences of interacting with each other.

The last quarter of the year was witness to several disconcerting developments in the continent. There was a further complication in Libya, with a virtual east-west partition of the country among the ruling party and the rebels. To prevent the spill over of the conflict from southern Libya to Mauritania in the Sahel, France set up a military base in Niger. The al-Shabaab wreaked havoc against non-Muslims in Kenya. However, in a significant gain, the group was ousted from Barawe, a coastal town in Somalia that it had occupied since 1993. Also, the Boko Haram suffered a setback by losing nearly a hundred members in counterinsurgency by Cameroon.

China became the third largest trading partner of Mozambique, made investments in Tanzania and the energy sector in Zimbabwe. India's Asian Paints will acquire 51 per cent stake in Ethiopia-based Kadisco Paint through its Singapore-based subsidiary Berger International. The HAL will provide Dornier aircrafts to Mauritius to aid in maritime surveillance. India's International Coal Ventures Pvt Ltd. (ICVL) bought the coal-mining assets of the Rio Tinto Group in Mozambique and hopes to build a power plant in the country. Mozambique and India signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for cooperation in the oil and gas sector in November.

We hope you will find this interesting read. We look forward to your comments and suggestions as we move into the next year.

Cover Story

OBAMA'S POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA: A BLEND OF COMPETITION AND ROADBLOCKS

Much was anticipated from his administration, especially with regard to working more closely with the African continent. But it was only in his second term beginning 2013 that he managed to focus on the African countries by initiating the US-Africa Leaders Summit in August 2014.

AAKRITI SETHI*

When Barack Obama was elected as the President of United States of America in 2009, many saw this as being symbolic of a new era in American politics. Due to his mixed ethnicity, he grabbed the attention of countries and continents across the globe, especially Africa. Much was anticipated from his administration, especially with regard to working more closely with the African continent. But it was only in his second term beginning 2013 that he managed to focus on the African countries by initiating the US-Africa Leaders Summit in August 2014. His predecessor, George Bush, had worked extensively with Africa, thus somewhat eclipsing Obama's little endeavour in the region. Obama has been widely applauded for distinguishing himself from Bush's policies, notably in Iraq and Afghanistan. But across this continent, many Africans wished Obama was more like Bush in his social and health policies, particularly in the fight against HIV/AIDS- one of the former president's signature foreign policy aid programs.¹

Obama's only extensive visit to the continent came as late as 2013; a three-country visit to Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania. Prior to this he had visited Ghana very briefly as the last stop of his international visits in the first term. The primary initiative taken by his administration towards the region was commencing the US-Africa Leaders Summit, a unique summit which involved the

... the visit and the summit both came in Obama's second term, with his first term primarily devoted to the Asia Pivot Strategy...

US President meeting the state representatives of almost all the nations of Africa and discussing various areas from economics to public health. But, the visit and the summit both came in Obama's second term, with his first term primarily devoted to the Asia Pivot Strategy, focussing on the economically booming region with increasing strategic significance. The steps taken by the Obama administration towards the African continent have been limited and disappointing in contrast to the initial expectations from him when he took over the White House.

* Aakriti Sethi is a Research Intern at IDSA.

The Race with China

Over the last five years, China's top leaders including- the president, vice president, premier, vice premier, cabinet ministers, and top Communist Party officials have visited around 30 African countries. Former Chinese President Hu Jintao visited 17 African nations in a single 10-month stretch between July 2006 and February 2007. And China's current President, Xi Jinping has already visited three African countries since taking office in March 2013.² In 2014, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited 7 African countries, further strengthening the already economically prospering ties with the continent.³ The economic bases of China spreading in the African continent have made the Americans realise their mistake of not reaping the vast economic opportunity present in the African region earlier. President Obama might take pride in launching a one of a kind US-Africa Leaders summit which would be held between America and African leaders once in every four years, but the Chinese were ahead in engaging with the Africans by launching the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation way back in 2000 with five summits having taken place.

The economic bases of China spreading in the African continent have made the Americans realise their mistake of not reaping the vast economic opportunity present in the African region earlier.

The US-Africa Leaders summit was seen as a success, given the fact that nearly 50 African head of states came together to discuss multiple themes and used the summit as a platform to foster better US-Africa ties. However, the initiative should have come earlier. Countries like India, China and even Europe have left US behind in terms of trading with the continent. An estimated one million Chinese now reside in Africa, up from a few thousands a decade ago, and more are arriving. China recently overtook America as the world's largest net importer of oil. Almost 80% of Chinese imports from Africa are mineral products.⁴ China-Africa trade reached \$166 billion in 2011, an 83 per cent rise from 2009. The bilateral trade further increased another 19.3 percent to \$198 billion in 2012, and passed the \$200 billion threshold to \$210 billion in 2013. On the other hand, US-Africa trade dwindled from \$125 billion in 2011 to \$99 billion in 2012 and \$85 billion in 2013.⁵

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US Forays into Africa

Nevertheless, the summit had its own moments of US-Africa bonhomie. One of the main highlights of the US-Africa Leaders summit was the economic negotiations between the countries. The White House announced \$33 billion in commitments aimed at increasing US ties with Africa. A large part of the money, \$14 billion, is coming from the private sector. Among the companies announcing the big commitments are Coca-Cola and General Electric (GE).⁶ A \$5 billion investment from Coca Cola to manufacturing lines and production equipment; \$2 billion investment from GE by 2018; \$200 million in investments across Africa by Marriott, and a \$66 million commitment by IBM to provide technology services to Ghana's Fidelity Bank, were some of the plans announced during the summit.⁷ The three primary initiatives of President Obama in the summit were Power Africa, Trade Africa and Young African Leaders initiative. Power Africa aims to improve the continent's electric grid; Trade Africa focuses on economic development in East Africa and the Young African Leaders Initiative provides young Africans internships at companies and public institutions.⁸ In a way, this summit presented itself as an opportunity for US to shape a strategy

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primarily aiming at the capacity building initiatives of the African states. The summit also indicated a prominent shift of the US engagement in the continent from a government-based relationship to a private sector-led one. But despite the enthusiastic rhetoric present in the US-Africa relations, the American economic foothold is nowhere close to other countries engaging with the region, making them increasingly devoid of the growing potential of the African continent.

US and the Militarisation of Africa

One of the strongest criticisms of Obama's Africa policy is the reliance over military in dealing with the region. US Africa Command, the US military command responsible for training and security operations in Africa, has grown from its meagre beginnings and has seen an extensive expansion of engagement on the continent through drone operations, covert military actions and the so called "train and equip" programs in at least 49 countries.⁹ The United States Africa Command was formed in 2008 by George W Bush administration and has been expanded and enhanced under President Barack Obama. A series of navy operations known as 'Obangame Express' is now in its fourth year with additional European, African and at least one South American state, Brazil, involved. The Pentagon's Obangame Express 2014 brings in more navies while military build-up continues.¹⁰ More than 30 warships from 20 countries are engaged in major manoeuvres

The Pentagon's Obangame Express 2014 brings in more navies while military build-up continues.

along the Western African coast. In addition to 11 West African nations, France, Germany, Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands as well as Denmark, Turkey, Brazil and the United States have dispatched ships, making the training manoeuvre one of Africa's largest.¹¹ This extent of military involvement in the region by various countries, especially US, has been viewed sceptically by the Africans, posing questions about the eventual intentions US has towards the region.¹² Also, the

recent deployment of 3000 troops in Liberia as an American response to Ebola has put the Obama administration under scrutiny by many of his critics in the larger context of US-led militarisation of the region.

...while certain 'high profile' targets are eliminated, there is no shortage of people willing to step in and fill their shoes.

The use of drones to eliminate high profile terrorists in the African region by the US has had mixed results. An October 2013 report by a UN Human Rights investigator states that only approximately 2 per cent of all drone strikes by the US in all parts of the world hit high level targets and that majority of the casualties were civilian.¹³ While the US may think that its policy of drone strikes improves national security without the loss of lives, the reality is that these strikes in Africa and beyond are creating a generation that is getting involved in

organized terror for its security with a severe antipathy towards American foreign policy and initiatives. So while certain 'high profile' targets are eliminated, there is no shortage of people willing to step in and fill their shoes.¹⁴

The Future

Some of the fastest growing economies in the world are from Africa, making the continent the nerve centre of constant growth and development. Among the most significant shifts in the USAs Africa policy during the Obama administration's tenure has been a new and more affirmative emphasis in bolstering economic and commercial engagement.¹⁵ In the coming years the economic relations between US and Africa are likely going to increase, especially post the commencement

of the US-Africa Leaders Summit. However, even though the economic possibilities look promising, they do not wipe out the existing irritants in the relationship. Bringing matters like corruption and human rights charges on influential African leaders on the table is not something the US is ready to do anymore. During the US-Africa summit hundreds of protesters had gathered outside the State Department to denounce some of the African leaders as “torturers” and “killers”. The protesters were angry that the White House was looking to enhance economic ties with repressive governments.¹⁶

The success of China in the continent is due to many reasons, one of them being Beijing not intervening in the socio-political arrangement of the countries it is dealing with. Taking a cue from this, the Americans are trying to cement strong economic ties with the African nations on similar lines. With a resource rich Africa on one hand and ever-growing Chinese influence on the other, America is trying to rapidly build its larger policy towards Africa around the economic imperatives. Apart from economic ties, US-Africa relation presents plenty of scope for working together in counterterrorism efforts. Even though US military presence in the African continent has been a reason for much criticism, America’s security support is required for countering numerous security threats present in the region. America’s expertise in matters of counterterrorism gives it an upper-hand in comparison to China. Nonetheless, the strategic importance of Middle East or Asia Pacific is still way more for the US than Africa. The summit might have paved way for a better future of US-Africa relations, but this relationship will take its own time in becoming one of the top most priorities of the White House.

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- ¹ Sudarsan Raghavan and David Nakamura, Bush AIDS policies shadow Obama in Africa, *The Washington Post*, July 2, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/bush-aids-policies-shadow-obama-in-africa/2013/06/30/0c8e023c-e1ac-11e2-ae3-339619eab080_story.html (Accessed on November 25, 2014).
 - ² Mwangi S Kimenyi, Guilt Trip, *Brookings*, June 25, 2013, <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2013/06/25-obama-africa-trip-disappointment-kimenyi> (Accessed on November 25, 2014).
 - ³ Premier Wen visits 7 African countries, *China View*, <http://www.chinaview.cn/wjb0606/index.htm> (Accessed on November 25, 2014).
 - ⁴ More than Minerals, *The Economist*, March 23, 2014, <http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21574012-chinese-trade-africa-keeps-growing-fears-neocolonialism-are-overdone-more> (Accessed on November 27, 2014).
 - ⁵ Yun Sun, American and Chinese trade with Africa: Rhetoric vs. reality, *The Hill*, August 5, 2014, <http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international/214270-american-and-chinese-trade-with-africa-rhetoric-vs-reality> (Accessed on November 27, 2014).
 - ⁶ US-Africa Leaders Summit, *The White House*, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/us-africa-leaders-summit> (Accessed on November 27, 2014).
 - ⁷ Obama announces \$3 billion in commitments for Africa, *News2 ABC*, August 5, 2014, <http://www.wkrm.com/story/26197811/obama-us-companies-to-invest-14b-in-africa> (Accessed on November 27, 2014).
 - ⁸ David Francis, Summit Not Enough to Quell Obama’s Africa Policy Critics, *Foreign Policy*, August 6, 2014, http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/08/06/summit_not_enough_to_quell_obama_s_africa_policy_critics (Accessed on November 27, 2014).
 - ⁹ Theo Sittler and Yemi Malka, How Obama can Really Help Africa, *US News*, July 18, 2014 <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/07/18/to-help-africa-obama-should-pursue-development-not-militarization> (Accessed on November 27, 2014).

- ¹⁰ Abayomi Azikiwe, *The Militarization of the African Continent: AFRICOM Expands Operations in Cooperation with Europe*, Global Research, April 22, 2014, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-militarization-of-the-african-continent-africom-expands-operations-in-cooperation-with-europe/5378627>, (Accessed on December 5, 2014).
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Garth Cilliers, *The US in Africa: Africom Commander upbeat while Africa remains sceptical*, Leadership, April 2, 2013, <http://www.leadershiponline.co.za/articles/the-us-in-africa.1-5586.html> (Accessed on February 20, 2015).
- ¹³ Daniel Donovan, *The Drone Disaster*, US News, February 13, 2014, <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/02/13/american-drones-are-creating-terrorists-in-africa-and-asia> (Accessed on December 5, 2014).
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Jennifer G. Cooke and Richard Downie, *Launching a New Chapter in US-Africa Relations: Deepening the Business Relationship*, (2014, Rowman and Littlefield), p. 1, http://books.google.co.in/books?id=UD_oAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=US-Africa+Relations&hl=en&sa=X&ei=7z2FVPPRMYfJuATwjoDAAg&ved=0CCIQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=US-Africa%20Relations&f=false (Accessed on December 8, 2014).
- ¹⁶ Andrew Siddons, *Washington Meeting of African Leaders Opens to Protests*, The New York Times, August 4, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/05/world/africa/meeting-in-washington-of-african-leaders-opens-to-protests.html> (Accessed on February 20, 2015).
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Commentary

INDIA-MOZAMBIQUE RELATIONS: TOWARDS FRESH OPPORTUNITIES?

India's historic ties with Mozambique have got a boost in recent years with several high level visits from the country including that of Mozambican President in 2010 and the Mozambican Foreign Minister Oldemiro Baloi in November 2014. These visits are important in terms of India's growing interest in Mozambique's energy sector.

Ruchita Beri*

India's historic ties with Mozambique have got a boost in recent years with several high level visits from the country including that of Mozambican President in 2010 and the Mozambican Foreign Minister Oldemiro Baloi in November 2014. These visits are important in terms of India's growing interest in Mozambique's energy sector. India is the fourth largest energy importer in the world and has been involved in seeking cooperation with several African countries to meet the growing domestic energy demand. During Baloi's visit, besides the \$ 216.4 million Line of Credit agreement to support development activity in Mozambique, the two countries also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to enhance cooperation in the field of natural gas and oil.¹

Mozambique, a South East African country abutting the India Ocean, has been in the news ever since the discovery of major natural gas reserves in early 2010. There are various estimates on Mozambique's natural gas resources, the US Energy Information Agency (EIA) suggests that the country contains 279 trillion cubic feet (tcf) equivalent of potential gas reserves. If these estimates are confirmed, Mozambique may have the fourth largest reserves of gas in the world behind Russia, Iran and Qatar.

Oil and Gas exploration began in Mozambique in the middle of the 20th century and at present the country is producing 155 billion cubic feet (bcf) of dry natural gas from two of its onshore gas fields operated by Sasol, a South African energy company. Most of the recent natural gas discoveries have taken place in the offshore Rovuma basin. As of now, India's Bharat Petro Resources Limited (BPRL) Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited (OVL) and Oil India Limited (OIL) with combined 30 percent stake dominate the Area I gas field, along with US oil company Anadarko (26.5 percent) which is the operator of the gas field, followed by Japan's Mitsui and Co. (20 percent), Mozambique's state owned Empresa Nacional de Hidrocarbonetos (ENH) (15 percent), and Thai

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state oil company PTT Exploration and Production (8.5 percent).² Meanwhile, Italian oil and gas major Eni operates the Area IV gas field and owns 50 percent of the stakes, followed by China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), Portuguese energy company, Galp Energia, South Korean national gas company, Kogas and ENH.

While India's economic engagement and its investments in Mozambique's energy sector are increasing, it will be prudent to take a balanced view of the opportunities existing in this country. A number of challenges threaten Mozambique's natural gas boom. First, while the country is sitting on huge gas deposits, it requires huge investments to put the infrastructure required for natural gas production in place. It has been estimated that Mozambique will require investment of over US \$30 billion to build capacity to produce 20 million tonnes of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG).³ According to ENH, the National Oil Company of Mozambique, the country will start exporting

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LNG by 2018.⁴ Yet there are chances that this deadline may be pushed back by a few years.⁵ In recent months the falling LNG prices have put a question mark over early production and export of LNG by Mozambique. The prices for natural gas and LNG in particular have been falling due to huge amounts of gas coming from the South Pacific region and South China Sea. At the same time the United States shale gas revolution has resulted in phenomenal rise in gas supplies from the country. It appears that the volatile LNG prices may affect the commercial viability of LNG projects worldwide, including those in Mozambique. There are chances that the oil and gas companies such as Andarko and others may hold off on their final investment decisions

as they redesign projects to cut costs and also wait for the gas prices to stabilize.

Second, there is a growing concern over the protection of the emerging energy infrastructure in Mozambique. In the few years there have been reports of rise in organised crime – kidnappings, in particular, in the capital Maputo and other cities. Also the opposition group Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Renamo) has revived its insurgency 21 years after the end of civil war with the ruling party, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo). They are mainly demanding a share in country's new found wealth. This rise in instability does not bode well for the country and the nascent energy sector in particular.

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Alongside, there are concerns that the country's natural gas deposits located mainly in country's northern coast are vulnerable to pirates and other criminals active on the high seas. Mozambique has one of the longest

coastlines in Africa however the Mozambican navy (with only one operational patrol boat), does not have the capacity to protect the coast.⁶

This provides an opportunity for India to enhance maritime cooperation with Mozambique. The two sides also share the common concern over the issue of safety and security of sea lanes of communication in the Indian Ocean region. The Mozambican leaders have called for closer cooperation with India in recent years, primarily to keep the waters of Indian Ocean safe and have often expressed the desire to "share and learn" from India.⁷

India and Mozambique have cooperated on maritime issues in past. Multilaterally, both India and Mozambique as members of Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and also the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) have raised their concerns quite often. Bilaterally, India had provided security cover for two important events in Maputo, i.e., the African Union Summit in 2003 and

World Economic Forum Summit 2004. In 2010, the Indian navy rescued a Mozambican shipping vessel from pirates off the Mozambican coast. However there is a need for India to step up its security engagement with Mozambique. While a MOU on defence cooperation between the two countries was signed in 2006 and envisages activities such as maritime patrolling of the Mozambique coast, training in military institutions, supply of defence equipment, and also transfer of technology, it is not clear how much progress has been made in these matters.⁸

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As a energy deficient country India is eyeing the natural gas bounty in Mozambique; yet it is not alone and increasingly faces competition from the American, European, Chinese, South Korean and South African companies among others. India's relations with Mozambique are not hinged on commercial ties alone. Development cooperation is high on New Delhi's agenda with Maputo. In fact Mozambique is the third largest recipient of concessional Lines of Credit from India amounting to \$ 649 billion (2002-2013).⁹ However, as more Indian companies increase their presence in Mozambique, New Delhi should join hands with Maputo to secure the waters across the Indian Ocean.

¹ "Visit of Foreign Minister of Mozambique to India", http://hicomind-maputo.org/news_detail.php?id=38 (Accessed on 20 December 2014).

² "OVL to buy Anadarko's 10% stake in Mozambique block for \$2.6 bn" *Business Standard* at http://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/ovl-to-buy-anadarko-s-10-stake-in-mozambique-block-for-2-6-bn-113082600980_1.html (Accessed aon November 10, 2014).

³ Manuel Mucari, "Mozambique sees \$30 bln investment for 2018 LNG exports startup" *Reuters*, August 21, 2014, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/21/mozambique-gas-idUSL5N0QR49C20140821> (Accessed on October 14, 2014).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Mozambique's onshore LNG struggling", at <http://www.energyglobal.com/downstream/gas-processing/18112014/Mozambique-LNG-projects-1638/> (Accessed on November 15, 2014).

⁶ In 2013 Mozambique government entered into an agreement with France to supply three patrol boats and three interceptors. However it will take a few years to reach the country.

⁷ "Mozambique, India to work for 'safe' Indian Ocean" *The Indian news*, September 30, 2010, at http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/business/mozambique-india-to-work-for-safe-indian-ocean_100437053.html (Accessed on November 28, 2014).

⁸ "India and Mozambique to Discuss Piracy" June 24, 2011, *Press Information Bureau, Government of India*, at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=72849> (Accessed on November 21, 2014).

⁹ "Visit of Foreign Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Mozambique to India" at <http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/24310/Visit+of+Minister+of+Foreign+Affairs+and+International+Cooperation+of+Mozambique+to+India++November+2329+2014> (Accessed on December 4, 2014).

Viewpoint

COMPARING 'BOKO HARAM' AND THE 'ISLAMIC STATE'

Essentially local Islamist extremist groups such as the Boko Haram, which thrive on the domestic social and economic deprivations, seem to be moving towards collaboration with international Islamist groups. This phenomenon is not new, considering the links of Somali groups with the Al-Qaeda.

Saurabh Mishra*

Some ongoing conflicts in Africa are taking a new turn. Essentially local Islamist extremist groups such as the Boko Haram, which thrive on the domestic social and economic deprivations, seem to be moving towards collaboration with international Islamist groups. This phenomenon is not new, considering the links of Somali groups with the Al-Qaeda. However, it is important to bear in mind the similarities and differences among these local and international groups so that we can understand the nature and degree of their threat and respond accordingly.

'Boko Haram' (*Jama'atu Ahlus Sunna Lidda' Awati wal Jihad*) in West Africa and the 'Islamic State' (IS), also known as *al-Dawlah al-Islamiyah fil-Iraq wal-Sham* (Da'ish), in West Asia have earned their notoriety for being the two most destructive and violent groups with political ambitions inspired by extremist medieval and *wahabi-salafi* version of Islam. Both the groups have been recognised as terror organisations that have utter disregard for dissent, difference and human life and dignity. They have been responsible for the death of thousands and displacement of millions as refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDP). Both the groups, currently, control certain areas in their regions.¹ Although at first sight they appear to be very similar in their inspirations and employ brutal tactics to maintain control, there are differences in their orientations, scales of funding, leadership, resources and their roles in the larger interests of other regional and external powers.

Orientations: Boko Haram is active in the northeastern Nigeria near the borders with Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The forested area is underdeveloped and people are very poor. As the majority in the area is Muslim, the Boko Haram group began as a purist movement against modern western education from a mosque in Maiduguri town of Nigeria. The literal meaning of 'Boko Haram' is 'western education is forbidden.' It later turned into a violent terrorist movement with linkages with the terrorist groups in the Sahel region of West Africa, especially with the Al-Qaeda in Maghrib (AQIM). It also developed some relations with the *salafi* sympathisers in Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia. The organisation currently has grown potent and aspires for implementing *sharia'* in the areas it controls and influences. The attacks by the group on government establishments as well as civilians have been frequent and increasingly brutal. The Nigerian government has failed to curb the activities of Boko Haram on its own and its army has received several setbacks at the hands of the terrorists. Many have questioned the institutional capabilities of the Nigerian army

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to combat the terror and threat of the group. Boko Haram has a following only in the West African countries, although it has attempted to connect itself with the larger Islamic terrorist groups in other parts of Africa and the world, including the IS. The group is trying to carve out a safe haven in the region where it can exploit its resources and experiment with its extremist beliefs.

The IS, since its inception, has been very clear about its orientation. It emerged with the 'Arab Spring' in its background. Some Al-Qaeda dissidents and various groups fighting against the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria formed the group with an aim to establish a Sunni Islamic Caliphate in the region and subsequently also claim the leadership of the Islamic world. Currently, they have captured large territory in Syria as well as Iraq. They are exploiting both anti-western and traditional sectarian (Shia-Sunni) sentiments against their opponents, primarily Syrian and Iraqi Governments. Mass executions, beheadings, public display of brutality are some of their common terror methods.

Leadership: The nature of the Boko Haram leadership is different from that of the Islamic State. Little is known about the leaders of Boko Haram while many of the leaders of the Islamic State, including the current self-proclaimed Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, have been known to the US and international security agencies for quite some time. Baghdadi himself had been detained by the US security forces in Iraq where, according to reports, he was even more radicalised.² Details about the life of Abu Bakr Shekou, the Emir of Boko Haram, cannot be confirmed authoritatively. However, one important difference in the public personality of both the leaders is their temperament. Shekou appears to be crude and rustic while Baghdadi is messianic in his demeanour and use of language.³ Both of them claim to be scholars in Islam. Baghdadi himself and his associates have more and better experience in international and worldwide operations as they have once been affiliates of the Al-Qaeda and its global network; while Shekou's experience and connections have been mostly restricted across the borders of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, or in the Sahel region.

Financial Resources: Boko Haram's resources are very limited in comparison to the Islamic State. Besides some suspected funds from the Arab and the Gulf regions, their major sources of finances are extortions, ransom in lieu of high profile kidnappings, funds from regional political and religious sympathisers and other illegal activities.⁴ The Islamic State allegedly started with huge funds from within the rich states of Saudi Arabia and Qatar to topple the Assad Government in Syria.⁵ Its composite groups had received aid from the western countries also (the US, France, the UK) in kind. Later, when it captured some regions from the Syrian Government and turned towards Iraq, it started collecting taxes in the areas it controlled. The IS also earns from ransoms, extortions, other illegal activities including funds from sympathisers mainly from the Arab and West Asian region. IS's control over large oil rich areas and its efforts to behave like a state providing some basic services also adds to its coffers.⁶

Military Aspects: Although Boko Haram claims to have sophisticated weapons and some armoured vehicles captured mainly from the escaped Nigerian Army during

The Nigerian government has failed to curb the activities of Boko Haram on its own and its army has received several setbacks at the hands of the terrorists.

...one important difference in the public personality of both the leaders is their temperament. Shekou appears to be crude and rustic while Baghdadi is messianic in his demeanour and use of language.

IS's control over large oil rich areas and its efforts to behave like a state providing some basic services also adds to its coffers.

their attacks, they are not as sophisticated and as large in numbers as that of the IS. Some of their weapons are suspected to be looted and brought from Libya.⁷ The IS has the advantage of using the large number of American armoured vehicles, both light and heavy automatic weapons, captured from the runaway Iraqi forces.⁸ Many of the weapons were allegedly directly supplied to the component groups of the IS even before its formation.⁹ As far as the war/battle techniques are concerned, Boko Haram mainly relies on guerilla attacks and suicide bombings on military as well as civilian installations. It may or may not focus on capturing territory as they are not sure if they can hold it for long. The IS primarily opts for direct combat and focuses on capturing more territory to realise its larger claims. However, it also employs suicide bombings and guerilla warfare as auxiliary tools. Another important difference between the two groups is that Boko Haram has not attracted many Islamic extremist youths and cadres from outside the area of its control and influence for its membership; whereas the IS has an appeal to attract Islamist extremists from throughout the globe. Extremists are pouring in from Central Asia, Pakistan, Arab and West Asian countries and from others regions of the world as well; including the Western countries (US, UK, France etc.) to fight for the IS.¹⁰

Regional and International Interests: The settings of Boko Haram do not invoke as much interest of the great powers as those of the IS. The Boko Haram, atmost, invokes the interest of the affected countries in the region (Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin); and in the African Union (AU) and UNSC for humanitarian reasons as there has been a global uproar against the group after they kidnapped and enslaved about 300 school girls in a single incident and burnt the Baga town and its residents in Borno state of northeastern Nigeria. The US, France, the UK and the EU are involved in the talks to deal with the Boko Haram due to their hegemonic and colonial legacies as well. Local politicians with some vested interests in the activities of Boko Haram and possible political gains from them have also nurtured them. But, in any case, the group, leaving aside a couple of incidents of kidnappings, has not directly affected the great world powers, or external powers.

On the other hand, the problem of IS has become global as it invokes the sectarian Shia-Sunni divide which is directly linked to the regional power struggles; primarily between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Several smaller struggles for prominence and influence in the region involve the Sunni majority Arab states and a couple of Shia majority states. The world has already witnessed IS's persecution, execution and proselytisation of the Shias, women, and the people of other faiths within the territory of its control. As Iran is a potential nuclear power and currently is being persuaded by the West to limit its nuclear programme, the sectarian card being played by the IS becomes more dangerous and global in its influence. The IS, a Sunni organisation, has subsequently challenged all (Shia as well as Sunni majority countries) including Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iran, Iraq as well as the western powers, citing different reasons. Hence, a coalition of regional countries, with the help of the western powers, is acting against the IS.

Conclusion: A comparison of Boko Haram and the IS reveal that although they have attained unprecedented notoriety almost at the same time, they are different and unequal entities. Boko Haram has not yet been able to break the regional shackles while the IS has emerged as a truly global threat. Hence the difference in response by the western and other world powers towards

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them. Although Boko Haram, in the light of the joint action by the West African countries and the AU, has attempted to strengthen itself by connecting with the IS, there are glitches in the process due to their different geographical and regional requirements; as well as the pressures on them. The IS itself is facing coalition strikes by the regional countries and the West. Therefore, the Boko Haram and the IS connect at the moment seems to be minimal and difficult. However, nobody can rule out the possibility of increased ideological and operational connect in case of lack of proper regional and international responses against the groups in future. Boko Haram may cooperate increasingly with the IS in two circumstances: first, the IS gets stronger and wealthier so that it aspires for expansion in other vulnerable regions; second, it loses the territory it controls, in which case it may increasingly adapt Al-Qaeda like *modus operandi* by patronising local Islamist groups. This in turn will depend on the Al-Qaeda's reaction to the IS. The governments and the international community need to be watchful and act accordingly in time.

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 - 2 "ISIS: the inside story", *The Guardian*, December 11, 2014, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story> (Accessed on December 21, 2014); "Profile: Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi", *BBC News*, July 5, 2014, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27801676> (Accessed on December 10, 2014).
 - 3 This difference can be noted in the videos of the leaders released by the two terrorist organisations. See Youtube links: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC0GJtoTtM> (Accessed on November 15, 2014); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMvKneiNwMc> (Accessed on December 20, 2014).
 - 4 "This is how Boko Haram fund its evil", *Washington Post*, June 6, 2014, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/06/06/this-is-how-boko-haram-funds-its-evil/> (Accessed on November 20, 2014); "How Boko Haram is beating US efforts to choke its financing", *Reuters*, July 1, 2014, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/01/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701> (Accessed on November 20, 2014); A special report by Andrew Walker for the United States Institute for Peace titled "What is Boko Haram?", available at <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf> (Accessed on December 5, 2014).
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Book Review

Chris Alden and Sérgio Chichava (ed.), *China and Mozambique: From Comrades to Capitalists*.

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Kuhoo Saxena *

China and Mozambique: From Comrades to Capitalists is a collection of essays on the nature of China's economic presence in Mozambique. The book takes into context the broader existing framework and themes of China-Africa relations but it delves into an analysis of the China-Mozambique bilateral relationship to get a fuller sense of the dynamics of China-Africa ties in the present times. The use of official documents, media sources, extensive field work and interviews of local officials and Mozambicans by the authors has enabled them to paint a vivid picture of China's economic investment in Mozambique and demonstrate the impact of this bilateral relationship from the perspective of the common Mozambicans.

In chapter one and two the authors Chris Alden, Sérgio Chichava and Paula Cristina Roque depict the uniqueness of Mozambique's engagement with China as compared to the rest of the African countries and also assess the nature of Chinese investment in the country. Mozambique was able to economically recover after a long drawn civil war by adhering to the aid programmes presented by the Bretton Woods institutions in 1984. The authors argue that due to the presence of this Western investment in Mozambique, China had to tailor a different approach to the country. Hence, unlike in other African countries, where the initial investment by the Chinese has been in the energy and resource sectors; in Mozambique the initial investment made by China was in the area of security and defence which involved training and disbursement of funds in non-lethal equipment. China also heavily invested in social services, health care and education of Mozambicans. Gradually, China started to expand its investments in the manufacturing industry, agriculture, fisheries and construction sectors. However, with the discovery of mineral resources in the north and centre of Mozambique, China's focus has shifted from its hitherto main attraction Maputo in the south.

The authors in these chapters also highlight that Mozambique welcomes investment from other developing countries like Brazil and Japan. Therefore, sometimes China has to work in trilateral or multilateral cooperation with other countries when engaging with Mozambique. However, despite these challenges China's continued engagement with Mozambique is important because the country is a regional hub and a key transportation corridor for neighbouring landlocked countries of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Chapter three and five are important to understand the state of Chinese new investments in the banking and infrastructure sectors in Mozambique. Not all the Chinese economic activities according to Ana Cristina Alves have met with local approval; for instance illegal logging and

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plundering of marine species that has drawn much criticism in the Mozambican press. However, Alves argues that Chinese engagement in the financial sector stands out. What we see is the genesis of 'Geocapital' by China to generate business opportunities and bridge a gap between China and Lusophone (Portuguese speaking) nations. This Luso-China investment society is structured around two core areas: finance and energy. 'Geocapital' has been relatively successful in mobilizing Chinese private capital to invest in Lusophone nations owing largely to its extensive personal connections. It is through these personal connections that an initial venture into business was made by Geocapital in Mozambique.

With regard to investment in infrastructure sector chapter 5 by Morten Nielsen argues that investment by Chinese in this sector is increasing considerably. However, through his ethnographic fieldwork among local Mozambican road workers employed by CHICO (China Henan International Cooperation Group Co Ltd.), Nielsen throws a light on the unacceptable living conditions that the local Mozambicans work in, the discrepancies in payments and low salaries they receive and the hostile behaviour of the Chinese superiors they have to face. All this eventually leads to poor workmanship and results in projects not being completed.

The same can be said for Chinese investment in the agricultural sector which has been analysed in chapters seven and eight. In chapter seven, Sérgio Chichava, Jimena Durán and Lu Jiang focus on the establishment of agricultural demonstration centres in Mozambique which was announced by Hu Jintao at the FOCAC Summit in 2006, to transfer agricultural technology to enhance productivity. However, this gift by the Chinese fell short due to lack of institutional coordination from both sides, particularly the Mozambicans who did not have the capabilities to manage the project. In addition to this, language and cultural barriers present greater difficulties for the Mozambicans and Chinese actors to work together. In chapter eight, Sérgio Chichava studies the rice farming sector in Mozambique which reinforces the problems faced by many African countries in which the elites exploit the situation and are the sole beneficiaries of the investment made by a foreign country.

However, a contrary development in the agricultural sector in Mozambique is presented in Chapter 6 in which Sigrid-Marianella Stensrud Ekman demonstrates how Chinese companies have used the arable land in Mozambique to produce food to feed its growing population back home. This may seem as more profitable to Chinese, however Ekman emphasizes that the Chinese investors who engage in food production in Mozambique also target the consumers in the domestic market, as well as those back in China. In addition to this, in Ekman's opinion Chinese can be perceived as partners in the development process, rather than as neo-colonial 'land grabbers', as portrayed by the local media.

The most interesting chapters of the book are four, nine and ten. In chapter four, Mikkel Bunkenborg presents a series of ethnographic encounters with Chinese expats and workers that are engaged in a number of projects in Mozambique. This gives us a glimpse into the struggles and challenges that Chinese nationals face on day to day bases while working in firms that are investing in Mozambique. The chapter also highlights that the engagement of Chinese nationals is on an individual basis and not part of any larger master plan made in Beijing. At the same time the author emphasizes that the growing number of such Chinese nationals would require the Chinese government to rethink its foreign policy principles in terms of protecting its people on foreign soil.

The presence of Chinese nationals also brings up the question of migration of large numbers of Chinese people into Mozambique. In Chapter ten, Sérgio Chichava and Jimena Durán highlight

the new phenomenon of 'south-south' migration that one sees in the case of China and Africa and as a result of this the authors demonstrate the inter-racial mixing which is leading to a new cultural tension regarding the status of Chinese or Sino-Mozambicans in the country. These two chapters hence, highlight the social stresses and transformation in the Mozambique society as a result of the prolonged Chinese economic presence in the country.

Chapter nine, João Feijó presents a picture of local Mozambican's perspective of Chinese presence by doing a comparative analysis of discourses in the government, labour and online blogs. The perspectives of the common people are important as they determine the future of Mozambique-China engagement. The chapter gives an insight to what the people are critical of and what is benefiting them. This kind of analysis can be helpful for both African nations and China to determine the future trajectory of the China-Africa relationship.

Overall, the book presents a well balanced perspective of China's economic engagement in Mozambique; presenting case studies from all sectors. The use of primary resources for example official documents, data, media reports and interviews in the analysis fulfills the aim of the book of demonstrating how a specific case study of China-Mozambique bilateral relationship could help in a fuller understanding of the dynamics of China-Africa ties in the present times. The inclusion of the perspectives of the ordinary Chinese nationals in the country and of the local people through ethnographic surveys may be useful in studying the nature China's economic engagement with other African nations as well.

News Track

Northern Africa

Libya

Libya's Supreme Court rejects elected assembly; the UN Secretary General visits Libya

In August 2014, Libya was split between the western part under the control of fighters of the group Operation Dawn and the eastern part controlled by the internationally recognized elected government. This split has widened after Libya's Supreme Court declared the internationally recognized parliament as unconstitutional on November 6, 2014. The Supreme Court is based in Tripoli, which is a strong hold of Operation Dawn. The Dawn has reinstated the previous parliament, the General National Congress (GNC) in which the Islamists were in a stronger position. The court's decision came after the attack on the El Sharara oilfield by local militias. El Sharara, which is country's biggest production facility, was shut down. This is a severe blow to government efforts to keep the oil industry isolated from the spreading chaos.¹

As crises in Libya worsened, United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon made a surprise visit to the country on November 9, 2014. The Secretary General met with the deputy speaker and other lawmakers from the elected parliament, the House of Representatives, which has moved to the eastern city of Tobruk following the capture of Tripoli by the rebels of Operation Dawn. He also met with the Misrata members of the assembly who have boycotted the parliament sessions. Armed factions from the city of Misrata and militia allied to the western city of Zintan have boycotted the peace talks. However, the members of the House of Representatives from the city of Misrata are participating in the talks raising the hope among the diplomats that this may start a broader political dialogue. Currently Libya has two governments and two parliaments after an armed group from the western city of Misrata, calling themselves Operation Dawn seized the city of Tripoli, setting up its own cabinet and assembly while forcing the internationally recognized government to move to the east to the city of Tobruk.²

Niger

France sets up a base in northern Niger

To stop terrorists from crossing the Sahel-Sahara region between southern Libya and Mauritania, France has set up a military base in northern Niger. The French are worried by events in Libya, warning that the political void in the north is creating conducive conditions for Islamist groups to

¹ "Libya faces chaos as top court rejects elected assembly", *Reuters*, November 6, 2014, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/06/us-libya-security-parliament-idUSKBN0IQ0YF20141106>

² "UN chief makes surprise visit to Libya", *France 24*, November 11, 2014, at <http://www.france24.com/en/20141011-un-chief-ban-ki-moon-makes-surprise-visit-libya/>

regroup in the barren south of the country. There have been reports of Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) operating in the region. According to estimates about 300 fighters linked to AQIM, including a splinter group formed by veteran Islamist commander Mokhtar Belmokhtar, are operating in southern Libya, an important point on smuggling and trafficking routes across the region. United States shares French concerns as one US official said in September 2014 that the United States was preparing to possibly redeploy its drones in the region.³

Egypt

US Delivers 10 Apache Helicopters to Egypt

After partially lifting the freeze on the military aid to Egypt in April 2014, the United States has delivered ten Apache Helicopters to the Egyptian Army on December 20, 2014. The United States gives \$ 1.5 billion aid to Egypt which includes military assistance of \$ 1.3 billion. The aid was frozen in October 2013 on condition that democratic reforms be enacted after the July 2013 military-led overthrow of Islamist elected President Mohamed Morsi and a fierce crackdown on his followers. The United States announced in April 2014 that it was keen to resume aid in the area of counter-terrorism. Egypt has been fighting a severe insurgency in the Sinai Peninsula ever since the overthrow of President Morsi. Egypt had declared a state of emergency in parts of North Sinai after a suicide attack near El-Arish killed 30 soldiers on October 24, 2014. The attack is the deadliest assault on security forces since Morsi's ouster.⁴

Western Africa

Burkina Faso

President's resignation leads to power struggle in Burkina Faso; Senegal declared Ebola free by WHO

People in Burkina Faso took to the streets after knowing that the President Blaise Compaoré wanted to extend his rule. However, public unrest has led the 27 year long rule to end with Compaoré announcing his resignation. As a result of this two rival military rulers are involved in a power struggle and have declared that they are in charge. This had led to immense confusion and chaos in the country. Many in the opposition had warned Compaoré not to run for elections again fearing that popular unrest might take place. Protesters overran the parliament, the vote was suspended and the military announced the legislature had been dissolved and a transition government would be formed. Compaoré said he would lead the government until new elections next year. However, demonstrators rejected that plan and gathered again on Friday, demanding he step down immediately. Analysts like William Assanvo, a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies in Dakar, Senegal, said Compaoré was never in a position to resist like Bashar al-

³ "French Troops Edge Closer to Libya Border to Cut Off Islamists", *Voice of America*, October 2, 2014, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/french-troops-edge-closer-to-libya-border-to-cut-off-islamists/2470689.html>

⁴ "US Delivers 10 Apache Helicopters To Egypt", *Defence News*, December 22, 2014, at <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/air-space/2014/12/21/us-delivers-apaches-egypt/20727203/>

Assad in Syria and had little choice but to give up. Also, under Compaoré's rule the country was not moving forward. The population comprises 60% of those who are under 25 and they were frustrated with the lack of employment and means of survival under the existing regime. Corruption within his inner family circle and their business interests had also tainted a bad image of his party.⁵

Nigeria

116 Boko Haram militants killed by Cameroon Army; Nigeria upset at US refusing arms to fight Boko Haram;

Cameroon Defense Minister Edgard Alain MebeNgo'o said that in an ambush where 116 Boko Haram militants were killed, 5 of the Cameroon army were also assassinated. He said the invaders also attacked the town of Ashigashia, which they had occupied for three weeks earlier this year before the Cameroon soldiers chased them out. The Cameroon unit had some of their weapons seized and five military vehicles destroyed. As a result of this, Cameroon announced plans for the recruitment of 20,000 defense and security forces to help in the fight against Boko Haram.⁶

Nigeria's Ambassador to US criticized Washington for not providing "lethal" weapons to fight the Islamist group back home. Adebowale Ibidapo Adefuye's comments came as the militants seized the north-eastern Mahia town. However, US had previously said that it will refrain from heavily arming the Nigerian army because of its poor human rights record. But Adefuye said the accusations were based on "half-truths", rumours and exaggerated accounts, which were being spread by political opponents ahead of the elections. Adefuye said Boko Haram was Nigeria's equivalent of the Islamic State group, and threatened the nation's "territorial integrity". Hence, support from US is crucial in fighting the Islamist group and protecting the Nigerian citizens.⁷

Senegal

Senegal declared Ebola free by WHO

The World Health Organization has declared Senegal as an Ebola free nation on 17 October, 2014. Senegal's response has been seen as a good example of what to do when faced with an imported case of Ebola. The government, under leadership of President MackySall and the Minister of Health Dr. Awa Coll-Seck has been credited for reacting quickly to stop the disease from spreading. On 5 September, laboratory samples from a patient tested negative, indicating that he had recovered from Ebola virus disease. Senegal has maintained a high level of active "case finding"

⁵ "Power struggle in Burkina Faso after Blaise Compaoré resigns as president", <http://www.theguardian.com>, 1 November, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/31/burkina-faso-president-blaise-compaore-ousted-says-army>

⁶ "Cameroon Army Kills 116 Suspected Boko Haram Militants", <http://www.voanews.com>, 19 December, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/cameroon-army-kills-suspected-boko-haram-militants/2565529.html>

⁷ "Boko Haram crisis: Nigeria fury over US arms refusal", www.bbc.com, 11 November, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30006066>

for 42 days – twice the maximum incubation period of Ebola virus disease – to detect possible unreported cases of infection.⁸

Central Africa

Angola

Angola's revenues decline as oil prices fall; Angola gets UN Security Council Seat; Angola replaces Nigeria as largest producer of Oil

Declining oil prices led to a budget crunch in Angola, Africa's second largest oil producer. Angola relies on oil income for its government revenue; more than three-quarters of government revenue comes from oil. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos informed lawmakers in the national legislature in Luanda that the country expected the contribution of oil to the gross domestic product (GDP) to fall by 3.5 per cent during the year 2014 due to lower oil prices and a production slowdown in the first half of the year. The budget for the year 2014 was calculated at the reference price of \$98 per barrel of oil. Prices have slid to the about \$85 for Brent crude. Even though the non-oil economy is projected to grow by 8.2 percent in 2014, it won't be enough to offset the loss from oil revenue, the President said.⁹

Beginning 1 January 2015, Angola and four other nations (Malaysia, New Zealand, Spain, and Venezuela) are to serve as non-permanent members of the UN Security Council for two years. All the five countries were voted in the first round of the votes on 16 October, 2014.¹⁰

The International Energy Agency (IEA) said in a report that from around 2016, Angola will overtake Nigeria as the region's top oil producer. Nigeria is set to lose its position due to large amounts of oil thefts and governance issues. IEA has claimed that Nigeria losses currently are estimated to 150,000 barrels a day due to oil theft. In addition to this, regulatory uncertainties have also delayed investment decisions in the country. The shift will also be in part due to an unexpected increase in production of oil in Angola and according to IEA if this trend continues it will take Nigeria till mid-2020s to reclaim its title back as the top oil producing country in Africa.¹¹

Central African Republic

France initiates troop pullout from Central African Republic

After intervening almost a year back in the Central African Republic, France has decided to pull out its troops from the country. The decision to pull out comes as the United Nations peacekeeping

⁸ "WHO congratulates Senegal on ending Ebola transmission", [www.who.int](http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/statements/2014/senegal-ends-ebola/en/), 17 October, 2014, <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/statements/2014/senegal-ends-ebola/en/>

⁹ "Angola Faces Budget Crunch on Falling Oil Price, Dos Santos Says", *Bloomberg*, October 15, 2014, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-10-15/angola-faces-budget-crunch-on-falling-oil-price-dos-santos-says>

¹⁰ "Angola, Malaysia, New Zealand, Spain and Venezuela elected to serve on UN Security Council", www.un.org, 14 October, 2014, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=49090#.VR7GzfmUdmg>

¹¹ "Angola set to overtake Nigeria as Africa's largest Oil producer", <http://blogs.wsj.com/>, 13 October, 2014, <http://blogs.wsj.com/frontiers/2014/10/13/angola-set-to-overtake-nigeria-as-africas-largest-oil-producer/>

force nears its full deployment by April 30, 2015. Around 10000 troops will be deployed under the United Nations peacekeeping force by April 30, 2015. Currently, there are 7500 UN peacekeeping forces in Central African Republic along with 2000 France's Sangaris troops. The French had intervened following violence that spiraled after Muslim Seleka rebels took power and their abuses on Christians led to a backlash from the "anti-balaka" Christian militia. The violence continued despite Seleka leader Michel Djotodia's resignation from the presidency in January 2014. After the pull back, only a small French military contingent will remain to support UN peacekeepers with a rapid reaction force.¹²

Cameroon

Cameroon releases Central African Republic rebel chief in exchange of hostages

Rebel leader belonging to the Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC), General Abdoulaye Miskine was released on November 27, 2014 by the Cameroonian authorities following the release of 26 hostages including a Polish Catholic priest by the group. The group had abducted 15 Cameroonian and 10 Central African hostages in western Central African Republic over the past few months for use as bargaining chips for their leader's release. Apart from them, the group abducted Polish priest Mateusz Dziejczak on October 12, 2014. FDPC is one of the groups that fought against the government of Central African Republic by briefly aligning itself with Seleka rebels that seized power in March 2013. However, following a quarrel between Seleka commanders and General Miskine, the group fled to Cameroon.¹³

Democratic Republic of Congo

President Kabila announces a unity government in DRC

President Joseph Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) announced the formation of a unity government on December 8, 2014 that included many members of the opposition. While, Prime Minister Augustin Matata Ponyo retained his post, the vice prime minister is a senior member of opposition party the Movement for the Liberation of Congo. Another vice prime minister in the new unity government is the outspoken advocate of constitutional change, Evariste Boshab, leader of the governing People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy. The previous 36- minister strong government will be replaced by the new government made up of 47 ministers and vice ministers. The formation of the unity government comes at time when analysts speculate that President Joseph Kabila might try to change the constitution and run for a third term. Joseph Kabila has been president since 2001. The unity government may be a ploy to weaken the opposition.¹⁴

¹² "France Starts Pulling Troops From Central African Republic", *Voice of America*, December 4, 2014, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/france-starts-pulling-troops-from-central-african-republic/2545843.html>

¹³ "Cameroon frees C. African rebel chief Miskine for hostages", *Defence Web*, November 28, 2014, at http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=37190:cameroon-frees-c-african-rebel-chief-miskine-for-hostages&catid=56:diplomacy-a-peace&Itemid=111

¹⁴ "DR Congo unity government formed by President Kabila", *BBC*, December 8, 2014, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30377041>

Eastern Africa

Djibouti

Railway line from Ethiopia-to-Djibouti will be completed in 2015; Djibouti drafts 20-year plan to become the ‘Singapore of Africa’; Djibouti foreign minister criticises Eritrea for not participating in the regional peace process

Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn of Ethiopia said that an electrified railway line from Addis Ababa to the neighbouring Djibouti going along its main trade route will be completed by October 2015. The project worth US\$1.6 billion is funded by the Export-Import Bank of China. The 656 km railway, that is almost half complete, is part of a five-year growth plan that Ethiopia started in mid-2010. The line is expected to halve the travel time between two cities.¹⁵

Commenting on “Djibouti Vision 2015”, the President of Djibouti, Youssouf Moussa Dawaleh, said that Singapore is the role model for the country. A roadmap has been drafted with the assistance of the World Bank to make Djibouti the “Singapore of Africa” in the next two decades. The small country with approximately 873,000 people in the Horn of Africa likens itself to Singapore as both the countries are located at strategic points in one of the busiest shipping lanes. Djibouti has a US\$5 billion plan to make itself a middle-income country by 2035. The plan includes the construction of new ports, LNG and crude oil terminals, rail links and other infrastructure.¹⁶

The Foreign Minister of Djibouti Mahmoud Ali Youssouf said that his country enjoys “excellent” relations with all its neighbours except Eritrea. The country, according to him, is not willing to be a part of the regional peace process. Djibouti and Eritrea have engaged in two border conflicts. Tensions increased in 1996 and 1999. Both the countries accuse each other of siding with their opponents and rebels. Djibouti had cut of its diplomatic ties with Eritrea in 1999, they restored in 2001. Again, in 2008, the two countries clashed for three days that resulted in UN embargo on Eritrea. Qatar has been playing a mediator’s role between the two countries since 2010. Djibouti released hundreds of Eritrean Prisoners of War (POWs) but Djibouti has yet to do the same; as it seems disinterested.¹⁷

Ethiopia

Indian company to buy 51 per cent stake in Ethiopia-based Kadisco Paint; Ethiopia to raise funds through sovereign bond sale; Ethiopia experiences sharp refugee influx from Eritrea; Ethiopia-Egypt experts’ panel talks on Nile dam gets stalled

India’s Asian Paints decided to acquire 51 per cent stake in Ethiopia-based Kadisco Paint through

¹⁵ “Ethiopia-to-Djibouti rail to be complete in a year, PM says”, *Bloomberg Business*, October 17, 2014, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-10-17/ethiopia-to-djibouti-rail-to-be-complete-in-year-s-time-pm-says>

¹⁶ “Djibouti wants to become the ‘Singapore of Africa’”, *Gulf Times*, November 9, 2014, at <http://www.gulf-times.com/eco.-bus.%20news/256/details/415602/djibouti-wants-to-become-the-%E2%80%98singapore-of-africa%E2%80%99>

¹⁷ “Djibouti FM hails ‘excellent’ ties with neighbors except Eritrea”, *World Bulletin*, December 12, 2014, at <http://www.worldbulletin.net/world/150594/djibouti-fm-hails-excellent-ties-with-neighbors-except-eritrea>

its Singapore-based subsidiary Berger International. Kadisco that manufactures and sells paints - decorative, industrial, automotive, etc. - as well as adhesives, is one of the leading paint companies in Ethiopia. The acquisition will enable the Asian Paints to expand its international footprint. The deal will be subject to applicable regulatory and other kinds of approvals.¹⁸

With the help of JP Morgan and Deutsche Bank, Ethiopia, for the first time, is tapping the sovereign bond market. The country launched an international roadshow to raise up to US\$1 billion from foreign investors with a 10-year bond. Other African countries also have made an effort to tap the global debt market by issuing such bonds. Ethiopia is considered as one of the biggest, most closed and most promising economies in Africa. It is said that the bonds would be oversubscribed as pension funds; investors are already lining up for the bond. Ethiopia is an economy with low debt levels and fast economic growth. Outsiders are competing to have a foothold in Ethiopia, although the country is largely closed to foreign investors.¹⁹

The number of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia and Sudan has increased sharply, said the UNHCR spokesperson Adrian Edwards while briefing the *Palais des Nations* in Geneva on November 14, 2014. Eritrean refugees were moving towards Europe as well; and nearly 37,000 Eritreans had sought refuge in Europe in 2014 by that time, compared to almost 13,000 during the same period in 2013. According to him, in the month of October alone, more than 5,000 Eritreans crossed into Ethiopia. This is very high as compared to the average of some 2,000 arrivals per month since the beginning of 2014. These refugees had started to arrive in Ethiopia in 2002, after the end of the conflict between the two countries. The recent spike in their arrival, according to narrations by the refugees themselves, is because they are fleeing an intensified recruitment drive by the Eritrean Government for the mandatory and often open-ended national service.²⁰

Amid differences between Egypt and Ethiopia, consultations among experts that included Sudanese representatives also, aimed at determination of the impact of Ethiopia's US\$4.8 billion dam project on the Nile's upper reaches, were halted. So far, two working sessions of the Tripartite National Committee (TNC) - a 12-member experts' panel responsible of facilitating implementation of recommendations of the International Panel of Experts concerning Ethiopia's hydroelectric dam project - had been held in Addis Ababa and Cairo. But the third session that was supposed to be held in Khartoum on December 4-6, could not be held due to differences. The experts' panel that included specialists from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan had recommended for two studies regarding the issue - one a hydrological simulation model and another on a trans-boundary environmental, economic and social impact assessment. During the last two meetings of the TNC a list of seven firms were produced, out of which only one would be selected to conduct the recommended studies. The countries have not been able to come up with their proposals that comprise technical evaluation of the firms; and disagreement regarding the points to be included in the studies also occurred during a preparatory meeting on November 4, 2014.²¹

¹⁸ "Asian Paints to buy 51% stake in Ethiopia-based Kadisco Paint", *The Economic Times*, October 22, 2014, at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-10-22/news/55318828_1_asian-paints-51-stake-automotive-paints

¹⁹ "Ethiopia plans first sovereign bond sale", *Financial Times*, November 25, 2014, at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/563ca656-74b6-11e4-b30b-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3VtUe8jM6>

²⁰ "Sharp increase in number of Eritrean refugees and asylum-seekers in Europe, Ethiopia and Sudan", *UNHCR*, November 14, 2014, at <http://www.unhcr.org/5465fea1381.html>

²¹ "Ethiopia-Egypt talks on Nile dam stumble", *World Bulletin*, December 14, 2014, at <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/150702/ethiopia-egypt-talks-on-nile-dam-stumble>

Kenya

Al-Shabab kills 28 who couldn't recite Islamic creed; Al-Shabaab slaughters 36 non-Muslims at Mandera quarry in Kenya

The al-Shabaab terrorists killed 28 bus passengers in northern Kenya on November 22, 2014. They singled out passengers who could not recite an Islamic creed and killed them assuming their identity to be non-Muslims. There were nine women among them. The terrorist group claimed the responsibility for the incident through its radio station in Somalia. The attack allegedly was in response to Kenyan security forces' operations carried out in four mosques on the Kenyan coast. The Kenyan military also claimed that it conducted counter-airstrikes on al-Shabaab in Somalia and killed 45 militants.²²

In another major attack on Kenyan people, the al-Shabaab militants killed 36 quarry workers in Mandera County on December 2, 2014. The terrorists weeded out the non-Muslim workers at a stone quarry; shot some of them from close range and beheaded others. The attack was part of a series of attacks allegedly planned and executed in response to Kenya's occupation of Muslim lands and their ongoing 'atrocities'. The al-Shabaab, in a statement after the incident, threatened more attacks by its "Saleh Nabhan brigade" named after its slain commander and Kenyan citizen Saleh Ali Nabhan, who was killed by US Special Forces in 2009. The Jamia Mosque Committee in Nairobi condemned the killings and asked the government to beef up security in the counties bordering Somalia. The committee's chairperson Sheikh Mohammed Osman Warfa condemned the killings as a "beastly tactic of using the name of Islam to perpetrate acts of violence against innocent people."²³

Madagascar

Former president Ravalomanana arrested on return

After five years in exile in South Africa, Marc Ravalomanana, the former president of Madagascar, has been arrested on his return to the country. Earlier, Andry Rajoelina, who seized power in 2009, had blocked his attempts to return back home. In 2013, these rivals agreed not to contest elections and to end years of political unrest in the country. Hery Rajaonarimampianina, former Finance Minister and an ally of Mr Rajoelina, became the president in January 2014. Hery's government has arrested Mr Ravalomanana who told his supporters after his arrest that he was there to support peace and democracy. He was ousted in a coup in 2009 after two months long bloody protests that had left more than 100 people dead.²⁴ The Southern African Development

²² "Somalia's al-Shabab kills 28 non-Muslims in Kenya", *The Washington Post*, November 22, 2014, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/somalias-al-shabab-kills-28-non-muslims-in-kenya/2014/11/22/d7571d5c-7272-11e4-ad12-3734c461eab6_story.html

²³ "Al-Shabaab massacres 36 at Mandera quarry, Kenyan security leaders replaced", *Sabahi*, December 2, 2014, at http://sabahionline.com/en_GB/articles/hoa/articles/features/2014/12/02/feature-01

²⁴ "Madagascar ex-president Ravalomanana arrested on return", *BBC News*, October 3, 2014, at www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29594895

Community (SADC) expressed its grave concern on the illegal arrest of the former head of the state. It further called for political tolerance and national reconciliation in Madagascar.²⁵

Mauritius

Mauritius tops governance rankings in Africa for the eighth consecutive year; Mauritius to help India in its money laundering probe; Mauritius signs US\$16 million contract with India's HAL; Mauritius' centre-right opposition gets a surprising landslide victory

For the eighth consecutive year, in 2014, Mauritius stood first in the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG). The Index provides an annual assessment of the quality of governance in Africa. It is calculated by combining over 100 variables from more than 30 independent African and global institutions. This is the most comprehensive collection of data on governance in Africa. Mauritius scored the highest overall mark of 81.7 points among the 52 countries rated by the Foundation. The average governance score for the continent, according to the IIAG, is 51.5 points.²⁶

Arvin Boolell, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius, assured that his country will support the Indian Special Investigation Team (SIT) to unearth black money. He further conveyed that Mauritius will make itself a "jurisdiction of repute." Mauritius is often accused of being a route for round-tripping of funds by Indians. Amid these concerns, its position as a source of FDI and FIIs has recently come down. The country slipped to the second place after the US in terms of the quantum of overseas investments into the Indian market. Mauritius received 97 requests from India for information in financial cases during the one-year period till the end of August, 2014. Eighty-five per cent of those requests have already been resolved. The two countries have effectively exchanged information in at least 170 cases over the past few years.²⁷

The Government of Mauritius has signed a contract worth US\$16 million with India's Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) to acquire its Dornier aircraft for maritime surveillance. The aircraft will extensively enhance the present search and rescue capability of Mauritius' National Coast Guard and Mauritius Police Force; and would give them the strategic depth to policing the extensive Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). In the past, the HAL has supplied Mauritius the Cheetah, Chetak and Dhruv helicopters; as well as two maritime version Dornier aircrafts.²⁸

Mauritius' center-right opposition coalition registered a landslide electoral victory over the current government. As the parliamentary elections were being seen as a referendum on constitutional

²⁵ "SADC angry at arrest of former Madagascar President", *All Africa*, October 16, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201410200127.html>

²⁶ "Mauritius tops African rankings for governance", *East African Business Week*, October 12, 2014, at <http://www.busiweek.com/index1.php?Ctp=2&pI=2020&pLv=3&srI=75&spI=116>

²⁷ "Mauritius assures help to India in black money probe", *The Hindu*, November 4, 2014, at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/mauritius-assures-help-to-india-in-black-money-probe/article6561191.ece>

²⁸ "Mauritius inks Rs 100 crore deal with HAL for Dornier aircraft", *The Times of India*, November 28, 2014, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/Mauritius-inks-Rs-100-crore-deal-with-HAL-for-Dornier-aircraft/articleshow/45308705.cms>

reforms, the voters have clearly rejected the current government plans to expand presidential powers. The opposition coalition Lepop led by ex-President Anerood Jugnauth won Mauritius' parliamentary elections by a large margin. It snatched 47 of the 62 seats in the Mauritian Parliament. The victory of Lepep has come as a surprise as current president Ramgoolam's coalition had entered the elections as the clear favourite.²⁹

Mozambique

Nyusi from the ruling Frelimo Party is Mozambique's new president; India's ICVL buys Rio Tinto's assets, plans thermal power plant in Mozambique; Mozambique and India sign MoU on oil and gas; Coal India to begin mining in Mozambique soon; Huge effort needed to bring Mozambican gas to India; Exporting goods worth US\$1 billion, Maputo makes China its IIIrd largest trading partner

Filipe Nyusi, former defence minister, was elected as Mozambique's next president. He belongs to the governing Frelimo party. The National Electoral Commission reported a victory for Nyusi who received 57 per cent of the total votes polled. His nearest rival was Afonso Dhlakama of Renamo party. He garnered 37 per cent of the votes, an increase from the 16 per cent he got in 2009. President Armando Guebuza was constitutionally barred from seeking a third term. He will hand over the power to Nyusi early next year.³⁰

India's International Coal Ventures Pvt Ltd. (ICVL) bought the coal-mining assets of the Rio Tinto Group in Mozambique for US\$50 million. Now, it plans to build a power plant in the country. According to Ajay Mathur, Chief Executive Officer (CEO), ICVL, a thermal power plant is expected to be developed "very soon." The company is already in the business of exporting coking coal from Mozambique. The planned power plant at Bengain tends to use "some of the thermal coal and waste product to generate power locally." It is just one of a number of power projects proposed by the Mozambican authorities for the northwestern Mozambican province of Tete. The ICVL comprises India's state-owned steel producers Steel Authority of India Ltd., Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Ltd., iron-ore miner NMDC Ltd., power generator NTPC Ltd. and coal producer Coal India Ltd.³¹

Mozambique and India signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for cooperation in the oil and gas sector on November 26, 2014. The MoU highlights opportunities in the two countries to work together to forge closer cooperation between research and training centres, intensify technology transfer and enhance capacity building processes. The Indian government feels that "Mozambique is strategically located near India and is ideally suited for bringing natural gas to India at market-determined price. Participation of Indian energy companies in the project will facilitate access to LNG for the growing Indian gas market."³²

²⁹ "Mauritius opposition wins surprise landslide victory", *Deutsche Welle*, December 12, 2014, at <http://www.dw.de/mauritius-opposition-wins-surprise-landslide-victory/a-18125376>

³⁰ "Nyusi officially new Mozambique president", *news24*, October 30, 2014, at <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Nyusi-officially-new-Mozambique-president-20141030>

³¹ "Indian group plans Mozambique power plant after buying Rio asset", *Bloomberg*, November 18, 2014, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-11-18/indian-group-plans-mozambique-power-plant-after-buying-rio-asset.html>

³² "Mozambique and India sign hydrocarbon MoU", *All Africa*, December 1, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201412020312.html>

Indian state-owned mining giant, Coal India (CIL), has completed the final phase of exploration for its A1 and A2 mining blocks at Tete Province in Mozambique. The mining will commence after the prospecting phase is completed. A senior official from the company said that the mining is expected to start within a time period of six months to a year (before the end of 2015). CIL had received a five-year licence to develop two blocks in August 2009. Mozambique, so far, has spent about US\$50 billion in infrastructure projects to access its coal reserves. It is poised to become the world's largest coal exporter.³³

Although Bharat Petro Resources Limited (BPRL), the upstream arm of the state-owned Bharat Petroleum Corporation, and its consortium partners have committed to supply two-thirds of the Mozambican gas from Rovuma basin with customers in Asia, no Indian company, has come on board to secure gas supplies from the consortium. This means that the much-awaited gas from Mozambique may not come to the Indian shores. Natural gas reserves in the company's Mozambique block have been estimated at 50-70 trillion cubic feet (tcf) that is almost 10 times the reserves of Reliance Industries' D6 block in the Krishna-Godavari basin in India. Therefore, the transportation of the Rovuma basin gas to the Indian shores would be a great aid to the economies of the two countries.³⁴

China became Mozambique's third largest trading partner as, in the last two years, Mozambique exported goods to China worth US\$1 billion. South Africa and the European Union are the other two largest trading partner of Mozambique. Trade between China and Mozambique rose from US\$1.64 billion in 2013 to US\$2.942 billion in the first 10 months of the year 2014. The areas of cooperation between the two countries have been extended to sectors like public health, culture, education, agriculture, infrastructure, energy, transport and communications, production of building materials, vehicle assembly and tourist facilities. The cooperation envisages 26 construction projects, loans for 17 infrastructure projects and training of over 1,000 Mozambicans. Sixty Chinese companies are operating in Mozambique already.³⁵

Somalia

AU and Somali forces push Al-Shabaab out of Barawe port; Classes restart in the Somali National University after 23 years; Somalia may start offshore oil production within next six years; UNSC authorises SEMG to inspect ships near Somalia for arms and charcoal

African Union (AU) and Somali troops on Sunday won control of Barawe, a key coastal town, 220 km southwest of Mogadishu that had not been controlled by the Somali Government forces since 1993. After it was lost to al-Shabaab terrorist group, it was being used by the group as a money-making port. It used the Barawe port to bring in fighters and weapons and to export charcoal

³³ "Coal India to commence mining in Mozambique", *Ventures Africa*, December 2, 2014, at <http://www.ventures-africa.com/2014/12/coal-india-to-commence-mining-in-mozambique/>

³⁴ "Mozambique gas may not come to India", *Business Standard*, December 12, 2014, at http://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/mozambique-gas-may-not-make-it-to-india-114121100175_1.html

³⁵ "Mozambique exports US\$1billion in goods to China in 2013/2014", *macauhub*, December 18, 2014, at <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2014/12/18/mozambique-exports-us1billion-in-goods-to-china-in-20132014/>

worth millions of dollars. The territory controlled by the al-Shabaab has been continuously shrinking under the pressure of the AU and Somali forces since 2011.³⁶

Heralding a new era of public education in Somalia, the first group of students has begun attending classes at the Somali National University (SNU). After more than 23 years, on October 11, 2014, students were welcomed at the university's original building where it was established in Mogadishu's Hamar Weyne district in 1969. The university has been re-built and re-equipped by the government of Bahrain. It will offer degrees in the departments of medicine, economics, law, education, agriculture, and veterinary medicine and animal husbandry initially. The Somali Government also has plans to re-build six university-owned properties in Benadir region and Afgoye where it would restart all the academic departments the university offered before the civil war.³⁷

The Petroleum Minister of Somalia, Daud Mohamed Omar, said that his country plans to produce offshore oil and gas for the first time within the next six years. The national government is currently negotiating with state governments about revenue sharing. The Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud had said in August 2014 that his government expected to complete an assessment of its oil and gas potential by the end of the year. Although the government of Somalia wishes to move quickly to oil production, it would also like to move cautiously as it has been involved in conflict for a long time. The Somali Petroleum Minister said, "We do not intend to have the quest for oil and gas to re-ignite divisions and violence."³⁸

Ships near Somalia can be inspected for carrying illegal, arms, charcoal, etc. to and from Somalia as the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution authorising the Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group (SEMG) for the same on October 24, 2014. The resolution was adopted by the 15-member council with 13 votes in favour and Russia and Jordan abstaining from the vote, raising concerns about the move. The resolution approves the use of "all necessary measures" to carry out the inspections. The resolution is to be seen in the light of the Security Council's arms embargo on Somalia starting in 1992 and its ban on charcoal exports from Somalia in February 2012 in a bid to cut off funds for al-Shabaab.³⁹

Tanzania

Investment deals worth US\$1.7 billion signed between Tanzania and China

Deepening Beijing's ties with East Africa, China has signed investment deals worth more than US\$1.7 billion with Tanzania. It includes a pact to build a satellite city to ease congestion at the

³⁶ "Al-Shabab militants pushed out of last significant stronghold in Somalia", *The Huffington Post*, October 6, 2014, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/10/05/al-shabaab-somalia-stronghold_n_5935644.html?ir=India

³⁷ "For first time in 23 years, students attend classes at Somali National University", *Sabahi*, October 14, 2014, at http://sabahionline.com/en_GB/articles/hoa/articles/features/2014/10/14/feature-01

³⁸ "Somalia plans to start producing oil offshore in six years", *Bloomberg*, October 21, 2014, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-10-21/somalia-plans-to-start-producing-oil-offshore-within-six-years.html>

³⁹ "UN authorizes ship inspections near Somalia for arms, charcoal", *Reuters*, October 24, 2014, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/24/us-somalia-un-idUSKCN0ID1X120141024>

Dar-es-Salaam port. Jakaya Kikwete, President of Tanzania, said that the money will be used to develop infrastructure, power distribution and business cooperation. Tanzania also received a US\$85 million zero-interest loan from China. The satellite city near Dar-es-Salaam has been conceptualised as a self-contained urban zone equipped with water, electricity, roads, banks, schools and hospitals. Among other things, a US\$500 million financial centre will also be built in Dar-es-Salaam. China has also said that it will “speed up the construction” of the Bagamoyo port.⁴⁰

Zimbabwe

US warns Zimbabwe to intensify sanctions over Russian collaboration in Platinum mine; China and Zimbabwe pledge to enhance military ties; China’s Sinohydro to invest US\$1.5 billion in Zimbabwe power plant; Decade-long sanctions on Zimbabwe lifted by the EU, aid extended; New Zimbabwe Reconstruction Fund by the World Bank; Vice-President of Zimbabwe sacked over a plot to kill Mugabe

The United States (US) warned of more sanctions on the issue of Zimbabwe’s collaboration with Russia in a US\$3 billion Darwendale Platinum mining project in the country. Washington had imposed sanctions on Harare in 2003 on charges of human rights abuses by the Government. However, reports about the warning had not been confirmed by the US Embassy in Zimbabwe. The Darwendale Platinum mine is being developed by Great Dyke Investments, composed of Zimbabwe’s Pen East Investments, and Afronet, a consortium of three Russian partners. The mine at its peak of production in 2024, would produce about 800,000 ounces of Platinum pushing Zimbabwe’s output of Platinum over one million ounces. It is also expected to create about 8,000 jobs.⁴¹

China and Zimbabwe agreed to enhance their military ties on October 9, 2014. Chang Wanquan, the Chinese Defense Minister, and Sydney Sekeramayi, his Zimbabwean counterpart visiting China, made a pledge construing the same after their meeting. The militaries of China and Zimbabwe make frequent group visits to each other’s country and cooperate very well in personnel training. The Chinese military is further willing to enhance exchanges with Zimbabwe.⁴²

Chinese firm Sinohydro signed a US\$1.5 billion deal with energy-starved Zimbabwe on October 10, 2014. This is to boost power generation at the Hwange coal-fired power station in the country by adding two new power generation units in it. Dzikamayi Mavhaire, the Energy Minister of Zimbabwe, expected that the step would be a great help in resolving the current power deficit and the problem of load-shedding in the country.⁴³

⁴⁰ “Tanzania, China sign East Africa investment deals worth \$1.7 billion”, *Reuters Africa*, 25, 2014, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFKCN0IE06120141025?sp=true>

⁴¹ “US threatens Zimbabwe with further sanctions over \$3B platinum mine”, *Mining.com*, October 5, 2014, at <http://www.mining.com/u-s-threatens-zimbabwe-with-further-sanctions-over-3b-platinum-mine-65715/>

⁴² “China, Zimbabwe agree to enhance military cooperation”, *Xinhuanet*, October 9, 2014, at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-10/09/c_133703120.htm

⁴³ “Zimbabwe signs \$1.5 billion power deal with China’s Sinohydro”, *The Economic Times*, October 10, 2014, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/business/zimbabwe-signs-1-5-billion-power-deal-with-chinas-sinohydro/articleshow/44774846.cms>

The European Union (EU) announced lifting of its decade-long economic sanctions on Zimbabwe on November 1, 2014. After the move, the trading bloc would extend about US\$300 million to support different programmes in the country. However, President Robert Mugabe and his wife Grace would remain on the EU restriction list that may be reviewed later.⁴⁴ **Despite bad relations between Harare and Brussels during a decade long standoff, the European Union (EU) says that it has spent over US\$2 billion in development finance cooperation to Zimbabwe since 2002.** EU has provided significant development assistance to Zimbabwe since its independence in 1980. The EU, together with its member states, has been by far the largest donor to Zimbabwe and provides more than half of the official development aid received by the country.⁴⁵

A Zimbabwe Reconstruction Fund has been set up by the World Bank (WB) and several other partners to help implement Zimbabwe's five-year economic blueprint. It is to raise about US\$100 million from donors to stimulate investment in the country. The Zimbabwe Reconstruction Fund has replaced the Zimbabwe Analytical Multi-Donor Fund. Investment projects will be included for support under the new set up; some financing would also come directly through government systems. Many development partners have already committed an amount close to US\$40 million that is expected to grow up to US\$100 million in 2015. The donors for the Reconstruction Fund include the European Union, the United Kingdom, Germany, Norway, Denmark and Sweden and the World Bank State and the Peace Building Fund.⁴⁶

Joice Mujuru, the Vice President of Zimbabwe, was sacked by President Robert Mugabe for plotting against the president and trying to kill him. Mujuru has denied all the accusations made against her. President Mugabe has also dismissed 7 other ministers in connection with the alleged plot. The ministers whose sacking was announced on Tuesday included State Security Minister Didymus Mutasa - another long-time ally of Robert Mugabe - and Energy Minister Dzikamai Mavhaire, who was seen as close to Joice Mujuru. She said Zimbabwe's state media had "continued to publish malicious untruths" about her and that she had "become the fly in a web of lies whose final objective is the destruction of Zanu-PF".⁴⁷

Southern Africa

Botswana

Ruling Democratic Party in Botswana wins elections

Botswana is seen as one of the most democratic countries in Africa and in the recent elections the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) secured 33 of 57 seats to win the current elections. BDP

⁴⁴ "EU lifts decade-long economic sanctions on Zimbabwe", *The Economic Times*, October 31, 2014, at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-10-31/news/55631604_1_eu-ambassador-cotonou-agreement-measures

⁴⁵ "EU shells \$2 billion in aid to Zimbabwe", *Nehanda Radio*, November 1, 2014, at <http://nehandaradio.com/2014/11/01/eu-shells-2-billion-aid-zimbabwe/>

⁴⁶ "World Bank sets up Zimbabwe Reconstruction Fund", *News Day*, December 18, 2014, at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2014/12/18/world-bank-sets-zimbabwe-reconstruction-fund/>

⁴⁷ "Zimbabwe's Mugabe sacks Vice-President JoiceMujuru over 'plot'", *www.bbc.com*, 9 December, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30400178>

President Ian Khama has been in power since Botswana gained independence in 1966. Though the BDP has the number of seats required to take power at the centre, but it is still battling to get support in the urban sectors where the opposition parties have made inroads. Preliminary results for local council elections also showed a strong showing for the two opposition parties in Botswana's urban centres, including the capital of Gaborone, Associated Press reports. Botswana being a middle-income country still grapples with issues like unemployment, HIV, high levels of poverty and unequal income distribution which BDP has to tackle to remain in power especially in the urban areas.⁴⁸

South Africa

Mozambique and South Africa collaborate to study six billion dollar pipeline

State-owned companies of both Mozambique and South Africa have joined forces with the Sac Oil Holding Ltd to study a \$6 billion pipeline from a natural gas field off the northern coast of Mozambique. In a joint statement the Public Investment Corp., the Instituto de Gestao das Participacoes do Estado and Johannesburg-based Sac Oil said that the pipeline en route to South Africa will deliver gas to key towns and settlements in all provinces of Mozambique. The field being developed off Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province by Anadarko Petroleum Corp. and EniSpA is the largest natural gas find in a decade and could make Mozambique the third-largest exporter of liquefied natural gas, or LNG, after Qatar and Australia, with deliveries targeted from 2018.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ "Botswana's ruling Democratic Party wins general elections", [www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29776097), 26 October, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29776097>

⁴⁹ "South Africa, Mozambique study \$6 billion gas pipeline", www.bloomber.com, 8 December, 2014, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-12-08/south-africa-mozambique-study-6-billion-natural-gas-pipeline>

Call for Contributions

IDSa invites articles, commentaries and book reviews for publication in *Africa Trends*, a quarterly newsletter on Africa. Submissions can focus on security, political and economic issues relating to African countries. Articles may focus on analysing bilateral, regional and multilateral developments of strategic significance to India's engagement with African countries.

Articles could be of approximately 2000 words. 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.

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