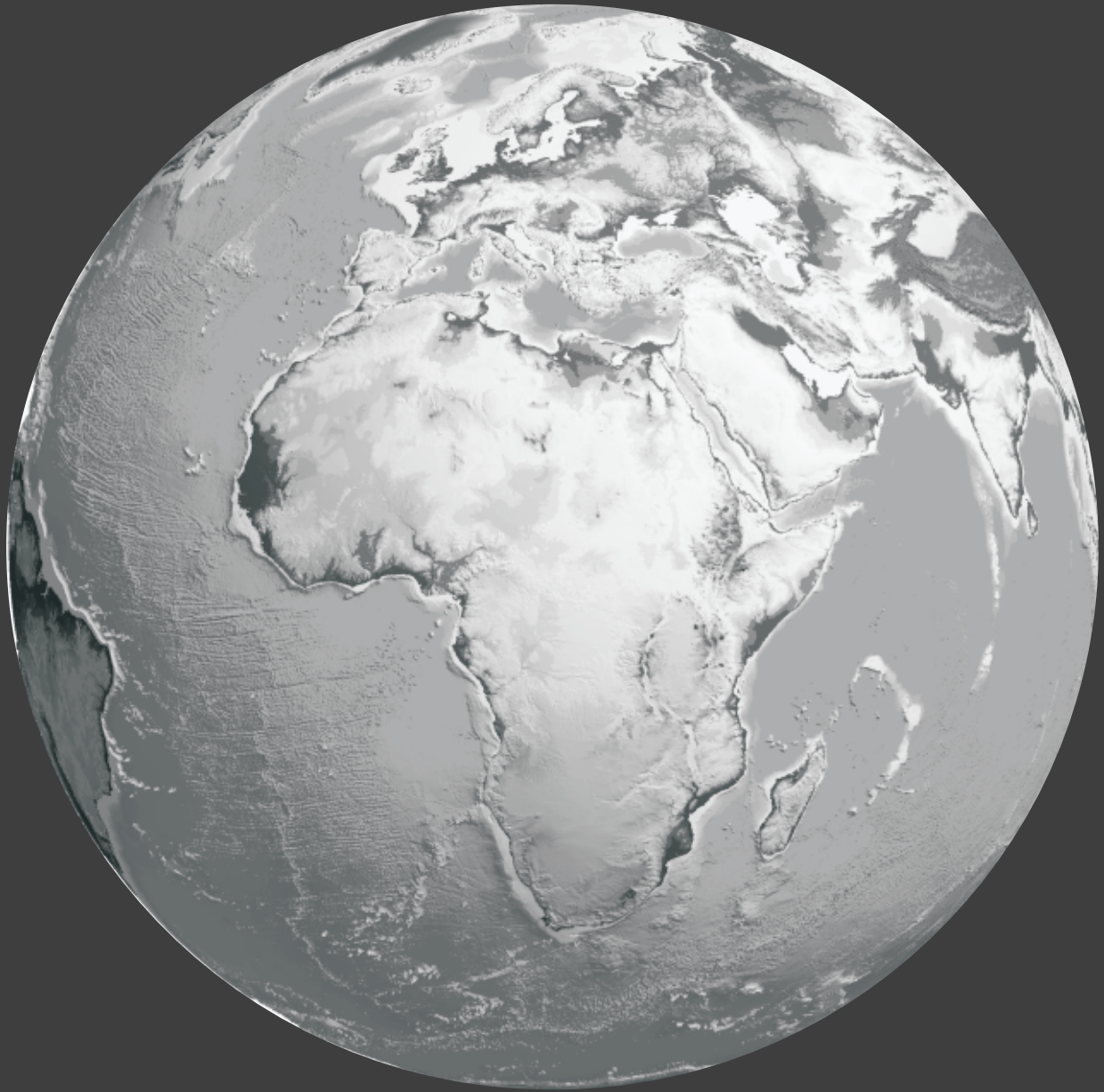


Africa Trends

Volume 4, Issue 2

April-June 2015

A Quarterly Newsletter on Africa



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES

रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

Editor

Ruchita Beri

Associate Editor

Arpita Anant

Editorial Team

Saurabh Mishra

Nachiket Khadkiwala

<i>In This Issue</i>	<i>Page</i>
EDITOR'S NOTE	3
DIPLOMAT'S CORNER	4-6
<i>India-Ethiopia Cooperation</i> Genet Zewide	
COVER STORY	7-11
<i>Burundi Elections 2015: An endless cycle of political and social unrest</i> Kuhoo Saxena	
VIEWPOINT	12-14
<i>India - Tanzania ties get a Fillip</i> Ruchita Beri	
COMMENTARY	15-19
<i>Libyan chaos reaches European shores</i> Nachiket Khadkiwala	
BOOK REVIEW	20-22
<i>Gerhard Werle, Lovell Fernandez and Moritz Vormbaum (eds.), Africa and the International Criminal Court</i> Saurabh Mishra	
NEWS TRACK	23-39

Disclaimer

This newsletter does not reflect the views of IDSA. News reports have been abridged to provide clarity. IDSA is not responsible for the accuracy and authenticity of the news items.

Editor's Note

We have the pleasure of bringing to you the second issue of 2015.

For the first time, we have the privilege of a contribution from the Ethiopian Ambassador to India Her Excellency Genet Zewide. In the *diplomat's corner*, she writes about the many facets of the India-Ethiopia cooperation. The *cover story* by Kuhoo Saxena looks at the pre-election turbulence in Burundi and raises concerns regarding the widening of the ethnic gap between Hutus and Tutsis in the country. Prompted by the visit of the Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete to New Delhi in June 2015, the *view point* by Ruchita Beri brings out the common imperatives for cooperation on maritime security, counter-terrorism and energy. The *commentary* by Nachiket Khadkiwala highlights the limits of military action by the European Union in curbing illegal migration from Africa across the Mediterranean. It makes a case for an increased African role in dealing with issue. Africa's not-so-smooth relationship with the International Criminal Court, in whose birth the African nations played a critical role, is the subject of the *book review* by Saurabh Mishra. The edited volume titled *Africa and the International Criminal Court* brings out the tensions arising from the subjecting nation states and its citizens to international jurisdiction.

Terrorism has emerged as a major security concern in the troubled spots in Africa. In the aftermath of the brutal attack on the Garissa University by the Al Shabaab, Kenya is looking to build a wall to prevent terrorists' easy access across the porous border with Somalia. It has also targeted the hawala transactions of Somali community which it suspects is the main source of funding for the Al Shabaab. The Al-Shabaab also targeted UN aid workers and AMISOM soldiers in Somalia. However, brave Ethiopians protested against the ISIL's killing of Ethiopian Christians in Libya. On the human security front, the spike in Ebola cases in Sierra Leone has been a cause of concern. Among the couple of 'firsts' on the political scene in this quarter, Mauritius is to have its first woman president, Ameenah Gurib-Fakim; John Kerry became the first US Secretary of State to visit Somalia since 1993. DRC is to be further decentralised, creating smaller provinces, for efficiency in administration. Development aid and investment in energy infrastructure were the mainstay of the economic scene on the continent. China leads the way in Djibouti. Seychelles finally became a member of the WTO.

India's development cooperation with Africa inches ahead with Indian government and private sector investments in energy-natural gas and renewables, land and agro industry, urban infrastructure, mining and telecommunication.

We hope you will find this issue engaging.

Diplomat's Corner

INDIA-ETHIOPIA COOPERATION

As both Ethiopia and India are old countries, with 3000 and 5000 years of history respectively, their relations go back thousands of years.

GENET ZEVIDE*

Ethiopia is an ancient land of varied and rich history. It is a country where more than 80 ethnic groups of people having different cultures, traditions, and religions live together for centuries in peace and harmony. In terms of religion, the majority about 62 per cent is Christian, mainly oriental Orthodox; about 34 per cent is Muslims. Moreover, Ethiopia, as one of the few ancient civilization centers in the world, has its own established culture, value system and moral order. The country has contributed its share towards the assertion of the identity of the black race by repeatedly defeating those who came to colonise it.

As both Ethiopia and India are old countries, with 3000 and 5000 years of history respectively, their relations go back thousands of years. During the times of the Aksumite Kingdom (early Christian era), Indian traders used to bring to Abyssinia (the former name of Ethiopia) spices and silk and take back gold and ivory. Historians like Richard Pankhurst also wrote that Abyssinians

... it was the Indian teacher who came to Ethiopia to teach in elementary and secondary school even in the remotest part of the country. Thus India has put its mark on the lives of Ethiopians.

had come to India in medieval and post medieval times as slaves. In the same manner, during the Portuguese exploit of the 17th century, Indians came to Ethiopia from Goa, followed by the merchants, workers and artisans who made their mark by opening shops and their architects influenced the Ethiopian landscape.

The basic thrust of the Ethiopian foreign policy is rooted in the country's desire to fight against poverty, promote speedy economic development and build democracy.

When Ethiopia embarked on an effort of expanding its modern education in the early sixties, it was the Indian teacher who came to Ethiopia to teach in elementary and secondary school even in the remotest part of the country. Thus India has put its mark on the lives of Ethiopians and gained affection, trust and respect. The present warm and all the more strong relationships between Ethiopia and India emanate from the spirit of mutual cooperation and assistance that is reflected in the two countries' foreign policies.

The basic thrust of the Ethiopian foreign policy is rooted in the country's desire to fight against poverty, promote speedy economic development and build democracy. Therefore its relationships with various nations, including India, is based on

* Her Excellency Dr Genet Zewide is the Ambassador of Ethiopia to India and Dean of African Diplomatic Corps in India.

advancing these lofty ideas. India's foreign policy in fact among other things is the reflection of India's long years of civilization, its long years of experience and practice with democracy as well as a strong belongingness with the developing world. Thus, India as an emerging power can play a positive and constructive role in shaping the global economic order along with developing nations like Ethiopia.

As noted above there have been long standing historical relations between Ethiopia and India, which have evolved into friendly and cordial relations after the independence of India. As a result, Ethiopia has managed to make some use of the wide opportunities that India offers in capacity building, transfer of technology, investment and lines of credit.

Ethiopia has managed to make some use of the wide opportunities that India offers ...

Economic ties between India and Ethiopia have grown over the years. While Ethiopian export to India recorded a CAGR (Compound Annual Growth Rate) above 20 percent, imports from India were recorded to be an average 36.3 percent from 2004-11. India is the third most important source of imports for Ethiopia, contributing 7.5 per cent of all Ethiopian imports. Ethiopia receives an entire range of manufactured goods from India and India's imports from Ethiopia mainly consist of vegetables, pearls, precious stones, oil seed, fruits, leather, cotton, coffee, tea, spices, ores and minerals.

As regards investment, India is the second largest foreign investor in Ethiopia with approved investments of about \$5 billion. Indian companies have been playing a prominent role in the area of investment. Currently, around 596 Indian companies have investment licenses. The areas of investment include: agriculture including floriculture, textile, leather and leather products, engineering, plastic, pharmaceuticals and mining. The Government of India has encouraged Indian investment and export in Ethiopia by providing finance through its Export-Import Bank (EXIM Bank). The EXIM Bank's branch office for Eastern Africa is in Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia is the beneficiary of Indian government's scholarship scheme under the ICCR programme where a large number of Ethiopians perused their Masters and doctoral degrees. In addition through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), many Ethiopians have studied in a variety of fields like journalism, effective parliamentarism, designing etc. The Ethiopian government also sends professionals to India where many PhD and Master Students are studying in IITs, IIMs and other universities throughout the country. In addition to training Ethiopians utilizing Indian Government scholarships, Ethiopia has chosen India as place to send its students for training. The Pilot project of the pan-African e-Network was successfully implemented in Ethiopia. Now both India and Ethiopia are directly linked with e-education network which benefit large number of students. Also tele-medicine connect which links an Indian hospital for specialist consultation with Ethiopian hospitals have opened various areas of cooperation.

India has provided the first EXIM Bank line of credit in 2006 an amount worth of US\$ 65 million for a power transmission and distribution project under the rural electrification programme of Ethiopia. Through the programme, the country has been able to lay down 227.50 km of 132 KV power transmission line. The program is estimated to benefit around 100,000 households. In the second India-Africa Forum Summit of 2011 held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, India committed a line of credit for rail road to be constructed between Djibouti and Ethiopia.

Coming out of its dark period of famine and civil war, Ethiopia is surging with economic growth that has registered 10 per cent for the last 11 years. As was stated in in a recent World Economic

Forum report, Ethiopia will sustain its double digit growth until 2017, thus becoming the fastest growing economy in the world.¹ This achievement would not have been possible without the support of partner countries like India.

¹ Elena Holodny, "The 13 fastest-growing economies in the world", at <https://agenda.weforum.org/2015/06/the-13-fastest-growing-economies-in-the-world/>, (Accessed July 10, 2015).

Cover Story

BURUNDI ELECTIONS 2015: AN ENDLESS CYCLE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL UNREST

For the Burundians a non-violent electoral process was significant for the consolidation of peace and economic recovery in the country, as well as for democracy in the wider Great Lakes region. However, the decision of the current President, Pierre Nkurunziza, to run for the third term had sparked anger among the opposition parties and Burundian population as they saw this move as unconstitutional.

KUHOO SAXENA*

The incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza and his ruling party the National Council of Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) have claimed an early victory in the parliamentary elections that were held on 29th June, 2015. The presidential elections are to be held on July 15th, 2015. However, the months leading up to these elections have been marked by protests and violence and has led to immense political and social instability in the country. For the Burundians a non-violent electoral process was significant for the consolidation of peace and economic recovery in the country, as well as for democracy in the wider Great Lakes region. However, the decision of the current President, Pierre Nkurunziza, to run for the third term had sparked anger among the opposition parties and Burundian population as they saw this move as unconstitutional. Burundi's constitution only allows two terms as was agreed in 2000 negotiations of the Arusha Peace deal, which was signed in 2003, thus ending the long drawn civil war between the Tutsi and Hutu tribes. But Nkurunziza argues that when he was elected for the first time in the post-war democratic elections in 2005, it was a nomination by the legislature. Hence, in his opinion the win in 2010 elections would be considered as the first win for him through popular vote.

Revival of ethnic cleavages and the fear of another civil war

Even though many argue that the pre-election unrest has occurred solely as result of Nkurunziza's decision to run for the third term, one cannot fully disregard the entrenched ethnic cleavages in the Burundian society as a catalyst for political and social unrest. In Burundi, the scars of the civil war have still not waned. Hence any kind of political unrest makes Burundian people fearful of another civil war like situation.¹ Ethnic divisions in Burundi have always played a crucial role in the fierce competition for state power. In addition to this, the elites in Burundi with the help of the army have always employed different strategies to stay in power.²

Ethnic divisions in Burundi have always played a crucial role in the fierce competition for state power.

* Kuhoo Saxena is Research Intern, ALACUN Centre, IDSA.

During the Belgian colonial rule and after independence in 1962, it was the dominant Tutsi minority military leaders who had monopoly over the Burundian polity. They occupied higher levels in the government, the full command structure of the army, the police and security forces, and the judicial system.³ After a failed uprising by the Hutus in 1972, the predominately Tutsi army slaughtered at least 100,000 members of the Hutu majority, seeking to rid the country of Hutu intellectuals.⁴ In 1993, after Burundi's first democratically elected president, Melchior Ndadaye, a Hutu, was assassinated by the group of Tutsi hardliners, the country again descended into a wave of ethnically motivated killings, as civilian mobs of Hutu unleashed their collective fury on the Tutsi peasants.⁵ This led to an estimated 300,000 people being killed in the civil war before the cease-fire agreement (Arusha Peace Accord) was signed between the government and the Nkurunziza's CNDD-FDD, the most prominent rebel faction then.

Nkurunziza, when elected to power in 2005, exceeded many expectations regarding his ability to consolidate peace. There has been a noticeable reduction in the ethnic tensions since the peace deal was signed as it guaranteed significant representation for both Hutus and Tutsis in the army,

...the current regime has been accused of not totally following the spirit of the Arusha Agreement, particularly its emphasis on consensual politics.

police and all branches of the government. This complex power-sharing provision was enshrined in the Burundian Constitution as a result of the Arusha peace negotiations.⁶ The civil war was fought partly over the issue of ethnic exclusion, so the Burundian Constitution required the executive and legislative organs to be multi-ethnic.⁷ However, despite the relative success, the current regime has been accused of not totally following the spirit of the Arusha Agreement, particularly its emphasis on consensual politics. As a result of this, the political climate in Burundi before the presidential elections has remained tense and has caused many Burundians to

flee the country as they are fearful that another civil war might breakout. According to the UNHCR, since the protests had erupted in April 2015, 50,000 people have fled Burundi to escape the spiraling pre-election violence.⁸ UNHCR spokesman Adrian Edwards stated that in May 2015, many Burundians crossed into Rwanda (25,004), but there was a sharp increase in people seeking asylum in Tanzania (17,696) after entry restrictions there were lifted. In addition to this, almost 8,000 people have crossed into South Kivu province in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁹ A day before the Burundian borders were going to be closed for the parliamentary elections, 10,000 more refugees have fled from Burundi, making the total number of Burundians fleeing to 144,000.¹⁰ In all these cases, women and children, including a large number of unaccompanied children, are in the majority.

Members of the opposition, civil society activists, lawyers and journalists were among those who faced heightened restrictions as the 2015 elections approached.

Nkurunziza's Repressive Regime

Another reason for the rise of social unrest and large street protests is due to people's distrust in the government and the fact that in the past few years Nkurunziza rule has become increasingly dictatorial. Amnesty International in its 2014-15 report on Burundi has said that there is a shrinking of political space under the CNDD-FDD rule and government repression of critical voices has intensified over the last year.¹¹ In 2014, Pierre Claver Mbonimpa, President of the local human

rights organization, the Association for the Protection of Human Rights and Detained Persons (*Association pour la Protection des Droits Humains et des Personnes Détenues*, APRODH,) was arrested following some comments he made on the radio alleging that young men were receiving arms, uniforms and traveling to the neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo for military training.¹²

He was released later in the year on medical grounds. Members of the opposition, civil society activists, lawyers and journalists were among those who faced heightened restrictions as the 2015 elections approached.

In January 2015, the government sentenced a top opposition chief to five years in prison for bribery and arrested another for having links to a rebel group. Action against the two leaders came amid growing fears of the risk of violence ahead of elections. The opposition leaders said the arrests were the government's way of blocking them from running for seats. Frederic Bamvuginyuvira, a former Burundian vice-president and current deputy leader for the Front for Democracy (Frodebu) party, was sentenced to five years in jail for bribery following a sex scandal.¹³ He accused the government for removing him from the electoral race. Frodebu youth leader Patrick Nkurunziza was also arrested. He is the most prominent figure held in connection with a rebel force that entered the country from neighboring eastern Democratic Republic of Congo earlier this month.¹⁴ The military crackdown on cross-border attacks against Burundi by rebel groups based in Democratic Republic of Congo resulted in the death of a 100 people.¹⁵

There is a militia attached to the pro-government movement known as Imbonerakure which has been threatening and intimidating those who are critical of Nkurunziza and his party CNDD-FDD.¹⁶ UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein is deeply concerned about the increasingly violent and threatening actions by this pro-government militia. There have been cases of kidnapping, beating and even brutal killings of people who supporting the opposition leaders. This has been one of the main reasons behind the vast number of Burundian's fleeing the country. Numerous refugees claimed that threats had been scrawled across the doors and walls of their own or other people's houses, some being marked with a cross, apparently in order to identify people to be targeted or attacked, or as a means of sowing terror.

In addition to political repression there is clamp down on freedom of speech in the country. Journalists are being harassed and radio stations prevented from broadcasting so as to contain protests.¹⁷ The Radio Publique Africaine (RPA), Burundi's most popular privately-owned radio station, was also closed. An editor of RPA barely survived an assassination attempt.¹⁸ Hit lists with the names of the opponents and critics of the government were circulating according to a journalist. The activities of opposition members and human rights activists are increasingly being restricted, according to Gesine Ames of the Berlin office of the Ecumenical Network for Central Africa, a coalition of Christian organizations promoting human rights, peace and development in Africa's Great Lake region. Ames argues that the ruling party has become repressive and laws have been passed to restrict the opposition from holding gatherings.¹⁹ The government has also only given the opposition right to campaign for two weeks before each of the two elections. However, Ames also blames that the opposition itself had not resolved its infighting and has been incapable to putting up a united front against the CNDD-FDD.

Presidential elections to take place despite domestic and international pressure

The parliamentary elections were due to be held in May 2015, however major events and political and social developments occurred that led to the postponement of the elections to June and July. First, there was an attempted coup by General Godefroid Niyombare, a former rebel CNDD-FDD commander and ally of President Nkurunziza, to try to over throw Nkurunziza.²⁰ The generals opposed to Nkurunziza's bid for a third term in office. This occurred at the time when the President had left for a summit in Tanzania that month. Nevertheless, the coup failed after five days and led to Nkurunziza sacking the foreign ministers and General Godefroid Niyombare after surviving the attempted coup. Second, Zedi Feruzi, a leader of an opposition party, had been shot dead

along with his bodyguard in Bujumbura. Leading opposition figure, Agathon Rwasa, said there was no information on who had killed Feruzi, but claimed that this was a retaliation against Feruzi's criticism of President Pierre Nkurunziza's decision to stand for a third term in office.²¹ These events had created an intense and fragile environment ahead of the elections.

The international community has been pressuring Nkurunziza to not run for a third term.

The international community has been pressuring Nkurunziza to not run for a third term. The US Department of State in a press statement in April voiced their deep regret of Burundi's disregard for the Arusha Agreement and had called all parties to refrain from violent actions, including hate speech or other provocations, which could feed the climate of fear and instability.²² High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra'ad at a press conference at the UN Electoral Observation Mission in Burundi (MENUB), had shown concerns about the rising tensions in the pre-election period. He argued that Burundi had a choice between free and fair elections that would strengthen and mature Burundi's still fragile democracy, and enable an improvement in its dire socio-economic situation, and a path of violence and intimidation aimed instead at subverting democracy for the sake of gaining or maintaining political power.²³ However, Pierre Nkurunziza chose the path of violence for the sake of gaining political power by not backing down from running for the third term. Seeing that elections were being held amidst such violence in Burundi the European Union (EU) withdrew its election poll observers from Burundi. EU also announced that Burundi's decision to go ahead with the election despite repetitive pleas to delay it, could also lead to a suspension of EU aid. The EU said a month ago it had suspended its election observation mission but on Monday it said it had been forced to "definitely withdraw" the observers.²⁴ The US Department of State in a press statement on June 29, 2015 also condemned the decision to go ahead with the elections by the government despite the fragile political and social situation in Burundi.²⁵

It is clear that Nkurunziza is not going to succumb to international pressure and will go ahead with the presidential elections on July 15, 2015 as well. It can also be said that voter turnout would be small as in the case parliamentary elections. One can also agree with the opposition that the credibility of the election process cannot be ensured due to the international community withdrawing their poll observers. Hence, it is likely that Pierre Nkurunziza will win the presidential elections, just as his party has already won by a clear majority in the parliamentary one. The violence and socio-political unrest preceding these elections has deprived the Burundian people of their right for a free and democratic elections. Nkurunziza's circumvention of all the agreements

Burundi's hope for peace and stability is bleak.

of the Arusha Accord and his coercive tactics, to the surprise of all his critics, is a reaffirmation of the beliefs that the forthcoming government would be repressive and that the Burundian people would have to live in an environment of constant fear. Burundi's hope for peace and stability is bleak.

¹ Peter Uvin, "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Paths to mass violence", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No.3, (April 1999), pp. 266.

² Ibid., pp 260.

³ Ibid., pp 258.

- ⁴ “As elections approach, Burundians fear a return to war”, *Al Jazeera*, April 23, 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/23/as-elections-approach-burundians-fear-a-return-to-war.html>, (Accessed May 21, 2015).
- ⁵ “As elections approach, Burundians fear a return to war”, *Al Jazeera*, April 23, 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/23/as-elections-approach-burundians-fear-a-return-to-war.html>, (Accessed May 21, 2015).
- ⁶ Devon Curtis and Willy Nindorera, “A Vulnerable Peace: What’s at stake in the upcoming Burundian elections”, *The Global Observatory*, February 20, 2015, <http://theglobalobservatory.org/2015/02/vulnerable-peace-burundi-elections-nkurunziza/>, (Accessed March 10, 2015).
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ “More than 50,000 flee Burundi to escape spiralling violence”, *UNHCR*, May 11, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/554c83d46.html>, (Accessed June 11, 2015).
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ “Thousands of refugees continue to flee Burundi-UNHCR”, *UNHCR*, June 30, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/55929f206.html>, (Accessed June 30, 2015).
- ¹¹ “Burundi: Locked down: A shrinking of political space”, *Amnesty International*, 29 July, 2014, p.7, at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR16/002/2014/en/>, (Accessed June 20, 2015).
- ¹² “Burundi: Pierre Claver Mbonimpa is a prisoner of conscience”, *Amnesty International*, 22 August, 2014, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR16/003/2014/en/>, (Accessed June 20, 2015).
- ¹³ “Opposition crackdown in Burundi as polls loom”, *Al Jazeera*, January 16, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2015/01/opposition-crackdown-burundi-as-polls-loom-2015116125933870827.html>, (Accessed March 15, 2015).
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ “Scores dead in Burundi violence”, *Al Jazeera*, January 4, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2015/01/reports-armed-attack-burundi-repulsed-201514164739304750.html>, (Accessed March 15, 2015).
- ¹⁶ “Increased militia violence could push Burundi ‘over the edge,’ warns UN rights chief”, *UN News Centre*, June 9, 2015, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=51097#.VaObBV-qqkp>, (Accessed June 20, 2015).
- ¹⁷ “Amnesty International Report 2014/15: The State of World’s Human Rights”, February 25, 2015, p.90, at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/0001/2015/en/>, (Accessed April 29, 2015).
- ¹⁸ “Government coup against news media”, April 30, 2015, at <http://en.rsf.org/government-coup-against-news-media-27-04-2015,47816.html>, (Accessed May 5, 2015).
- ¹⁹ <http://www.dw.com/en/violence-sparks-alarm-ahead-of-burundi-polls/a-18185489>, (Accessed March 30, 2015).
- ²⁰ “Burundi president fires defence chief after coup attempt”, *Reuters*, May 18, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/19/us-burundi-politics-idUSKBN0030ER20150519>, (Accessed June 15, 2015).
- ²¹ “Burundi opposition figure Zedi Feruzi shot dead”, *Al Jazeera*, May 24, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/05/burundi-opposition-leader-zedi-feruzi-shot-dead-150523193449576.html>, (Accessed June 15, 2015).
- ²² “US deeply regrets Burundi’s disregard for the Arusha Agreement”, US Department of State, April 25, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2015/04/241109.htm>, (Accessed May 10, 2015).
- ²³ “Opening remarks by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein at a press conference during his mission to Burundi”, *OHCHR*, April 15, 2015, at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=15842&LangID=E>, (Accessed May 10, 2015).
- ²⁴ “EU says withdrawing Burundi election observers, warns on aid”, *Reuters*, June 29, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/06/29/uk-burundi-politics-eu-idUKKCN0P90Y120150629>, (Accessed June 30, 2015).
- ²⁵ “Burundi: U.S regrets Decision to move Ahead with Elections”, *US Department of State*, June 29, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2015/06/244490.htm>, (Accessed June 30, 2015).

Viewpoint

INDIA - TANZANIA TIES GET A FILLIP

Despite the decline in piracy, there are other threats such as threat of illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing. The recent discovery of large deposits of natural gas off the country's sea coast has made the Tanzanian government wary of threat to the emerging natural gas infrastructure in the region and it is open to finding new partners, like India, to deal with this peril.

Ruchita Beri*

India's ties with Tanzania are on the upswing after the five-day state visit of President Jakaya Kikwete to New Delhi from June 17-21, 2015. The importance of the visit lies in the fact that it was the first state visit from an African country to India ever since Narendra Modi took over the leadership of the country. Bilaterally, during the visit six Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) were signed between the two countries to strengthen cooperation in the fields such as, agriculture, maritime zone, capacity building and tourism. Strategically, this visit highlights India's plans to forge cooperation with Tanzania on maritime security, counter terrorism and energy security among other areas.

...Tanzania has a small navy that is not sufficiently equipped to deal with the emerging maritime threats.

India and Tanzania have a common interest in maritime security.¹ Looking at the wide range of threats in the maritime sphere such as sea piracy, armed robbery, narcotics trafficking, terrorism, India, has declared maritime security as top priority.² Similarly there is no doubt that maritime security is an issue of concern for Tanzania to. There is continuous traffic of freight vessels of African, European, Asian (including Indian) countries, along its 1424 km long coast line. Protection of Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) is an important

concern but Tanzania has a small navy that is not sufficiently equipped to deal with the emerging maritime threats. In 2010, 29 incidents of piracy were reported off Tanzanian coast, 9 in 2011, and subsequently there has been a decline.³ Largely, the acts of piracy in Tanzania are different from those close to Somalia. These incidents happen mainly while the ships are at the outer anchorage of the Dar-es-Salaam port. The pirates board the ship and steal whatever they can lay their hands on and run away. However in 2010, during the height of piracy in the Indian Ocean region, Somali pirates ventured south to attack shipping vessels in Tanzanian waters.⁴ Moreover, the fact that this area is far from the normally patrolled seas by the international counter piracy coalition also made these waters attractive to the pirates. These incidents pushed Tanzania, South Africa and Mozambique to a trilateral maritime security agreement in 2012. The provisions of this agreement allowed each country, among other things, to patrol and undertake hot pursuit operations against any suspects. Nevertheless, despite the decline in piracy, there are other threats such as threat of

* Ruchita Beri is Senior Research Associate & Coordinator, Africa, LAC& UN (ALACUN) Centre, IDSA.

illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing. The recent discovery of large deposits of natural gas off the country's sea coast has made the Tanzanian government wary of threat to the emerging natural gas infrastructure in the region and it is open to finding new partners, like India, to deal with this peril.

During President Kikwete's visit, Prime Minister Modi offered to cooperate in the development of the natural gas sector of Tanzania.⁵ While natural gas was first discovered in Songo Songo offshore block in 1974, it is the recent discoveries (2010) that have revealed that Tanzania has sizable natural gas deposits deep in the Indian Ocean. It is estimated that the country has over 46.5 trillion cubic feet of proven natural gas reserves, and they are predicted to rise to 200 trillion cubic feet by 2016. A large number of foreign oil companies such as Stat oil ASA, BG group, Exxon – Mobil, Ophir energy have been active in Tanzania's natural gas sector. China has been involved in constructing the Mtwara to Dar-es-Salam pipeline.⁶ This connects offshore natural gas fields in Manzi Bay and Songo Songo Island located in southern Tanzania to the mainland. While India has shown interest in Tanzania's natural gas sector, it should realise that with the exception of Songo Songo and Manzi Bay fields that are producing a small amounts of gas, bulk of Tanzanian gas industry is still in exploration phase and infrastructure associated with this sector such as the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) terminal etc. still remains to be constructed. It may take around a decade before natural gas production starts in a big way.⁷ Further, Tanzania does not have an adequate legal, regulatory framework to govern the petroleum sector, both in the interest of the citizens of the country and also the foreign investors. The debate over the management and regulation of the natural gas sector is quite intense in the country. Recently, the Tanzanian parliament passed the controversial petroleum bills in 'urgency', amidst protests by the opposition parties. Concern has also been expressed by members of the civil society and they claim that the entire legislative process was not consultative.⁸

Finally, during President Kikwete's visit India and Tanzania agreed to set up a joint working group on counter terrorism. Tanzania shares India's concerns over the spread of terrorism and is interested in seeking India's expertise in countering the threat. Tanzania is experiencing a rising number of terror attacks that have targeted local Christian leaders and foreign tourists, as well as popular bars and restaurants.⁹ These attacks, which began in 2012, rarely make the headlines of international media. While Tanzania is widely regarded as a stable country it is not new to terrorism; most well-known is the attack on the US embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania on August 7, 1998. Recent terror attacks in Zanzibar and Arusha have raised fears that stability in Tanzania may be disrupted. These fears have grown since President Kikwete's revelation that terrorists may have been behind attacks on several police stations in the country earlier this year.¹⁰ Some of these attacks have been traced back to Muslim fundamentalist groups such as Association of Islamic Mobilisation and Propagation (UAMSHO) within the country. These groups may have emerged out of marginalisation of conservative Islamists voices in Tanzanian politics or frustration over status of Zanzibar (a predominantly Muslim region) in the union. Apart from the home grown terror network, the greater threat is that there may be a link with other regional counterparts

It is estimated that the country has over 46.5 trillion cubic feet of proven natural gas reserves...

It may take around a decade before natural gas production starts in a big way.

Apart from the home grown terror network, the greater threat is that there may be a link with other regional counterparts such as the Al Shabaab in Somalia and it's Kenyan off shoot Al Hijra.

such as the Al Shabaab in Somalia and it's Kenyan off shoot Al Hijra. In 2013, the Tanzanian police arrested over eleven young men in Mtwara province, who were undergoing terrorism training and were reported to have links with Al Shabaab.¹¹ This was followed by the police busting an Al Shabaab terror training camp in Kilindi district.¹²

Thus President Kikwete's visit to India has opened up new vistas of cooperation between the two countries. India has dealt with the scourge of terrorism for several decades and Tanzania would benefit from sharing of best practises in countering terrorism. In so far as the natural gas sector in Tanzania is concerned it is at an embryonic stage, and while it does provide opportunities for Indian companies, it will take at least a decade for the investments to get returns. From India's perspective cooperation in maritime security and blue economy is extremely vital and mutually beneficial. India is currently Tanzania's largest trading partner, hopefully this visit will reinforce the ties further.

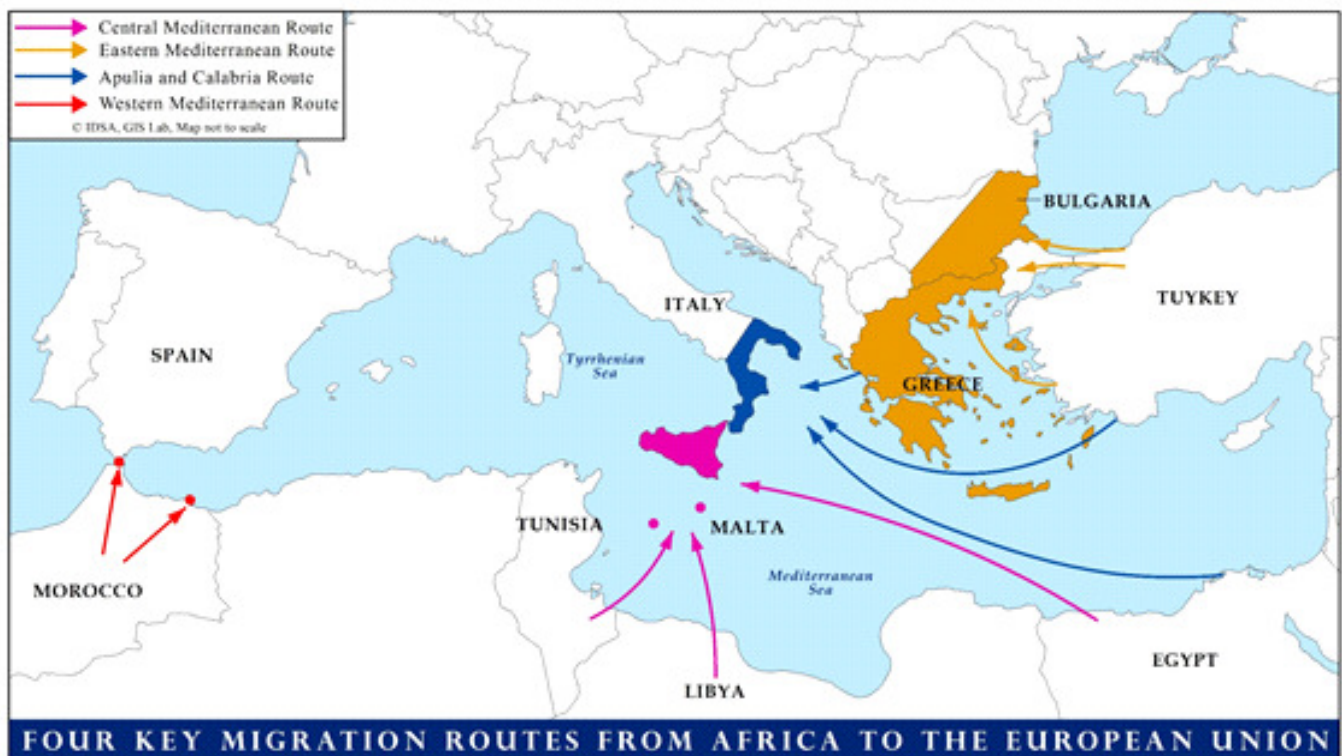
-
- ¹ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, "Media Statement by Prime Minister during the State Visit of President of United Republic of Tanzania", June 19, 2015, at <http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25379/Media+Statement+by+Prime+Minister+during+the+State+Visit+of+President+of+United+Republic+of+Tanzania>, (Accessed June 21, 2015).
 - ² "Maritime security tops government agenda: Arun Jaitley", *Indian Express*, June 7, 2014, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/maritime-security-tops-government-agenda-arun-jaitley/#sthash.SVLY21Y5.dpuf>, (Accessed June 12, 2015).
 - ³ International Maritime Organisation, *Reports on Acts of Piracy and Armed robbery against Ships* at <http://www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Security/PiracyArmedRobbery/Reports/Pages/Default.aspx>, (Accessed July 10, 2015).
 - ⁴ "Somali pirates hijack ship off Tanzania", *BBC News*, September 29, 2010, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11437756>, (Accessed July 10, 2015).
 - ⁵ Ministry of External Affairs, n.1.
 - ⁶ Fumbuka Ng'wanakilala, "Oil and Gas: Construction of Tanzania gas pipeline complete" *The Africa Report*, March 31, 2015, at <http://www.theafricareport.com/East-Horn-Africa/oil-and-gas-construction-of-tanzania-gas-pipeline-complete.html>, (Accessed July 10, 2015).
 - ⁷ Katrina Manson, "Tanzania natural gas investment threatened by arrest of officials" *Financial Times*, November 4, 2014, at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/b789caaa-6431-11e4-bac8-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3fqrpvvMH>, (Accessed July 10, 2015).
 - ⁸ Chris Muslime, "Tanzania passes urgent petroleum laws, civil society concerned", at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201507132668.html>, (Accessed July 11, 2015).
 - ⁹ Andre Le Sage, "The Rising Terrorist Threat in Tanzania: Domestic Islamist Militancy and Regional threats", *Strategic Forum*, September 2014, at <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/stratforum/SF-288.pdf>, (Accessed June 15, 2015).
 - ¹⁰ Christopher Kidanka, "Kikwete hints at possible terrorist operations in Tanzania", *The East African*, March 4, 2015, at <http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Kikwete-hints-at-possible-terrorist-operations-in-Tanzania/-/2558/2642494/-/svm0fq/-/index.html>, (Accessed July 10, 2015).
 - ¹¹ "Tanzania police busts up terrorists training camp in Mtwara region" at <http://manayake.blogspot.in/2013/10/tanzania-police-busts-up-terrorists.html>, (Accessed June 16, 2015).
 - ¹² "Al Shabaab Child Training Camp in Tanzania Shut Down" at <http://www.aafonline.co.za/news/al-shabaab-child-training-camp-tanzania-shut-down>, (Accessed June 16, 2015).

Commentary

LIBYAN CHAOS REACHES EUROPEAN SHORES

The paucity of options for a solution will lead to increasing securitisation of migration in Europe. Meanwhile, the African Union should recognise that the migrant problem is as much theirs as of Europe. After all, the migrants perishing in the sea are not Europeans, but Sub-Saharan Africans.

Nachiket Khadkiwala*



The large exodus of migrants to European shores after undertaking a daring, and in some cases perilous, journey across the Mediterranean has become a reason for concern. According to International Organisation for Migration (IOM), by June 2015, 102,000 migrants had arrived in Europe by sea. 54,660 of them arrived in Italy and 46,150 entered Europe from Greece.¹ If the period from January till May is considered, then the number is 47,449, as compared to 41,243 migrants who arrived in Italy in the same months last year. In Greece the numbers arriving last year in the period between January and May was 34,000, while this year 46,150 have already arrived.² The migrants in Italy have come mostly via Libya while the migrants in Greece have

* Nachiket Khadkiwala is a Research Assistant, ALACUN Centre, IDSA.

come via Turkey. The situation has been so alarming that European Union has been contemplating military action to detest traffickers from undertaking dangerous missions across the Mediterranean. However, the military option will have limited success. Stability in Libya will be the key to any long term cooperation between EU and Libya. Meanwhile, increasing EU presence in the Mediterranean to tackle human trafficking will shrink AU's strategic space in the region.

Routes to prosperity and profit run from Libya

Under the classification made by European Union's border management agency FRONTEX, there are four migration routes in the Mediterranean: the Western Mediterranean route, the Eastern Mediterranean route, the Central Mediterranean route and the Apulia and Calabria route (also

Currently it is mainly the Central Mediterranean route that is the main conduit for migration among Africans and the source of concern for the EU.

known as the Southern Italian route). African migration takes place from the Western Mediterranean route, the Central Mediterranean route and the Apulia and Calabria route. The Apulia and Calabria route is popular mainly for migrants coming from or via Egypt. This route is used generally by Syrians and other migrants from Asia. Currently it is mainly the Central Mediterranean route that is the main conduit for migration among Africans and the source of concern for the EU.³ This route is used by sub-Saharan migrants. Traditionally this route has been major corridor for clandestine migration into Europe. The exit point in Africa on this

route is Libya. According to FRONTEX, immediately after the fall of Qaddafi regime in 2011, migration reduced, but it started to increase again after 2012. The year 2014 witnessed huge migratory flows with 170000 migrants arriving in Italy. This represents the largest influx of migrants in a single EU Member State in the entire history of the EU.⁴ Therefore, the EU has good reason to be concerned.

Libya's geographical location makes it an apt exit point for migrating to Europe. It has 1,900 kilometre coastline along the Mediterranean and approximately 4,375 kilometre of land border which it shares with six countries.⁵ There are many routes that enter

Tribal groups are increasingly involved in smuggling of migrants as similar ethnic groups straddle across the borders as well.

into Libya from various parts of North, East and West Africa. The country has two seaports, four airports and eight land crossings. During the Qaddafi regime, entry points into Libya were clearly earmarked, but presently these entry points have not been identified as the government is not in control of the entire territory and borders are being controlled by various tribal groups.⁶ Tribal groups are increasingly involved in smuggling of migrants as similar ethnic groups straddle across the borders as well. For example, the Tuareg control migrant smuggling routes running from North Niger and Algeria and the Zway tribal group

controls eastern migrant routes running from Sudan and Chad.⁷ Also, in general, adequate infrastructure and resources for border control and management are lacking in many countries like Niger, Sudan and Chad. Adding to the chaos is the current political turmoil in Libya where the country is divided between two governments and various rival militias running amok.⁸ This situation is being exploited by human traffickers to use the country as a conduit to transport migrants across the Mediterranean.

Limits of EU's military action

According to the historical institutional theory of migration, institutions have impact on migratory flows. The immigration industry, both legal and illegal represent institutions, and hence are

important drivers of migratory flows. Human trafficking is despicable and perverse institution as it not only encourages illegal migration flows, it encourages other forms of organised crime, violates human rights, encourages bonded labour and various other forms of exploitation and puts many innocent lives in danger. Hence discouraging human trafficking is very much warranted. But is military solution the best way of dealing with the problem?

Let us look at the EU's military plan to tackle human trafficking in Mediterranean. The first phase of EU's military operations consists of reconnaissance and intelligence collection.⁹ This consists of intelligence gathering through naval aircrafts and satellite. This shall shed light on the points of embarkation of the journey and the routes taken by traffickers. The next four phases are about destroying assets of the traffickers thereby making their business unprofitable. In the second phase, boats are to be seized and destroyed in international waters.¹⁰ The third phase consists of further extending operations into the Libyan waters, whereby boats will be seized within Libyan waters and destroyed.¹¹ The last phase is about attacking trafficker infrastructure located on Libyan shores and ports.¹² The entire operation is to be conducted through aerial or naval bombardment and no ground troops will be used.¹³ The idea of military operation seems to be pushed by the EU's High Representative of Foreign Affairs, Frederica Mogherini, as she comes from Italy, a country worse affected by the influx of migrants. The EU has steadily worked towards furthering its operations against traffickers in the Mediterranean.¹⁴ The Europol launched Joint Operation Team (JOT) Mare in March 2015 for better intelligence on traffickers and their networks.¹⁵ The first indication of military action came in the April 20, 2015 press release the "Joint Foreign and Home Affairs Council: Ten point action plan on migration".¹⁶ The press release called for enhancing FRONTEX operations, the Operation Triton and Operation Poseidon in the Mediterranean. It also mentioned that attempts should be made to seize the boats and destroy them.¹⁷

The military plan is fettered with many limitations. The plan is based on the success of EU NAVFOR Operation Atlanta that was launched to combat piracy in the Indian Ocean Region.¹⁸ The business model of pirates is very different from that of human traffickers. Pirates have to seize ships, crew members and the cargo which it is carrying and then use them to generate revenue to make profits.¹⁹ In case of human traffickers, the profits are already made before they embark upon the journey.²⁰ It is also known that most traffickers do not travel with the migrants in the boat.²¹ They teach a few migrants to navigate and then set the boats to sail.²² Therefore, any military operation to seize traffickers on the high sea would be a wasted effort. On the contrary, it may encourage migration since the risks of journey would reduce as the chances of being spotted by naval ships will increase the probability of being rescued.²³ Even destroying boats of the traffickers is not going to have any serious dent on their profits as they would have already recovered the cost of the boat from the migrants. Boats used by traffickers are often assumed be an expendable commodity and many traffickers abandon the boats after completing the journey.²⁴ However, there are other legal obstacles to the EU's military action. Military action on Libyan waters and territory will require approval from the Libyan government or a United Nations Security Council mandate. Libya has said that it will not allow EU to operate in its waters. Libyan Ambassador to the United Nations Ibrahim Dabbashi questioned EU's intentions to carry out military action in Libyan waters.²⁵ Any attempt to get a UNSC mandate will be blocked by Russia due to ongoing tensions between Russia and EU in Ukraine. Hence, EU can technically only go forward with the first two phases of its operation. Given these limitations, EU's military action will fail to achieve intended results.

In such a scenario, diplomatic efforts and cooperation with Libya in particular and the African Union in general remain the only alternative for the EU. The EU has various cooperation

instruments with Africa at the continental, regional and bilateral level. The EU and African Union (AU) have Migration and Mobility Dialogue and the Action Plan 2014-2017 deals with tackling of human trafficking.²⁶ At regional level there are initiatives like the Rabat Process with the ECOWAS countries and the Khartoum Process with Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Sudan.²⁷ On the bilateral front, EU has policy dialogues and cooperation with Cape Verde, Morocco and Tunisia.²⁸ EU had aimed to start a policy dialogue and cooperation with Libya, but given the precarious political and security situation in the country such a dialogue is not possible. Many immigration programs are on hold in Libya due to the volatile situation in the country with the exception of the Sea Horse Program that trains Libyan Coastal Guard. Unless Libya has a strong government in place, there will be limits to what EU can do.²⁹

Increasing EU presence in the Mediterranean will shrink AU's strategic space in the sea that has often been known as "the European lake".

Given the deep divisions between the EU member states on the issue of migration and the rise of right wing parties in some European countries, migration will remain an important issue. The paucity of options for a solution will lead to increasing securitisation of migration in Europe. Meanwhile, the African Union should recognise that the migrant problem is as much theirs as of Europe. After all, the migrants perishing in the sea are not Europeans, but Sub-Saharan Africans. Increasing EU presence in the Mediterranean will shrink AU's strategic space in the sea that has often been known as "the European lake". AU can use the

migrant issue to enhance its role in the Mediterranean.

¹ "Number of Migrants Landing in Europe in 2015 Passes 100,000", *International Organisation for Migration*, June 11, 2015, at <http://weblog.iom.int/number-migrants-landing-europe-2015-passes-100000#sthash.Clu1ZsLC.dpuf>, (Accessed June 15, 2015).

² Ibid.

³ This route is increasingly being used by Syrian migrants as well.

⁴ FRONTEX, Central Mediterranean Route, URL: <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/central-mediterranean-route/>, (Accessed June 30, 2015).

⁵ Altai Consulting, *Mixed Migration: Libya at the crossroads: Mapping migration routes from Africa to Europe and Drivers of Migration in Post-revolution Libya*, Tripoli, p. 94, 2013.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., pp.54-55.

⁸ Libya has two rival governments, the internationally recognised government based in Tobruk in the east, while the General National Congress based in Tripoli in the west.

⁹ Council of the European Union, "Council launches EU naval operation to disrupt human smugglers and traffickers in the Mediterranean", *Press Release*, June 22, 2015, URL: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/06/22-fac-naval-operation/>, (Accessed June 30, 2015).

¹⁰ Ibid.

- ¹¹ Bernd Riegert, "EU to take military action against human traffickers", *Deutsche Welle*, June 19, 2015, at http://www.dw.com/en/eu-to-take-military-action-against-human-traffickers/a-18462321?maca=en-gk_volltext_microsoft_world-13228-xml-atom, (Accessed June 21, 2015).
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ EUROPOL, "Joint Operational Team launched to combat irregular migration", March 17, 2015, at <https://www.europol.europa.eu/print/content/joint-operational-team-launched-combat-irregular-migration-mediterranean>, (Accessed June 21, 2015).
- ¹⁶ European Commission, "Joint Foreign and Home Affairs Council: Ten point action plan on migration", *Press Release*, April 20, 2015, URL: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-4813_en.htm, (Accessed June 5, 2015).
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ "Why Naval Operations Cannot Solve Europe's Migration Problems", *Stratfor*, June 9, 2015, at <https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/why-naval-operations-cannot-solve-europes-migration-problems>, (Accessed June 20, 2015).
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Altai Consulting (2013), n.5, p. 49.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ See n.19.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ "Mediterranean migrants: Libya rejects EU military plans", *BBC*, May 11, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32686579>, (Accessed June 10, 2015).
- ²⁶ European Commission, "The European Union's cooperation with Africa on migration", *Fact Sheet*, April 22, 2015, at http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-4832_en.htm, (Accessed June 10, 2015).
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.

Book Review

Gerhard Werle, Lovell Fernandez and Moritz Vormbaum (eds.), *Africa and the International Criminal Court*

T.M.C Asser Press: The Hague, 2014, ISBN 978-94-6265-028-2

Saurabh Mishra*

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has been in news recently for its involvement in several high profile cases from African countries. Recently, the intention of a South African court to arrest Omar al-Bashir, the President of Sudan who stands accused in the ICC for war crimes and genocide, while he was on a visit to the country to attend a two-day summit of the African Union (AU) leaders, highlighted the problem and debate about the efficacy and relevance of the ICC. Similarly, the current Head of the State of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, is also facing charges and is on trial in the international Court. All the cases hitherto taken up by the ICC for trial are from Africa, although there are equally alarming cases of war crimes, human rights abuse and perhaps genocide in other parts of the world. The book *Africa and the International Criminal Court* is therefore important and timely. The editors explain that it deals with the following questions:

“Why does Africa feature so prominently in the work of the International Criminal Court? Is there a specific bias against Africa? What can be done by African states to avoid impunity and to step up the prosecution of international crimes perpetrated in Africa? And how can the relationship between Africa and the Court be shaped in the future?” (p.3)

The book is the outcome of a conference with the theme ‘Africa and the International Criminal Court’ organised by the South African-German Centre for Transnational Criminal Justice in Cape Town on November 22-23, 2014. The Centre is run with cooperation between the law faculties of the University of the Western Cape and the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. The participants in the conference were highly experienced and had expertise on issues related to the ICC and international law. The editors of the book are associated with the South African-German Centre for Transnational Criminal Justice.

The book, primarily divided into three parts, has 13 chapters and three annexures. The first part with four chapters deals with the relationship of the ICC with Africa from different perspectives – that of history, a judge, of procedure and a prosecutor. The second part contains five chapters that discuss the domestic handling of international crimes in the African countries. It focuses on the implementation of the Rome Statute and alternative ways to prosecute international crime in Africa. The third part has three chapters dealing with the legal and political dynamics regarding the interlinkages of the ICC, AU and the United Nations (UN).

* Dr Saurabh Mishra is Research Assistant, ALACUN Centre, IDSA.

From a historical perspective, after much suffering in severe conflict situations in Africa, a consensus was built in many countries for the establishment of a system or statute so that crimes of serious nature against humanity do not go unprosecuted and unpunished due to the lack of appropriate measures in state where they were committed. The chapter by Sanji Mmasenono Monageng highlights that the African countries played the most important role in building the consensus that is encapsulated in the Rome Statute resulting in the ICC. In fact, all the chapters of the book underline the seminal role played by African countries; and it is due to their willingness that the ICC today can complementarily prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression where state authorities are incapable or unwilling to do so.

Monageng and Ekaterina Trendafilova, in their chapters, analytically examine the issues of the jurisdiction of the ICC and the admissibility of cases in it. It is brought out that the question whether the ICC should try a Head of State in Africa is a non-issue, as the signatory countries have already agreed to such trials in the Rome Statute. They may raise the issue in the Assembly of the State Parties to the Statute during review meetings and could possibly change the provision; but raising the issue politically as long as the Statute in the current form remains in force is pointless. Similarly, the details in the chapters about the pre-trial chambers considering a case and the criteria and processes adopted for the admissibility of the cases for trial are elaborate and rational enough to maintain the credibility of the ICC; and, from the victim's perspective, there are no questions regarding why the ICC has accepted a particular case for trial.

Bearing in mind the tendency of some African states to condemn the ICC and contemplating a pullout from the Rome Statute (and thereby the ICC), a couple of chapters in the book deal with some prominent cases of alternative international criminal trials. The two-time stay on the famous case of the trial of Thomas *Lubanga* Dyilo, a Congolese warlord, on the basis of non-compliance by the prosecution with the divulgence of exculpatory evidences by the First Trial Chamber of the ICC, is a good example of how the Court tries to maintain its fairness regarding the principles of justice. The argument given was that the basic tenets of criminal law cannot be compromised under any circumstances as it is essential for the Court to maintain the legitimacy of international trials.

The book, simultaneously, raises the issue of the evolution of international law as a whole and the difficulties in its implementation due to issues of sovereignty, culture, convenience, regional and international politics, etc. The trials by the Extraordinary African Chambers in Senegal, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) are some of the special arrangements unrelated to the ICC which have been cooperatively achieved by the international community in an attempt to deter impunity. The successes of the arrangements, limited as they may be, have considerable visibility in the imperfect domain of international criminal justice. However, the ICC, according to most authors, is a better and permanent institutional arrangement if the state parties to the Rome Statute as well as the rest of the international community cooperate with each other.

The primary argument weaved throughout the book is that the Africa-ICC confrontation and thereby the AU-ICC confrontation is unwarranted as the arguments made against the ICC are not legally sound. The existence and the functioning of the ICC is important from the victim's point of view as, according to the African and international civil society and independent surveys, this is the only voice and hope for the common, suffering and weak masses against the political elite of Africa. There are different voices within the AU as well. Almost all experts point to the fact that the controversy regarding the 'African bias' has been raised only after the cases against some

Heads of the States have been taken up by the ICC or referred to it by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). However, the chapter by Juliet Okoth elaborately examines the UN-ICC relationship. The legal argument for this is built on the basis of the obligations of the UN member states under its Charter. The Charter spells out some binding obligations for all UN member states, whether signatory to the Rome Statute or not, if the UNSC refers a case to the ICC. Whether or not a member state agrees with this inference, it does provide a legal base for further development of international law dealing with impunity.

However, the authors, in general, seem to agree that many of the political issues raised by the African countries are not baseless. The western countries have denied several just demands of the African countries on weak grounds. While the question if an initiated case should be deferred under clause 16 of the Statute or not, and based on what criteria is a different matter, the inconsistency of the UNSC does become evident when it allows a case to be deferred by passing resolutions just to avoid any action against troops of a non-state party,¹ but denies the same on demands of the AU in cases of Al-Bashir and Uhuru Kenyatta (p.200-206). Although the grounds of the AU demand for deferrals could be challenged, Okoth thinks that the UNSC has set a bad precedent. The UNSC needs to devise objective and transparent criteria for application in such cases.

The book, as a whole, highlights the difficulties and complications in the implementation of the international law, especially before the ICC. It systematically gives a detailed insight in the African (AU)-ICC discord and the chapters attempt to critically analyse the grounds of the discord between the two through legal, functional and pragmatic examination of various aspects. The book makes a good case for upholding the ICC as an institution for justice, with certain pre-conditions such as fairness of procedures, processes and intentions (especially of the big and powerful countries) in other related international fora like the UNSC. The Court is a ray of hope, especially from the victim's perspective; and it must be sustained for a better international future. The role of the African states themselves is important as they are the ones responsible for the domestication of international law. If this is done, issues like the Africa-ICC discord would be no more. With these arguments and several other interesting observations, this book is an informative and analytical reading to understand the Africa-ICC relationship.

¹ S.C. Res. 1422, U.N. SCOR, 57th Sess., 4572d mtg., U.N. Doc. S/RES/1422 (2002); S.C. Res. 1487, U.N. SCOR, 58th Sess., 4772d mtg., U.N. DOC. S/RES/1487 (2003).

News Track

Conflict and Security

Democratic Republic of Congo

Smuggling of natural resources sparks conflict in DRC

A United Nations Environment Programme Report highlights that 25 armed criminal groups are being benefitting from the profits made by trafficking of goods like ivory, gold, charcoal and timber in Democratic Republic of Congo. As a result of this there is no hope of violence and the decade long civil war ending. Years of political instability have led to deforestation and devastated wildlife in DRC and also in other parts of the African continent. In a civil war since 1997, unrest has diminished the resource wealth of a country that ranks 86 out of 187 on the Human Development Index. Achim Steiner, UN Under-Secretary-General and UNEP executive director has highlighted the seriousness of this situation and called on the government of DRC to take some concrete steps to stop these crimes. These resources could have been used for the development of the country, according to Martin Kobler, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of MONUSCO.¹

Djibouti

Djibouti and Egypt to cooperate on the situation in Yemen

Djibouti and Egypt find themselves on the same page regarding the current situation in Yemen. Egypt's Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry said that both the countries are geographically close and have interest in maintaining security in the Red Sea. Shoukry met Djibouti's President Ismaïl Omar Guelleh on May 11, 2015, and discussed the protection of the strategic Bab El-Mandab Strait and freedom of navigation in the Red Sea. Both the countries expect to develop cooperation with regard to the ongoing conflict in Yemen. Egypt is a part of the Saudi-led Arab coalition striking at Houthi rebels in Yemen since March 2015. The responsibility of securing Bab Al-Mandab Strait lies with its naval forces.²

Iranian plane carrying aid for Yemen prevented from landing in Djibouti

An Iranian Red Crescent plane carrying 20 tonnes of food for war-torn Yemen was prevented from landing in Djibouti, a relief hub of the United Nations (UN). The plane was not given permission to land despite its coordination with the UN and the World Food Programme (WFP). On the other hand, an Iranian vessel carrying 2,500 tonnes of aid for Yemen reached on the Djibouti

¹ "UN: Gold, timber and ivory plunder stokes Congo conflict", *Responding to Climate Change*, April, 17, 2015, at <http://www.rtcc.org/2015/04/17/un-gold-timber-and-ivory-plunder-stokes-congo-conflict/>

² "Egypt and Djibouti agree on Red Sea security: FM", *ahramonline*, May 12, 2015, at <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/130025/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-and-Djibouti-agree-on-Red-Sea-security-FM.aspx>

Port on May 22, 2015. The WFP has received the humanitarian aid from the ship that includes mainly rice and wheat flour, as well as medicine, water, tents and blankets. The vessel was initially going towards the Yemeni port of Hodeida but changed course after warnings from the United States and the Saudi-led coalition that was conducting strikes against the Shiite rebels in Yemen.³

Ethiopia

Violent protest in Ethiopia against the ISIL

Protestors in Ethiopia demonstrated against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) that killed Ethiopian Christians in Libya. More than 100,000 people came out on the streets to demonstrate against the killings and their own government's failure to raise living standards of the poor as this generates a flow of Ethiopian migrants through unsecured areas in North Africa. The march at the Addis Ababa's Meskel Square turned violent as protestors started pelting stones and clashed with the police. The ISIL had shown beheading and shooting of Ethiopians in one of its propaganda videos.⁴

Kenya

Al-Shabaab militants kill 147 students at a university in Kenya

Somali militants killed 147 students in the Garissa University in Kenya. This was the worst terrorist attack in Kenya since the 1998 bombing of the United States Embassy. This highlighted Kenya's vulnerability to terror attacks by Islamist terrorists recently. A group of Somali al-Shabaab militants went from dorm to dorm separating Christian from Muslim students and later killed the Christians. Fears loom that the Shabaab's emphasis on singling out Christians could inflame religious strife in Kenya. The Kenyan economy has also been hit as tourism has declined due to a series of similar attacks in the country.⁵

The construction of wall between Kenya and Somalia begins

Although critics have dismissed the construction of a wall along the Kenyan border with Somalia as infeasible, youth in the country have begun construction the security barrier along the vast and porous border. The barrier is one of the several steps announced by the Kenyan Government to stem attacks by Somalia's al-Qaeda-linked al-Shabaab militants in the wake of the recent university massacre in Garissa. The wall is expected to be nearly 700 km long. It will consist of various obstacles including a ditch and a patrol road. However, no details about the expenditure and the construction have been released by the Kenyan Government.⁶

³ "Iran aid plane for Yemen barred from landing in Djibouti", *Yahoo News*, May 23, 2015, at <http://news.yahoo.com/iran-aid-plane-yemen-barred-landing-djibouti-140003986.html>

⁴ "More than 100,000 Ethiopians march against ISIL", *Al Jazeera*, April 22, 2014, at <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/22/more-than-100000-ethiopians-march-against-isil.html>

⁵ "Somali militants kill 147 at Kenyan university", *New York Times*, April 2, 2015, at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/03/world/africa/garissa-university-college-shooting-in-kenya.html?_r=0

⁶ "Kenya 'begins construction' of Somalia security barrier", *Yahoo News*, April 16, 2015, at <http://news.yahoo.com/kenya-begins-construction-somalia-security-barrier-111552026.html>

Mali

UN: World must back Mali Peace Accord

The United Nations envoy to Mali has announced that it has welcomed the signatures of all parties and now wants the Security Council to start the implementation phase of the Accord for Peace and Reconciliation. Mongi Hamdi, Special Representative and head of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) praised the Mali Government for incorporating the Agreement in the political agenda which was introduced at the National Assembly two weeks ago. With recent violations of the ceasefire agreements and clashes as a stark reminder of the complexity and unpredictability of the security environment in the northern regions, Hamdi warned that even though the political situation had stabilized, the security situations remains fragile. However, Hamdi argued that if this Peace Accord is implemented in a timely manner by all parties – especially the security provisions of the Agreement, which include interim arrangements such as cantonment and DDR (disarmament, demobilization and reintegration) and SSR (security sector reform) programmes – it could positively impact the Mission’s efforts to stabilize the northern regions. While emphasizing the importance of the Mission in supporting the security and defence, as well as the human rights and justice aspects of the Accord, he stated that its success will depend on its implementation which is primarily the Malian’s responsibility.⁷

Nigeria

Nigerian Army accused of human rights abuse during Boko Haram operations

The Nigerian army has arrested around 20,000 people during its operation against the Boko Haram insurgents. Amnesty International in its report has mentioned that around 7000 men and boys have died in Nigerian military custody during these operations. The military has rejected this report saying that it is biased. However, the new president Muhammadu Buhari has assured that these allegations would be investigated. This is not the first time that the Nigerian army has been accused of such crimes. The human rights group called on President Buhari to end the culture of impunity in the armed forces. President Buhari has promised that his administration would look into the matter and overhaul the rules of engagement to avoid human rights violations in military operations.⁸

Sierra Leone

Spike in Ebola Cases in Sierra Leone

President Ernest Bai Koroma has introduced a curfew on June 12, 2015 in two northern districts of Sierra Leone after a sudden spike in Ebola cases in those regions. The new measures were in effect for the next 21 days and those caught in violation were to be detained and prosecuted. The

⁷ “With all parties now signed on to Mali peace accord, world must back implementation - UN Envoy”, *United Nations*, June, 23, 2015, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=51231#.VZjUQRuqpBd>

⁸ “Boko Haram Crisis: Nigerian Army accused on 7,000 deaths”, *BBC*, June, 3, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32991237>

two districts lie on the route between the capital Freetown and the Guinea border and have been the locus of recent cases. Health workers say access is difficult in the maze of islands and creeks in the region. The region is witnessing the highest level of cases in several months. Oxfam's country director Thynn Thynn Hlaing has warned that the new measures would only work if residents were involved in designing and implementing them.⁹

Somalia

UN aid workers and dozens of AMISOM soldiers killed by al-Shabaab in separate incidents

A bomb exploded near a UN vehicle traveling near the northeastern Somali city of Garowe on April 20, 2015. This killed six people including four aid workers of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Al-Shabaab, the Islamist terror group in Somalia, claimed responsibility for the attack.¹⁰ In another incident in June, the same militant group killed dozens of soldiers at an African-Union base near Lego village, at a distance of about 62 miles north-west of the capital Mogadishu. Unconfirmed reports say that there were as many as 50 bodies lying at the site of the attack. "The fighting was the heaviest ever around this area. Al-Shabaab took full control of the base and killed many soldiers," said Alinur Mohamed, a local elder.¹¹

Tanzania

Tanzania arrests Ugandan rebel leader

Jamil Mukulu, the leader of the Congo-based Ugandan Islamist rebel group Allied Democratic Forces, has been detained by the Tanzanian authorities. This can be a major boost for the United Nations-backed efforts to pacify the region full of strife. Mukulu is accused of commanding brutal attacks against civilians in both Uganda and Congo since the late 1990s. A senior Ugandan military official informed that his country is working with the Tanzanian authorities to repatriate the detainee. Uganda's police spokesman, Fred Enanga, said that Mukulu would be tried at Uganda's international crimes division in Kampala after his repatriation.¹²

Politics

Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso: Civil unrest before presidential polls

There has been political and social unrest since May 10, 2015 when Burkina Faso's former ruling

⁹ "Sierra Leone imposes Ebola curfew for northern districts", *Global Post*, June 12, 2015, at <http://www.globalpost.com/article/6580154/2015/06/12/sierra-leone-imposes-ebola-curfew-northern-districts>

¹⁰ "U.N. aid workers among six killed in Al-Shabaab attack in Somalia", *CNN*, April 20, 2015, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/20/africa/somalia-violence/>

¹¹ "Al-Shabaab kills dozens of African Union troops at base in Somalia", *The Guardian*, June 26, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/26/al-shabaab-attacks-african-union-base-somalia-scores-killed>

¹² "Tanzania detains Ugandan rebel leader Jamil Mukulu", *The Wall Street Journal*, April 30, 2015, at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/tanzania-detains-ugandan-rebel-leader-jamil-mukulu-1430385011>

party (Congrès pour la Démocratie et le Progress: CDP) elected Eddie Constant Komboïgo, as their leader ahead of the presidential election on 11 October 2015. This new breed of politicians want to revamp the party by apologizing for their past mistakes and by promising socio-economic development. However, the former president Blaise Compaoré, currently in exile in Cote d'Ivoire, was elected as honorary president of the party at the congress. So even though CDP's candidates are not banned from running in the elections, it is not yet clear if any of its candidates associated with Compaoré's government will be eligible to stand for political office. The vagueness in the election laws has intensified the political friction ahead of the presidential polls in Burkina Faso. Along side the political unrest, there are student groups that are out on the roads protesting and demanding improved socio-economic conditions in the country. The CCVC (Coalition de lutte contre la vie chère, la corruption, la fraude, l'impunité et pour les libertés: CCVC), a platform of trade unions, student bodies, and civil groups held a large protest in the capital Ougadougou. Even though the protests were non-violent, they disrupted the movement of traffic in the district. With the elections closing in, there is risk of more popular unrest.¹³

Burundi

Coup attempt in Burundi fails, ethnic tensions may rise

Major General Godefroid Niyombare, who was fired by Burundi's President Nkurunziza from the position of intelligence chief three months ago, launched a coup attempt in the absence of the President from the country on May 13, 2015. Godefroid Niyombare told reporters in the capital, Bujumbura, that he had "dismissed" the president and was working to form a transitional government. The coup came after three weeks of violent unrest against the Burundian President, leaving 20 people dead and forcing more than 50,000 to flee the country. People were protesting against President Nkurunziza after his announcement to contest for a third Presidential term. His opponents allege that this is a clear violation of constitution of the country that limits a president for two terms only.¹⁴ However, the coup failed as the troops loyal to the president overcame the attempt. Niyombare, the coup-maker has not yet been arrested. Nkurunziza, after his return, urged the protestors to calm down. If the unrest continues, diplomatic analysts in the country and the region fear that the current struggle for power may reopen wounds in the region with a history of ethnic strife.¹⁵

Democratic Republic of Congo

DRC's Provinces will be broken up

Democratic Republic of Congo is planning to divide its existing 11 provinces into 26. This policy was mandated in 2006 but has not been carried out since then. Incumbent President Joseph Kabila has set a June 30 deadline for its final implementation. It has been argued by scholars that the

¹³ "Civil unrest intensifies as Burkina Faso's presidential polls draws closer", *IHS Jane 360*, May 11, 2015, at <http://www.janes.com/article/51343/civil-unrest-set-to-intensify-as-burkina-faso-s-presidential-poll-draws-closer>

¹⁴ "Burundi protesters celebrate as general launches coup attempt", *The Guardian*, May 13, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/13/burundi-army-officer-says-he-is-dismissing-countrys-president>

¹⁵ "Burundi's president urges end to protest, coup leader at large", *Reuters*, May 15, 2015, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/15/us-burundi-politics-idUSKBN0NY00020150515>

creation of new regions is the consequence of political bargains between national elites and marginalized local groups, especially those which have limited political representation. Sometimes citizens in marginalized areas also lobby national elites for the creation of new regional governments so that they have better access to the services provided by the central government. New regions bring in fiscal resources and also lead to the creation of new jobs. Sometimes, the creation of new regions also stands to benefit aspiring politicians. This pattern then tends to make national politics more competitive and people have more parties to choose from in elections. However, DRC has to keep in mind the cost of dividing the provinces. There are challenges that can be posed by the new regional governments and can lead to power struggles between the central and local governments.¹⁶

Ethiopia

Obama to become the first sitting US president to visit Ethiopia

The White House in the US announced that the upcoming visit of President Barack Obama to Ethiopia is the first by any sitting US president. Obama's trip is coming amid growing concern that Ethiopia's government has become increasingly repressive regarding internal dissent. The ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front tightened its hold on power during the elections held in May 2015. The opposition in Ethiopia also accuses the government of making the country a one-party state. This visit expects to build further on the success of the August 2014 US-Africa Leaders' Summit.¹⁷

Eritrea

Rights groups fear EU policy shift on Eritrea

Europe is considering to increase aid to Eritrea as it wants to discourage the flow of illegal immigrants escaping poor conditions in the country. Rights activists fear that a rapprochement between the European Union and Eritrea in order to reduce the number of Eritreans crossing the Mediterranean may ignore the dismal rights record of the Eritrean Government. Currently, the European Union is considering giving aid to Eritrea for building infrastructure projects and job creation. Analysts note that this is a significant departure from the EU policy previously.¹⁸

Mauritius

Designation of first woman president approved by its parliament

The election of Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, a prominent Mauritian scientist, as the new President of

¹⁶ "Democratic Republic of Congo might break up its provinces. Then what?", *The Washington Post*, June 4, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/04/the-democratic-republic-of-congo-might-break-up-its-provinces-then-what/>

¹⁷ "Obama will be first sitting U.S. president to visit Ethiopia", *The Washington Post*, June 1, 2015, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2015/06/19/obama-will-be-first-sitting-u-s-president-to-visit-ethiopia/>

¹⁸ "Rights groups fear EU policy shift on Eritrea", *RFI*, April 2, 2015, at <http://www.english.rfi.fr/africa/20150402-pariah-partner-eu-mulls-policy-change-eritrea>

Mauritius, has been approved by the country's parliament. She will be the first woman to hold this position in the country. Maya Hanoomanjee, the speaker of the parliament, also the first woman to hold this post, said that the overwhelming approval of Gurib- Fakim's election was a historic day as the opposition also supported her appointment.¹⁹

Somalia

The US Secretary of State on visit to Somalia

John Kerry became the first-ever US Secretary of State to visit Somalia. He made an unannounced visit to the country on May 5, 2015. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, President of Somalia, called the visit "a great moment" for his nation. Although quick, Kerry's visit has sent a strong message about US involvement in Somalia. The US-Somalia relationship has long been haunted by the 1993 "Black Hawk Down" operation in which 18 American troops were killed. Suffering from conflict since then, Somalia has made significant improvement in recent months; and US administration has noted the current increasingly organised Somali government. Kerry said that the US efforts to re-establish a diplomatic outpost in Somalia was a recognition of the progress the nation has made.²⁰

Tanzania

Tanzanian President visits India with a strong delegation

Jakaya Kikwete, the President of Tanzania, was received by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on June 17, 2015. He was on a six-day visit to India. The Indian Prime Minister said that Kikwete's visit will further cement the close and friendly ties between the two countries. The Tanzanian President was accompanied by a high-level delegation including ministers and senior officials. India's bilateral trade with Tanzania in 2013-14 was more than US\$4 billion making it the largest trading partner of Tanzania in Africa. The delegation held talks with the Indian authorities on a wide-range of economic and developmental issues to further cooperation between the two countries.²¹

Economy and Development

Comoros

Comoros and Tanzania look for better investment opportunities

Speaking at the Tanzania-Comoros Trade Summit (2015) in Moroni, the capital of Comoros, Bernard Membe, Tanzania's Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, urged the local

¹⁹ "Mauritius's first woman president: Ameenah Gurib-Fakim elected by country's parliament", *The Economic Times*, June 4, 2014, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/mauritiuss-first-woman-president-ameenah-gurib-fakim-elected-by-countrys-parliament/articleshow/47540538.cms>

²⁰ "John Kerry lands in Somalia, first-ever U.S. Secretary of State to visit", *NBC News*, May 5, 2015, at <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/john-kerry-visits-somalia-1st-such-trip-u-s-secretary-n353736>

²¹ "Tanzanian President visit to India to further cement ties: PM Modi", *Zee News*, June 18, 2014, at http://zeenews.india.com/news/india/tanzanian-president-visit-to-india-to-further-cement-ties-pm-modi_1615316.html

business community to make use of the rising business and investment opportunities in the Comoros brought about by reinforced bilateral relations. He said that the Tanzanians are very respected and valued in Comoros due to their contribution to liberating the Island of Anjouan from Colonel Bacar in 2008. The Government of Comoros has opened its doors to Tanzania. The business community from the two countries interacted at the Tanzania-Comoros Trade Summit and deliberated on the opportunities and challenges in trade. The summit aimed at bringing forth better ways of enabling the business community to grow.²²

Democratic Republic of Congo

DRC's tech industry attracts investors

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a digital battle ground for investors from all around the world. TBWA Africa network says that DRC offers four attractions: clear advantage for early movers, exciting new tech ventures, encouraging policy changes to facilitate e-commerce and increased internet penetration. Koffi Kouakou, scenario strategist and senior lecturer at the Wits School of Governance, University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, argues that mining has attracted foreign investors from South Africa, India, Turkey and the UK which, in turn, has fuelled growth within the banking sector and paved the way for digital commerce, the introduction of mobile telephony and more services to the consumer. He emphasises that the country has other advantages including an incumbent prime minister who is a technocrat, a growing small business sector and spin-off advantages for vertical industries like property. This increase in competition has resulted in better prices for the consumers in DRC when compared to other African nations like South Africa.²³

Djibouti

China is funding majority of USD14.4 billion infrastructure plans in Djibouti

Chinese banks are funding 14 major infrastructure projects in Djibouti. The recently completed USD 4 billion railway line linking Djibouti with Ethiopia is just one of them. As Djibouti works to boost its economy by capitalising on its crucial location along one of the world's busiest shipping lanes, planned infrastructure projects in Djibouti total USD14.4 billion in which China has a major share. China is negotiating to have a military base in Djibouti as well. Ismail Omar Guelleh, the President of Djibouti, has welcomed the presence of Beijing in the country. The country is primarily focusing on development of its transport infrastructure with the help of the Chinese companies as the local stakeholders want to see it as the gateway from Asia to Africa. However, some Djiboutians are wary of such huge investments in a country with population of just 1 million, widespread poverty and more than 40 per cent unemployment rate.²⁴

²² "Comoros, Tanzania for better investment opportunities", *Daily News Online*, April 25, 2015, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/44119-comoro-tanzania-for-better-investment-opportunities>

²³ "DRC's digital economy on the rise", *IT Web Africa*, April 16, 2015, at <http://www.itwebafrica.com/ict-and-governance/369-congo/234496-drcs-digital-economy-on-the-rise>

²⁴ "China financing most of Djibouti's \$14.4B in planned infrastructure", *AFK Insider*, June 11, 2015, at <http://afkinsider.com/97963/china-financing-most-of-djiboutis-14-4b-in-planned-infrastructure-projects/>

Testing of Addis Ababa-Djibouti Port railway line to begin in October 2015

According to the Ethiopian Railways Corporation, the testing of an electrified railway from Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa along its main trade route to Djibouti's port will begin in October 2015. Dereje Teferra, the spokesman of the Corporation, informed that a tender would soon be floated for contracting the management of the 656-kilometer rail link that is expected to be fully operational by the end of the year. The railway line was primarily funded by the Export-Import Bank of China that gave about USD 3 billion credit to the project. Two Chinese companies, China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation and China Railway Group Ltd, are building the tracks.²⁵

Ethiopia

Two firms selected for the Grand Renaissance Dam study in Ethiopia

To carry out studies on the potential impact of Ethiopia's Grand Renaissance Dam on the flow of the Nile, Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan have selected two firms. The countries had been engaged in a war of words over the dam and its impact on flow of water in the Nile River. The identification of the two firms is a follow up framework agreement signed by these countries in March 2015 to resolve the problem. The name of the selected firms have not been announced as the three countries had agreed to announce them once they get a response from both the companies. One of the firms will be the main consultant and the other a sub-consultant to carry out water and environmental studies. They will compile the study over a 11-month period before publishing their recommendations. The Grand Renaissance Dam is expected to produce 6,000 MW electricity and help Ethiopia become the largest power exporter in Africa. According to officials, 50 per cent of the dam's construction has been completed so far.²⁶

IMF urges Ethiopia to encourage private sector

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) says that Ethiopia, one of the fastest growing economy in the world, needs more private sector investment to sustain its rapid expansion. Ethiopia has grown at the rate of more than 8 per cent for more than a decade with the help of hefty state-led investment. Currently, foreign investors also are barred from crucial sectors such as banking or telecoms in Ethiopia, making them a state monopoly. Although the IMF had forecasted that the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country would expand by 7.5 per cent in 2014-2015, it was found growing by 8.7 percent in the fiscal year ending in June 2015, and is further expected to grow 8 percent in the same period in 2015-2016. Boosting domestic and foreign resource mobilisation and reducing bottlenecks for doing business have been identified as the two key factors by the IMF to sustain rapid and broad-based growth in Ethiopia over the medium term.²⁷

²⁵ "Ethiopia to begin testing railway to Djibouti Port in October", *Bloomberg*, June 15, 2015, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-06-15/ethiopia-to-begin-testing-railway-to-djibouti-port-in-october>

²⁶ "Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan pick two firms for Nile dam study", *Reuters Africa*, April 10, 2015, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFKBN0N11EY20150410?sp=true>

²⁷ "Ethiopia needs more private sector investment to sustain growth: IMF", *The Economic Times*, June 20, 2015, at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-06-20/news/63646294_1_the-imf-ethiopia-addis-ababa

Kenya

Kenya's latest anti-terror move threatens to break Somali community's economy

Kenya has banned 86 entities and individuals in a move to counter terrorism. They are accused of financing or supporting terror activities in the country. The list is led by Mohammed Kuno, the man Kenyan government accuses of masterminding the deadly attack on a university in Garissa, a town that lies 200 km from Somali border. The government has also frozen the accounts of these entities and individuals. However, the move has come down heavily upon the *hawala* system, the informal money remittance method on which the Somalis in Kenya – both Somali Kenyans and refugees from war-torn Somalia – rely to sustain themselves. The government fears that the informality of these transactions allows money to be used to support terrorist activities. The move may cripple the local economy of Somalis in Kenya who are engaged in almost all the sectors of the economy. Approximately USD70-100 million a month is transferred between Somalis through the *hawala* system. Most of the money comes from the Somali diaspora in the United States and Europe to family and friends back home in Kenya and Somalia.²⁸

Mali

IMF: Mali on road to economic recovery

The International Monetary Fund has said that economy is poised to growth of 7.2 percent in 2014. Christian Jozs, the IMF's mission chief in Mali has praised the government for making efforts in improving the management of public finances. The recovery comes after the country was engulfed in coup in 2012 which opened the door for an Islamist incursion and French-led military intervention in January 2013 to restore democracy. Mali's Finance Minister Mamadou Igor Diarra has been quoted by the reporters saying that government was determined to fight the culture of impunity and is now focused on maintaining a successful economy for the development of Mali.²⁹

Mali invests in renewable energy

In the last few years Mali has seen considerable economic growth. The country has seen 5% annual GDP growth in 2014, with World Bank projecting that growth to continue over the coming years. With the annual rate of population growth in Mali increasing to 3.4%, the demand for power is increasing as well. In this context, Mali is looking at more sustainable ways to produce energy by harnessing energy through renewable resources. Overall, only 27% of Malian people have access to electricity. This has increased over the years but is still not sufficient because only 15% of the rural population have access to electricity compared to the 55% of urban population. The West African nation is highly dependent on thermal and hydro-power, which can be unreliable and expensive. The dependence on oil, which is imported, to fuel some of the country's power plants exposes the country to global fluctuations of fuel prices, thereby creating uncertainty in the

²⁸ "Kenya is stopping remittances of \$70 million a month from reaching its Somali community", *Quartz*, April 8, 2015, at <http://qz.com/379060/kenya-is-stopping-remittances-of-70-million-a-month-reaching-its-somali-community/>

²⁹ "Conflict-hit Mali's economy returns to strong growth: IMF", *Yahoo News*, April 24, 2015, at <http://news.yahoo.com/conflict-hit-malis-economy-returns-strong-growth-imf-225845192.html>

sector. As a result, Mali is focusing on hydro, wind and bio-fuel sources of energy production in the future.³⁰

Mozambique

World Bank gives \$50 billion loan to Mozambique

To increase access to food and improve nutrition of the population, the World Bank has granted a loan of USD50 million to Mozambique. The loan would be granted by the Association for International Development aiming to promote market-based agriculture and private sector investment in the country. This is the second funding in a series of three budget support operations for agriculture to finance a medium-term agricultural sector reform programme in Mozambique. Although the competitiveness of Mozambican agriculture has increased over the years, the sector is characterised by low productivity. These funds aim to solve some fundamental problems of the priority policy and institutional reforms to address the constraints that the agriculture sector in Mozambique faces.³¹

Mozambican graphite to be supplied to Chinese company

Triton Minerals, an Australian mining company, has signed a contract with the Yichang Xincheng Graphite Co. (YXGC) of China, to supply graphite mined in Mozambique. The USD2 billion contract is for 20 years; giving the Australian mining company the exclusive rights to supply graphite to YXGC present in Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania and Mozambique. The contract is "one of the largest in the graphite market" and an "encouraging step in the development" of projects that the company owns in Mozambique.³²

Mozambique workers ask South Africans to go

In retaliation for the pogroms against foreign workers in Durban, the South Africans working in Mozambique faced threats on April 16, 2015, but there was no violence. The Mozambican workers of gas treatment facilities of Sasol, a South African company in Inhambane province, demanded removal of the 250 South Africans working there. They organised peaceful demonstration against xenophobic riots happened in Durban, and argued that the South Africans are not welcome in Mozambique if their fellow countrymen were not treated well in South Africa.³³

³⁰ "Mali is investing in renewable energy to boost its economy", *Quartz*, May 20, 2015, at <http://qz.com/407651/mali-is-investing-in-renewable-energy-to-boost-its-economy/>

³¹ "World Bank supports agriculture in Mozambique with loan of US\$50 million", *Macauhub*, April 1, 2015, at <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2015/04/01/world-bank-supports-agriculture-in-mozambique-with-loan-of-us50-million/>

³² "Triton minerals to supply graphite from Mozambique to company in China", *Macauhub*, April 2, 2015, at <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2015/04/02/triton-minerals-to-supply-graphite-from-mozambique-to-company-in-china/>

³³ "SA workers must go - Mozambique marchers", *IOL News*, April 17, 2015, at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/sa-workers-must-go-mozambique-marchers-1.1846423#.VZz3H7Upp5Q>

Mozambique boycotts South African tourism fair 'Indaba 2015'

Mozambique decided to boycott South Africa's major tourism fair, 'Indaba 2015', to protest against the attacks on foreigners living in South Africa. 'Indaba 2015' was to be held in Durban on May 9-11. The city has been the scene of the worst xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The Mozambican Tourism Ministry and tour operators have been participating in the fair previously, showcasing their own tourist potential. However, none from the country would be present in 2015. Mozambique also decided not to participate in the African tourism ministers' meeting.³⁴

Islamic Development Bank invests in Mozambique

According to Adriano Maleiane, the Minister of Economy and Finance, Mozambique, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) has invested around US\$300 million in his country since it joined the institution in 1995. He was speaking at the press conference held to announce that the 40th annual meeting of the IDB would take place in Maputo, the Mozambican capital, on June 10, 2015. The minister informed that currently 22 IDB-funded projects valued over US\$160 million were under way in Mozambique. The investment by the IDB investment is concentrated in agriculture, education, health and water supply. Mozambique is the only Southern African Development Community (SADC) member among 23 African member countries in the 56 member IDB.³⁵

Nigeria

Oil-rich Delta in Nigeria: A challenge for Buhari government

The volatile oil-rich delta region in Nigeria has been in control of the militia commanders who had pledged allegiance to Goodluck Jonathan who was recently defeated in the presidential elections on March 28. Hence, the Buhari government is facing a challenge as to how to handle this region. The former Ijaw militants, all now wealthy businessmen after a government amnesty in 2009 had vowed that there would be a return of war like situation if Buhari wins the elections. However, since power transition, most wealthy businessmen have pledged that they are willing to move on and work with new sworn in president. Gabriel Asabuja, previously second-in-command in the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, one of the largest militant groups, has accepted the poll result. However, suspicions remain due the history of violence in the region. With the international oil-prices plummeting and Nigerian economy depending solely on revenue of this exported oil, Buharia has to find a way to keep the wealthy elites happy and at the same time be cautious that the attraction for self-determination of the oil-producing overwhelmingly Christian states that voted solidly for Jonathan and his People's Democratic Party doesn't translate into waging a war.³⁶

³⁴ "Mozambique snubs SA tourism fair", *IOL Travel*, April 30, 2015, at <http://www.iol.co.za/travel/travel-news/mozambique-snubs-sa-tourism-fair-1.1852200#.VZy7vLUpp5Q>

³⁵ "IDB has invested U.S. 300 Million Dollars in Mozambique", *All Africa*, June 7, 2015, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201506070362.html>

³⁶ "Oil-rich delta poses first big test for Nigeria's new leader", *IRIN*, April 9, 2015, at <http://www.irinnews.org/report/101342/oil-rich-delta-poses-first-big-test-for-nigeria-s-new-leader>

Seychelles

Seychelles becomes 161st WTO member

Ending 20 years of negotiations about its accession the World Trade Organisation (WTO) welcomed Seychelles as its 161st member on April 27, 2015. This entry is being considered as a good news for Seychelles' economy and thereby for the people of Seychelles. Seychelles officially became a WTO member on April 26, 2015, after the 30-day countdown to its WTO membership was activated on March 27. James Michel, the President of Seychelles, had signed the "instrument of acceptance" of Seychelles' accession protocol on March 25 confirming its membership terms.³⁷

Tanzania

EU releases aid for budget support to Tanzania

An aid of USD56.7 million to Tanzania as part of a budget support package has been released by the European Union. This aid was suspended due to charges of corruption in the country. Tanzania has been facing allegations of graft within the energy sector as it is about to start large-scale natural gas production from its huge off-shore discoveries. The EU is just a part of the group that withheld about USD500 million budget support to Tanzania last year due to charges of corruption in the government's payments to independent power producer IPTL. The EU has released the aid as it is satisfied with the steps that the government of Tanzania and other institutions have taken to deal with this case. Three senior cabinet members in the Tanzanian Government lost their jobs over the IPTL scandal and many other charge-sheets were filed against other officials. The donor group comprises of Finland, Germany, Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the European Commission, Ireland, Canada, Japan, the World Bank and the African Development Bank.³⁸

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe discards its own currency due to hyperinflation

After years of hyperinflation that at one point reached 500,000,000,000 per cent in 2008, Zimbabwean Central bank has discarded the local currency. Zimbabweans will now exchange "quadrillions" of the local dollars for a few US dollars as their government has discarded its virtually worthless currency. The country had started accepting the South African Rand and the US Dollar in 2009. Due to hyperinflation, Zimbabweans had to carry plastic bags bulging with banknotes to buy basic goods. Prices used to rise at least twice a day. Citizens who had Zimbabwean dollar accounts before March 2009 can convert their balance into US dollars starting June 15, 2015.³⁹

³⁷ "WTO welcomes Seychelles as its 161st member", *Zee News*, April 28, 2015, at http://zeenews.india.com/news/world/wto-welcomes-seychelles-as-its-161st-member_1586165.html

³⁸ "EU resumes budget support to Tanzania, releases aid funding", *Reuters*, April 16, 2015, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/16/us-tanzania-budget-corruption-idUSKBN0N70NT20150416>

³⁹ "Zimbabwe offers new exchange rate: \$1 for 35,000,000,000,000 old dollars", *The Guardian*, June 12, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/12/zimbabwe-offers-new-exchange-rate-1-for-350000000000000-old-dollars>

India-Africa Relations

Democratic Republic of Congo

India and Congo collaborate in the mining sector

On May 14 in the Udyog Bhawan, a business delegation from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) led by H. E. Mr. Raymond Tshibanda N'Tungamulongo, Minister of Foreign Affairs of DRC met Union Minister of Steel & Mines Shri Narendra Singh Tomar. They had a fruitful discussion on strengthening economic cooperation between the two countries. Shri Tomar emphasised that India will continue providing technical and financial support for capacity building and skill development to Congo. India is also aware of the rich mineral resources available in the country; hence the new government is looking for opportunities in the mining sector in addition to procurement of various metals. As per IMF, Congo is the fastest growing country in the region, hence India wants to take this opportunity to better its ties with the country and implement the new initiatives the new government.⁴⁰

Djibouti

India shifts its Yemen Embassy to Djibouti

Indian Embassy in Sana'a, the capital city of Yemen, was shifted to Djibouti on April 15, 2015 in the light of the worsening situation of the conflict in the country. The Indian Government informed its parliament that the process of the evacuation of its citizens in Yemen was completed before the relocation of the embassy from the country. The whole evacuation exercise termed as operation 'Raahat' rescued 4,741 Indians and 1,947 foreign nationals. India had received formal requests from 33 countries for assistance in evacuation of their nationals as the Indian Embassy was among the few foreign missions operational after the airstrikes in Sana'a began.⁴¹

Ethiopia

Indian company to launch electrical motorcycle in Ethiopia

Balaaji Manufacturing Plc, is launching its electrical motorcycle "scooty" in Ethiopia. It would also be assembled within the country. This is happening at a time when the Ethiopian two-wheeler market is growing at a pace of 30 per cent annually. The company feels that there is market for its product in Ethiopia as these motorcycles are a pollution free alternative. Mr Arun Jindal, the General Manager of the company, also said that it has received a good response in the country and there are plans to invest more.⁴²

⁴⁰ "India-Congo explore mutual areas of cooperation in mining", *Niti Central*, May 14, 2015, at <http://www.niticentral.com/2015/05/14/india-congo-explore-mutual-areas-of-cooperation-in-mining-313318.html>

⁴¹ "Indian Embassy in Yemen shifted to Djibouti", *The Hindu*, April 20, 2015, at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/parliament-proceedings-indian-embassy-in-yemen-shifted-to-djibouti/article7122291.ece>

⁴² "Indian-owned company to launch 'scooty' in Ethiopia", *The Times of India*, April 29, 2015, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/international-business/Indian-owned-company-to-launch-scooty-in-Ethiopia/articleshow/47087932.cms>

India's President greets Ethiopia on their National Day

Pranab Mukherjee, the President of India, extended his greetings to the Government and people of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia on the eve of their National Day. He highlighted that the two countries have a cordial and growing relationship. He hoped for further improvement in ties between the two to the mutual benefit of the countries' citizens. He wished for the continued progress and prosperity of the friendly people of Ethiopia. Ethiopia celebrates its National Day on May 28 every year.⁴³

India is the top foreign investor in land in Ethiopia

India is the biggest investor in land in Ethiopia. The 2008-09 food crises had pushed countries to look for agricultural lands abroad. The food prices including wheat, soared by 130 per cent in a single year and the United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organisation's food price index shot up 40 per cent. Land Matrix, a global land monitoring initiative, terms India one of the top 10 investors in land abroad. Indian companies account for almost 70 per cent of the land acquired by foreigners in Ethiopia after 2008. It is said that the Indian land deals in Ethiopia are due to strong convergence of domestic economic and political policies in the two countries advocating privatisation of public assets and increasing reliance on free trade and open markets. Estimates suggest that Indian firms have acquired roughly 600,000 hectares of land in Ethiopia.⁴⁴

Mozambique

ONGC and other Indian companies to invest USD6 billion more in Mozambique gas

India's Oil Minister Dharmendra Pradhan said that an investment of \$18.4 billion is required to liquefy and ship the natural gas discovered in the Rovuma Area-1 of Mozambique to the consumer countries like India. He said that the Indian State-run ONGC, OIL and BPCL would invest \$6 billion during the next four years in developing a giant gas field off the Mozambique coast and converting the natural gas into liquid for export to countries like India. Indian companies ONGC Videsh Ltd, Oil India Ltd and a unit of Bharat Petroleum Corp Ltd (BPCL) collectively hold 30 per cent interest in Rovuma Area-1. They have already invested more than US\$6 billion so far in the Mozambique field. Pradhan also said that the shipping of the first LNG from the block would happen in the end of 2018 or in early 2019. The project would be the world's largest LNG export site after ExxonMobil-run Ras Laffan in Qatar.⁴⁵

Jindal Steel and Power to build USD 400 million power plant in Mozambique

Jindal Steel and Power Limited's Africa unit has plans to build a \$400 million power station in Mozambique and signed an agreement to sell electricity to the southern African country by the

⁴³ "President Mukherjee greets Ethiopia on eve of their National Day", *DNA*, May 27, 2015, at <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-president-mukherjee-greets-ethiopia-on-eve-of-their-national-day-2089613>

⁴⁴ "The lesser known story of India's role in Ethiopian land deals", *Quartz*, June 2, 2015, at <http://qz.com/417710/the-lesser-known-story-of-indias-role-in-ethiopian-land-deals/>

⁴⁵ "ONGC, others line up \$6 billion investment in Mozambique", *DNA*, April 13, 2015, at <http://www.dnaindia.com/money/report-ongc-others-line-up-6-billion-investment-in-mozambique-2077044>

end of 2015. Ashish Kumar, the company's Africa CEO, said that the construction can be started immediately after the signing of the commercial agreement. It would take about 30 months to build the 150 megawatt plant. He also informed that the company's Chirodzi coal mine in Mozambique, currently producing around 3 million tonnes per annum (MTPA), could produce 10 million MTPA within 18 months once the coal price slump ends. The mine had exported its first shipment of coal in the first quarter of 2013. A low in global coal prices and logistical constraints have currently curtailed Mozambique's ambitions to export its massive coal reserves.⁴⁶

Nigeria

India eyes Nigeria for Agro production and Telecommunication

India is wooing Nigeria to enhance its cooperation in the agriculture science, production and telecommunication sector. The High Commissioner, A. R. Ghanshyam said that he was in Kaduna to woo the state to partner with his country in the areas of modern agricultural development and industrial renewal. The new government has identified Nigeria as one of the countries to partner with in terms of business relations and move beyond just dealing with the oil sector. Ghanshyam emphasized that Nigeria has an excellent potential for trade and investment cooperation sectors like pharmaceuticals, agricultural production and telecommunication and agriculture.⁴⁷

Seychelles

Seychelles records 120 per cent rise in Indian tourist arrivals

The first quarter of the year 2015 in Seychelles experienced a 120 per cent surge in Indian tourist arrivals against the corresponding period in 2014. The surge can be attributed to innovative marketing tactics, educating and holding the travel trade and commencement of direct flights between the two nations. Visa-on-arrival facility in the tropical island was another key factor for the boosted tourist arrivals from India. Noticing the good response to its efforts, the Seychelles Tourism Board now wishes to develop the country into a key emerging tourist market. Seychelles and India have improved connectivity with Air Seychelles operating direct flights of just around 4 hours from Mumbai while Emirates, Etihad and Srilankan connecting major Indian cities to the islands via Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Colombo.⁴⁸

Union Cabinet approves MoU on renewable energy with Seychelles

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on renewable energy signed between India and Seychelles during the Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Seychelles from March 10-11, 2015 was approved by the Union Cabinet on May 6, 2015. A statement said, "The objective of the MoU

⁴⁶ "Jindal says to build \$400 mn power plant in Mozambique", *Firstpost*, June 4, 2014, at <http://www.firstpost.com/business/jindal-says-to-build-400-mn-power-plant-in-mozambique-2279966.html>

⁴⁷ "India woos Nigeria on Agro production and Telecommunication", *Channels TV*, May, 2, 2015, at <http://www.channelstv.com/2015/05/02/india-woos-nigeria-on-agro-production-and-telecommunication/>

⁴⁸ "Seychelles witnesses 120% surge in Indian arrivals", *The Economic Times*, April 10, 2015, at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-04-10/news/61017954_1_air-seychelles-direct-flights-tourist-arrivals

is to strengthen, promote and develop renewable energy cooperation between the two countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.”⁴⁹

Tanzania

Tanzania looking to India for its urban metro project

Tanzania’s President Jakaya Kikwete requested India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi to build a metro rail network in his country. Kikwete was on an official visit to India. Tanzania is looking for Indian funds to build a metro rail network in Dar-es-Salaam, its commercial capital. Dar-es-Salaam is one of the fastest-growing cities in sub-Saharan Africa with a population of about 4 million, and has a crippling traffic problem. Kikwete mentioned that India’s Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services Ltd (IL&FS) had expressed interest in investing in the metro rail in his country. Tanzania has declared a plan to spend around US\$2 billion to build new roads and a bus rapid transit system to unclog traffic in Dar-es-Salaam.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ “Indian cabinet approves MoU with Seychelles on renewable energy”, *The New Indian Express*, May 6, 2015, at <http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/Indian-Cabinet-Approves-MoU-With-Seychelles-on-Renewable-Energy/2015/05/06/article2800647.ece>

⁵⁰ “Tanzania seeking India funding for urban metro project”, *The Times of India*, June 20, 2015, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/Tanzania-seeking-India-funding-for-urban-metro-project/articleshow/47749369.cms>

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.

About the IDSA Africa, Latin America, Caribbean & UN Centre

The Centre's research focus includes understanding developments in the African region and analysing various hotspots like Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and the Indian Ocean Region. It also focuses on bilateral, regional as well as multilateral engagements between India and the countries of Africa. The Centre also endeavours to analyse India's engagement with Latin American countries, particularly in forums such as the IBSA and BRICS.

In addition, the Centre carries out research on the broader theme of India and the United Nations. It deals with important topics that come up in the Security Council and those that hold relevance and significance to India's foreign policy.

Cover page courtesy: Mr Saurabh Mishra & Ms Geeta



Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

No.1, Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg,

Delhi Cantt., New Delhi - 110 010

Tel.: (91-11) 2671-7983 Fax: (91-11) 2615 4191

Website: <http://www.idsa.in>

E-mail: contactus@idsa.in