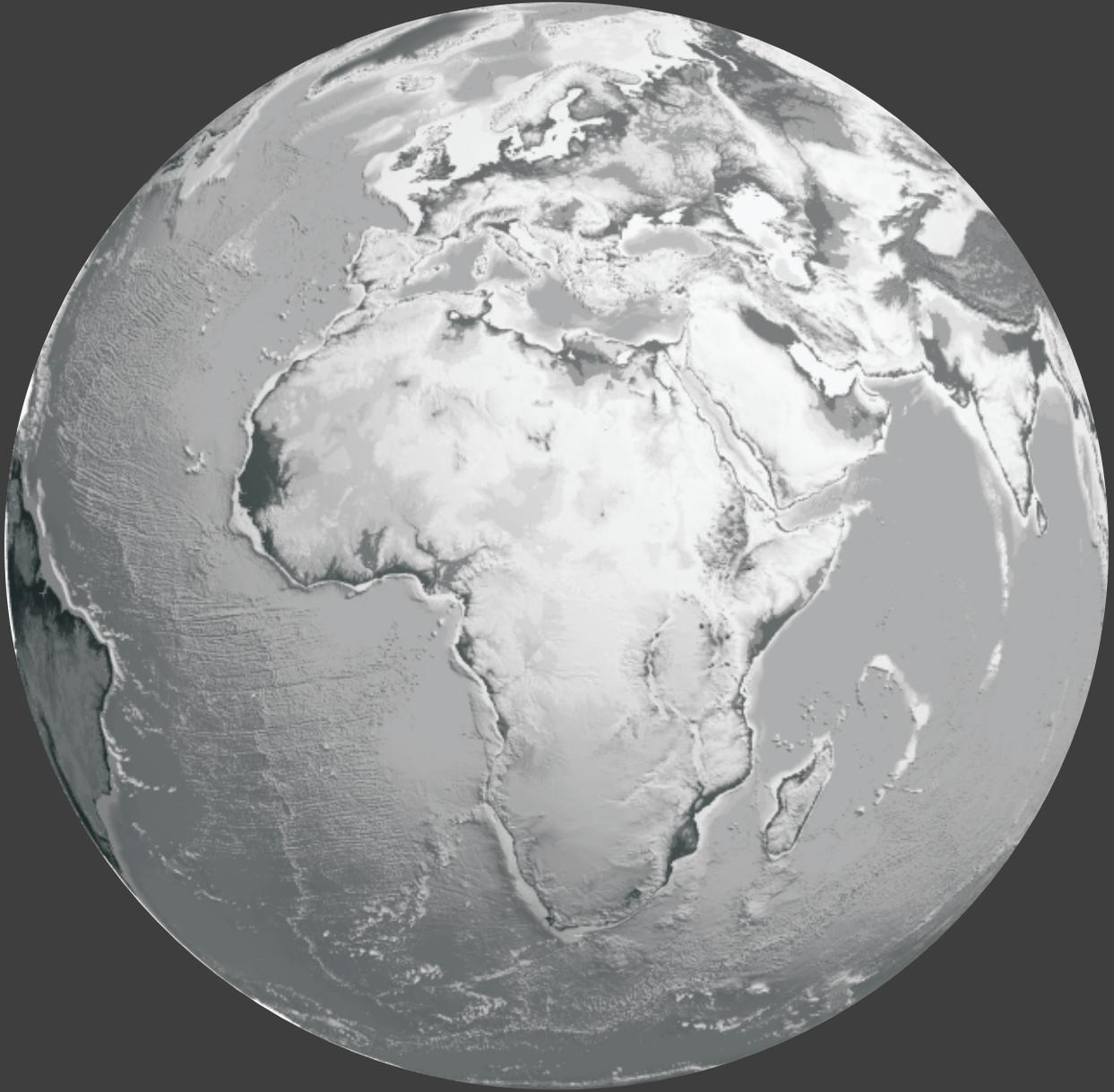


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Editor's Note

The last quarter of 2015 was a happening time for Africa's relations with two of its important partners, India and China. While the Third India-Africa Forum Summit was held in October 2015 in New Delhi, India, the Johannesburg Summit and the Sixth Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation was held in December 2015 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Multilaterally, on the heels of the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals in September 2015, the Paris Climate Change Summit or the Conference of Parties 21 in December 2015, provided the occasion for a reflection on the linkage between growth and environment. Scholarly articles in this issue of *Africa Trends* reflect on these developments.

In the Cover Story, Rajneesh Verma unravels the nature of the economic relationship between Africa and China in the context of the slowdown of the Chinese economy and argues that Africa would be affected if China's growth falls below a certain threshold. In one *Commentary*, Ruchita Beri reflects on the India Africa Forum Summit and identifies areas that will be of priority in furthering the partnership. In a second *Commentary*, Avinash Godbole comments on the FOCAC summit and contends that despite the slowdown in its economy, China's deep commitment to its relationship with Africa seems unwavering in the light of the quantum of funds allocated to the Forum. In the *Viewpoint*, Satyam Malviya points to the fortuitous coming together of the multilateral Sustainable Development Goals and Climate Change plans with Africa's own multilateral Agenda 2063 and argues that their synergy would go a long way in addressing Africa's problems. In the *Book Review* section, Mangaleibi Sarungbam, reviews Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly authored *Africa Uprisings: Popular Protest and Political Change*. The book, she argues, is a convincing study of the force of the urban poor in bringing about a new consciousness regarding the urgency of poverty alleviation.

The highlights of the newstrack for the last quarter as regards India-Africa relations was the allocation of \$ 10 billion for Africa's benefit at the India Africa Forum Summit and an enthusiastic response from Africa for PM Narendra Modi solar alliance. The two sides also came together with China to express developing country concerns during the Doha Ministerial of the WTO. China too was in the news for allocation \$ 60 billion for Africa's benefit at the FOCAC. In addition, it has invested in the construction of Tanzania's largest port at Bagamoyo and provided Ethiopia with its first urban metro service. On the political front, Gambia re-elected its President for a second term, who declared it to be an Islamic republic. The tripartite agreement on the Grand Renaissance Dam was finally signed by Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan. On the peace and security front, Africa's 25,000 strong multinational standby force that would take on most of peacekeeping tasks in the continent commenced training in South Africa. As the ISIS seems to be finding a foothold in Somalia, piracy had reduced substantially. The UN Security Council has extended the mandate of the joint naval forces fighting piracy in Somalia and has increased support for the African Union Mission to Somalia.

We hope you will find this an interesting read.

Cover Story

WILL CHINA'S ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN DENT AFRICA'S RISE?

In the twenty first century, China ventured into Africa for new markets for goods and services, natural resources especially oil, timber, metals and minerals and for political and economic influence. There is a broad consensus amongst scholars and policy makers that China's foreign policy and diplomacy in Africa is being driven by commercial interests and domestic economic imperatives.

Rajneesh Verma*

After almost three decades of double digit economic growth, China's economic growth declined to 6.9 per cent in October-December 2015, less than the government's target of 7 per cent growth per annum. There is a broad consensus that the numbers are incorrect. Some economists and analysts opine that the economic growth rate is in the range of 3-5 per cent. According to the Chinese government, the 'new normal' is 7 per cent. However, some analysts state that 5.5-6.0 per cent growth is more realistic.

China is the second largest economy in the world and the economic slowdown has had a negative impact on the world economy. This can be attested by the decline in bourses across the globe and decline in the economic forecasts of the global economy. China has increased its footprint exponentially in Africa since 2001. In 2002, China's trade with sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) was USD 20 billion and China-Africa trade was forecast to touch USD 300 billion in 2015. China's investment in Africa increased from USD 1 billion in 2000 to USD 100 billion in 2015. China surpassed the US to become Africa's largest trading partner in 2009.

According to the IMF, a 1 per cent decline in China's growth rate leads to a 0.6 per cent fall in exports from Africa with larger effects on resource rich countries...

China's economic slowdown has led to a decrease in trade and investment in Africa. African exports to China decreased by 38 per cent to USD 67 billion in 2015. China's investment in Africa declined by approximately 84 per cent to USD 568 million in the first half of 2015 relative to USD 3.54 billion in the first half of 2014. According to the IMF, a 1 per cent decline in China's growth rate leads to a 0.6 per cent fall in exports from Africa with larger effects on resource rich countries like Zambia, Democratic

Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Africa. The IMF has cut its growth forecast for Africa. It revised down its estimate for SSA for the financial year 2015 from 4.4 per cent in July 2015 to 3.8 per cent in October 2015 amidst warnings that growth could decline further.¹ In 2014, the region

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grew at 5 per cent and after downward revisions is forecast to grow at 3.7 per cent in 2016 and 4.3 per cent in 2017.²

China's slowdown will dent 'Africa's rise'

Will China's slowdown dent 'Africa's rise'? – a catchphrase that symbolized a growing middle class and domestic demand. This is causing a lot of anxiety worldwide and especially in Africa. At a press conference in Malawi on January 31, 2016, China's Minister for Foreign Affairs Wang Yi denied claims that China's economic slowdown has affected development in Africa. Is this political rhetoric or is there some substance in his assertion? Analysts comment that the narrative of 'Africa is rising' was not entirely true and the argument of 'Africa is no longer rising' is also false.³ The answer to the billion dollar question "will China's slowdown dent 'Africa's rise'?" is that it is contingent on various factors including the rate of growth in China.

Economic growth in Africa in 2015-2017 will decline relative to growth before 2014 but it will still be higher than the global average.

In the twenty first century, China ventured into Africa for new markets for goods and services, natural resources especially oil, timber, metals and minerals and for political and economic influence. There is a broad consensus amongst scholars and policy makers that China's foreign policy and diplomacy in Africa is being driven by commercial interests and domestic economic imperatives. Africa is an important player in China's strategic calculation and its engagement with Africa will not change fundamentally.⁴

Economic growth in Africa in 2015-2017 will decline relative to growth before 2014 but it will still be higher than the global average.⁵ However, Africa is not a monolith. It has 54 countries which have been impacted differently by slowdown in China. Some countries will be more severely affected, some less affected and others will experience rapid growth. China's engagement will decline with countries where the operating cost and opportunity costs for China's state owned enterprises (SOEs) are high leading to decline in their operations.

The eight oil exporters in SSA which account for 50 per cent of the regions GDP and mine owning countries such as Nigeria, Angola, South Africa, Zambia, Guinea and Sierra Leone will be most severely affected. These countries did not diversify their economy and suffer from the 'Dutch Disease'. They are experiencing a double whammy of decline in demand from China which in turn has exacerbated the decline in prices for most of the commodities. According to economists, South Africa, the biggest exporter of iron ore to China may slide into recession in 2016 although the government disputes this. In Zambia which relies heavily on China for copper exports, with copper accounting for 70 per cent of Zambia's exports and 86 per cent of its revenue, 6,000 jobs have been lost because the price has declined significantly since mid 2014.

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On the other hand, some low income countries will continue to experience strong growth. Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania among others which were forced to diversify their economy in some measure because of lack of extractive resources will be relatively less affected. These countries followed prudent policies, undertook structural reforms and ceteris paribus will continue to experience robust growth in the near future. Ivory Coast, DRC and Mozambique are expected to grow at more than 7 per cent in 2016 according to the IMF.

The economic slowdown in China has not only affected the growth in some African countries but has also given rise to macroeconomic problems such as large current account deficits, fiscal deficits due to less tax collection from job losses and increase in interest rates to prevent further depreciation of the currency and capital flight. An increase in interest rates leads to increase in the borrowing cost and decrease in investment resulting in lower growth. South African Rand has declined in value recently - 10 per cent on Jan 11 2016 - because of decline in worldwide commodity prices which can be attributed to some extent to decline in demand from China and poor government policies. South Africa is experiencing the worst drought in more than two decades and the weak Rand will hurt when it tries to import corn, the staple food of the country. In December 2015, Nigeria's currency the Naira also declined (in the black market) by approximately 25 per cent from 240 to 300 naira for USD 1 and foreign exchange controls were introduced by the central bank. Angola's currency Kwanza has declined by 24 per cent in 2015 and the central bank increased interest rates four times and devalued the currency twice in the year. Zambia's currency has declined by 45 per cent in the last one year. The government has increased interest rates to 15.5 per cent to control inflation and support the currency. Weakening currencies will make it harder for Nigeria, Sudan and especially Angola (which has taken loans of approximately USD 25 billion) to repay China for loans used for large infrastructure projects and for Zambia and Kenya to make interest payments on the Eurobonds. The sovereign debt ratings of Nigeria, Angola, Kenya, Mozambique and Ghana have been downgraded in 2015.

Falling growth rates will also impact development in Africa. There will be reduction in poverty alleviation which may give rise to increase social tensions and political instability and exacerbate these in other cases. In Nigeria, oil accounts for 80 per cent of government's revenue. Due to fall in price, the government may lack the necessary resources to deal with Boko Haram and control potential unrest in the Niger Delta. In Angola, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is under extreme pressure. In July 2015, he stated that he would step down in 2017 and in October 2015, the government announced that it was cutting spending by 53 per cent. In other countries, it may also lead to toppling of democratic regimes or stymie democratic transitions and political reforms or even lead to reversals in the democratisation processes.

China's slowdown will not dent 'Africa's rise' to a significant extent

China has a huge economic base of USD 11 trillion. Demand for natural resources, especially metals, is still growing but not as fast as was expected by mining companies.

However, the impact of slow down of China on Africa will not be that severe in the medium term. Although there has been a decline in growth rate, China has a huge economic base of USD 11 trillion. Demand for natural resources, especially metals, is still growing but not as fast as was expected by mining companies. Chinese FDI in extractive industries like coal, oil and gas and metals increased from USD 141 million in the first half of 2014 to USD 289 million during the same period in 2015. Debt-financed investment in Africa - which is more important than FDI - will continue to increase. At the FOCAC Summit in Johannesburg in December

2015, President Xi Jinping announced USD 60 billion to finance 10 projects. The projects will be financed from Chinese domestic and foreign reserves which are not related to trade figures. Moreover, increasing number of Chinese companies will look up to Africa for markets as economic growth in China falls. This along with cheaper imports from China of steel, phones and other finished products could help reduce inflation in Africa.

The slowdown in China also provides an excellent opportunity to Africa to diversify its economy,

and more importantly, to undertake structural reforms. This will lead to smoothening of economic growth in the medium term. The crisis may also lead to innovation in the technology sector as companies try to remain profitable by reducing costs and innovators try to create solutions in areas with low costs for startups. For instance the 'one network agreement' in the East Africa Community (EAC) led to reduced tariff and increased revenues for telecom operators.

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Although China is Africa's single largest trading partner, Western countries together have higher trade with Africa.⁶ Moreover, increase in trade with China is a recent phenomenon and is not deep rooted. The US, France, India, Germany, UAE and other countries will increase investment in Africa which will to a great extent offset China's slowdown. These countries were crowded out to a great extent by China. The crisis also provides an excellent opportunity to diversify export markets such as Southeast Asia for agricultural exports. There is also a great scope for intra African trade which may provide alternative export markets. In 2015, a Tripartite Trade Agreement was signed comprising EAC, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa and Southern African Development Cooperation with a combined GDP of USD 1 trillion GDP and a market of 650 million people. If it becomes operational, it will offset the decline in exports to China.

Conclusion

The real extent of how much Africa is affected by the slowdown in China will depend on the rate of economic growth in China. If China grows at 6.5 per cent, Africa should not be severely affected. However, if China grows at 5 per cent or less, Africa might be severely affected. Most of the African countries failed to undertake structural reforms, invest in generation of electricity and creating manufacturing jobs during the boom years which would have cushioned the impact of China's slowdown. There was lack of fiscal prudence and corruption and poor governance have exacerbated the problems. Governments in Africa should bear in mind that international trade and investment is not necessarily an engine of growth, but a handmaiden of growth.

¹ Andrew England, "African Growth Feels the Strain from China's Economic Slowdown", *Financial Times*, October 27, 2015, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ef4d851a-7bc5-11e5-98fb-5a6d4728f74e.html#axzz407wrsoNm>, (accessed February 12, 2016).

² World Economic Outlook, "Slower Growth in Emerging Markets, a Gradual Pickup in Advanced Economies", *IMF*, July 9, 2015, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2015/update/02/pdf/0715.pdf>, (accessed January 22, 2016).

- ³ Simon Freemantle, "Simon Freemantle: Forget 'Africa Rising' – Take a Deeper Look", *GE Reports*, November 5, 2015, <http://www.gereports.com/debate/debate-is-africa-still-rising/>, (accessed February 12, 2016).
- ⁴ Stephen Chan, "Can Africa Cope With China's Economic Downturn?," *Newsweek*, January 1, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/how-africa-can-deal-chinas-downturn-416213>, (accessed February 12, 2016).
- ⁵ Op. Cit. n. 2.
- ⁶ Op. Cit., n. 4.

Commentary

THIRD INDIA AFRICA FORUM SUMMIT: KEY OUTCOMES

India hosted the third India Africa Forum Summit from October 26-30, 2015. The summit concluded with an agreement to set up a monitoring mechanism that will evaluate the implementation of the projects planned during the summit. It is hoped that India will work towards delivering all the promises made in New Delhi.

Ruchita Beri*

India hosted the third India Africa Forum Summit from October 26-30, 2015. This summit was important on three counts. First, it was the largest gathering of African countries on Indian soil. This meeting brought together representatives from all 54 African countries, including 40 Heads of States, to contemplate on ways and means to take this close partnership forward. Second, it presented the occasion for the African countries to reiterate the special nature of the relationship with India. In words of Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari, "Africa has a number of partnership arrangements with other countries of the world, but this promises to be different as it is not only a partnership between friends, but between countries and peoples who have had similar historical experiences of colonial rule."² Third, this summit called for greater cooperation between India and Africa towards sustainable development, agricultural growth, energy access, blue economy, education, skills enhancement and peace and security.

Sustainable Development

This summit reaffirmed that development cooperation is the cornerstone of India-Africa partnership. This is reflected first and foremost in the theme, "*Partners in progress: towards a dynamic and transformative development agenda.*" The summit calls for India and Africa working together towards an inclusive economic growth to eradicate poverty and allocate resources for sustainable development as defined in Africa's agenda 2063 and its first ten year implementation plan as well as the sustainable development goals under the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development and the development priorities of India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi reiterated that India is 'honoured' to be development partner for Africa.³ Since the first India Africa Forum Summit in 2008, India has committed 7.4 billion dollars in concessional credit for nearly 140 projects in 40 African countries. It has also provided 1.2 billion dollars in grant to African countries. It is also involved in creating 100 capacity building institutions in Africa.

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During the current summit, India gave a push towards enhancing cooperation in this crucial area by offering additional 10 billion US dollars in concessional credit over the next five years. It has also offered a grant assistance of 600 million US dollars. This will include an India Africa Development Fund of 10 million US dollars.⁴

Agricultural Growth

India has recognised that Africa has 60 percent of the world's arable land. So agriculture can drive the continent's economic growth. In this regard during the summit both sides agreed to further increase cooperation in improving farming techniques through appropriate and affordable technology, improving crop varieties and other measures. At the same time they have decided to jointly work towards evolving efficient methods of water management and irrigation. Both India and African countries also called for raising the investments in agribusiness and food processing industry.

Energy Access

Access to sustainable energy for all is one of the major challenges facing the world today. An estimated 1.3 billion people across the world do not have access to electricity. Of these, about 634 million are in Africa and 237 million in India.⁵ The lack of modern and clean sources of energy is increasingly perceived as a vital impediment for sustainable growth in both Africa and India. It is no wonder that the third India Africa Forum Summit strived to intensify cooperation in renewable energy sources, such as, wind, hydroelectricity, geothermal and solar. In a bid to move away from the polluting fossil fuels, Prime Minister Modi also mooted the idea of a global solar alliance during the summit. This alliance would bring together 121 tropical countries also called "sunshine nations", including those from Africa...

including those from Africa, to share technology and raise funding from member countries and international agencies.⁶

Blue Economy

In recent years, a global debate has emerged on the importance of blue economy for sustainable economic development. The concept of blue economy primarily refers to "all economic activities related to the ocean seas and coasts".⁷ The focus is on sustainable economic development of the ocean resources. India has recognised that the livelihood of a large sections of people in India and Africa are dependent on oceans which have emerged as new frontiers of development. Therefore the summit called for greater cooperation through training, capacity building and joint projects.⁸

Education and Skill Enhancement

In May 2015, the African Union launched the Africa Agenda 2063, a 50 year plan to rejuvenate the continent. This plan aspires, among other things, to have well educated people and a skills' revolution by the year 2063 within the African continent. Recognising the African needs in this field India has offered to further its partnership in this crucial area. During the summit the Prime Minister Modi noted that "two thirds of India and two thirds of Africa is under the age of 35 years" and that the "future belongs to the youth".⁹ Therefore India proposed to cooperate in

education and training in areas such as: information technology, agriculture, engineering, small and medium entrepreneurship, health and science. India has also pledged to provide 50,000 scholarships in India to African students in the next five years and set up institutions that help augmenting African capacities across the continent.¹⁰

Peace and Security

Over the years, endemic conflicts have contributed to economic decline and added to the suffering of the people in Africa. The key drivers of conflict are poor governance, political and ethnic exclusion, poverty, unequal distribution of resources, terrorism and violent extremism etc. India recognised that peace and security is essential for Africa's development and progress. It has been reported that in 2014 Africa accounted for more than half of worldwide conflict incidents.¹¹

The good news is that these conflicts are limited to certain specific regions and countries of the fifty four-nation continent. African countries have taken initiatives to ameliorate this situation. Since 2002 they have developed the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). This includes instruments such as the Peace and Security Council, Continental Early Warning Programme, African Standby force and a Panel of Wise to deal with any crisis on the continent. However the ambitious APSA has been only been marginally successful in resolving or preventing conflict in the region.¹² On May 2010, the African countries pledged to end the wars on the continent by the year 2020. This initiative called "Silencing of Guns by 2020" is a key priority area under AU's Agenda 2063. During the third India Africa summit, India has promised to intensify its efforts to keep peace in Africa. This will be possible through supporting African efforts in diverse fields, such as, peace keeping training, maritime and space security, countering terrorism and sharing best practices in dealing with cybersecurity.¹³

This initiative called "Silencing of Guns by 2020" is a key priority area under AU's Agenda 2063.

In addition to the inking of new initiative such as the solar alliance, blue economy, peacekeeping training and cyber security, the summit ended with an agreement to set up a monitoring mechanism that will evaluate the implementation of the projects planned during the summit.¹⁴ It is hoped that India will work towards delivering all the promises made in New Delhi.

¹ Address by Muhammadu Buhari President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the plenary session of the Third India-Africa Forum Summit New Delhi, October 29, 2015, at <http://www.iafs.in/downloads/speeches/nigeria-29th.pdf> (accessed February 5, 2016).

² Speech by Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi at the Inaugural Ceremony of the Third India-Africa Forum Summit, October 26, 2015, New Delhi at http://www.iafs.in/speeches-detail.php?speeches_id=276 (accessed February 10, 2016).

² Ibid.

⁴ International Energy Agency, Energy Access database at <http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org/resources/energydevelopment/energyaccessdatabase/> (accessed March 1, 2016).

- ⁵ Mayank Aggarwal and Elizabeth Roche, “Modi to launch Climate alliance on the first day of Paris climate Summit”, 2 December 2015, at <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/v38XtCkGXRtXtG60gLx9K/Modi-to-launch-solar-alliance-on-first-day-of-Paris-climate.html> (accessed February 12, 2016). See also, Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, “International Solar Alliance will be the First International and Inter-Governmental Organisation of 121 Countries to have Headquarters in India with United Nations as Strategic Partner”, January 25, 2016 at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=135794>
- ⁶ SK Mohanty and others. *Prospects of blue economy in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, RIS, 2015, p.6 at http://ris.org.in/pdf/Final_Blue_Economy_Report_2015-Website.pdf (accessed March 4, 2016)
- ⁷ Third India-Africa Forum summit 2015: India-Africa framework for strategic cooperation at http://www.iafs.in/documents-detail.php?archive_id=323 (accessed February 10, 2016)
- ⁸ Speech by Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, n.2.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Peter Dorrie, “The wars ravaging Africa in 2016”, January 22, 2016 at <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-wars-ravaging-africa-2016-14993> (accessed February 20, 2016).
- ¹¹ Alex Vines, “A decade of African Peace and Security Architecture”, *International Affairs*, 89 (1), January 2013, at <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/ia/archive/view/188373#sthash.bofSlA8i.dpuf> (accessed February 10, 2016).
- ¹² Third India Africa Forum Summit, n.7.
- ¹³ Ibid.

Commentary

FOCAC- CHINA'S DEEPENING ENGAGEMENT WITH AFRICA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The FOCAC process began in 2000 under the Presidency of Jiang Zemin when the first ministerial meeting was held in Beijing and has come a long way since then as a show of evolving Chinese interests in the African continent. Africa in many ways has been a learning ground for China's international role. What China has been doing in the continent must be watched closely as it showcases the future of Chinese power.

Avinash Godbole*

The Second Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit and the Sixth Ministerial Conference was held in Johannesburg, South Africa in December 2015. Among other things, this forum caught global attention for China's announcement of a \$60 billion fund for economic cooperation with African countries. The fact that this fund surpasses the One Belt One Road (OBOR) fund of \$40 billion and the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) fund \$46 billion says a lot about the importance China attaches to Africa.

The present commitment of \$60 billion is also three times the commitment of \$20 billion made in 2012 when FOCAC met the last time. This was also followed by a supplementary lending package of \$10 billion in 2014. A closer look reveals that the 2015 commitments only bring together the disaggregated financial commitments China had made to Africa earlier, like the developmental assistance fund or China Africa Development Fund (CAD fund) which was hitherto outside the purview of the FOCAC loans and grants.¹

The FOCAC process began in 2000 under the Presidency of Jiang Zemin when the first ministerial meeting was held in Beijing and has come a long way since then as a show of evolving Chinese interests in the African continent. Africa, in many ways, has been a learning ground for China's international role. What China has been doing in the continent must be watched closely as it showcases the future of Chinese power. There are many examples of this. It was the Sudan conflict where China first took a proactive position on an internationally significant conflict; it was in Mali that China sent its first combatant unit under the UN peacekeeping framework in 2013; and Djibouti will be the first location of the People's Liberation Army's overseas base. Djibouti can also be Africa's access point for the OBOR projects. Africa has

Africa, in many ways, has been a learning ground for China's international role. What China has been doing in the continent must be watched closely as it showcases the future of Chinese power.

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Africa has been a battleground between China and Taiwan for diplomatic recognition.

also been a site for China to isolate Dalai Lama, as when South Africa denied him a visa for the Nobel peace summit in 2014.² Additionally, Africa has been a battleground between China and Taiwan for diplomatic recognition.³ In 1949, 30 African countries had recognized Taiwan. However, now Taiwan has formal diplomatic relations with only three countries including Burkina Faso, Sao Tome and Principe and Swaziland. China's financial support has led to this transition. At the same time, China and Taiwan had used monetary means to sway each other's diplomatic partners until the two sides reached an agreement to put a stop to this. This form of relationship has been called "cheque book diplomacy".⁴

The \$60 billion commitment made by China is divided into five sub-areas. These include,

1. \$5 billion of free aid and interest-free loans
2. \$35 billion of preferential loans and export credit on more favorable terms
3. \$5 billion of additional capital for the China-Africa Development Fund
4. \$5 billion of the Special Loan for the Development of African SMEs each and
5. China-Africa production capacity cooperation fund with the initial capital of \$10 billion.⁵

While the major target of funding is infrastructure development, some of the earlier commitments made at FOCAC were aimed fundamentally at propelling economic growth in the countries. FOCAC cooperation and focus on industrialisation in Africa has also helped improve China's image in Africa as not being only a resource-extracting country.

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China has also committed to help Africa improve its human resource capacity as part of the FOCAC process. In addition, there is a process for cooperation in the field of agriculture that will improve the food processing industry in Africa.⁶ China's commitment for the human resource development in Africa has also been mentioned in its white paper on Africa wherein it pledged to increase its commitment to human resource development in Africa by ways of training and education, increased exchanges for teachers and students, institutional partnerships between Africa and China for learning best practices and teacher training and vocational training programs for African countries.⁷

The Chinese support fund announced in 2015 is aimed at covering areas like industrialization, agricultural modernization, infrastructure, financial services, green development, trade and investment facilitation, poverty reduction and public welfare, public health, people-to-people exchanges, and peace and security, according to the FOCAC press release.⁸ In his keynote address at the Johannesburg FOCAC Summit, China's President Xi Jinping proposed, "that the new type of China-Africa strategic partnership be upgraded to a comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership".⁹

The trajectory of FOCAC shows that China's commitment to Africa is of a long-term nature. China is also conscious of the number of UN votes that the African countries have and this was also mentioned by Xi Jinping in referring to the importance of African unity. At the same time, there are obvious challenges that are not addressed as of now. These include corruption and bribery,

support for military regimes, indirect interference in the form of rigged elections and violations of human rights.¹⁰ FOCAC is a work in progress and so is China's engagement in Africa; it needs to be studied closely. The Johannesburg Summit assured China's African dialogue partners that economic slowdown in China would not affect its engagement with the region. African development needs complement China's excessive capacity during the era of domestic economic slowdown. Therefore, the FOCAC process allows China to fulfil the twin aims of domestic and foreign policy.

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- ¹ For more see, Kai Xue (2015), "FOCAC 2015: Making sense of the numbers", *Chinafrica Project*, December 30, 2015, <http://www.chinaafricaproject.com/focac-2015-making-sense-of-the-numbers/>, (accessed 12 February 2016).
 - ² The Guardian (2014), "Dalai Lama denied South Africa visa for Nobel Summit", September 4, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/04/dalai-lama-denied-south-africa-visa-nobel-summit>, (accessed 12 February 2016).
 - ³ Shannon Tiezzi (2013), "Why Taiwan's Allies are flocking to Beijing", *The Diplomat*, November 19, 2013, <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/why-taiwans-allies-are-flocking-to-beijing/>, (accessed February 14, 2016)
 - ⁴ For more see, Ivan Broadhead (2015), "Taiwan on diplomatic eggshells with three remaining African Allies", *South China Morning Post Magazine*, December 6, 2015, <http://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/article/1886336/taiwan-diplomatic-eggshells-three-remaining-african-allies>, (accessed March 3, 2016).
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 - ¹⁰ See for example, Katy Migiro (2014), "China's Aid to Africa funds Corruption", *Business Day*, November 20, 2014, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/africa/africanews/2014/11/20/chinas-aid-to-africa-funds-corruption-says-report>, (accessed March 8, 2016)

Viewpoint

AN AFRICAN MOMENT: UN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Out of 2,900 billion tonnes, the world now has only 1000 giga tonnes of carbon dioxide to be dispersed into the atmosphere by 2100 in order to maintain the 2 degree Celsius commitment. If Africa takes the path of business as usual, it will emit around 50 billion tonnes of carbon dioxide i.e. 5.5% of the remaining carbon budget. It is under these circumstances that Africa hopes to achieve the goals of the first Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063.

Satyam Malaviya*

“Can the world prevent catastrophic climate change while building the energy systems needed to sustain growth, create jobs and lift millions of people out of poverty? That question goes to the heart of the defining development challenges of the 21st century. It is a vital question for Africa. No region has done less to contribute to the climate crisis, but no region will pay a higher price for failure to tackle it”¹ Kofi Annan

The adoption of sustainable development goals is an African moment which simultaneously speaks to many aspects climate change.

The words of Kofi Annan resonate the concerns of billions of people living either in the developed west or the developing south. Keeping planetary stability at its core, world leaders met in 2015 to comply with two instrumental documents, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with an Agenda for 2030 and the Conferences of Parties twenty first meeting in Paris (COP 21) which came up with an agreement commonly known as the Paris Climate Agreement (to be opened for ratification from April 26, 2016). The foundation of these documents rest upon the idea of ‘sustainable development’ i.e. adopting and endorsing the means and methods of growth that not only benefit the current generation but are also beneficial for upcoming generations. The adoption of sustainable development goals is an African moment which simultaneously speaks to many aspects climate change.

Learning from Millennium Development Goal (MDGs)

It was in September 2000 when the world leaders gathered at the Millennium Summit to adopt the UN Millennium Declaration. Under this declaration, nations committed to a global partnership to reduce extreme poverty, set out time bound targets up to 2015. If looked at in terms of indicators

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for respective MDGs, the African story is satisfactory enough. But as the saying goes, the devil lies in details.

<i>Millennium Development Goals</i>	<i>African Experience</i>
1.Eradicate Poverty & Hunger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Portion of Sub-Saharan living less than \$1.25 changed from 56.5%(1990) to 48.4% (2010)
2.Achieving Universal Primary Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Net primary enrolment increased from 64%(2000) to at least 75% (2012)
3.Promote Gender Equality & Empower Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More than 30% of seats are being held by women in African Parliament
4.Reduce Child Mortality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduced from 146 per 1000 live births (1990) to 91 per 1000 live births (2011)
5.Maternal Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduced maternal health +by 42%, it has decreased from 745 deaths per 100,000 live births in 1990 to 429 deaths per 100,000.
6.Comabt HIV/AIDS, Malaria & other disease	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The number of new HIV infections per year per 100 people aged 15-49 years, was more than halved in Southern, West and Central Africa; fell by 46 per cent in East Africa
7.Ensure Environment Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 1990-2009, only 20 African countries reduced their CO₂ emission, while 34 increased
8.Develop a Global Partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total Official Development Assistance to all the land locked sub-Saharan countries increased by 2%

Source- MDG Report 2015 Summary, September 2015²

For instance, only three in 29 countries in Africa reduced hunger at the rate of 50% under MDG sponsorship; overall the African pace in reducing hunger is less than 7.0%. Poverty is still a burning issue, though African economies are projected to grow faster than any economy in the world. Most of the workers are employed in low wages and low productivity jobs. Furthermore, in terms of rate of achieving primary education, one in every three student enrolled drops out of school because of either late entry or poverty. Also, 30% students with six years of school education cannot even read. The status of women in African society is worse. They are now being used as a means of wages to pay the soldiers is somewhat a common phenomenon. West Africa still suffers from the worst form of child mortality and in totality, Africa has the largest number of maternal deaths i.e. 56% globally. On pandemics like malaria, Africa has been affected most with 91% of total deaths. In terms of HIV/AIDS, Africa has been alarmingly afflicted with 69% of the world's affected population living in the continent. In terms of development assistance, the fund releasing agencies like World Bank and IMF induced certain mechanisms that were hard to be attained by least developed African countries. Eventually, there was a realisation among various governments of the continent that a new economic order needs to be set up that is totally Africa driven, with emphasis on a home grown economy, people-centered development and investment in peace and security. This gave rise to the AGENDA 2063.

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AGENDA 2063: The Renaissance Document

Having gained from the experience of implementing MDGs the African Union formulated an endogenous plan for transforming the African continent. Agenda 2063 puts people at its core.

Agenda 2063 puts people at its core. The 'principle of self-reliance' and Africans financing their own development needs is central to the agenda.

The 'principle of self-reliance' and Africans financing their own development needs is central to the agenda. The Agenda primarily aims to attain seven aspirations by 2063. It talks about, a prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth and sustainable development, the ideas of Pan-Africanism and the Vision of Africa's renaissance, good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and rule of law.

An Overview of Agenda 2063 from the Perspective of SDGs



Source: Report of the Commission on the African Union Agenda 2063³, January 30, 2015.

The first phase of the Agenda 2063 is the Ten Year Implementation Plan. It mostly echoes numerous priority areas which find mention in the UN Sustainable Development Goals. For instance, one of the goal of the plan is to achieve high standards of living, quality life and well-being for all citizens; this resonates with Goal 1 and 2 of SDGs to end poverty of all kinds; to attain well educated citizens, and a skill revolution is mentioned in Goal 4 of SDG; to have healthy and well-nourished people echoes in Goal 3; working towards full gender equality is mentioned in Goal 6 of SDGs; to transform economy i.e. sustainable and inclusive economic growth is similarly

cited in Goal 9; to develop an environmentally sustainable and climate resilient economies and communities is discussed in Goal 8, Goal 12 and Goal 14 of SDGs; and to promulgate democratic values, practices, universal principles of human rights, justice and rule of law is specified in Goals 16 of SDGs.

African voice echoed in the policy documents of UN in the form of UN Sustainable Development Goals which addresses every aspiration of African Union's Agenda 2063, a fifty-year continental transformation blue print.

COP 21: An African Conundrum

The challenge which confronted Africa in proposing its Common African Position at COP21 was the emancipation of 42.7% of its population from poverty while maintaining economic growth. In addition, it has a challenge to transform its economy into a sustainable one, within a span of 15 years as stated in Agenda 2063's first Ten Year Implementation Plan, keeping its greenhouse gas emission around 4 % only. As, Adesina, the president of African Development Bank says, "COP-21 is a forum where Africans went not to beg, but to make the case that they want to be a part of the solution".⁴

The Paris Agreement that was signed and agreed to by all the participating states, acknowledges Common But Differentiated Responsibilities, which satisfies Africa's Agenda 2063 requirements. The agreement also mentions that the adaptation cost will be based on needs and policies of the respective governments. However, displeasure can be drawn from few aspects of the agreement. For instance, the financial mechanism laid out in Article 9, paragraph 3 of the agreement asserts that "the developed countries intend to continue their existing collective mobilization goal through 2025" and that prior to that, the COP "shall set a new collective quantified goal from a floor of USD 100 billion per year, taking into account the needs and priorities of developing countries." It is noteworthy, that similar commitments were made during COP16 also and have not been fulfilled up till now. This induces cynicism about the whole financing mechanism among the African nations, who need around USD7-15 billion per year up to 2020 in order to furnish its adaptation to the changing climate.⁵

The major set-back for developing countries and least developed countries (mostly in Africa) is the non-binding nature of the Paris Agreement. As charted out in Article 21, the agreement will take effect if it is ratified by more than 55 per cent of nations or nations that are responsible for 55 per cent of global emissions. However, Article 28 goes further in diluting any responsibility accruing to the developed world by stating that "(A)t any time after three years from the date on which this Agreement has entered into force for a Party, a party may withdraw from this Agreement by giving written notification to the Depositary."

The major set-back for developing countries and least developed countries (mostly in Africa) is the non-binding nature of the Paris Agreement.

Out of 2,900 billion tonnes, the world now has only 1000 giga tonnes of carbon dioxide to be dispersed into the atmosphere by 2100 in order to maintain the 2 degree Celsius commitment. If Africa takes the path of business as usual, it will emit around 50 billion tonnes of carbon dioxide i.e. 5.5% of the remaining carbon budget. It is under these circumstances that Africa hopes to achieve the goals of the first Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063. In order to achieve the planned renaissance, African countries need energy strategies that drive growth and reduce extreme energy poverty, widespread in the sub-Saharan region where 621 million Africans do

In order to achieve the planned renaissance, African countries need energy strategies that drive growth and reduce extreme energy poverty...

not have access to electricity. The challenge is not limited to energy poverty; the cost of electricity for a common sub-Saharan person is 20% higher than any developed country⁶. The only viable solution to deal with crisis is to opt for new renewable energy sources. A renewable energy source not only decentralizes energy governance but also is cost effective. Another area in which Africa needs to focus is its agriculture sector, as it

contributes a third of Africa's GDP. Africa needs to adopt sustainable ways to produce agricultural yields that are in tandem with changing climate.

Last, but not the least, African countries need to manage and contain the intra- African Union rivalry, as Nigeria and South Africa are engaged in a battle of economic supremacy in the poverty and war wrecked continent.⁷ The aims and objectives of Agenda 2063 should be the guiding principle for these two countries in particular, and Africa in general. Finally, according to Jeffery Sachs, an American economist and director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, Sustainable development Goals must have immediate milestones unlike Millennium Development Goals. African Union's Agenda 2063's First Ten Year Implementation Plan is such a mechanism. But, it puts the onus of implementation on the governments. Thus, the spirit of Pan-Africanism should be at the core of the action of every society to implement and achieve the mandate of Sustainable Development Goals within the given timeframe.

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- ¹ Africa Progress Panel Report, *Power People Planet: Seizing Africa's Energy and Climate Opportunities*, 2015, http://app-cdn.acwupload.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/APP_REPORT_2015_FINAL_low1.pdf , (accessed March 12, 2016).
 - ² Summary of the MDG Report 2015, "Lesson learnt in implementing the MDGs" , *UNDP* , September 2015, http://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/mdg-report-2015_eng_summary_rev2sept15.pdf, (accessed March 14, 2016).
 - ³ African Union, *Agenda 2063: Report of the Commission on the African Union Agenda 2063*, January 30, 2015, <http://www.fasngo.org/assets/files/25%20GIMAC/Final%20docs/Report%20of%20the%20Commission.pdf%20%20%20>, (accessed 14 March, 2016)
 - ⁴ Akinwumi Adesina, "Africa Means Business on Global Warming- Does Rest of the World?" , *The Guardian*, December 4, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/dec/04/africa-global-warming-paris-climate-talks> , (accessed March, 15, 2016).
 - ⁵ Aliou Dia, "What's at Stake for Africa at COP21", *UNDP*, December 7, 2015, <http://www.africa.undp.org/content/rba/en/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2015/12/07/what-s-at-stake-for-africa-at-cop21.html> , (accessed March, 15, 2016).
 - ⁶ Op. Cit. n.1.
 - ⁷ "South Africa and Nigeria Rub shoulders for Economic Control" , *News Ghana*, March 15, 2016, <http://www.newsghana.com.gh/south-africa-and-nigeria-rub-shoulders-for-economic-control/> , (accessed March 16, 2016).

Book Review

Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly, *Africa Uprisings: Popular Protest and Political Change*, Zed Books London/ International African Institute, Royal African Society and World Peace Foundation, 2015, ISBN: 1780329970, 9781780329970

Mangaleibi Sarungbam*

Resistance and struggle has been a constant feature of the African political landscape in modern times. So why have African protests been ignored? In addition, why have they been characterised as mere echoes of the Arab awakening, the “occupy movement” in the US or the anti-corruption movement in Asia. Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly in their first jointly authored book give us a valuable ethnographic account of the diverse histories as well as the on-going wave of protests across the continent of Africa. The authors have tried to dismantle the prevailing misconceptions of Africa being too rural, too poor, and too trapped by tribalism to engage in popular, non-ethnic politics. Additionally, the authors have made a fervent endeavour in the very first chapter titled “Protests and Possibilities” to dismantle a major misconception of the “Africa Rising” narrative, which holds that a rising middle class and elite will lead Africa’s democratisation. The author rejects this view, instead arguing that the future of political change in Africa will flow from Africa’s urban poor. They emphasise that today’s uprisings are built on a history of African protest that stretch back to the anti-colonial struggles.

This book seeks to place protest in Africa within the broader debate about outbreak of protests around the world while discerning what makes these protests especially “African”. The focus of the book as reflected in each chapter is on the dynamics of the protests as they unfolded, examining the political goals of protests and what they tell about the broader relationship between peoples and governments in Africa today. It provides convincing insights into the complexity of the social and political dynamics behind African protests, which demand an end to poverty challenging conventional narratives about democratisation, economic development and a rising middle class. The authors have considered the two most prominent narratives of the global protest wave – the first focussing on the centrality of the middle class and the second on the centrality of the precarious workers and show that neither of these can be the drivers of African protest. This book also attempts to break the stereotype that political change in Africa is invariably accompanied by violence. The authors have suggested in this book that Africa is currently experiencing its third major protest wave over the last hundred years. The first brought down colonial rule. The second ended a number of dictatorships and military states.

The book begins with an introduction and further it is divided into two parts. The first comprising Chapters 2 through 4, delineates a history of three major waves of protest in Africa: the anti-colonial protests in the late 1940’s and 1950’s, the anti-austerity protests in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s and the on-going wave stretching from Tunisia to South Africa. The second part comprising of Chapters 5 to 8 provides detailed case studies of four recent protests namely the

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2012 Occupy Nigeria Movement (possibly the largest popular protest in the country's history), the 2011 Walk to Work Protests in Uganda which erupted in the wake of disputed elections, the 2005 Protests in Ethiopia, a massive urban uprising that briefly threatened one of Africa's most durable regimes and lastly the on-going Girifna and pro-democracy protests in Sudan.

The book is theoretically rich with the authors borrowing the term "political society" from the work of postcolonial theorist Partha Chatterjee (p.20). The term "political society" has been employed to refer to the urban underclass, since its political identity is shaped by the form of state power to which it is subject. The authors have elucidated, through examining the opposing ideas of the French theorist Frantz Fanon and Ghanaian politician Kwame Nkrumah, how to understand political society's participation in the struggle for national independence. They explore the politics of a constituency whose role in African decolonisation has often been marginalised. Further, the authors have highlighted the contrary views on non-violent resistance between the two intellectual figures, with Nkrumah's strategy of positive action drawing inspiration from Mohandas Gandhi and the Indian National Congress in South Asia and Fanon insisting on the urban uprising of the lumpen proletariat through his famous work *The Wretched of the Earth*.

To quote:

"For Nkrumah, let the political kingdom be won by a nationalist party and all else will follow; for Fanon, political independence that is granted from above to national elites will leave untouched the structures of colonial power. Indeed for Fanon, once the political kingdom has been won, it may already be too late". (p.37).

The book is empirically strong and highly informative with rich accounts of uprisings with participation from wide variety of people -the young, the unemployed, organized labourers, civil society activists, writers, artists and religious groups. It offers a clear explanation, backed up by extensive fieldwork of the contemporary protests across the African continent.

The authors have considered the case of 'Occupy Nigeria' (Chapter 5) where they have illustrated that a potent demonstration of people's power brought political society and civil society together in a powerful but fragile coalition that briefly threatened to topple the government and examine the internal debates between its central protagonists. The authors are of the view that though the protests did not affect substantive structural transformations, it is extraordinary in the diversity of participants drawn in the protests, comprising a wide range of citizens across generations, ethnicities, religions and regions. In addition, the movement was able to stretch beyond the major urban cities of Lagos and Abuja, spreading across cities and towns and forging novel alliances. Even though the protests have subsided for now, the Nigerian artists will continue to nurture the spirit of resistance in fostering political imaginations and pointing the way for movements to come.

The politics of the Uganda's 'Walk to Work' protest (Chapter 6) that erupted in the wake of disputed elections demonstrates that this uprising presented a challenge to the understandings of politics in contemporary Uganda. The authors through their case study illustrate how this movement managed to achieve a unique, though tenuous convergence between urban political society and civil society and between different ethnic groups and regions around a set of political and economic demands. The movement demonstrates the continued possibility of non-violent political change in Uganda while also illuminating the obstacles that any movement would have to overcome to realise that change. This movement marked the first time when Uganda's civil society formed an alliance, which was only possible because of the apparently non-partisan nature of the grievances

and the overwhelming brutality of the security services. The convergence provided novel answers to the foundational national questions of Ugandan politics, pointing towards ways to resolve them inclusively. The authors are of the view that the impact of the protests has been felt deep in the rural areas; and as grievances in rural and urban areas converge, there is scope for the emergence of a new urban-rural alliance.

A case study of the 2005 protests in Ethiopia (Chapter 7), a massive urban uprising that briefly threatened one of Africa's most durable regimes has been examined. The transition from popular protest to authoritarian development – from nation-wide uprisings to counter-protests by the state have been examined by the authors. The authors contend that this uprising had not brought about a new regime or even a meaningful reform. Instead, the protests were met with an onslaught of state violence and then they ushered in an era of intensified, expansive repression and control. The authors through this case study have tried to present the mode of “protest management” other than use of force by state to silence protests. The ruling party, after the country wide uprisings, launched an extensive, highly intensive developmental project, a strategy employed which has effectively monopolised the political space in the urban areas where popular protests had frequently erupted.

Finally, the authors have examined the on-going Girifna and pro-democracy protests in Sudan (Chapter 8) and its history of popular uprisings in order to grasp the challenges facing today's on-going movements. The authors have examined the three central challenges that have determined the success or failure of every popular movement in Sudan- the problem of nationalities, division between the country's civil and political society and the role of military. The October Revolution of 1964, a popular revolution that overthrew a military dictatorship for the first time in African history, has been studied by the authors to show how this revolution, despite its considerable success, could not resolve the national question. The authors are of the view that although the military has so far proven unwilling to decisively break with the Sudanese leader Bashir, the emergence of a truly popular movement that is able to weave together the country's diverse ethnicities and cross class lines has the potential to split the military and overthrow the regime.

Each case study enhances our understanding of the possibilities and limitations of protests. The authors stress the importance of protesters' political identities and visions for political change. The conclusion situates Africa's protests in a global perspective and draws out linkages between political society in Africa and political society in other parts of the world. The book offers a careful analysis of how protests throw open novel political possibilities that until recently might have been inconceivable and the transformations in political imaginations occurring through these protests. The book helps the reader in understanding, how protest even when immediately unsuccessful, can still transform the political context and have repercussions that become apparent only months, or even years later. Overall, the book has skilfully shown how African politics is changing and how the collective agency of the ordinary citizen is something that will progressively shape political culture and practice across the continent. Moreover, that engagement with African political society protest can be a starting point for rethinking the on-going global wave of protest and helping clarify its dilemmas and possibilities.

Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly have through their exhaustive case studies tried to convey that African protests are not an extension of their counterparts elsewhere. The book challenges the dominant analyses of African rural politics, which commonly depict the rural as the space of “tribalism” and large scale violence. The book is an attempt to really listen to what the ordinary Africans have to say about their own political visions.

News Track

Conflict and Security

Gambia

Gambian President calls to unite for World Peace at the UN General Assembly

The Gambian leader, His Excellency, Sheikh Professor Alhaji Dr Yahya Jammeh, Babili Mansa delivered a speech on Tuesday, September 29, 2015 at the 70th United Nations General Assembly in New York. The president's statement was read by the Gambia's vice president and minister of Women's Affairs, Her Excellency Aja Isatou Njie-Saidy. In his statement, the Gambian leader remained firm in his constant recommendation for the whole world to stand together against the continued barbarism and brutality of indiscriminate terrorism against innocent men, women and children, causing undue suffering and losses that often render the victims helpless, homeless and hopeless. However, in recognition of the need for world peace, he affirmed that his government respects the landmark Iran nuclear deal outlined under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), in which Iran has agreed to limit its nuclear programme in negotiations with United States, Russia, China and Germany.¹

Human Rights NGOs in Africa meet in Gambia

About 200 organisations from across Africa and beyond converged in Gambia for three days to discuss the current human rights and democracy challenges in the African continent. The meeting, dubbed 'NGO Forum', was held at a local hotel in Kololi from October 31 to November 2, 2015. This is a bi-annual meeting organised and hosted by the African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies in collaboration with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. Organisers said the NGO Forum provides an important platform for stakeholders to address challenges, exchange views and explore practical approaches and experiences with the objective of fostering cooperation among and between NGOs and other stakeholders. The forum discussed reports assessing the human rights situations in Africa, particularly in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Kenya and Sierra Leone. The African Commission will review the state reports of the four countries at the 57th session in fulfilment of Article 62 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.²

Kenya

Kenya-Ethiopia seal a cross-border deal

Kenya and Ethiopia have signed an UN-backed trade deal worth US\$200 million in a bid to ease cross-border conflict. The deal aims to tackle youth unemployment by creating jobs in the energy,

¹ "Gambia: President Jammeh's Landmark Speech At the UN General Assembly", *The Daily Observer*(Banjul), October 1, 2015, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201510011076.html>

² "NGOs on Africa to meet in Gambia for human rights discourse", *The Point*, October 25, 2015, at <http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/ngos-on-africa-to-meet-in-gambia-for-human-rights-discourse>

mining and livestock industries. Tensions between rival ethnic groups have risen due to lack of land and water. There was a heavy security presence ahead of the meeting on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. "This is a historic function," Kenya's President Kenyatta was quoted as saying. He said a tarmac road would be built by September 2016, linking the two countries' capital cities.³

Mali

Al Qaeda affiliated group takes partial responsibility for deadly Mali hotel attack

Heavily armed gunmen on November 20, 2015 fired indiscriminately at guests at a hotel hosting diplomats and others in Mali's capital. An al Qaeda-affiliated group is taking partial responsibility. Dozens of people were trapped in the building for hours, officials in the West African nation said, before Malian and U.N. security forces launched a counterattack and rushed guests away. Olivier Salgado, a representative for the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Mali, put the death toll at 21. At least six people injured in the attack were hospitalised, Health Minister Marie Madeleine Togo told state broadcaster ORTM. Al Mourabitoun, an Islamist militant group, claimed it was jointly responsible for the attack, according to Mauritanian news agency Al Akhbar. The group announced it carried out the attack with al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the news agency reported. Al Mourabitoun said the attack was carried out in retaliation for government aggression in northern Mali. The group also demanded the release of prisoners in France.⁴

Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev said that the terrorist attack in Mali once again confirmed the spread of the terrorist threat in the world, calling on all countries that have encountered this evil to coordinate their efforts in fighting it. At a meeting with UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in Kuala Lumpur, he said that the loss of six Russians in Mali confirmed that terrorism had no boundaries. "We need to develop our joint work in order to fight against Islamic State as a terrorist factor. But we need to do it in close coordination and seeking to agree upon all efforts - both political and military - that states affected by terrorism are making," the Russian prime minister said.⁵

In December, French forces in Mali killed or captured 10 members of an Islamist group that had claimed responsibility for a hotel massacre on November 20, 2015. The operation took place near Menaka in eastern Mali. Arms and vehicles were seized during the four-hour fire fight, the French defence ministry said in a statement. The Macina Liberation Front from central Mali also claimed responsibility and there has been speculation that the gunmen were from Somalia. The government of Mali declared a 10-day state of alert because of renewed security concerns.⁶

³ "Kenya and Ethiopia sign cross-border agreement", *BBC News*, December 7, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35025943>

⁴ "Deadly Mali hotel attack: 'They were shooting at anything that moved'", *CNN*, November 21, 2015, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/20/africa/mali-shooting/>

⁵ "Mali act confirms terrorism has no boundaries - Medvedev", *Russia beyond the Headlines*, November 22, 2015, at http://rbth.com/news/2015/11/22/mali-act-confirms-terrorism-has-no-boundaries-medvedev_542989

⁶ "Mali clash: French forces 'neutralise' Islamist militants", *BBC News*, December 23, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35167622>

Suspected jihadist attack on UN base in north Mali leaves 3 dead: United Nations

At least three people, including two UN peacekeepers and a civilian, were killed and 20 others injured in a rocket attack on a UN base in the northeastern Malian town of Kidal, UN sources said. A local official confirmed the report. It is the latest sign the West African country's Islamist insurgency is intensifying. French troops and the 10,000-strong UN force have struggled to stabilise the former French colony. "They fired rockets from around 4:00am inside the MINUSMA camp," Olivier Salgado, deputy chief of communication in the peacekeeping mission, said. "We have three dead and four seriously injured," he said, adding that there were 20 wounded and that medical evacuations were underway. A security source in north Mali who wished to remain anonymous said the Kidal camp had received a warning two days before the attack from an unnamed jihadist group. A local deputy for Kidal, Ahmoudene Ag Ikmasse, also blamed radical Islamists.⁷

Nigeria

NSCIA warns Nigerian govt, military against creating another Boko Haram insurgency

The Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) has warned the Nigerian military authorities against plunging the country into another Boko Haram-like insurgency with the repeated attacks on members of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria. In a statement on December 13, 2015, the NSCIA's Secretary General, Is-haq Oloyede, said that he was shocked and saddened by the fresh outbreak of deadly violence in Zaria. Several members of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria were reportedly killed by troops of the Nigerian Army after a confrontation on December 12, 2015 in Zaria. The Army also reportedly arrested the leader of the movement, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, destroyed his home and the spiritual headquarters of his group. Several persons were killed on December 12, 2015 after soldiers opened fire on members of the sect, who they said put up barricades and blocked the road to be used by Army chief, Tukur Buratai.⁸

Nigeria bomb blast kills at least 42 in Maiduguri and Yola

Two bomb attacks in northeastern Nigeria have left at least 42 people dead and more than 100 injured, officials say. At least 27 people died when a bomb targeted a newly opened mosque in the town of Yola. Earlier, 15 people were killed in a suicide bombing in Maiduguri. It is not clear who carried out the bombings but the Islamist militant group Boko Haram has carried out many attacks in the area. The group has targeted both Christians and Muslims who do not adhere to their ideology. The first blast, in Maiduguri, occurred early on October 23, 2015 morning as worshippers arrived for Friday dawn prayers. An eyewitness told AFP that there was one suicide bomber involved. The second, larger blast targeted worshippers attending Friday prayers at a newly inaugurated mosque in the Jimeta area of Yola.⁹

⁷ "Three dead in suspected jihadist attack on UN base in north Mali, UN says", *ABC News*, November 28, 2015, at <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-11-29/suspected-jihadists-kill-three-at-un-base-in-north-mali/6983736>

⁸ "Zaria Killings: NSCIA warns Nigerian govt., military against creating another Boko Haram insurgency, *Premium Times*, December 14, 2015, at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/195148-zaria-killings-nsCIA-warns-nigerian-govt-military-against-creating-another-boko-haram-insurgency.html>

⁹ "Nigeria bombs leave at least 42 dead in Maiduguri and Yola", *BBC*, October 23, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34619071>

Senegal

Seven arrested for suspected extremism ties by Senegal Authorities

A Senegalese judge says seven persons have been arrested in the West African country for suspected ties to extremism. Investigating judge Samba Sall said on November 7, 2015 that he presided over a hearing on November 6, 2015 for the seven charged with criminal conspiracy, money laundering and financing terrorism. He said the suspects were arrested in October 2015 following investigations by Senegalese security forces. Local media reported that the gendarme investigation shows those arrested have contacts with a Nigerian who has ties to the Nigeria-based Islamic extremist group Boko Haram. The group that had killed thousands in its six-year insurgency and is now launching attacks in neighbouring countries Chad, Cameroon and Niger.¹⁰

Somalia

EU High Risk Areas off Somalia shrink further; pirates attack Thai and Iranian vessels

The European Union (EU) Chair for the Contact Group of Piracy off the Coast of Somalia (CGPCS) has revised and reduced territories it deemed to be High Risk Areas (HRA) for piracy in the Indian Ocean. The revision would take effect on December 1, 2015. This reflects a decline of piracy in the region. The revision might also reduce operating and insurance costs for vessel operators transiting the region. The HRA had previously covered most of India's western coast and triggered increases in insurance rates, in turn leading to a rise in costs. About 70 per cent of India's international trade is by sea and about 40 per cent of India's US\$7 trillion GDP is generated through international trade.¹¹

Meanwhile, Pirates attacked two foreign fishing trawlers off Somalia's coast, seizing the crew of one of them. A Thai trawler managed to escape, following a failed attempt on November 23, 2016, to hijack it in waters off central Somalia. In the other incident, on November 22, the pirates took hostage an Iranian-flagged vessel's 15 crew after an attack in northern Somalia. Ships and their crew are mostly held for ransom in Somalia. Piracy in the region was at its worst in 2011, when more than 700 people were taken hostage. There has been a sharp decline since then, with about 56 foreigners currently being held by pirates in Somalia, according to the AFP news agency.¹²

Jihadis based in Somalia shifting allegiance to ISIS

A faction of the al-Shabab Islamist group under the leadership of Sheikh Abdulqadir Mumin pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS/ISIL), revealing a further fracture within the Somalia-based jihadist organisation. The sheikh, along with several other jihadis based

¹⁰ "Senegal authorities arrest 7 for suspected extremism ties", *The Hindu*, November 8, 2015, at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/senegal-authorities-arrest-7-for-suspected-extremism-ties/article7857827.ece>

¹¹ "EU reduces High Risk Areas off Somalia", *The Maritime Executive*, October 9, 2015, at <http://www.maritime-executive.com/article/eu-reduces-high-risk-areas-off-somalia>

¹² "Somali pirates attack Iranian and Thai vessels", *BBC News*, November 24, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34912539>

in Somalia's Central Region, announced his support for ISIS in a video that is expected to be posted online soon. Other al-Shabaab militants have already done so online. According to CNN, the internal rift within al-Shabab has moved the group's secret police, known as the Amniyat, to arrest and imprison members believed to have switched allegiance.¹³

Kenya captures al-Shabab's Yantoo base in Somalia

Kenyan soldiers killed 15 al-Shabab fighters in a raid and captured a base 180 kilometers inside Somalia. The assault on Yantoo, a town on the Jubba River, was aimed at disrupting militant supply lines from their headquarters at Jilib. Yantoo has been used as a staging point for cross-border attacks on Kenya. Kenyan army spokesman, Col. David Obonyo told Anadolu Agency that capturing of the base is vital for their operation to facilitate capturing of Jilib, which is the remaining al-Shabaab headquarters in the lower Shebelle.¹⁴

UNSC upgrades its support office mandate in Somalia

The UN Security Council approved a successor operation to the six-year-old United Nations Support Office for the African Union Mission to Somalia (UNSOA), on November 9, 2015. It underlines the role of the new entity to close gaps in UNSOA's ability to deliver and to "consolidate and prioritize its efforts in line with the [Council's] strategic objectives in the country." Emphasizing the role and impact of a responsive, effective and field support platform as a "strategic enabler in Somalia," and in view of the expansion of UNSOA's mission since its establishment in 2009, the Council decided that UNSOA would become the UN Support Office in Somalia (UNSOS) and provide support to the African Union Mission (AMISOM), the UN Assistance Mission (UNSOM) and the Somali National Army on joint operations with AMISOM.¹⁵

UNSC renews mandate for international naval forces' fight against Somali piracy

The United Nations Security Council renewed for another year its authorisation for the international naval forces to join in fighting piracy off the coast of Somalia on November 10, 2016. It also stressed that while the threat from Somali pirates has declined, it still remains a matter of "grave concern". Adopting a unanimous resolution, the 15-member body highlighted the important role played by ships from regional organizations such as the European Union Naval Force (EUNAVFOR) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Operation (NATO) Ocean Shield, but noted that the primary responsibility lies with Somalia, a country torn apart by 25 years of strife.¹⁶

US origin al-Shabab terrorist arrested in Somalia

An American member of Somali Islamist militant group al-Shabab has been arrested in Somalia,

¹³ "Somalia-Based jihadis shift allegiance from Al-Qaeda to ISIS", *Breitbart*, October 23, 2015, at <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2015/10/23/somalia-based-jihadis-shift-allegiance-al-qaeda-isis/>

¹⁴ "Kenyan troops seize al-Shabaab base in Somalia", *World Bulletin*, October 26, 2015, at <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/165655/kenyan-troops-seize-al-shabaab-base-in-somalia>

¹⁵ "Security Council enhances role of UN support office in Somalia", *UN News Centre*, November 9, 2015, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=52498#.Vsv9P0DNxf4>

¹⁶ "UNSC reauthorizes international naval forces to fight piracy off East Africa", *UN News Centre*, November 10, 2015, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=52507#.Vsv9W0DNxf4>

an official has told the BBC. He said the man had been stopped while he was trying to escape from al-Shabab after some of his friends were killed following an internal rift. The cause of the dispute is not clear. The group has experienced some splits in recent months over whether to switch allegiance from al-Qaeda to the so-called Islamic State. The arrested man's position within al-Shabab is not clear but Barawe District Commissioner Hussein Barre Mohamed told the BBC Somali service that the US militant had been in the militant group for "a very long time".¹⁷

UN hails Somalia for ratifying child rights treaty

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon hailed Somalia's ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. He also called the US, the last remaining country that has yet to join the treaty, to join the treaty. Somalia deposited its instrument of ratification at UN Headquarters in New York on October 1 during the annual treaty event held in conjunction with the General Assembly's high-level debate, formalising the process of ratification started earlier this year. In doing so, the Horn of Africa nation became the 196th State party to the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history.¹⁸

South Africa

African Standby Force starts first military exercises to counter crisis in the continent

Members of the African Union's new 25,000-strong multinational standby force are gathering to begin field training for the first time. The exercises in South Africa aim to make sure the force is ready by January 2016 to respond to crises across the continent. The force will be made up of five brigades from each of Africa's economic blocs. It is being set up to avoid reliance on the outside world in peacekeeping across the continent. The logistical base for the African Standby Force (ASF) will be in Douala in Cameroon. The training began at the South African Army Combat Training Centre in Lohatla with an opening ceremony on October 19, 2015. The operation, which continues until November 5, 2015 is intended to help evaluate how ready the force is to respond to crises and monitor peacekeeping missions. The exercise was meant to be carried out in Lesotho in 2014 but was delayed because of security issues in the country.¹⁹

Politics

Cote d'Ivoire

Alassane Ouattara wins second term

Côte d'Ivoire's incumbent president Alassane Ouattara won a second term in a vote on October 25, 2015. The election was seen as a crucial test to end a period of turbulence in the country after

¹⁷ "US al-Shabab militant held in Somalia", *BBC News*, December 7, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35027621>

¹⁸ "Hailing Somalia's ratification, UN renews call for universalization of child rights treaty", *UN News Centre*, October 2, 2015, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=52129#.Vsv8y0DNxf4>

¹⁹ "African Standby Force starts first military exercises", *BBC News*, October 19, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34570755>

a decade-long political crisis culminated in a brief civil war in 2011. Ouattara, whose leadership helped the West African nation regain a strong economy, faced a divided opposition - but a partial boycott and voter apathy resulted in low turnout. More than 6 million Ivorians are registered to cast their ballots at around 20,000 polling stations. Voter turnout was to be critical to legitimising Ouattara's mandate. Of the six candidates running against him, FPI president Pascal Affi N'Guessan, who is leading his party's moderates, was expected to be his chief challenger.²⁰

Ethiopia

New Grand Renaissance Dam agreement among Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan

Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan signed an agreement on December 29, 2015, finalising the two firms tasked with carrying out studies on the potential impact of Ethiopia's Grand Renaissance Dam on the flow of the Nile, their foreign and water ministers said. The three countries had initially picked French firm BRL and Dutch firm Deltares in April 2015; but Deltares later withdrew, leading them to replace it with another French firm, Artelia. The leaders of the three countries had signed a co-operation deal in Khartoum in March 2015 that paved the way for a joint approach to regional water supplies. Cairo and Addis Ababa had previously been locked in a bitter war of words over Ethiopia's US\$4 billion project.²¹

Gambia

Gambia's re-elected president declares country Islamic republic

Post his re-election, Gambia's president has declared the tiny West African country an Islamic republic, saying he decided this because Islam is the religion of the majority of its citizens and to break from the nation's colonial past. It does not appear that President Yahya Jammeh's announcement changes Gambia's laws or the country's constitutional status as a secular state. Jammeh's declaration was not to ally the country with the jihadist organization known as the Islamic State group. Jammeh made the declaration at a political rally in the coastal village Brufut, about 15 kilometers west of the capital, Banjul. About 90 percent of Gambia's 1.8 million people are Muslim. "Gambia cannot afford to continue the colonial legacy," Jammeh said. The country gained independence from Britain in 1965. Jammeh said the rights of Gambia's Christian community will be respected. Jammeh said that there will be no mandates on dress. The head of the country's Islamic body wouldn't say if he endorsed the declaration. Hamat Bah of the opposition National Reconciliation Party criticized the decision. Gambia is a popular beach destination for British tourists although Jammeh's government has been frequently criticized by Britain and other Western powers for human rights abuses. Jammeh has ruled Gambia since seizing power in 1994.²²

²⁰ "Côte d'Ivoire votes in first post-war presidential poll", *RFI*, October 25, 2015, at <http://www.english.rfi.fr/africa/20151025-ivory-coast-votes-first-post-war-presidential-poll>

²¹ "Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan sign new Grand Renaissance Dam agreement", *Reuters*, December 29, 2015, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/egypt-ethiopia-electricity-idUSL8N14I1H020151229>

²² "Gambia's president declares country Islamic republic", *Africa Times*, December 15, 2015, at <http://africatimes.com/2015/12/15/gambias-president-declares-country-islamic-republic/>

Ghana

Ghana suspends seven high court judges amid bribery allegations

Ghana's government has suspended seven high court judges implicated in allegations of bribery stemming from a documentary made by an investigative journalist. The decision was part of a response to a three-hour film first screened in the capital in September 2015 that caused uproar because it showed judges accepting bribe money through intermediaries. But the documentary put Chief Justice Georgina Wood and other judicial leaders under pressure to show a forceful public response. Some of the judges have denied wrongdoing and filed a challenge in court, saying their suspension had no legal basis because documents relating to the video that were submitted by the journalist were not made available to them.²³

Kenya

AU backs Kenya's Ruto by objecting to ICC's witness rule

The African Union Commission has joined objections to use of ICC's amended Rule 68 of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence (RPE) in the case against Deputy President William Ruto and journalist Joshua arap Sang. Charles Jalloh, on behalf of the commission, asked the court to allow the AU to submit independent views as a friend of the court in regard to the trial chamber ruling in which the prosecution was allowed to use prior evidence of five recanting witnesses. "The AU respectfully requests that this honourable chamber grant it leave, pursuant to Rule 103(1) of the RPE, to file written observations as formulated by the Majority Trial Chamber decision specifically whether the amended Rule 68 of the Rules can be applied in this case without offending Articles 24(2) and 51(4) of the Statute," Jalloh stated. Article 24(2) states that "in the event of a change in the law applicable to a given case prior to a final judgment, the law more favourable to the person being investigated, prosecuted or convicted shall apply." Article 51(4) explains the retrospectivity of applying amended rules: "Amendments to the RPE as well as provisional rules shall not be applied retroactively to the detriment of the person who is being investigated or prosecuted or who has been convicted." Defence teams of Ruto and Sang have already filed an appeal challenging the decision of the trial chamber.²⁴

Kenyan army charged of taking a cut from illicit al-Shabab trade

Kenya's military has been accused of taking a cut of the illegal sugar and charcoal trade in Somalia that provides the bulk of funding for terror group al-Shabaab which it is meant to be fighting. A report by Journalists for Justice, a Nairobi-based civil society group, claims that the Kenyan Defence Forces (KDF), which receive training from the British army, earned around USD 50 million a year from taxing the goods travelling through the port of Kismayo, close to the Kenyan border, where it has a base. It said that despite the avowed seriousness of the Kenyan military campaign in

²³ "Ghana suspends seven high court judges amid bribery allegations", *The Guardian*, October 6, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/06/ghana-suspends-most-of-its-high-court-judges-amid-bribery-allegations>

²⁴ "AU joins Kenya in objecting witness rule in Ruto case", *Capital FM*, October 8, 2015, at <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2015/10/au-joins-kenya-in-objecting-witness-rule-in-ruto-case/>

Somalia followed attacks by al-Shabaab on its soil that cost 400 lives, its senior commanders were abetting the al Qaeda-inspired group through corruption while its foot soldiers sat in their bases.²⁵

Kenya arrests two on charges of spying for Iran

Two Kenyans were arrested on the charges of spying for Iran in Kenya. The two, in police custody, admitted assisting Iranian state intelligence to plot attacks on western targets in Kenya, said Joseph Boinnet, Kenya's police chief. Abubakar Sadiq Louw, 69, and Yassin Sambai Juma, 25, confessed to being spies for Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Quds Force, an elite and secretive unit, Boinnet said that there was concrete evidence against them for recruiting into an Iranian spying ring. The mission of the ring was to conduct terror attacks not only targeting western interest but Kenyan interests as well.²⁶

Tanzania

Tanzania's ruling party wins amid the opposition rejecting results

The ruling party in Tanzania for more than half a century won another five-year term in office on October 29, 2015. The announcement of the results, four days after the voting on October 25, did not dispel confusion in the country as the opposition rejected it. The Tanzanian National Electoral Committee said that the presidential candidate with the incumbent Chama Cha Mapinduzi party (CCM), 56-year-old John Magufuli, won the polls by 58 per cent of the vote against his opponent, Edward Lowassa, who got 40 per cent. Magufuli, a former public works minister, will succeed Jakaya Kikwete as Tanzania's new president. But, Lowassa, a former CCM prime minister who defected, in early 2015, to lead the opposition Chadema, mounted the biggest electoral challenge ever to the ruling party's five-decade domination of Tanzania's politics. He called for a nationwide recount, accusing the ruling party and authorities of vote rigging.²⁷

Economy and Development

Cote D' Ivoire

Harmattan threaten cocoa crop: Cote D' Ivoire

The seasonal Harmattan weather phenomenon intensified last week in most of Ivory Coast's main cocoa growing regions, raising concerns that it could lead to poor bean quality and reduced output next year. The Harmattan, which arrived in the Ivorian cocoa belt weeks earlier than expected, is a dusty, dry wind that usually blows down from the Sahara from December to March.

²⁵ "Kenyan army profiting from illicit trade that props up al-Shabaab", *The Telegraph*, November 12, 2015, at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/kenya/11991497/Kenyan-army-profiting-from-illicit-trade-that-props-up-al-Shabaab.html>

²⁶ "Kenya police: 2 Kenyans arrested for spying for Iran", *Yahoo News*, November 18, 2015, at <http://news.yahoo.com/kenya-police-2-kenyans-arrested-spying-iran-122146437.html>

²⁷ "Ruling party wins Tanzania vote as opposition rejects result", *The Wall Street Journal*, October 29, 2015, at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/controversy-shrouds-tanzania-vote-as-official-results-due-1446122914>

When prolonged or severe, it can kill small cocoa pods and sap soil moisture, reducing bean size. The western region of Soubre was the only growing zone to report rainfall last week, with an analyst recording 18 millimetres of rain up from none the previous week. Salame Kone, who farms in the outskirts of Soubre, said large pods now visible on trees would ensure healthy harvesting through January, but problems were likely to appear later.²⁸

Ethiopia

Ethiopia eyes threefold tourism growth in the next five years; yet a humanitarian crisis looms heavy

Ethiopia aims to triple its number of foreign visitors to more than 2.5 million by 2020, making tourism a pillar of one of Africa's fastest-growing economies. Buoyed by huge spending on infrastructure and an expansion of its services and agricultural sectors, Addis Ababa expects annual economic growth of around 11 per cent for the next five years. Though lacking the palm-fringed beaches and safari trails of neighboring Kenya and Tanzania, this Horn of Africa country boasts of a magnificent terrain and a fascinating imperial past. Visitor numbers have risen at least 10 percent a year for the past decade, albeit from a very low base. More than 750,000 tourists came during fiscal year 2014-15, generating US\$2.9 billion for the economy, said the country's Culture and Tourism Minister Amin Abdulkadir.²⁹

Despite impressive growth figures over the last decade, 20 million Ethiopians are still under the poverty line. El Nino related weather is causing drought, destroying any chance of sustained poverty reduction. The UN released its prognosis last month – the number of people in need of emergency assistance had increased from 3 to 4.5 million people. Within a matter of weeks, this number was revised to upwards of 8.2 million. This is projected to double to 15 million by early 2016, with 350,000 children suffering from severe malnutrition.³⁰ The drought “leaves 10 million without food.”³¹

Addis Ababa gets the first metro train system in sub-Saharan

A newly opened urban metro service is set to transform people's transport system in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital. The US\$475 million Light Rail Project is a joint venture between Ethiopia and China and the first of its kind for the city and sub-Saharan Africa. “There has been a lot of positive economic development in the last 20 years,” Dr. Getachew Betru, CEO of Ethiopian Railways Corporation, told CNN. At the moment that means taking 60,000 people who live in the suburbs and bringing them towards the center to work: “You would not imagine to have that in a sub-

²⁸ “Cote d’Ivoire: Harmattan threaten cocoa crop”, *The Africa Report*, December 21, 2015, at <http://www.theafricareport.com/West-Africa/cote-divoire-harmattan-threaten-cocoa-crop.html>

²⁹ “Ethiopia aims to grow tourism threefold in five years: minister”, *Reuters*, October 4, 2015, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ethiopia-tourism-idUSKCN0RY07P20151004>

³⁰ “The impending crisis in Ethiopia: A costly delay”, *The Huffington Post*, October 23, 2015, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-impending-crisis-in-e_b_8363094.html?section=india

³¹ “Ethiopia drought leaves 10 million without food”, *BBC News*, December 8, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35038878>

Saharan city". Now passengers can hop aboard two lines that connect the east and west and north and south. Once completed, the light rail will connect up with the national train system of Ethiopia, and by 2025 there will be 5 thousand kilometers of track across the country.³²

Ethiopian Commodity Exchange is a Model for Africa

The Head of the Investment Climate Facility for Africa, William Asiko, has called the Ethiopian Commodity Exchange (ECX), one of the few successful commodity exchanges in Africa, "a model that many other African countries are looking at." He said it was particularly important as it "has been able to remove the market distortions between buyers and sellers. Whenever there is a distortion between buyers and sellers it is the small holder that loses. So removing those market distortions benefited small holders significantly." Such experience has become an attractive model for other African states which want to build a strong commodity exchange system. Countries like Mozambique, Nigeria, Egypt and Malawi are creating partnerships with the ECX. The ECX has received a number of Presidential and ministerial visits from countries across Africa as well as from Asia.³³

Gambia

Japan and Gambia to Sign USD 95,000 Ebola Prevention Project

The Ambassador of Japan based in Senegal, Takashi Kitahara, on the November 27, 2015 attended in Banjul a ceremony for two projects granted by the government of Japan to fight against the Ebola epidemic. In 2014, the Ebola epidemic raged in West African countries and caused over eleven thousands of deaths. Japan brought assistance to West African countries, mainly Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia, directly or through the United Nations, whose total amount was about US \$184,000,000. At the ceremony, Ambassador Kitahara and Honorable Omar SEY, Minister of Health and Social Welfare, signed a grant contract of about US \$95,000, for the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to purchase three Japanese-made thermography equipment with the most advanced technology for Banjul International Airport, as one of gateways to the world. This equipment will contribute to the prevention of the virus from entering the territory of Gambia, and will also be effective to avoid the spread of the virus from Gambia to other countries. This project has already been launched in March 2015 for the purpose of complementing Gambia's National Ebola Virus Disease Plan.³⁴

Namibia

Ghana and Namibia pledge to deepen bilateral relations

Ghana and Namibia have pledged to deepen their trade and bilateral relations for the mutual

³² "Ethiopia gets the first metro system in sub-Saharan Africa", *CNN*, October 14, 2015, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/14/tech/addis-ababa-light-rail-metro/>

³³ "The Ethiopian Commodity Exchange a model for other African countries", *Geeska Africa Online*, November 12, 2015, at <http://geeskaafrika.com/2015/11/12/ethiopia-the-ethiopian-commodity-exchange-a-model-for-other-african-countries/>

³⁴ "Gambia: Japan, Gambia to Sign U.S.\$95,000 Ebola Prevention Project", *All Africa*, November 26, 2015, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201511261708.html>

benefit of their people. The two countries have further resolved to promote South-South cooperation in the collective interest of the African continent. The two countries made the commitment when the Namibian President, Dr Hage Geingob, made a stopover in Accra on October 2, 2015 on his way to Namibia after attending the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Acknowledging the existing relationship between the two countries, he underscored the need for the governments of the two countries to explore trade and investment opportunities to cement further their economic cooperation and relations. President Geingob expressed his appreciation to the government and people of Ghana for according him a good reception.³⁵

Namibia to adopt new basic Income Policy for Poverty Eradication by 2025

After months of meetings, studies and reports, Namibia took another step forward towards adopting a basic income policy. President Hage Geingob announced new plans that aim to eradicate poverty by 2025. At the heart of this radical strategy is the introduction of basic income grants. The “Harambe towards prosperity” Masterplan sets out a variety of new policy ideas to kick-start the Namibian economy. Alongside basic income grants, the plan also commits to major infrastructure projects such as improved commuter trains, housing for government employees, and improved energy and water provision. The central goal of the plan is to eradicate poverty by 2025, and the government believes that basic income grants will be the primary mechanism by which this happens. The government hopes to introduce cash payments to each citizen regardless of age or income. These ambitious plans don’t come without their challenges, however. Namibia has major problems with housing, water supply and very high levels of unemployment. These issues along with recently criticized infrastructure projects may prove to be major challenges to President Geingob’s plans and thereby the introduction of any basic income grants. Nonetheless, basic income has been on the political agenda in Namibia for some time and this is another step in introducing it into mainstream politics and decision-making.³⁶

Seychelles

Seychelles earns ‘largely compliant’ rating in OECD peer-review

Seychelles’ efforts to comply with the widely-recognised Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)’s regulations on the sharing of tax information has led the island nation’s jurisdiction to be rated ‘largely compliant’. This follows a re-assessment of the island nation’s ‘practical implementation’ of its legal and regulatory framework in place for the exchange of information. It was in 2013, that the OECD rated Seychelles as non-compliant in two areas in the Global Forum on Transparency and Exchange of Information for Tax Purposes. As a result of its non-compliant rating in 2013, the island nation had to push through amendments to its domestic legislation, including the 1996 International Business Companies Act to bring it in line with international standards. But now, with only Cyprus and Luxembourg, Seychelles is the other

³⁵ “Ghana, Namibia to deepen bilateral relations”, *Graphic Online*, October 3, 2015, at <http://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/50588-namibian-president-confers-with-veep.html>

³⁶ “Namibia: President unleashes new plan for Basic Income Grant”, *Basic Income Earth Network*, December 19, 2015, at <http://www.basicincome.org/news/2015/12/namibia-namibian-president-unleashes-new-plan-for-basic-income-grant/>

offshore jurisdiction that has attained the 'largely compliant' status after presenting their supplementary report for approval during the Phase II reviews. Seychelles is also among a total of 96 countries that have so far committed to the OECD's Automatic Exchange of Information, which is expected to begin in 2017 or 2018.³⁷

South Africa

China announces US\$60 billion for Africa

China's president, Xi Jinping, on December 4, 2015, pledged US\$60 billion for development in Africa. He explained that the pledge is a part of the China-Africa "win-win cooperation". President Xi made the announcement to rousing applause from an audience that included South Africa's President Jacob Zuma, Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta and African Union Commission Chairwoman Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. Speaking at the Forum on China Africa Cooperation in South Africa, Xi outlined 10 areas that will receive funding including infrastructure projects, aid for drought-stricken countries and thousands of scholarships for African students. The Chinese government will also cancel outstanding debts for Africa's least developed countries in the form of zero interest loans that mature at the end of 2015, he said.³⁸

South Africa to implement gas power usage

Gas generated power will play an important part in South Africa's future energy mix. That is the view of deputy Minister of Mineral Resources Godfrey Oliphant, accompanying Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa on a tour of one of Cuba's three gas treatment and power generation facilities. The South African delegation was carefully walked through the energy mix in Cuba that has seen major strides in the islands power generation capacity in recent years. At a facility that converts raw gas into power and feeds it into the national grid. The Boca de Jaruco processing plant, about 50 kilometers outside of Havana, is one of three gas facilities in Cuba - part of a joint venture with Canada's Sherrit International -that generates over 300 megawatt into the island's national grid. As moves are underway globally to move away from energy sources that causes greater levels of harm to the environment, South Africa is one of the countries that showed great initiative to implement necessary requirements.³⁹

Tanzania

Construction to build Tanzania's largest port begins

Tanzania has begun building what it says will be the biggest port in East Africa, in the coastal

³⁷ "Seychelles rated 'largely compliant' by OECD", *Seychelles News Agency*, November 5, 2015, at <http://www.seychellesnewsagency.com/articles/4026/Seychelles+rated+'largely+compliant'+by+OECD+-+continued+vigilance+and+reforms+needed+to+uphold+status,+says+finance+minister>

³⁸ "China pledges \$60 billion to African development", *The Times of India*, December 4, 2015, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/international-business/China-pledges-60-billion-to-African-development/articleshow/50048098.cms>

³⁹ "South Africa to implement gas power usage", *SABC News*, October 25, 2015, at <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/106b0e804a55708ea795ff6d39fe9e0c/South-Africa-to-implement-gas-power-usage-20152510>

tourist resort of Bagamoyo. It is hoped the new facility will handle double the capacity of the one in Dar-es-Salaam. The project will cost about USD11 billion, with much of the funding for construction coming from a government-owned Chinese investment firm. It will take two years to complete, including building rail and road links. Dar-es-Salaam officials hope that the new port will not only transform the economy of the sleepy tourist town, but also put the country in good stead to compete for regional business, especially with neighbouring Kenya. It is estimated that the port would be able to handle 20 million containers annually.⁴⁰

Tanzania signs gas deal with Bowleven

Explorer Bowleven is set to buy stakes in two Tanzanian gas projects in a deal worth up to USD 28 million. The Edinburgh-based firm has signed a conditional heads of terms agreement with Aminex for a 50 per cent stake in the Ruvuma PSA prospect and a 25 per cent share in the Kiliwani North Development Licence. Operator Aminex expects Kiliwani to initially produce up to 30 million standard cubic feet of gas per day. That represents the equivalent of more than 5,000 barrels of oil. Production at Kiliwani is expected to start soon. Bowleven said Ruvuma PSA offered the company access to “extensive exploration and appraisal potential”. Chief executive Kevin Hart said: “The decision to enter into this heads of terms with Aminex follows the extensive screening of a large number of opportunities in Africa.”⁴¹

India-Africa Relations

India, China, Africa cooperate on Doha round issues

On December 16, 2015, India and China, at the World Trade Organisation’s trade ministers’ meet in Nairobi, lashed out against attempts being made by some developed countries and farm lobbies to hijack the agenda of the talks by cherry-picking issues such as ‘export competition’ and pushing new items without resolving the older ones flowing from the Doha development round. The African group, representing most of the countries in the continent, also made a strong case for continuation of the Doha round by stating that its “burial” in Africa was not acceptable. Developed country members, including the EU, New Zealand, Switzerland and Australia, as expected, championed the need for moving beyond the Doha round and considering new issues. Some of the new issues being advocated include investment, environment and competition policy. The representative of the African Group, the trade minister from Lesotho, in his speech, said that the developed countries should not internationalise their domestic rules. He added that if the Nairobi ministerial meet did not take political calls on deliverables for the poor, it would be a betrayal of the faith of poor farmers.⁴²

⁴⁰ “Bagamoyo port: Tanzania begins construction on mega project”, *BBC News*, October 16, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34554524>

⁴¹ “Bowleven signs Tanzania gas stakes deal”, *BBC News*, November 19, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-business-34867824>

⁴² “India, China, Africa Group take on developed countries on continuation of Doha round”, *Business Line*, December 16, 2015, at <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/india-china-africa-group-take-on-developed-countries-on-continuation-of-doha-round/article7996235.ece>

India pledges \$10 billion for Africa's development

To strengthen ties with African countries and counter the growing influence of China in that region, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, at the beginning of the India-Africa Forum Summit on October 26, 2015, announced a concessional credit grant of US\$10 billion to Africa through the next five years. "To add strength to our partnership, India will offer concessional credit of US\$10 billion over the next five years. This will be in addition to our ongoing credit programme," said Modi. He further announced that India would also offer a grant assistance of US\$600 million which would include an India-Africa development fund of US\$100 million and an India-Africa health fund of US\$10 million. There is also a programme for 50,000 scholarships in India through the next five years. And, it will support the expansion of the pan-Africa e-network and institutions of skilling, training and learning across Africa.⁴³

At IAFS, Ghana supports Modi's Solar-Rich Countries Alliance proposal

Ghana on October 29, 2015 expressed wholehearted support to Prime Minister Narendra Modi's proposal to form an alliance of solar-rich countries and promised to be one of the first to join it. Stating that India also suffered its own challenges with access to power especially in the rural areas, he said that Africa and India have the most promise in using the free energy of the Sun to transform the lives of their people. Modi, in his speech, said that India wanted to see a genuine global public partnership that made clean energy affordable, provided finance and technology to developing countries to access it, and the means to adapt to the impact of climate change. All 54 African countries attended the summit with 41 heads of state and government, including two Monarchs, present.⁴⁴

India's Union Cabinet approves blue economy cooperation with Seychelles

India's Union Cabinet in a meeting chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi approved, on October 7, 2015 the protocol for cooperation between India and Seychelles in "blue economy" signed in August 2015. An official release said the Cabinet gave its ex-post facto approval to the protocol, laying down modalities of cooperation in ocean studies, scientific exploration and exploitation of sea-based resources for sustainable development and economic purposes, signed during the visit of Seychelles' President James Alix Michel on August 26, 2015".⁴⁵

Seychelles appoints A.R. Rahman its cultural ambassador in India

A.R. Rahman, the World-renowned Indian music composer, singer, songwriter, and philanthropist has been named as a cultural ambassador for Seychelles in India. Rahman received his appointment certificate from the country's vice-president Danny Faure in a ceremony organised to celebrate

⁴³ "India promises US\$10 billion line of credit to Africa", *Business Standard*, October 30, 2015, at http://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/india-promises-10-bn-line-of-credit-to-africa-115102900685_1.html

⁴⁴ "Ghana supports Modi's Solar-Rich Countries Alliance proposal", *Ghana Web*, October 30, 2015, at <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/diaspora/Ghana-supports-Modi-s-Solar-Rich-Countries-Alliance-proposal-390974>

⁴⁵ "Cabinet gives nod for blue economy cooperation with Seychelles", *NDTV*, October 7, 2015, at <http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/cabinet-gives-nod-for-blue-economy-cooperation-with-seychelles-1229365>

the India Fest at the International Conference Centre in Victoria. Rahman was also presented with a token of honour by the chairperson of the Seychelles-India Day celebrations committee, Ramu Pillay. India's Culture Minister, Dr. Mahesh Sharma said, "The visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Seychelles in March, the first prime ministerial visit from India in 34 years, and the state visit to India by President James Michel shortly thereafter, reflected not only our strategic convergence but also the importance we attach to our bilateral engagement. Our two countries are now on the threshold of a qualitative transformation in our ties across a broad spectrum."⁴⁶

Ashok Leyland bags order for supply of trucks and buses worth \$200 mn from Cote d'Ivoire

Hinduja Group flagship company Ashok Leyland has received an order worth USD 200 million (approximately Rs 1,331 crore) from the West African country Cote D' Ivoire for the supply 3,600 trucks and buses. The company has signed a contract with the government of Cote d' Ivoire for 3,600 vehicles worth US\$ 200 million, Ashok Leyland said in a regulatory filing. The company looks forward to building this as a base for further growth in West Africa, he added. The contract is being funded by Exim Bank of India and is pending final clearance from respective governments, the company said. "The vehicles include trucks and buses, and will be delivered over the next 12 months," the company said.⁴⁷

South Africa gets an Indian-origin finance minister

Pravin Gordhan, a widely respected Indian-origin politician, has been appointed South Africa's new finance minister by President Jacob Zuma, becoming the third finance chief of the country in a week amid a raging economic turmoil. 66-year-old Gordhan's appointment sent the Rand up almost 5 per cent, but failed to quell a tide of criticism against the president. Gordhan was widely respected when he served as South Africa's finance minister from 2009 to 2014. The South African presidency's statement said Gordhan's role would include "promoting and strengthening the fiscal discipline and prudence" and "working with the financial sector so that its stability is preserved".⁴⁸

⁴⁶ "AR Rahman becomes Seychelles' cultural ambassador in India", *The Financial Express*, October 9, 2015, at <http://www.financialexpress.com/article/lifestyle/travel-tourism/ar-rahman-becomes-seychelles-cultural-ambassador-in-india/148719/>

⁴⁷ "Ashok Leyland bags order worth \$200 mn from Cote D'Ivoire", *The Economic Times*, November 28, 2015, at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-11-26/auto/68582299_1_ashok-leyland-bags-order-flagship-company-cote-d-ivoire

⁴⁸ "Indian-origin politician becomes South Africa's finance minister", *The Times of India*, December 14, 2015, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/nri/other-news/Indian-origin-politician-becomes-South-Africas-finance-minister/articleshow/50170902.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 have relevance and significance for India's foreign policy.

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