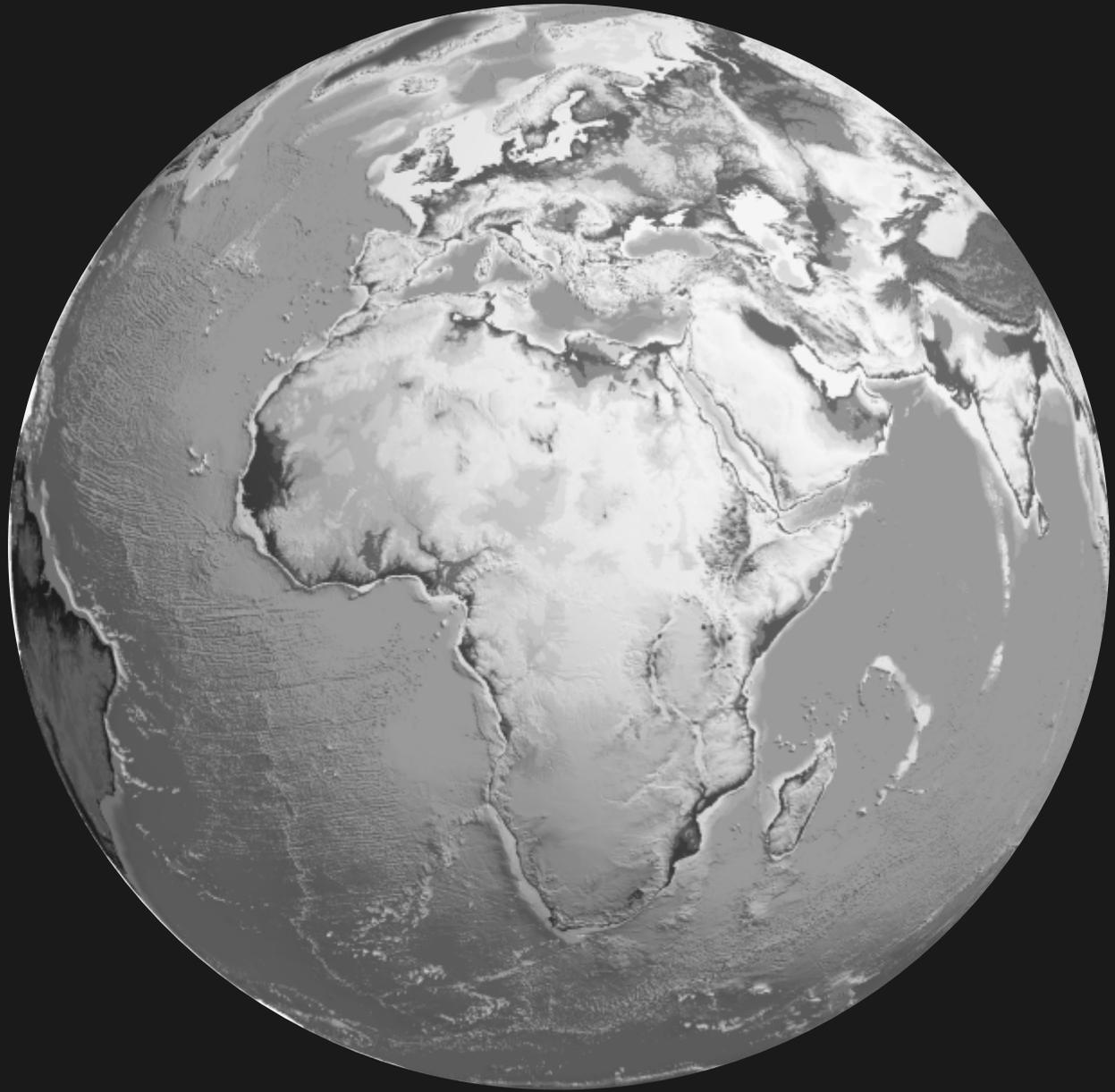


# Africa Trends

Volume 5, Issue 2

April-June 2016

*A Quarterly Magazine on Africa*



*idsa*

INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE  
STUDIES & ANALYSES

रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

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## *Disclaimer*

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## Editor's Note

As the year rolls on, we bring to you another issue of Africa Trends, with very interesting insights on political and security issues and a news track to bring you up to date on the latest developments in Africa.

In the cover story, Sanjay Badri-Maharaj explores the expanse of India-Mauritius security relationship that has seen the involvement of Indian navy in bolstering the capacities of the air, sea and land forces of its National Police Force. In a commentary on the situation in Libya, Manpreet Sohanpal argues that the latest UN Security Council Resolution on Libya is likely to create more problems than it resolves as it will allow for the entry of arms into Libya at a point of substantial political turmoil within. In the view point, Vikrant Deshpande makes a strong case for adherence to the principles of peacekeeping as they were practiced in the pre Cold War years based on his firsthand experience of peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Through the review of the book *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontier: Fort Napier and the British Imperial Garrison*, Quentin Holbert underscores the importance of studying the social impact of military occupation.

Problems of refugees fleeing from conflict zones in various countries of Africa to their neighbouring countries dominate security-related concerns in this quarter. Obock in Djibouti has also received Yemeni refugees fleeing the conflict in Gulf region. UAE is the new external power seeking to establish a military base in Africa, in Eritrea, while China has begun the construction of its base at Obock in Djibouti. Somalia has witnessed a resurgence of Al Qaeda, and South Africa sees its youth joining the IS. On the economic front, South Korea steps up ties with Ethiopia and Kenya. IMF clears a loan for Malawi, but briefly withholds it for Mozambique on account of undisclosed debts. Egypt overtakes Africa to become the second largest economy of Africa. Mozambique and Pakistan convert their PTA to an FTA. India and Mauritius have reworked the double taxation avoidance treaty to lower tax rate on interest earned by taxpayers in Mauritius.

We welcome your feedback.

## Cover Story

### THE MAURITIUS-INDIA NAVAL RELATIONSHIP: NAVAL DIPLOMACY 2.0

At relatively little cost to either party, a mutually beneficial partnership has evolved over the decades, with the NCG and India being inextricably intertwined. It is to the credit of both countries that this relationship has lasted and thrived and continues to grow stronger without undue fanfare or hype and without, thus far, any tangible problems.

**Sanjay Badri-Maharaj\***

Naval diplomacy invariably conjures up visions of warships staging port-calls to show the flag and to indulge in some rather muscular, yet harmless promotion of a country's maritime prowess. However, India's relationship with Mauritius has taken the concept to a new and perhaps unprecedented level where the Indian Navy and Coast Guard have quietly but effectively rebuilt, restructured and dramatically enhanced the efficacy of the Mauritian National Coast Guard (NCG). Furthermore, Indian naval officers provide key leadership experience to bolster the expertise of the NCG while Indian warships have often performed the vital function of patrolling the Mauritian Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). This interaction between the NCG and the Indian Navy and Coast Guard has been augmented in recent years by some astute defence diplomacy which has resulted in lines of credit being extended to Mauritius for the procurement of ships at Indian shipyards resulting in India's first warship exports. Long-standing training links with India continue to augment the capability of the Mauritian security forces while Indian assistance has enabled Mauritius to establish an effective force of maritime reconnaissance aircraft and a coastal radar network. These assets, combined with Indian capacity building efforts in the Seychelles, have enhanced maritime security in the Southern Indian Ocean. This cooperation between India and Mauritius has produced excellent results and is mutually beneficial.

**...cooperation between India and Mauritius has produced excellent results and is mutually beneficial.**

#### **Background: India-Mauritius Defence Ties**

For a country that is closer to the African mainland than to India to have such close defence ties to India as opposed to regional powers such as South Africa or even Tanzania is at first glance somewhat unusual. However, one look at Mauritius's demographics shows that approximately two-thirds of the Mauritian population is of Indian descent with well over 48% identifying themselves as Hindu.<sup>1</sup> Following its independence in 1968, Mauritius pursued a policy of embracing close ties with India being prepared to intervene in 1983 when it looked as if radical leader Paul Berenger might topple the government of the pro-India Anerood Jugnauth.<sup>2</sup> Though no such intervention took place, the close alignment of Indian and Indo-Mauritian political, economic and most importantly, security interests was clear.

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\* Dr. Sanjay Badri-Maharaj is a Trinidad-based Barrister and Attorney at Law.

Mauritius has no military forces. Rather, all its security forces – air, sea and land – are under the administrative control of the Mauritius National Police Force (MPF) which totals approximately 12,500 personnel.<sup>3</sup> In lieu of an army, the MPF maintains a battalion sized motorised infantry formation called the Special Mobile Force (SMF) which from 1978, under its first Mauritian commander, Colonel D. Bhima, has maintained very close training links with India although none of its equipment is of Indian origin.<sup>4</sup> India has focused efforts on providing training support to commando units of the NCG and the MPF's Intervention Group (GIPM) through a program of regular exercises undertaken during periodic visits of Indian warships whereupon the GIPM and NCG commandos would receive instruction from Indian Marine Commandos (MARCOS) and Visit Board Search and Seizure (VBSS) teams aboard the said ships.<sup>5</sup> In addition to training carried out during Indian Navy visits, under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Program II Division (ITEC-II), between 45 and 50 personnel of the MPF, usually either NCG or SMF are trained annually in Indian defence training establishments. Furthermore, MARCOS teams are deputed for two to three weeks each year starting from 2008 with a view to providing training to NCG divers as well as NCG commandos.<sup>6</sup> Refresher training is provided to NCG commandos on an annual basis by MARCOS instructors.<sup>7</sup> This program not only imparts a degree of proficiency and consistency to MPF and NCG personnel but forges a close and influential bond between Indian instructors and Mauritian pupils. It is interesting to note that India's strongest training influence is with the militarised elements of the MPF.

**...India's strongest training influence is with the militarised elements of the MPF.**

The most startling, yet understated aspect of India-Mauritius defence cooperation is the fact that several elements of the Mauritian security establishment are commanded by Indian military officers on attachment to the MPF. While the Commissioner of the MPF is always a Mauritian national, the NCG and the Police Helicopter Squadron (PHS) – part of the MPF and operating five helicopters, three of which are of Indian manufacture – are respectively headed by an Indian naval officer<sup>8</sup> and an Indian Air Force officer.<sup>9</sup> Even the Mauritian Maritime Air Squadron (MAS) is currently led by an Indian,<sup>10</sup> while the new NCG Offshore Patrol Vessel (OPV), the CGS Barracuda, is captained by a serving Indian naval officer, Commander Rajneesh Kumar Dalal on secondment to the NCG.<sup>11</sup> It is of interest to note that it is easy to identify Indian officers in service with the NCG, PHS and MAS as they continue to use their Indian military ranks as opposed to the police ranking system of the MPF. Moreover, as they are still part of the Indian military, they wear their Indian uniforms while on secondment.

**...several elements of the Mauritian security establishment are commanded by Indian military officers on attachment to the MPF.**

### **India and the Mauritian National Coast Guard**

In every sense of the word, India has been a critical supporter of the Mauritian NCG from its very inception when an ex-Indian Navy Seaward Defence Boat – the INS Amar – was transferred to the Mauritian NCG on April 3, 1974 where it was renamed the CGS Amar and served as the country's only naval vessel for over two decades, being decommissioned only in 1998, though largely inactive since 1984.<sup>12</sup> India subsequently gifted 9 Mandovi patrol craft and thereafter arranged for the replacement of five of them, in 2000, with Cochin built Praga class patrol craft of similar size. The CGS Amar and these assorted boats formed the backbone of the NCG until 1990 when a limited expansion of the NCG fleet was undertaken.

**...India has been a critical supporter of the Mauritian NCG from its very inception**

In 1990, Mauritius received two Zhuk-class patrol boats as gifts from the former USSR and which remain in service as the CGS Rescuer and CGS Retriever following refits in 2002 and 2009. In 1993, the Indian navy transferred a SDB Mk.3 patrol boat – the T-61 – to Mauritius which remains in service as the CGS Guardian with India supplying engines and spares to keep the vessel operational on a *gratis* basis as well as refitting the vessel in 2005-2006 at a subsidised rate.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, India has kept the main armament of the vessel – a Bofors 40mm L/60 gun – serviceable to the present date, ensuring that the vessel which was commissioned into the Indian navy in 1984, remains fully operational and combat capable.<sup>14</sup> India's final gift (on a free-lease) to Mauritius was that of an interceptor boat in 2001 which continues in service as the CGS Observer.<sup>15</sup> It is to be noted that all the vessels mentioned above were obtained by the NCG second-hand. The NCG attempted to break out of this mould with the procurement of its first OPV in 1996, with less than satisfactory results. In 1996, Mauritius commissioned the OPV CGS Vigilant, designed by STX Marine of Canada and built by the Asmar Shipyard of Talcahuano in Chile. Within a year it developed serious problems on its port shaft, and after the builders failed to rectify the problem, the vessel was towed to India by the Indian Coast Guard ship Samar to the Naval Dockyard where, after repairs, she was returned to service in 2000.<sup>16</sup> However, despite these efforts, the Vigilant never functioned satisfactorily and in 2011, it was revealed that she had not sailed for five years and was subsequently put up for disposal.<sup>17</sup> This effectively left the NCG with a handful of ageing second-hand vessels to secure its waters and EEZ.

### Establishing the Maritime Air Squadron and the Coastal Radar System

#### ... India-Mauritius cooperation in the naval sphere extends beyond the supply of ships.

The re-captialisation of the NCG with Indian assistance did not begin with vessels, highlighting the less-known fact that India-Mauritius cooperation in the naval sphere extends beyond the supply of ships. In 1990, an Indian made Dornier Do-228 maritime patrol aircraft (designated MPCG-1) was transferred to the NCG to begin the

Maritime Air Squadron (MAS). This was followed in 1992 by a Pilatus Britten-Norman Defender (MPCG-2) which was employed for short range patrols. A second Do-228 was delivered by India in 2004 (MPCG-3) and for more than a decade these three aircrafts performed the maritime patrol role for Mauritius.<sup>18</sup> During their time in service, India provided not only support for the Indian-made Dorniers but also gifted spares and engines to Mauritius for the maintenance of MPCG-2.<sup>19</sup> More recently, in July 2016, India delivered a third Do-228 (MPCG-4) to Mauritius being purchased under a USD 16 million line of credit which included spares and maintenance support.<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that the each of the Dorniers is equipped with a sophisticated surveillance suite and India's supply of the same to Mauritius is in stark contrast to the supply of aircraft for maritime patrol by the United States to the Caribbean which were second-hand airframes with no mission equipment.<sup>21</sup>

In a further boost to the NCG's abilities to conduct effective maritime surveillance, Mauritius, making use of an Indian line of credit, contracted with the Indian company Bharat Electronics Limited to establish a coastal radar surveillance network consisting of eight radars.<sup>22</sup> Done as part of a 2007 MoU, with contract signing in 2009, by 2011 the radars were operational and the network commissioned.<sup>23</sup> This network forms part of an ambitious Indian plan, currently being implemented, to establish a larger grid of coastal surveillance radars from Sri Lanka down to Mauritius.

The establishment of the MAS and the creation of the coastal radar network are excellent examples of a mutually beneficial arrangements between India and Mauritius. Mauritius is now in

possession of a comprehensive air and land based maritime surveillance system, at an affordable price and on favourable financial terms, capable of effectively monitoring its maritime domain while India has not only strengthened its influence over the NCG, it now is able to consider data linking the radar data from its planned Indian Ocean grid to provide a comprehensive common operating picture of the maritime situation in the region.

**Mauritius is now in possession of a comprehensive air and land based maritime surveillance system...**

### **India Facilitates the NCG Modernisation Programme**

It is no exaggeration to say that India has laid the foundation for a complete transformation of the NCG. In 2011, Mauritius ordered the 1300 ton, 74.1 metre CGS Barracuda from Garden Reach Shipbuilders and Engineers (GRSE).<sup>24</sup> This vessel, delivered in 2015, marked a quantum leap in capability for the NCG being equipped with a 30mm gun, an advanced surveillance system and a helipad. The Barracuda was priced at USD 58.5 million and this was funded through an outright grant of USD 10 million from the Government of India with the remainder being through a loan facility of USD 48.5 million from the Indian EXIM bank.<sup>25</sup> The Indian EXIM bank also provided funding for the next phase of the NCG modernisation program when it extended loans worth USD 27 million to enable Mauritius to purchase ten 14.5 metre Fast Interceptor Boats (FIBs) and two 50 metre Fast Attack Craft (FACs) from Goa Shipyard Limited in 2014. Delivery of the FIBs has already been completed while the first FAC has been launched.<sup>26</sup> The NCG modernisation program, when completed, will transform the force into a well-equipped formation, capable of effectively performing ever more sophisticated maritime patrol, surveillance and interdiction operations. When combined with the coastal radar network and the MAS, Mauritius is now better able to secure its maritime domain as well as positively contribute to maritime security in the region.

**...combined with the coastal radar network and the MAS, Mauritius is now better able to secure its maritime domain as well as positively contribute to maritime security in the region.**

### **Conclusion - An Exercise in Symbiosis**

The naval relationship between Mauritius and India is symbiotic. India gets a reliable partner in Mauritius and, through the coastal radar network, the MAS and its leadership of the NCG, has effectively extended its maritime surveillance capability into the Southern Indian Ocean. Mauritius benefits from being able to draw on the experience of professional Indian Navy and Air Force officers as well as being able to avail itself of naval vessels being produced at Indian shipyards at competitive prices and attractive financing packages. In addition, through its relationship with India, Mauritius has been able to avoid having to create dedicated military forces, maintaining very modest paramilitary capabilities relative to its neighbours. At relatively little cost to either party, a mutually beneficial partnership has evolved over the decades, with the NCG and India being inextricably intertwined. It is to the credit of both countries that this relationship has lasted and thrived and continues to grow stronger without undue fanfare or hype and without, thus far, any tangible problems.

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## Commentary

### SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 2292 ON LIBYA: RESPITE OR HAZARD?

Libya today is a highly fragmented state with porous borders and unidentified alliance formations. In this scenario, a resolution to partially lift the arms embargo may have widespread undesirable consequences. The role of NATO at the behest of European Union members or when requested by the legitimate Libyan authorities in the implementation of the Resolution highlights the problematic involvement of European states in Libyan affairs, yet again questioning their covert motives.

**Manpreet Sohanpal\***

The French Ambassador Francois Delattre called the newest Security Council Resolution 2292 on Libya that partially revokes the arms embargo a 'game changer' for the country and its arms crisis. However, amidst continued lawlessness inside Libya, the adoption of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2292 raises more concerns than hopes for respite from the growing security menace in the state. There are currently two rival warring governments in Libya – the House of Representative in Tobruk and the Government of National Accord (GNA) - backed by various militia groups. In addition there is the lingering threat of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the increasing numbers of refugees. Besides, Libya today is a highly fragmented state with porous borders and unidentified alliance formations. In this scenario, a resolution to partially lift the arms embargo may have widespread undesirable consequences. The role of NATO at the behest of European Union members or when requested by the legitimate Libyan authorities in the implementation of the Resolution highlights the problematic involvement of European states in Libyan affairs, yet again questioning their covert motives.

#### Background

After the ouster of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya in 2011, the country descended into civil war and chaos. As civilian protests escalated in Libya in February 2011, Gaddafi launched an air strike using the Libyan Air Force. It was then that the Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the UN, Abdel Rahman Shalgram, wrote a letter to the President of the Security Council calling for immediate action. The Security Council on February 26, 2011 demanded an end to the violence and decided to refer the situation to the International Criminal Court (ICC) while imposing an arms embargo on the country and a travel ban and assets freeze on the family of Gaddafi and certain government officials. US, France and Britain sanctioned the Gaddafi regime. It was then that the French and British introduced Resolution 1970.<sup>1</sup> Resolution 1970 (2011) under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the UN Charter authorised member states "to seize and dispose of

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military-related material banned by the text” and “to facilitate and support the return of humanitarian agencies and make available humanitarian and related assistance in Libya and expressed its readiness to consider taking additional appropriate measures as necessary to achieve that” (UN Document 2011). The European Union then imposed further unilateral sanctions on Libya.<sup>2</sup> However, Gaddafi’s non-compromising attitude gave enough reason for the West to exert further pressure. The United Kingdom was consistently pushing for the implementation of a no-fly zone. Over the month of February and March, the British and French governments mounted pressure for a no-fly zone in Libya. The Obama Administration, some have pointed, was hesitant at first to involve itself militarily in the Libyan uprising.<sup>3</sup> While there were divergent views on how to end the crisis, Christopher Chivvis argues that France was in favour of an aggressive stand followed by Britain. Germany, Poland, Turkey and the US were opposed to this position.<sup>4</sup> The Arab League foreign ministers consisting of 22 members called for the implementation of a no-fly zone over Libya. Thus, on March 17, 2011, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1973, with 10 in favour, none against and five abstentions (Brazil, China, Germany, India and Russia), authorising ‘all necessary measures’ to protect civilians (UNSC Press Release 2011). After few months of NATO bombing, the Gaddafi regime fell in October 2011. Gaddafi during his period would not allow terrorist outfits like Al-Qaeda to gain foothold in Libya. However, after his fall, many jihadist outfits mushroomed in Libya. For instance, UN listed terrorist outfits such as Ansar al-Sharia in Darnah, Ansar al-Sharia Benghazi (later named as Ansar al-Sharia in Libya) and other Al Qaeda affiliates surfaced in Libya. These outfits were operating inside Libya since 2011 with the motivation of establishing Islamic Law in Libya; and were responsible for the 2012 attack on the US consulate in Benghazi. By the end of November 2014, a global jihadist group under the name of Majlis Shura Shabab al-Islam (MSSI) took over the city of Darnah and announced that the city was now part of ISIS.<sup>5</sup> In the past year, the Islamic State has advanced in Libya exponentially. Its most significant achievement was its expansion east of the town of Sirte along the coast for 120 miles in 2015.<sup>6</sup>

**Gaddafi during his period would not allow terrorist outfits like Al-Qaeda to gain foothold in Libya. However, after his fall, many jihadist outfits mushroomed in Libya.**

After international coalition forces started bombing Iraq and Syria and the ISIS lost their leaders and manpower, it became difficult for them to manoeuvre into other regions. Since Libyan borders were ungoverned following the post-Gaddafi chaos, it became a favourable ground for those fleeing bombing in Iraq and Syria to gain foothold inside Libya.<sup>7</sup> According to a senior Libyan Intelligence Officer, most of the IS fighters inside Libya are foreign fighters who have come from Iraq and Syria.<sup>8</sup> Porous borders soon led to illicit transfer of arms and weapons in Libya. Most of the weapons in post - Gaddafi Libya landed in the hands of civilians and militias. According to an estimate provided by Martin Kobler, the UN Envoy to Libya, the country is awash with twenty million pieces of weapons in a population of six million.<sup>9</sup> Soon, it turned into a training camp for jihadists who then crossed borders to the adjoining West Asian and North African states.

**Since Libyan borders were ungoverned following the post-Gaddafi chaos, it became a favourable ground for those fleeing bombing in Iraq and Syria to gain foothold inside Libya.**

## The Resolution

On June 14, 2016 the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2292 under Chapter VII of the UN Charter ‘recalling the arms embargo’ in Libya. This mandate, drafted by Britain and

France, is an extension of an ongoing European Union Operation EUNAVFOR MED Sophia, established by the EU Council on May 18, 2015, aimed at curbing illegal arms and migrant smuggling in Libya and the Mediterranean coast.<sup>10</sup> In May 2016, the Foreign Affairs Council of the European Union agreed to extend the mandate of this Operation Sophia for another year and assigned it with additional tasks, such as the training of Libyan coast guards and contributing to the arms embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council which then constituted Resolution 2292.<sup>11</sup> In other words, it appears that another EU Operation (Operation Sophia) has now been granted UN Security Council authorisation and thereby the legitimacy for continuation.

for continuation. In the statement made by Federica Mogherini, "Resolution 2292 will now enable Operation Sophia also to play an important role in implementing the UN arms embargo on Libya."<sup>12</sup>

Some of the provisions of Resolution 2292 include the inspection of vessels on the high seas off the coast of Libya; extending support to the GNA as the legitimate government of Libya; coordination of international efforts; dealing with the illicit transfer and smuggling of arms; and so on. However, the provision that raises doubts and concerns is one that grants exemptions to transfer select arms to the GNA, the internationally approved government in Libya, by lifting the ban.

### Implications

After the introduction of the resolution, concerns began to surface as the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, Mr. Vladimir Safronkov, made statements at the Security Council Meeting on the situation in Libya. He stated that Russia is in doubt about the sincerity of the application of the resolution. The draft resolution was to aid the process of unity government by forming an alliance with the GNA and the House of Representative in Tobruk; and the full implementation of the Skhirat Agreement.<sup>13</sup> However, the final document did not reflect these concerns. The Resolution, he said, appears firstly, one sided; and secondly, provides the space for some to have a free hand in managing the flow of weapon for their own covert agendas.<sup>14</sup> He also raised apprehensions regarding the concerted effort in the fight against ISIS.

Resolution 2292 makes provisions for the transfer of select arms to the GNA. It states, "supplies of non-lethal military equipment and the provision of any technical assistance" will be provided to the GNA and the national security forces under its command. However, transfer of weapons to Libya in the current situation would only mean jeopardising the already precarious security situation. Considering Prime Minister Fayez Sarraj's and his GNA, which is linked to the former internationally recognised government, is yet to receive a vote of confidence in the Parliament<sup>15</sup>. Thus, it also raises concerns, given Western states' historical relations with Libya, whether this provision is meant strictly for use against Da'esh or to strengthen the position of GNA. The document states that the material are meant necessarily for "UN designated terrorist groups and to combat Da'esh throughout Libya".

Besides, the inability of the GNA to gain acceptance from Libyan National Army (LNA) led by General Haftar points towards an uncertainty regarding the formation of a unity government anytime soon. General Haftar launched Operation Dignity in 2014 to fight Islamic militants in Benghazi and the east. By 2016 they managed to push back Islamist strongholds outside Benghazi

up to Derna (east). However, the General remained unhappy with the UN brokered government deal since it allocated the defence portfolio to Ibrahim al-Barghathi. Thus, while the Skhirat Agreement of 2015 called on the House of Representatives to vote on the proposed unity government, the House failed to throw their weight behind the proposal to gain the necessary quorum, thereby withholding the process of formation of a unity government. General Haftar, it was argued, has made deliberate attempts to garner mass support of those who decided not to vote in favour of the proposal.<sup>16</sup> He considers the GNA as 'militias outside the law'.<sup>17</sup> So a partial revocation of the arms embargo before the formation of a unity government would only lead to more insecurity and tension within the factions.

**...the House failed to throw their weight behind the proposal to gain the necessary quorum, thereby withholding the process of formation of a unity government.**

Finally, based on the statements made by Vladimir Safronkov, and the involvement of Britain, France and the NATO, one cannot discount that there are covert intentions behind the passing of this Resolution. It can, thus, be concluded that this could be European powers' scheme to have extended presence in Libya. What makes this move more problematic is the history of European powers' involvement in Libya. Historically, Libya and its relations with the West under Gaddafi were characterised as that of restrictions and retaliations with Gaddafi's involvement in bombing of Rome and Vienna airports (1985), Lockerbie (1988), UTA flight over Niger (1989); the Reagan administration imposed severe sanctions along with US, Britain and France, identifying Libya as a state sponsoring terrorism and even made attempts to assassinate the leader.<sup>18</sup> After the outbreak of protest in Libya in 2011, the United Kingdom was consistently pressuring for the implementation of a no-fly zone. David Cameron, Britain's Prime Minister, also came up with the idea of arming the rebels on the insistence of French President, Nicholas Sarkozy, during an emergency EU summit in Brussels. These instances necessitate a more critical analyses of the recent resolution in terms of its intent and application.

<sup>1</sup> Christopher S. Chivvis, *Toppling Qaddafi: Libya and the Limits of Liberal Intervention*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Hélène Mulholland, "Libya crisis: EU agrees sanctions as UK warns of 'day of reckoning' for Gaddafi", February, 28, 2011, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/28/libya-crisis-eu-sanctions-day-reckoning-gaddafi>, (accessed 21 March 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Ryan Lizza, "The Consequentialist: How the Arab Spring Remade Obama's Foreign Policy", May 2, 2011, at [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/05/02/110502fa\\_fact\\_lizza?currentPage=all](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/05/02/110502fa_fact_lizza?currentPage=all), (accessed May 29, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Christopher S. Chivvis, n.1.

<sup>5</sup> Aaron Y. Zelin, "The Islamic State's First Colony in Libya", October 10, 2014 at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-islamic-states-first-colony-in-libya>, (accessed July 6, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Issandr El Amrani, "How Much of Libya Does the Islamic State Control?", February 18, 2016, at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/18/how-much-of-libya-does-the-islamic-state-control/>, (accessed July 6, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Katie Mansfield, "ISIS Spreading to Libya: Jihadis fleeing Syria and Iraq amid relentless airstrikes", February 4, 2016, at <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/641290/ISIS-spreading-Libya-jihadis-flee-Syria-Iraq-airstrikes>, (accessed July 6, 2016).

- <sup>8</sup> Declan Walsh and Suliman Ali Zway, "UN backed Libyan fighters push toward ISIS stronghold of Surt", June 9, 2016, at [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/10/world/africa/isis-surt-libya.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/10/world/africa/isis-surt-libya.html?_r=0), (accessed July 6, 2016).
- <sup>9</sup> Michelle Nichols, "U.N. approves high seas crackdown on Libya arms smuggling", June 14, 2016 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-idUSKCN0Z02J0>, (accessed July 6, 2016).
- <sup>10</sup> "UN authorises EU operation against Libya arms smuggling", June 15, 2016, at <http://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/un-authorises-eu-operation-against-libya-arms-smuggling/>, (accessed July 6, 2016).
- <sup>11</sup> EU, "EU extends anti-people smuggling Operation Sophia for a year", June 20, 2016 at [http://eeas.europa.eu/top\\_stories/2016/200616\\_june\\_fac\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2016/200616_june_fac_en.htm), (accessed July 6, 2016).
- <sup>12</sup> EU, "Statement by the HR/VP Federica Mogherini on the adoption of Resolution 2292 by the UN Security Council", June 14, 2016, at [http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160614\\_07\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160614_07_en.htm), (accessed July 6, 2016).
- <sup>13</sup> "Russia: UNSC Res 2292 on Libya Has a Hidden Agenda to Divide the Country", June 22, 2016, at <https://jamahiriyaneagency.wordpress.com/2016/06/22/russia-uns-res-2292-on-libya-has-a-hidden-agenda-to-divide-the-country/>, (accessed June 7, 2016).
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Khalid Mahmoud, "Libya: Haftar Defies Sarraj Government and Overlooks Kobbler's Call for Benghazi Ceasefire", June 6, 2016, at <http://english.aawsat.com/2016/06/article55352029/libya-haftar-defies-sarraj-government-overlooks-kobblers-call-benghazi-ceasefire>, (accessed June 7, 2016).
- <sup>16</sup> Profile, "Libya's military strongman Khalifa Haftar", April 22, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27492354>, (accessed 7, 2016).
- <sup>17</sup> "Libya Prime Minister calls for unity behind anti-IS Sirte offensive, June 15, 2016", at <http://guardian.ng/news/libya-prime-minister-calls-for-unity-behind-anti-is-sirte-offensive/>, (accessed July 7, 2016).
- <sup>18</sup> Tim Niblock, "Pariah States" and Sanctions in the Middle East, Boulder, London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001.

## Viewpoint

# PEACEKEEPING OR PEACE ENFORCEMENT: PRINCIPAL DILEMMA SURROUNDING UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The TCC have to shed their colonial legacies and participate in UN peacekeeping on equal terms rather than merely being service providers. It is necessary that the UNSC decisions are more inclusive and reflective of the new world order.

Vikrant Deshpande\*

### The United Nations (UN) in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Following the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the establishment of a new government (The Rwandan Patriotic Front supported by Uganda), some 1.2 million Rwandese Hutus – including elements who had taken part in the genocide – fled to the neighbouring Kivu regions of Eastern DRC. Simultaneously, aided by Rwanda and Uganda, a rebellion led by Laurent Désiré Kabila took over power from the existing dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko in the DRC. Since then, the Eastern part of DRC has been in constant turmoil due to continued presence of Congolese and foreign armed groups taking advantage of power and security vacuums in this part of the country; the illegal exploitation of resources; interference by neighbouring countries; pervasive impunity; intercommunal feuds; and the weak capacity of the national army and police to effectively protect civilians and the national territory and ensure law and order.<sup>1</sup>

The spiral of violence led to UN intervention and following the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in July 1999 between the DRC and five regional States (Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe) in July 1999, the Security Council established the United Nations Organisation Mission in the DRC (MONUC). MONUC was tasked with the observation of the ceasefire and disengagement of forces and maintaining liaison with all parties to the ceasefire agreement and later with its implementation.

On July 1, 2010, the Security Council, renamed MONUC the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) to reflect the new phase the country had entered. The new mission was authorised to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate relating, among other things, to the protection of

**...realising that the cycle of violence continued in spite of UN intervention, the UN created the Force Intervention Brigade of African countries and tasked the new brigade with carrying out offensive operations...**

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civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence and to support the Government of the DRC in its stabilisation and peace consolidation efforts. In March 2013, realising that the cycle of violence continued in spite of UN intervention, the UN created the Force Intervention Brigade of African countries and tasked the new brigade with carrying out offensive operations, either unilaterally or jointly with the Congolese armed forces, 'in a robust, highly mobile and versatile manner' to disrupt the activities of those groups<sup>2</sup>.

### The Dilemma

The basic principles of peacekeeping, namely consent of the parties, impartiality, non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate<sup>3</sup>, are the doctrinal precepts of the operational philosophy for the soldiers participating in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping and are an integral part of their pre-deployment training. These principles have been reiterated as 'relevant and central to the respect and regard that the blue helmets have earned' by the Hon'ble Minister for External Affairs, Sushma Swaraj in her foreword to the eBook on India and UN Peacekeeping.<sup>4</sup> The UN, particularly its Security Council (UNSC) however, seems to be gravitating towards more robust and aggressive roles for UN troops under Chapter VII of the UN Charter termed as peace enforcement<sup>5</sup> as is evident from the increasingly aggressive mandates it has expected its force to execute in MONUSCO. The shift from MONUC to MONUSCO and the addition of the Intervention Brigade is indicative.

The Horta Panel which was recently constituted to review and strengthen peacekeeping operations, in its report to the UN Secretary General, summarizes the contradiction that inspires this view point. *"Some Member States, including many leading troop contributors, (- ) have expressed to the Panel their strong view that the three core principles of peacekeeping, i.e., consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence or defence of the mandate, should be upheld. Others, however, have suggested that they are outmoded and require adjustment."*<sup>6</sup>

### Scrutiny

A perfunctory scrutiny of this contradiction is revealing. It can safely be assumed that those that want UN Peacekeeping to continue in its traditional mould with peacekeepers deployed only as arbitrators between conflicting parties (Chapter VI) are the ones that contribute troops to the UN. The countries which want a more robust, effective and aggressive role (Chapter VII) are those paying for these missions without committing any substantial manpower. The troop contributing countries (TCC) would therefore be executing the so called robust mandates scripted by those funding them. It is obvious that these TCC are hesitant to bear the costs in terms of human lives which would be an obvious fall out of such aggressive mandates under Chapter VII while the financial contributors want more 'bang for their bucks' and an early closure to these conflicts and their contributions.

The TCC have been clamouring for a greater role in scripting the mandates of various missions, a call echoed by the Indian External Affairs Minister in her address to the UN General Assembly on October 01, 2015 where she stated in no uncertain terms that:

"At the same time, it is necessary that there be no dilution of the cardinal principles of

peacekeeping. It is a matter of concern that there is no role of troop contributing countries in the formulation of mandates, which are often amended without consultations. This is a clear violation of Article 44 of the UN Charter".<sup>7</sup>

However, these mandates tend to follow the diktats of the UN Security Council (primarily the big five) and have been getting more aggressive and demanding in their stated intents. It is also evident that the mission leadership responsible for the execution and interpretation of the mandates is rarely from the TCC and therefore favourable to the Security Council's viewpoint rather than those of the TCC.

Robust mandates are being seen as a panacea to end or resolve conflicts especially in Africa. Hasty conclusions have been drawn on the belief that an aggressive intent and effective use of force will bring closure to these conflicts. There also seems to be a tearing hurry to declare victory and develop an exit strategy more out of financial constraints than improving situations. The lessons of the failures of such quick fix solutions in Afghanistan and Iraq seem to be forgotten and the same "drone strike mentality" seems to prevail. The problems in Africa are a labyrinth of layered complexities arising from colonial legacies, tribal, ethnic, historical, feudal, religious and land conflicts with social, economic, commercial, criminal, cultural and geographical overtones superimposed on volatile politics and lack of infrastructure, resources and governance to name a few. Armed conflict is merely a manifestation or symptom of this greater malaise. Aiming for elimination of armed groups, as seen in some recent mandates,<sup>8</sup> without resolving all other issues would in all probability result in some new actors filling up the vacuum. The capacities and capabilities of the UN to achieve these aims is also questionable.

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## Case Study

Having spent nearly 15 months as part of MONUSCO and using the UN mission in DRC as a case study, the author explains the dilemma and suggests a way ahead. The operative part of the mandate of MONUSCO renewed by an UNSC resolution 2277 is interesting and requires scrutiny:-

### (i) Protection of civilians

- (a) Ensure, within its area of operations, effective protection of civilians under threat of physical violence, including by deterring, preventing and stopping armed groups from inflicting violence on the populations, .....
- (b) Work with the Government of the DRC to identify threats to civilians and implement existing prevention and response plans and strengthen civil-military cooperation...
- (c) Enhance its interaction with civilians to raise awareness and understanding about its mandate and activities through a comprehensive public outreach programme...
- (d) Neutralize armed groups through the Intervention Brigade: in support of the authorities of the DRC, on the basis of information collection and analysis, and taking full account of the need to protect civilians and mitigate risk before, during and after any military operation, carry out targeted offensive operations through the Intervention Brigade in

cooperation with the whole of MONUSCO, either unilaterally or jointly with the FARDC, in a robust, highly mobile and versatile manner and in strict compliance with international law....

The distinction between paragraphs (a) and (d) above, reflect the problem in its entirety. The former uses the terms deter, prevent and stop with reference to armed groups while the later specifies the neutralisation and targeted offensive action against armed groups, however with a caveat that these will be carried out by the Intervention Brigade. The provenance of these distinctions or dichotomy is due to the fact that the major TCC to this mission (Framework Brigades) were comfortable performing conventional tasks as mentioned in paragraph (a) but not with (d). This necessitated the creation of an Intervention Brigade of African Nations to perform the offensive / neutralisation tasks.

The distinction to suit the national caveats looks good on paper but is difficult to implement and execute. How does a coherent force operate with two fundamentally contradictory mandates stitched into one? This results in confusion, obstruction and sometimes chaos in execution. The boundaries of what can be done and by whom are blurred and open to interpretation. In a hostile environment with rapidly changing dynamics, such conceptual confusion is unnecessary and unwarranted as the subsequent effects at operational and tactical levels get further exaggerated.

**How does a coherent force operate with two fundamentally contradictory mandates stitched into one?**

Two completely different set of reactions to a similar situation exemplify the difference in employment philosophy and ethos. An African contingent when confronted by a mob of unrelenting machete and shotgun wielding youth of one community, opened fire killing eight of them, mostly teenagers, while an Indian patrol elsewhere resolved the issue by threat of use of force and negotiations dispersing the violent mob.

The Indian psyche, even that of a soldier abjures violence. This is not only a cultural context but also a result of the institutional philosophy of maximum restraint and minimum force ingrained in him due to skills honed in internal security situations in his own country and amongst his own citizens. Kautilyan precepts of *sama* (conciliation), *dana* (gratification), *bheda* (division) and *danda* (force), with *danda* as an instrument of last resort and to be applied when everything fails may not be formally taught in schools of instruction but is a concept ingrained in doctrinal and operational philosophies related to use of force in a population centric conflict environment (which UN peacekeeping is). As opposed to this, the occidental mindset and those of their clients seems to look at an excuse to justify violence as the first response. *Danda* is not the final arbitrator but to be applied at the earliest justifiable moment. The belief that actual use of force is a more credible deterrent than its threat prevails. The jury is out on the effectiveness of both these approaches,

**...the NATO led use of force in Iraq and Afghanistan seem to indicate that an outside force (not native to the country of conflict) has limited utility...**

however, the NATO led use of force in Iraq and Afghanistan seem to indicate that an outside force (not native to the country of conflict) has limited utility due to its inability to stay long, identify the complexities involved and aversion to casualties. The solution normally lies in the local government and its forces being empowered. The problem in DRC and in other countries in Africa needs an indigenous, African solution and not one forced through a western frame. The people centric, Indian approach is less intrusive and therefore more acceptable to the locals.

## Way Ahead

Though the TCC have articulated their stance very clearly and mandates like in DRC have been tailored to accommodate these caveats, their troops continue to operate as part of Chapter VII mandates in South Sudan and DRC. The mission leadership, governed by diktats of the UNSC, are pushing for aggressive and robust implementation of these mandates which translates to more action and violence. This is meant to achieve results and define exit strategies. Such a hasty and unilateral approach without the patience and resources to actually treat the disease instead of its symptoms is likely to have disastrous consequences. Irrespective of operating philosophies, the TCC will be a party to these consequences.

The option of shifting gears to a more violent approach or aligning with this occidental philosophy does not exist as this requires years of unlearning and relearning. Another reason why such a shift is unwarranted is that the UN forces particularly in MONUSCO are stretched over vast distances with unprotected lines of communication making them vulnerable to a counter strike. Even the world's only super power (USA) could not sustain an UN operation (Somalia) when the price to be paid was body bags. The same is true for any democracy in the world, which majority of the TCC are. The political repercussions of losing precious lives for a perceived 'lost cause' are enormous.

The TCC have to shed their colonial legacies and participate in UN peacekeeping on equal terms rather than merely being service providers. It is necessary that the UNSC decisions are more inclusive and reflective of the new world order. The principal recommendation therefore is that in case the TCC are not in a position to influence mandates and reduce their scopes to Chapter VI levels, they should seriously reconsider their troop contributions to such missions.

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations, MONUSCO, at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monusco/background.shtml>, (accessed November 12, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> HJ Langholtz, *Principles and Guidelines for UN Peacekeeping*, Text Book of the Peace Operations Training Institute, New York, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> PMI, "India and United Nations Peacekeeping", at [https://www.pminewyork.org/slide\\_book/peace\\_keeping/#p=6](https://www.pminewyork.org/slide_book/peace_keeping/#p=6), accessed November 12, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> HJ Langholtz, n.3.

<sup>6</sup> Horta Panel Report, "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects, Comprehensive review of special political missions, Strengthening of the United Nations system", A/70/95-S/2015/446\*, at [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/95](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/95), (accessed November 8, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Full Text of the Hon'ble Minister for External Affairs Speech at the UN General Assembly on October 01, 2015, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/full-text-of-sushma-swarajs-speech-at-un-there-can-be-no-distinction-between-good-and-bad-terrorists/>, (accessed November 12, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> UN, "Security Council Authorizes Mandate Renewal for United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo", at <http://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12307.doc.htm>, (accessed November 8, 2016).

## Book Review

Graham A. Dominy, *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontier: Fort Napier and the British Imperial Garrison*. Thornhill: University of Chicago Press, 2016. ISBN 9780252098246.

**Quentin Holbert \***

From the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian West Bank to Ethiopia's occupation of Eritrean Badme, territorial disputes are still a source of tension for many nations. There is a strong body of literature that discusses the different economic and diplomatic implications of occupation like Azoulay Adi Ophir Ariella's *The One State Condition Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine*, Walter M. Hudson's *Army Diplomacy: American Military Occupation and Foreign Policy After World War II* (2015), and Margaret Pawley's *Watch on the Rhine: The Military Occupation of the Rhineland* (2007). Some other works, like Keat Gin Ooi's *The Japanese Occupation of Borneo, 1941-1945* (2011) and Peter M. R. Stirk's *The Politics of Military Occupation* (2009) provide excellent insights into the logistics of military occupations. One gap in the current dialogue, however, is regarding the consequence of long-term military occupation on local civilian populations. Graham A. Dominy's *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontier: Fort Napier and the British Imperial Garrison* (2016) addresses this gap through a thorough case study of Fort Napier's social influences on South Africa.

Fort Napier overlooked the colonial capital of Pietermaritzburg, South Africa from 1843 to 1914. The original intent of this garrison was to "bolster the prestige of the colonial state" (p. 44) to mask British weakness in South Africa rather than actually securing the region strategically. During the fort's seventy-one year history, the garrison "took part in active campaigning on four occasions, totalling less than four years" (p. 2). The fort's history expands beyond the garrison's involvement in the campaigns. Dominy argues that "(G)arrison activities were integral to the wider social and cultural life of settler society, but they also played a noteworthy role in the refashioning of African society during the mid to late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century" (p. 108). Dominy particularly emphasises the importation of Victorian ideals into South Africa.

One of Dominy's most vivid arguments is that local African civilians attempted "to recast intrusive European rituals, symbols, and tropes in their own terms" (p. 188) following the fort's abandonment while retaining notions of Britishness. The British presence "symbolized power, stability, and the ultimate shield for the colony" (p. 79) particularly with their opposition to the "perceived threat of the time, Afrikaner nationalism" (p. 189). An article in the *Natal Witness* during the 1920s claimed that the fort's conversion to a mental hospital "will (enable us to) reach the lowest rung to which our sentimental ladder will descend in endeavouring to recall the good old days" (p. 186). The fort represented a stability of Britishness in the region, and this legacy endured long after the fort's closure, which is observed in the unification of the Nazarite faithful in the

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mid-1920s (p. 188). Dominy successfully identifies the impact that a garrison had in establishing a dual British-African identity among citizens around Pietermaritzburg that endures until today. This is, again, contrary to other studies of military occupation that focus on the political effects of occupation rather than the societal effects.

To identify how the fort had this influence on local African societies, Dominy organises his book thematically rather than chronologically. There are a few chapters that establish the context, such as chapter one's discussions of forts prior to Fort Napier and chapter six's examination of the colony's changing social climate between the 1860s and the 1890s. The rest, however, focus on specific themes that affect the relationship between the fort's garrison and the local population. These chapters largely discuss three major social forces: the difficulties associated with the guard's authority over the local population and lax discipline, the economic stimulus the fort's security and garrison's wages brought to Pietermaritzburg, and the continually-evolving relationship between men and women both within and outside of the British military. This approach largely works because it isn't possible to examine a chronological series of events without continual digressions to important, yet peripheral, material. Segmenting the different social influences into distinct chapters rather than spreading them across a loose timeline makes the book far more coherent.

What distinguishes this social history from other studies on South Africa is the combined breadth and depth of Dominy's analyses. The research in *Last outpost on the Zulu Frontier* is impeccable, and a benchmark for future social historians to match. Dominy supports his assertions with thorough references to a wide range of primary sources, which include but are not limited to soldier and officer diaries, official correspondence between public officials, parliamentary and magistrate papers, newspapers, and regimental records. Dominy references these sources conjoint with a careful consideration of a wide variety of colonial, political, social, and military histories.

Further improving the accessibility is the writing style, although it is not perfect. Dominy uses a good balance of technical and straightforward terminology. The book is technical enough such that its writing is better suited for a university-level audience rather than the general public; but it does not use a lot of discipline-specific terminology. Dominy simultaneously avoids bogging readers down with thick prose examining historical theory. The only issue with the writing is that Dominy uses the passive voice far too often. While passive voice is not inherently bad, using it too much does make writing unnecessarily abrupt, and awkward to navigate. It slows down an otherwise excellent prose to a crawl.

One interesting, and immensely beneficial, writing decision is that Dominy largely avoids engagement with theoretical debates. There are no major overt discussions about theory in *Last outpost on the Zulu Frontier*, and his reference to different theoretical models are merely brief explanations. For example, there are discussions of race in the book, such as with the Kat River rebellion in 1852, but the book's emphasis is on the events rather than race theory. It is still possible to apply ideas about race relations to the book, but this is not Dominy's focus. Most of the book avoids discussions of theory in favour of events, and the book is strongest at these points. Dominy is at his best when he is connecting small-scale events with macro-level trends. The only chapter that falters on this front is chapter ten, which examines class and gender. Dominy uses intersectionality theory, which advocates that different forms of oppression like class, race, and gender "intersect" to create hierarchies of power. This is an oddity because the rest of the book does not rely heavily on theory. The inclusion of intersectionality theory in the early parts of chapter ten does not fit with the rest of the book's style particularly well, and would work better as a separate piece.

Overall Dominy has succeeded in crafting an excellent social history of Fort Napier's influence on South African society. Despite some issues mentioned above, *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontier* is an important piece of work that points to the significance of long term military presence on local populations. This book is a landmark in military and social history, and is a must-read for military, African, and diplomatic historians. Dominy's insights on the British military in South Africa are invaluable to anybody concerned with the implications of long term military occupations.

## News Track

### *Conflict and Security*

#### **Burundi**

##### **Police force for Burundi approved by UN Security Council**

The UN Security Council has approved a resolution paving the way for a UN police force to be deployed in Burundi. Burundi has been in turmoil since April 2015, when President Pierre Nkurunziza sought and won a third term that the opposition said was illegal. Since then more than 400 people have been killed. There is concern that the violence could grow into ethnic conflict in the region. In January, 2016 the UN said it found evidence that Burundi's security forces gang-raped women while searching the homes of suspected opposition leaders and had heard their testimonies on mass graves. The UN Secretary General will have to consult the Burundian government about the proposed force but President Nkurunziza has expressed opposition to an intervention by the UN or the African Union.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Djibouti**

##### **Yemeni refugees get stuck in Djibouti**

The war in Yemen has triggered a flood of refugees fleeing across the sea to Djibouti, where they try to recreate a normal life. From a remote camp near the desert town of Obock, James Jeffrey reported that in 2015, the escalation of fighting in Yemen led to a mass exodus, with thousands fleeing to Djibouti across the 30-kilometer stretch of water at the southern entrance to the Red Sea known as Bab-el-Mandeb, the "Gateway of Tears" - a name that refers to the long history of people perishing trying to cross it. Many have settled in a refugee camp that grew outside Obock, an inhospitable sun-parched town in the corner of the Horn of Africa.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Eritrea**

##### **Conscripts in Eritrea try to escape their country**

In Eritrea, the last year of high school is also the first year in the army. Although conscription is not unusual around the world, in Eritrea, there are three huge downsides: the obligatory service is indefinite, the conscript is not allowed to leave the country, and the monthly pay is dismal. The rest of the world doesn't really hear much about the country, as the foreign media is mostly barred entry; and Eritrea ranks dead last in the *Reporters Without Borders'* press freedom index (behind North Korea). Unconfirmed reports began filtering through the crevices of the Internet

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<sup>1</sup> "UN Security Council approves Burundi police force", *BBC News*, April 2, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35949633>

<sup>2</sup> "So near and yet so far: Yemeni refugees stuck in Djibouti", *Deutsche Welle*, June 19, 2016, at <http://www.dw.com/en/so-near-and-yet-so-far-yemeni-refugees-stuck-in-djibouti/a-19341128>

about the possible killing of conscripts who attempted escape while being transported to a labour camp. The numbers of dead and injured vary in the reports, ranging from four to 29. The tight-lipped Eritrean government indirectly acknowledged the incident in a tweet from its information minister, who claimed that it was an accident and that two conscripts had fallen off the truck. If the story is true, it offers a glimpse into the terrifying system of conscription and forced labour in Eritrea, and the lengths to which people are willing to go to escape it. The United Nations estimates that 5,000 Eritreans leave their country every month as refugees. The Wall Street Journal recently referred to Eritrea as one of the “world’s fastest-emptying nations.”<sup>3</sup>

#### **UAE appears to be constructing a naval base in Eritrea**

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) appears to be constructing a new port next to Assab International Airport in Eritrea, which could become its first permanent military base in a foreign country. Satellite imagery shows rapid progress has been made since work began sometime after September 2015. IHS Janes’ Maritime & Trade data show that two vessels are currently working at the site. Eritrea has little need of a new port in the Assab area, given that the existing one 12 km to the southeast of the construction site was rarely visited until the UAE’s navy began to use it last year to support the country’s military operation in Yemen.<sup>4</sup>

## **Ethiopia**

#### **200 people killed, 100 children kidnapped in the Gambella region of Ethiopia**

Ethiopian Parliament declares two days of nationwide mourning following the killings of around 200 Ethiopians by the Murlie tribe in Gambella region along the South Sudan border on April 15, 2016. According to an Ethiopian government report, after killing 208 civilians, the Murlies also kidnapped 100 children. The attack was committed in Nuer and Anuak zones in the Gambella Regional State of Ethiopia. In response to the attack, Ethiopian government soldiers have reportedly chased the attackers and killed 60 Murlie perpetrators. The motive of the attackers is not yet clearly known, according to the statement from the government communications office, which stated that the army is chasing the attackers to return the kidnapped children.<sup>5</sup>

## **Kenya**

#### **Kenya expresses its intention to close world’s biggest refugee camp**

Kenya has vowed to close the world’s biggest refugee camp within a year and send hundreds of thousands of Somalis back to their war-torn homeland or on to other countries, a plan decried by

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<sup>3</sup> “Hundreds of thousands have fled this country. This ghastly massacre is a reminder why.”, *The Washington Post*, April 13, 2016, at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/04/13/a-ghastly-massacre-in-eritrea-is-a-reminder-of-why-so-many-are-fleeing/>

<sup>4</sup> “UAE likely to be building a naval facility in Eritrea”, *IHS Jane’s 360*, April 18, 2016, at <http://www.janes.com/article/59561/uae-likely-to-be-building-a-naval-facility-in-eritrea>

<sup>5</sup> “Ethiopia declares national mourning for death of 200 people in Gambella”, *News Business Ethiopia*, April 20, 2016, at <http://newbusinessethiopia.com/index.php/resource/10-governance/965/965>

aid and human rights groups as dangerous, illegal and impractical. Kenya says it needs to close the sprawling Dadaab camp, home to 330,000 mostly Somali refugees, to protect the country's security after a string of terror attacks by al-Shabaab. The Somalia-based militant group was behind the massacre of nearly 150 students at a university last summer and the Westgate mall siege in Nairobi in 2013, as well as other deadly attacks. The Kenyan interior minister, Joseph Nkaissery, said al-Shabaab fighters used the camp as a base for smuggling weapons.<sup>6</sup> The UN Refugee Agency is calling on the Government of Kenya to reconsider its announcement that it intends to end the hosting of refugees.<sup>7</sup>

## Malawi

### A threat of 'total extinction' looms over people with albinism in Malawi

Malawi's estimated 10,000 albinos face "extinction" if they continue to be murdered for their body parts for use in witchcraft, a UN expert has warned. Ikponwosa Ero said that the situation "constitutes an emergency, a crisis disturbing in its proportions". Her call came after two men received a 17-year jail term for murdering a 21-year-old woman with albinism. Ero said Malawi police have recorded 65 attacks, abductions and murders of albinos since the end of 2014. Albinos were targeted because of beliefs that their body parts "can increase wealth, make businesses prosper or facilitate employment", said Ero, the UN human rights council's expert on albinism. "Even in death, they do not rest in peace as their remains are robbed from graveyards," she added.<sup>8</sup>

### State of national disaster in Malawi over food crisis

Malawi's President Peter Mutharika has declared a state of national disaster over food shortages caused by erratic climate conditions. It is one of several African countries affected by El Nino. "I declare Malawi in a state of national disaster following prolonged dry spells during the 2015, 2016 agriculture season," President Mutharika said in a statement on April 13, 2016. After Zimbabwe, Malawi is the second southern African country to declare a state of national disaster, while South Africa said it was facing the worst drought in 100 years.<sup>9</sup>

### Malawi moves 10,000 Mozambique asylum seekers to camp

Malawi has started moving 10,000 Mozambique asylum seekers back from the border to the newly reopened Luwani camp in southeastern Malawi. Nearly 12,000 Mozambicans seeking asylum have crossed the border into Malawi since December 2015. Before its official closure in 2007, the Luwani camp hosted more than 300,000 Mozambican refugees who had fled civil war between

<sup>6</sup> "Kenya says it will shut world's biggest refugee camp at Dadaab", *theguardian*, May 11, 2016, at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/kenya-close-worlds-biggest-refugee-camp-dadaab>

<sup>7</sup> "UNHCR appeals to Kenya over decision to end refugee hosting", *UNHCR*, May 9, 2016, at <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/5/5730b5f36/unhcr-appeals-kenya-decision-end-refugee-hosting.html>

<sup>8</sup> "People with albinism in Malawi face 'total extinction' - UN", *BBC News*, April 29, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36168742>

<sup>9</sup> "Malawi declares national disaster over food crisis", *Deutsche Welle*, April 13, 2016, at <http://www.dw.com/en/malawi-declares-national-disaster-over-food-crisis/a-19183292>

1977 and 1992. The people being relocated here are from Zambezia province, one of five opposition strongholds where there has been sporadic fighting since the disputed 2014 elections. Increased tensions in late 2015 pushed thousands of civilians to flee. The Mozambique government said RENAMO fighters are attacking civilians to turn them against the government.<sup>10</sup>

## Mauritius

### Mauritius upgrades security after a firing on French embassy

Mauritius police said on Monday that it had stepped up security after gunshots were fired at the French embassy and a hotel in the capital city. A police official said nobody had been injured and an inquiry had begun to identify and apprehend the perpetrators, adding graffiti mentioning Islamic state was discovered on the wall of the French embassy. He further said that security level had been raised in the country, and the situation on the Indian Ocean island nation was under control. Mauritius says Islamic State militant group has no presence on the island. Muslims, who make up nearly a fifth of Mauritius' 1.2 million people, have lived peacefully with majority Hindus and Christians since the former British colony obtained independence in 1968.<sup>11</sup>

## Seychelles

### Seychelles concludes last Somali piracy case

A last group of suspected Somali pirates that remained on trial in Seychelles has been found guilty of piracy offences and sentenced to 12 years in prison by the Seychelles Supreme Court on June 10, 2016. In the ruling delivered by Judge Gustave Dodin the five were convicted on two out of three counts of piracy brought against them by the prosecution. The Somalis stood accused of attacking a dhow and holding the Indian crew as hostages, as well as for using the dhow as a pirate ship to attack an oil tanker. The offences were said to have been committed in the Gulf of Aden between January 1 and 18, 2014. The five suspected pirates were transferred to Seychelles on January 30, 2014 by French naval ship FS Siroco, which was part of the EU Naval Force, in collaboration with a Japanese air force plane.<sup>12</sup>

## South Africa

### South Africa worried about terrorism and border security

State Security Minister David Mahlobo touched on a range of issues he maintains are affecting national security in South Africa during his budget vote address to the National Assembly. They range from young South Africans being attracted to and volunteering to join Islamic State (IS), the

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<sup>10</sup> "Malawi moves 10,000 Mozambique asylum seekers to camp" *Voice of America*, April 18, 2016, at <http://www.voanews.com/a/malawi-moves-mozambique-asylum-seekers-to-camp/3291751.html>

<sup>11</sup> "Mauritius ramps up security after gunshots fired on French embassy", *Thomson Reuters Foundation*, May 30, 2016, at <http://news.trust.org//item/20160530135306-dmas0/>

<sup>12</sup> "Seychelles court sentences five Somalis to 12 years, concludes last piracy case", *MIDNIMO*, June 11, 2016, at <http://www.midnimo.com/2016/06/11/seychelles-court-sentences-five-somalis-to-12-years-concludes-last-piracy-case/>

possibility of certain non-government organisations (NGOs) being involved internally in subversive activities, the country's preparations to successfully defend itself from cybercrime and the planned new regime for border control and management. He told Parliament that since the establishment of IS, terrorist groups have been evolving. "Additionally, the rise of IS has impacted on African terror groups by inspiring young recruits to join their cause as foreign fighters and to emulate the IS model in their respective regions."<sup>13</sup>

## Somalia

### Al-Qaeda-backed rebels are 'resurgent' in Somalia

Five years after an UN-backed force began to push al-Qaeda-linked militants out of their strongholds, Somalia shows clear signs of progress. Large swaths of the country have been reclaimed. Streets, beaches and markets have come back to life in once forsaken cities. The United States has promised to rebuild its long-shuttered embassy. But as Somalia approaches a critical period, with parliamentary and presidential elections due by August, those gains are showing signs of reversal. The al-Shabaab rebels are "resurgent," President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud said in an interview. He and other senior officials acknowledged that Somalia's Government is still -unable to provide security or public services to regions that have been liberated. The government must choose between giving its soldiers wages or weapons, he said.<sup>14</sup>

### US-funded intelligence agency in Somalia probably uses children as spies

The East African nation of Somalia has been plagued by civil war for the past 25 years, and, for the past decade, the fledgling government has been fighting an insurgency by the radical Islamic al-Qaida affiliate al-Shabaab. Now a new report reveals Somalia may be using children as young as 10 years old to spy on al-Shabaab operatives. Today's Washington Post says using child informants is not only dangerous, but could be a violation of international law. The Post's deputy foreign editor, Mary Beth Sheridan told that in many cases in recent years, the government has either managed to capture al-Shabaab troops that included a lot of these kids who were in many cases forced by al-Shabaab to fight, or children actually gave themselves up, tried to escape. And what is supposed to happen is, the government is supposed to turn these kids over to UN authorities or other humanitarian groups to be rehabilitated. But, instead, they have detained a lot of them and forced them to go out on very dangerous missions and point out their former colleagues, identify al-Shabaab installations or members.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "SA State Security minister worried about terrorism, border security", *Defence Web*, April 28, 2016, at [http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=43272%3Aasa-state-security-minister-worried-about-terrorism-border-security&catid=49%3ANational%20Security&Itemid=115](http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=43272%3Aasa-state-security-minister-worried-about-terrorism-border-security&catid=49%3ANational%20Security&Itemid=115)

<sup>14</sup> "Somalia's president says al-Qaeda-backed rebels are 'resurgent'", *The Washington Post*, April 10, 2016, at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/somalias-president-says-al-qaeda-backed-rebels-are-resurgent/2016/04/09/56be207c-faa3-11e5-813a-90ab563f0dde\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/somalias-president-says-al-qaeda-backed-rebels-are-resurgent/2016/04/09/56be207c-faa3-11e5-813a-90ab563f0dde_story.html)

<sup>15</sup> "U.S.-funded Somalia intelligence agency may be using children as spies", *PBS NEWSHOUR*, May 8, 2016, at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/u-s-funded-somalia-intelligence-agency-may-be-using-children-as-spies/>

### AU troops among those arrested for selling military supplies in Somalia

Five soldiers with the African Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and 10 Somalis have been arrested for selling military equipment, police say. They were found with improvised detonators, fuel, sandbags and empty ammunition boxes. AMISOM confirmed the arrests saying it would not accept “unprofessional conduct among its personnel”. The mission is fighting alongside Somali government forces against al-Shabaab Islamist militants. This is the first time African Union (AU) troops have been arrested in Somalia since AMISOM was established nine years ago. The authorities say the five AU soldiers are from Uganda, which has the largest number of troops in the 22,000-strong mission. The police said they caught the men as they were trying to sell the equipment to civilians.<sup>16</sup>

## Tanzania

### Tanzania to investigate alleged abuse by its peacekeepers in DRC

Tanzania says it will promptly investigate allegations that several of its troops sexually abused women and girls in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where its soldiers are UN peacekeepers. “Our political and military authorities recognise the implications and seriousness of such charges,” Ambassador Tuvako Manongi told a meeting of the General Assembly on April 5, 2016. He said a board of inquiry was being dispatched to investigate the allegations. The Tanzanians are part of the 18,000-strong UN peacekeeping force known as MONUSCO, which operates in eastern DRC. They participate in an elite “intervention brigade” that pursues armed groups. The troops accused of abuses are based near Beni, in North Kivu province.<sup>17</sup>

### Tanzania may offer citizenship to Burundian refugees

Burundian refugees could be offered Tanzanian citizenship status before the end of 2016, according to the country’s government. Tanzania, which hosts the largest number of Burundian refugees and has been admitting an average of 130 people a day, said it is finalising physical verification of Burundi refugees who deserve to be granted citizenship, as promised by the president, before naturalising them. “It is our plan that the process is complete by the end of this year, so that those refugees who merit nationality be granted (*sic*) in accordance with the law,” Deputy Minister for Home Affairs Minister, Hamad Yusuf Masauni, said when speaking in Tanzania’s capital city of Dodoma.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> “African Union troops in Somalia arrested for selling military supplies”, *BBC News*, June 6, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36459005>

<sup>17</sup> “Tanzania to investigate possible abuse by its peacekeepers in DRC”, *Voice of America*, April 5, 2016, at <http://www.voanews.com/a/tanzania-investigate-possible-abuse-peacekeepers-democratic-republic-congo/3271277.html>

<sup>18</sup> “Tanzania to offer citizenship to Burundian refugees before 2017”, *International Business Times*, April 22, 2016, at <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/tanzania-offer-citizenship-burundian-refugees-before-2017-1556259>

## Politics

### Burundi

#### Burundi refuses to release body of Bihozagara, Rwandan ex-minister

Burundi has vehemently refused to release the body of the deceased former Rwandan Ambassador Jacques Bihozagara until his family signs statement exonerating the Burundi government. The family has been told that he died of natural causes, and they have to sign a document to that effect, which essentially absolves Burundi of any responsibility for Bihozagara's death. Until such time, the body will not leave the country. News of the death of the former Rwandan diplomat and minister emerged on March 30, 2016. Reports say he died in Mpimba maximum security prison. No official explanation has been provided by the Burundi government detailing the circumstances surrounding Bihozagara's death.<sup>19</sup>

### Djibouti

#### President Guelleh of Djibouti wins fourth term

Djibouti's President Ismail Omar Guelleh has won a landslide victory in an election criticised by opposition parties and rights groups. Officials said Guelleh won 87 per cent of April 8, 2016 vote, which activists complained was preceded by political repression and curbs on basic freedoms. Guelleh, in power since 1999, begins a fourth five-year term in power. He faced five rivals in the election, but three opposition parties boycotted the poll.<sup>20</sup>

#### China constructing its overseas military base right next to the US' in Djibouti

US troops sweating away in Djibouti will soon be seeing a lot more of their counterparts from a great economic and military rival, China. Since 2014, this small chunk of the Horn of Africa, little bigger than the state of New Jersey, has been the only place in the world where the warships of the two countries' navies are moored alongside each other. Now work is underway constructing China's first overseas military base here. It will house thousands of personnel at Obock, a northern port a couple of hours by boat across the Gulf of Tadjoura from Djibouti City, the capital. A former French colony, Djibouti was once known for little more than French legionnaires, atrocious heat and the sordid nightlife of its seaside capital. But the diminutive nation has turned itself into a geostrategic linchpin with political clout far outstripping its size and population of just 900,000.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> "Burundi refuses to release body Of Rwandan ex-minister Bihozagara", *News of Rwanda*, April 2, 2016, at <http://www.newsofrwanda.com/featured1/30863/burundi-refuses-to-release-body-of-rwandan-ex-minister-bihozagara/>

<sup>20</sup> "Djibouti President Ismail Omar Guelleh wins fourth term", *BBC News*, April 9, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35995628>

<sup>21</sup> China is building its first overseas military base in Djibouti — right next to a key US one", *PRI*, May 3, 2016, at <http://www.pri.org/stories/2016-05-03/china-building-its-first-overseas-military-base-djibouti-right-next-key-us-one>

## Eritrea

### Eritrean refugees urge African Union to act on UN's report on Eritrea

More than 3,000 Eritrean refugees staged a demonstration in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa in support of a recently-released UN inquiry report that unmasked involvement of Eritrean officials in crimes against humanity. The refugees urged the African Union to take action in light of the report's findings. According to the UN Commission of Inquiry's report released on June 8, higher-ups of Eritrean government had allegedly carried out crimes against humanity for the last 25 years. The alleged crimes include enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings and enslavement of people. The Eritrean government rejected the report, calling it baseless and politically motivated.<sup>22</sup>

## Ethiopia

### Ethiopia gets into the UN Security Council

Ethiopia secured a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council (UNSC), the most important governing body in the UN, where it will serve a two-year term commencing as of January 2017. Ethiopia was elected by the United Nations General Assembly during an election session for five non-permanent members of the UNSC which was held on June 28, 2016. According to a statement issued on June 29 by the Ethiopian government the East African nation secured an overwhelming support of 185 countries out of the 193 UN member states. Along with Ethiopia, the general assembly has also elected Sweden, Bolivia and Kazakhstan. This is Ethiopia's third time to serve at the United Nations Security Council. The other current non-permanent members are Japan, Egypt, Senegal, Ukraine and Uruguay.<sup>23</sup>

## Kenya

### ICC abandons case against William Ruto, declares it a mistrial

The International Criminal Court has abandoned its prosecution of Kenya's deputy president, William Ruto, who had been accused of orchestrating the post-electoral violence in 2007 that killed more than 1,300 people. The controversial proceedings were declared by the court's presiding judge, Chile Eboe-Osuji, to be a mistrial due to a "troubling incidence of witness interference and intolerable political meddling". The Hague-based tribunal also dropped identical charges of crimes against humanity – involving murder, persecution and forcible transfer of populations – that had been brought against the Kenyan broadcaster Joshua Sang. The rulings reflect the frustration of senior lawyers in obtaining reliable evidence against high-ranking officials accused of committing atrocities. Eighteen months ago the ICC's chief prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, was forced to drop charges against Kenya's president, Uhuru Kenyatta, over the same flare-up of

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<sup>22</sup> "African Union urged to act on UN's report on Eritrea", *Anadolu Agency*, June 23, 2016, at <http://aa.com.tr/en/africa/african-union-urged-to-act-on-uns-report-on-eritrea-/596482>

<sup>23</sup> "Ethiopia wins seat on UN Security Council", *Sudan Tribune*, June 29, 2016, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article59456>

political violence, citing problems with witnesses who had been harassed and intimidated. At the time she declared it was “a dark day for international criminal justice”.<sup>24</sup>

### China’s arrests two Taiwanese groups in Kenya

China carried out a strange seizure in Kenya over the past week. While the circumstances are a bit murky, China appears to have grabbed two groups of Taiwanese who were suspected or accused of fraud in Kenya. Against their will, they were deported to China, provoking protests in Taiwan. The case speaks volumes about China’s growing power in Africa and might be another example of its pernicious practice of nabbing people beyond its borders. Taiwan, a self-governing island, is considered by China a renegade province that must be reunited with the mainland. Taiwan officials angrily accused Beijing of an “uncivilized act of extrajudicial abduction.” Overall, 45 Taiwanese were forcibly taken to China, in two flights on April 8 and April 12, some in hoods and handcuffs. Taiwan could do little but protest; it does not have diplomatic relations with Kenya.<sup>25</sup>

## Malawi

### Mutharika claims whole Lake Malawi, yet talks of ‘amicable solution’

Malawi President Peter Mutharika has maintained his position that the entire Lake Malawi, Tanzania calls Lake Nyasa, which is potentially rich in oil and gas is owned by Malawi. But he has made concessions from his earlier declaration that there is no need to negotiate the issue. He told the parliament on May 20 that the two countries continued to work on “an amicable solution” to the lake boundary dispute. Mutharika – a law professor who also taught law in Tanzania – made his position known to former president of Mozambique Joaquim Chissano and former president of Botswana Festus Mogae, who are members of Forum of Former African Heads of State and Government mediating in the Lake Malawi border dispute with neighbouring Tanzania. But Tanzania has recently maintained its ownership claim and reportedly will be sending ships to the disputed lake.<sup>26</sup>

## Mozambique

### President Nyusi of Mozambique agrees for foreign mediation in Renamo talks

Mozambique president Filipe Nyusi has given in to the demands by Renamo leader to accept the presence of foreign mediators in talks to end his country’s conflict, giving a ray of hope to

<sup>24</sup> “International criminal court abandons case against William Ruto”, *theguardian*, April 5, 2016, at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/05/international-criminal-court-william-ruto-kenya-deputy-president-election-violence>

<sup>25</sup> “China’s strange seizure in Kenya”, *The Washington Post*, April 15, 2016, at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/chinas-strange-seizure-in-kenya/2016/04/15/05439148-0258-11e6-9203-7b8670959b88\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5d176191e7db](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/chinas-strange-seizure-in-kenya/2016/04/15/05439148-0258-11e6-9203-7b8670959b88_story.html?utm_term=.5d176191e7db)

<sup>26</sup> “Mutharika refuses to budge on Lake Malawi: Talks of ‘amicable solution’ with Tanzania”, *Nyasa Times*, May 20, 2016, at <http://www.nyasatimes.com/mutharika-refuses-to-budge-on-lake-malawi-talks-of-amicable-solution-with-tanzania/>

Malawians whose people have been caught in the cross fire. Nyusi told the BBC that Frelimo and Renamo will now agree on the mediators as soon as possible so that the peace talks begin immediately. "People are dying, people can't travel, and people are sleeping in the bush in (*sic*) trees. I have told Alfonso [Dlhakama] (Renamo) leader that we have to agree on the mediators," said Nyusi on BBC Focus on Africa. Malawi's former president Bakili Muluzi has offered to take up the mediation role along with other former heads of state from SADC region, saying the escalation of skirmishes was destabilising the region.<sup>27</sup>

## Rwanda

### President Paul Kagame of Rwanda denies UN Burundi rebel allegations

Rwandan President Paul Kagame has denied allegations by UN experts that his country is continuing to support rebels in neighbouring Burundi. Kagame said the problems in Burundi originated from within the country, not elsewhere. Burundi has suffered a violent political crisis since President Pierre Nkurunziza decided to run for a controversial third term last year. It is exactly a year since Nkurunziza survived a coup attempt. Rwanda denied similar allegations about supporting rebels made in a previous UN-backed report in February 2016. Kagame criticised the authors of the latest leaked report, which is due to be presented at the UN World Security Council later, saying their time would be better spent addressing countries' problems rather than exacerbating them.<sup>28</sup>

## *Economy and Development*

## Ethiopia

### South Korea builds bilateral ties with Ethiopia

South Korea is launching a charm offensive in the Horn of Africa – and Seoul's motives could be tied to containing North Korea's influence in the region. During her state visit to Ethiopia on May 26, 2016 President Park Geun-hye pledged US\$1 million in aid to help the country recover from one of the worst droughts in its history, Yonhap news agency reported. The South Korean leader met with Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn and the two signed a memorandum of understanding. The two governments agreed to work toward full-scale defense cooperation, which could move toward cutting out North Korea from building its influence in the country, according to South Korea press.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> "Mozambique President Nyusi agrees foreign mediation in Renamo talks, flicker of hope to Malawi", *Nyasa Times*, June 18, 2016, at <http://www.nyasatimes.com/mozambique-president-nyusi-agrees-foreign-mediation-renamo-talks-flicker-hope-malawi/>

<sup>28</sup> "Rwandan President Paul Kagame denies UN Burundi rebel allegations", *BBC News*, May 13, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36290071>

<sup>29</sup> "South Korea builds ties with Ethiopia in bid to deter North", *UPI*, May 26, 2016, at [http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/World-News/2016/05/26/South-Korea-builds-ties-with-Ethiopia-in-bid-to-deter-North/3491464285906/](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2016/05/26/South-Korea-builds-ties-with-Ethiopia-in-bid-to-deter-North/3491464285906/)

### Ethiopia to make huge investments in green economy projects

Ethiopia said it will be investing billions of dollars to execute various Climate Resilient Green Economy projects across the country. The state minister for environment, Kare Chawicha, said the Horn of Africa nation would invest US\$150 billion to implement projects in the next two decades. The projects are expected to transform the country's economy to a green one and make them resilient to the effects of global warming. The new target, the minister said, seeks to reduce greenhouse gas emission, advance economic growth as well as create job opportunities for women and youth. According to the minister, US\$50 billion of the total budget will be allocated to the construction of low-carbon emission and green infrastructures. Citing a study conducted on the country, she said Ethiopia needs US\$7.5 billion annually for the implementation and transformation of its climate-resilient green economy. Financial sources will be secured from the government and Ethiopian people, investors, financial partners and from revenues collected from trades in the carbon market.<sup>30</sup>

## Kenya

### Kenya to go solo on oil pipeline

Uganda will build a pipeline for its oil through Tanzania rather than Kenya, which had wanted to secure the export route. Picking a route is vital for oil firms to make final investment decisions on developing reserves found in Uganda and Kenya, which are among a string of hydrocarbon finds on Africa's eastern seaboard. Land-locked Uganda, which found oil in a western region around Hoima, said in 2015 that it would build a pipeline through Kenya, linking its fields to Kenyan discoveries in Lokichar and on to Lamu on Kenya's north coast. But, in March 2016, Uganda changed tack, saying it was now planning a pipeline from Hoima to Tanga on Tanzania's coast, prompting a last-minute push by Kenya for another switch. The April 23 summit of the East African Community (EAC) - which consists of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi - in Kampala, confirmed that Uganda would take the Tanzanian option. Regarding the crude pipeline, "the summit agreed that two crude oil pipelines, one from Lokichar to Lamu and another from Hoima to Tanga, will be developed by Kenya and Uganda respectively," the final communique said.<sup>31</sup>

### Seven trade pacts signed between Kenya and South Korea

Kenya on May 31 signed seven trade agreements with South Korea towards improvement of health, education, energy, ICT and industrialisation sectors. One of the deals will see the Korea Export-Import Bank supporting the Kenyan agricultural sector towards food security. President Kenyatta and President Park Geun-hye, who had earlier chaired a bilateral meeting, witnessed the signing of the bilateral pacts at State House, Nairobi. The memorandum with the Korean Bank was signed for Kenya by Agriculture Cabinet Secretary Willy Bett. The agreements will

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<sup>30</sup> "Ethiopia to invest billions on green economy projects", *Sudan Tribune*, May 4, 2016, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article58863>

<sup>31</sup> "Kenya to go solo on oil pipeline, Uhuru and Museveni decide", *The Star*, April 23, 2016, at [http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/04/23/kenya-to-go-solo-on-oil-pipeline-uhuru-and-museveni-decide\\_c1337858](http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/04/23/kenya-to-go-solo-on-oil-pipeline-uhuru-and-museveni-decide_c1337858)

boost the country's efforts to become an economic, industrial and technological powerhouse in the region. The MOUs were on cooperation in science and technology, e-Government, industry, trade and investment. Other agreements were on cooperation in health, innovation and higher education and electric power and nuclear energy development.<sup>32</sup>

## Malawi

### IMF extends Malawi loan program by US\$76.8 million

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) will increase loans to Malawi by US\$76.8 million, the global lender said on June 20 following an economic review of the drought-hit country. The IMF said it was also augmenting Malawi's Extended Credit Facility (ECF) arrangement, signed in 2012, by another six months with funding equivalent to US\$49.2 million. "Malawi's macroeconomic situation remains difficult, reflecting weather-related shocks and past policy slippages, which contributed to persistently high inflation," said IMF Deputy Managing Director Min Zhu in a statement issued in Washington after a meeting of the fund's executive board. More than half of Malawi's population is in need of food aid, the country's minister of agriculture said last month. An El Nino-induced drought has ravaged crops, triggering a sharp rise in food prices as reliance on imports increased.<sup>33</sup>

## Mauritius

### Mauritius and Pakistan agree to upgrade PTA to FTA

Pakistan and Mauritius while noting the importance of economy and trade in boosting bilateral ties agreed to upgrade the existing Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) to a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) at an early date. A statement from the Foreign Office on April 19 said that the decision came at the delegation level meeting between the two sides during the four-day visit of Mauritius President Ameenah Gurib-Fakim to Pakistan. The two countries had inked the PTA on July 30, 2007. Pakistan was the first country to have inked the PTA with Mauritius as it has a huge potential for Pakistani products and serves as gateway for the entire African region. During the talks the two sides also reviewed the current status of bilateral relations and reaffirmed their commitment to further strengthening of the cooperative ties, with particular focus on economy and trade.<sup>34</sup>

### Mauritius expects 46 per cent increase in FDI

Mauritian Government expects foreign direct investment (FDI) to increase by as much as 46 per cent in 2016, even as the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union may curb inflows to the Indian Ocean island nation. The U.K. is the third-biggest source of FDI flows into

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<sup>32</sup> "Kenya signs seven trade pacts with South Korea", *The Star*, May 31, 2016, at [http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/05/31/kenya-signs-seven-trade-pacts-with-south-korea\\_c1361235](http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/05/31/kenya-signs-seven-trade-pacts-with-south-korea_c1361235)

<sup>33</sup> "IMF extends Malawi loan program, adds \$80 million for drought measures", *Reuters*, June 20, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-malawi-imf-idUSKCN0Z62HL>

<sup>34</sup> "Pakistan, Mauritius to upgrade PTA to Free Trade Agreement", *Daily Times*, April 19, 2016, at <http://dailytimes.com.pk/business/19-Apr-16/pakistan-mauritius-to-upgrade-pta-to-free-trade-agreement>

Mauritius, accounting for about 9% of the total FDI, according to a U.S. State Department report. Foreign investors are expected to commit 14 billion rupees (US\$395 million) by the end of 2016, compared with 9.6 billion rupees in 2015, Board of Investment Chief Executive Officer Ken Poonoosamy said in a phone interview from Port Louis. The country received 3 billion rupees in the first quarter, Bank of Mauritius data shows. FDI slumped last year from 18.5 billion rupees in 2014, when the US\$12 billion economy saw several hotel acquisition deals. "With uncertainties like Brexit, we need to be very cautious in terms of figures," Poonoosamy said.<sup>35</sup>

## Mozambique

### IMF welcomes acknowledgement by Mozambique Government on undisclosed debt

International Monetary Fund (IMF), in a brief statement issued on April 23, 2016 welcomed the Mozambican government's acknowledgement "that an amount in excess of one billion US dollars of external debt guaranteed by the government had not previously been disclosed to the Fund". These undisclosed loans first came to light in an article in the "Wall Street Journal" on April 3, 2016. The IMF reacted by suspending a mission that was to have visited Mozambique, and halting disbursement of the second installment of a US\$283 million loan agreed in October 2015 from the Fund's Standby Credit Facility (SCF).<sup>36</sup>

## Rwanda

### Rwanda drops Kenya SGR rail route, picks Dar-es-Salaam

Rwanda has announced plans to develop rail links to Indian Ocean ports through Tanzania because they are cheaper and shorter than the route transiting Kenya, says Claver Gatete, Rwanda's minister of finance and economic planning. Gatete told reporters that the Tanzania route is cheaper and would not take long to be completed as compared to the Kenya route. In 2013, Rwanda, Kenya and Uganda agreed to link up to the Kenyan port of Mombasa along a standard-gauge railway estimated to cost US\$13 billion. Studies done by member states in the six-nation EAC showed that the Tanzanian option would cost Rwanda about US\$800 to US\$900 million dollars while the Kenyan one would go for US\$1 billion, according to a report of Rwanda's ministry of East African Community Affairs.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "Mauritius, the easiest place to do business in Africa, expects 46% jump in foreign investment this year", *Mail & Guardian Africa*, June 29, 2016, at <http://mgafrica.com/article/2016-06-29-mauritius-the-easiest-place-to-do-business-in-africa-expects-46-jump-in-foreign-investment-this-year>

<sup>36</sup> "Mozambique: IMF welcomes information on hitherto undisclosed debts", *All Africa*, April 24, 2016, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201604240128.html>

<sup>37</sup> "First Uganda opted for Tanzania pipeline, now Rwanda abandons Kenya SGR rail route, picks Dar es Salaam", *Mail & Guardian Africa*, May 16, 2016, at <http://mgafrica.com/article/2016-05-16-first-uganda-opted-for-tanzania-pipeline-now-rwanda-abandons-kenya-sgr-rail-route-picks-dar-es-salaam>

## South Africa

### South Africa plans industrialisation with Mozambican gas, Mozambique differs

South Africa is already planning to use Mozambican gas as the basis of plastics, fertilizer and ceramics industries, according to *Engineering News*, May 17, 2016. Gas would be an excellent basis for industrialisation in Mozambique, producing fertilizer, chemicals and plastics. This could create thousands of jobs in related industries. But Mozambique has opted for quick returns by selling the gas as Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) or through the Chipande pipeline to South Africa - yet again simply selling raw materials without value added. The South African Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) has devised a plan for gas-based industrialisation intended to grow the economy and create more jobs. The plan is to first rely on imports of LNG (probably from Mozambique) to kick start industrial development, with hopes of large-scale imports of gas once infrastructure was more developed.<sup>38</sup>

### South Africa slips down to become Africa's third largest economy

New data from the International Monetary Fund shows that Egypt is now Africa's largest economy after Nigeria, pushing South Africa to the third place. South Africa was already struggling with its demotion from first place after Nigeria rebased its Gross Domestic Product Data in early 2014. Now, it may have to settle for the title of "most advanced economy", holding on to the infrastructural and regulatory advantages it enjoys. "Psychologically, I do think this is a blow. We've always thought of ourselves as the powerhouse of Africa, and then we're number two and now we're pushed to number three," said Lullu Krugel, KPMG South Africa's chief economist. The gap between South Africa and Nigeria now means getting back to first place would be "really tough," said Krugel. He further added that getting back to second place would mean the global economy and domestic policies would have to line up in South Africa's favour.<sup>39</sup>

### Prospects of recession in South Africa's economy

South Africa's economy shrank sharply in the first three months of the year, raising the risk of recession in Africa's most industrialised nation. The 1.2 per cent contraction in the first quarter was primarily due to declining output in the struggling mining sector and agriculture, which has been hit by one of the worst droughts in years. The bleak data came as the government struggled to restore depressed investor and business confidence following a series of scandals and political battles that have raised questions about President Jacob Zuma's commitment to fiscal prudence. He shocked investors in December 2015 when he replaced two finance ministers in four days. Pravin Gordhan, who was subsequently reappointed to the Treasury's top post, has since complained of attempts by officials to intimidate and undermine him and the finance ministry.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> "South Africa, not Mozambique to industrialize with Mozambican gas", *All Africa*, May 19, 2016, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201605190348.html>

<sup>39</sup> "South Africa just lost its spot as Africa's second largest economy", *Quartz*, May 12, 2016, at <http://qz.com/682877/south-africa-loses-its-spot-as-africas-second-largest-economy-to-egypt/>

<sup>40</sup> "South Africa's economy contracts, raising prospect of recession", *Financial Times*, June 8, 2016, at <https://www.ft.com/content/a5565132-2d7a-11e6-a18d-a96ab29e3c95>

## Tanzania

### Tanzania plans to invest US\$1.9 billion in energy every year

Tanzania plans to invest US\$1.9 billion each year by 2025 in energy projects in a bid to end power shortages and boost industrial growth in East Africa's second-biggest economy, its prime minister said. Tanzania aims to boost power generation capacity to 10,000 megawatts from around 1,500MW at present, using natural gas and coal and reducing its dependence on hydro power sources.<sup>41</sup>

### Recent discovery of helium field in Tanzania a global "game changer"

Scientists have used a new approach in gas exploration to discover a major new helium gas field in the Tanzanian Rift Valley. It could help address a shortage of the rare element, which is used in MRI scanners, space exploration vehicles, and nuclear energy. Known reserves of helium have been running out. Until now, gas has never been found intentionally and is usually "accidentally discovered" in small quantities as part of the oil and gas drilling process. Researchers from the UK's Durham and Oxford universities working with Helium One, a Norwegian helium exploration company, experimented with a new discovery method and uncovered a "world class" field around the volcanoes of the Rift Valley. In just one part of the field the researchers discovered enough helium to fill 1.2 million MRI scanners. Global consumption of helium is about 8 billion cubic feet (BCf) per year and the United States Federal Helium Reserve, which is the world's largest supplier, has a current reserve of just 24.2 BCf, according to Chris Ballentine, a professor at Oxford's department of earth sciences. "Total known reserves in the USA are around 153 BCf," Ballentine said in a press statement. "This is a game changer for the future security of society's helium needs and similar finds in the future may not be far away."<sup>42</sup>

### Tanzania dismisses World Bank warning on China

While a recent warning to Tanzania by the World Bank over the cozying up to China has sparked a backlash from some quarters, it has also re-ignited debate on the sustainability of the country's Look East policy. Industry stakeholders and local economists have expressed mixed views on the warning contained in the World Bank's latest economic update on Tanzania. In the report titled *The Road Less Travelled: Unleashing Public-Private Partnerships in Tanzania*, the Bank observes that in recent years, the Chinese economy has been slowing down, partly reflecting a rebalancing towards a consumption-driven, services-oriented growth model. The Bretton Woods institution expressed concerns that the Chinese economy was suffering a major hit at a time when Tanzania seems to be overly depending on it for its ambitious industrialisation drive.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> "Tanzania plans to invest \$1.9 billion each year in energy projects by 2025", *The Economic Times*, May 25, 2016, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/business/tanzania-plans-to-invest-1-9-billion-each-year-in-energy-projects-by-2025/articleshow/52432817.cms>

<sup>42</sup> "Scientists say a rare, recently discovered Tanzanian helium field is a global "game changer"", *Quartz*, June 29, 2016, at <http://qz.com/719362/a-rare-huge-helium-gas-field-has-been-discovered-in-tanzania/>

<sup>43</sup> "WB's China warning dismissed", *The Citizen*, June 22, 2016, at <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/magazine/politicalreforms/WB-s-China-warning-dismissed/1843776-3261798-8lmgdtz/index.html>

## Zimbabwe

### Zimbabwe short of cash

Zimbabwe's banks are running out of cash, forcing the country to start printing its own version of the US dollar. The southern African country has been using a mix of different foreign currencies – and most importantly US dollars – since its own currency collapsed in 2009 during a period of hyperinflation. Dollars have been in short supply for months, but the squeeze has intensified in the past few weeks. A slump in global commodity prices and a severe drought is hurting exports, meaning the country is earning fewer dollars abroad. Bank runs have become commonplace and some banks are turning customers away as they simply don't have enough cash in their vaults. In an effort to ease the acute cash shortages, Zimbabwe's central bank said it would start printing "bond notes" in denominations of \$2, \$5, \$10 and \$20. The country already has "bond" coins that represent US dollar values. For each coin in circulation, there's an equivalent US dollar held in the country's reserves. The central bank has also limited withdrawals to \$1,000 a day, and wants people to make more use of the euro and South African rand. But the rand has lost 20 per cent against the dollar in 2015, and some Zimbabweans are losing patience.<sup>44</sup>

## India-Africa

## Mauritius

### Mauritius and India sign MoU to promote traditional medicine

India and Mauritius inked a MoU to promote cooperation in traditional medicine and homeopathy. The memorandum of understanding (MoU) envisages exchange of experts, supply of traditional medicinal substances, joint research and development and recognition of the traditional systems of health and medicine in both the countries. "It also aims at promotion and popularisation of the various Indian traditional systems which fall under AYUSH (Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, Sowa Rigpa & Homoeopathy)," said a statement from the AYUSH ministry of India.<sup>45</sup>

### India-Mauritius tax treaty amendment only covers investments in shares

The revamped India-Mauritius tax treaty will apply to only investments in shares and not to other instruments, details of the agreement released by Port Louis showed. Investors in mutual funds, derivatives and debt will likely escape tax as these instruments are not mentioned in the

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<sup>44</sup> "Zimbabwe is running out of cash", *CNN Money*, May 6, 2016, at <http://money.cnn.com/2016/05/06/news/economy/zimbabwe-banks-cash-us-dollar/>

<sup>45</sup> "India, Mauritius ink MoU to promote traditional medicine", *The Times of India*, April 20, 2016, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/life-style/health-fitness/health-news/India-Mauritius-ink-MoU-to-promote-traditional-medicine/articleshow/51905946.cms>

<sup>46</sup> "Amended India-Mauritius tax treaty only covers investments in shares", *The Economic Times*, May 13, 2016, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/amended-india-mauritius-tax-treaty-only-covers-investments-in-shares/articleshow/52246626.cms>

reworked double taxation avoidance agreement, said tax experts. The new protocol sets a lower tax rate on interest earned by taxpayers in Mauritius, when compared with India's treaties with other countries. It also plugs a significant loophole that foreign entities used to avoid paying tax: sending staff to India via a Mauritius entity.<sup>46</sup>

## Seychelles

### Seychelles and India work together to 'ensure security' in Indian Ocean

India and Seychelles have "very close" relations and both countries are working together to ensure safety and security in the Indian Ocean, said the island nation's Tourism Minister Alain St Ange. Ange who was in Chennai to promote the country's tourism industry, told *The Hindu* in an interview that if India wants to play a role "in safeguarding the integrity of the Indian Ocean, and wants to be with us, it's all fair and good". He added that work will start this year (2016) in the Assumption Island to jointly develop a naval base. The country has allocated a plot on the Assumption Island for the base, which will help enhance maritime security along India's west and south coast. This initiative has come following China's announcement that it would build its first African naval base in Djibouti. St Ange, however, said it's not right to call the Assumption Island facility an Indian naval base. "It's not an Indian base; it's a base of Seychelles to be built with support from India. We're not giving the Island to India. What we're doing is working with India to ensure safety and security in the Indian Ocean."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> "India, Seychelles working to 'ensure security' in Indian Ocean", *The Hindu*, June 9, 2016, at <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-international/india-seychelles-working-to-ensure-security-in-indian-ocean/article8707047.ece>

## Call for Contributions

IDSa invites articles, commentaries and book reviews for publication in *Africa Trends*, a quarterly magazine 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](mailto:idsa.africatrends@gmail.com).

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