

# Africa Trends

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<i>In This Issue</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>EDITOR'S NOTE</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>COVER STORY</b>	<b>4-5</b>
<i>Challenges for Post-revolution Egypt</i> <i>Prasanta Kumar Pradhan</i>	
<b>VIEWPOINT</b>	<b>6-8</b>
<i>Libya: Troubled Transition to Democracy</i> <i>Babjee Pothuraju</i>	
<b>COUNTRY WATCH</b>	<b>9-11</b>
<i>Mali in Crisis</i> <i>Princy Marin George</i>	
<b>BOOK REVIEW</b>	<b>12-14</b>
<i>Theodore Trefon, Congo Masquerade: The Political Culture of Aid Inefficiency and Reform Failure</i> <i>Sneha Bhura</i>	
<b>NEWS TRACK</b>	<b>15-38</b>

## Editor's Note

In this edition, Prasanta Kumar Pradhan analyses the challenges for post revolution Egypt, Babjee Pothuraju analyses the troubled transition in Libya and Princy George examines the crisis in Mali. This issue also carries a book review by Sneha Bhura.

There have been a number of interesting developments in the region during the last two months. In Egypt, Hesham Qandil has been sworn in as the new Prime Minister. Meanwhile, after violence at Egypt's border with Gaza and Israel, President Morsi ousted the country's top military officials. In Tunisia, thousands of women gathered in protest against certain constitutional changes proposed by the government that may belittle women's status in the country. In Libya's first post-Gaddafi election, the National Force Alliance defeated the Muslim Brotherhood, reversing the trend of success for Islamist parties in North Africa. In a bid towards resolving the long pending dispute, Sudan and South Sudan recently reached a deal on oil transit fees. Additionally, President Bashir recently inaugurated Africa's largest sugar refinery in Sudan.

Meanwhile, in Ghana, following the sudden death of President John Evans Atta Mills, Vice President John Dramani Mahama, was sworn in as the new president. As instability continues in Mali, the UN is ready to support the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) to restore order. Meanwhile, the African Union has called for global assistance for Nigeria in its fight against the Boko Haram militants.

The AU summit ended with Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma from South Africa voted as the new chairperson of the AU Commission. In Ethiopia, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, a leader who ruled Ethiopia for more than 20 years, passed away from an unspecified illness. In the meantime, UN investigations have exposed an arms trafficking network in Mauritius. In another vital development, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has accused Rwanda of interference in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Furthermore, faced with inadequate power supply, Namibia is debating the possibility of harnessing nuclear energy.

As a step to boost China - Africa ties, the Chinese President proposed measures in diverse areas at the fifth ministerial conference of the Forum on China - Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in Beijing recently. In August, US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, completed a seven-nation, 11-day tour of Africa that included a visit to Africa's youngest country, South Sudan. Meanwhile, India's economic engagement in Africa continues with corporate Jindal Steel and Power's offer to purchase a coalmine in Mozambique and Cairn India acquiring 60 per cent stake in an oil exploration block on the west coast of South Africa.

## Cover Story

### CHALLENGES FOR POST-REVOLUTION EGYPT

The end of decades of autocratic rule in Egypt is marked by the beginning of a march towards a democratic political system and the rise to power of the Muslim Brotherhood.

**PRASANTA KUMAR PRADHAN**

Since the fall of the Hosni Mubarak regime, the political turn of events in Egypt has been dramatic and the future is unpredictable at present. A number of new political actors and stakeholders are trying to create a new system of their own choice. This has led to a clash of interests among them and in the absence of a clearly mentioned road map for the future, the situation remains unclear.

The post-revolution elections were hailed as a beacon for the future of democracy in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood won the presidential elections and its leader Mohamed Morsi became the first president after the fall of Mubarak. On the other hand, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) which took over the interim command of the country immediately after Mubarak continues to be apprehensive about the smooth transition to a democratic system and it does not seem to have absolute confidence on the newly elected assembly. Thus, the newly elected assembly that claims to represent the people lacks legitimacy in the eyes of the military. However, slowly, Morsi is asserting himself as the elected leader of the country. This is reflected by the fact that he has dismissed Field Marshal Hussein Tantawi, who was head of the SCAF since the revolution, and Sami Anan, the chief of staff, and has appointed both of them as his advisers.

Amidst the hiccups of transition, and with the Muslim Brotherhood coming to power with such a huge mandate, there are concerns and apprehensions regarding the rise of Islamic extremism in the country. Though Morsi has promised his people a modern democratic state, all the sections of the society are not convinced by mere promises and want them to be implemented properly. There are also fears in the minds of the Coptic Christians who constitute around 10 per cent of the total population of the country. The statements and conduct of the party until now have given no cause for alarm as it has remained peaceful and non-violent. It is hoped that in the new political environment, the Muslim Brotherhood will act as a responsible political party rather than as an underground Islamist outfit.

Also, the Muslim Brotherhood while in power will face pressures from both Islamist elements and the secular blocks: while the Islamists would want a more conservative and religious political and social structure, the liberals will want a more secular and modern democratic country. Apparently, there will be pressure on Morsi from both sides while framing the constitution for the country. It would be a real test for the Muslim Brotherhood and other political parties, who have entered into the electoral politics post-revolution, to show their political aptitude in laying the foundations for building democratic institutions.

Apart from the gigantic tasks of democracy, since the beginning of the protests in Egypt, Iran has shown its support for the popular movement. Iran hailed the victory of the Muslim Brotherhood in the elections and termed it as the "final stage of the Islamic Awakening" in Egypt. The Iranian

Vice President made a visit to Cairo and met President Morsi, indicating the Iranian desire to build up ties with Cairo and make a fresh start. The new government will be under tremendous pressure from countries like Saudi Arabia and USA over its ties with Tehran. But at present it seems that, for Egypt, *realpolitik* will prevail over any ideological or Islamic premises, thus according priority to USA and Saudi Arabia than the strengthening of ties with Tehran.

Israel has been worried about the result of the protests in Egypt. Israel is apprehensive of any change of guard in Egypt that would strengthen the power of the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamists. It is also concerned about the fact that it may adversely impact the ongoing peace process with the Palestinians. Though the Israeli official statement “appreciates the democratic process in Egypt and respects the results of the presidential elections”, it certainly has apprehensions about the ascendancy of the Muslim Brotherhood to power which has kept no secret of its anti-Israel sentiments and its close relationship with the Hamas. It is worried whether the new government in Cairo will respect the 1979 peace treaty. The new regime will have to adopt a cautious approach in its relationship with Israel, which in many ways will determine the future of peace in the region.

The new government in Cairo faces multiple challenges to take the revolution forward. Thus, sustaining the democratic surge and building consensus with all the stakeholders in power, and at the same time reshaping the foreign policy of the country will be the first priorities for the present government.

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## Viewpoint

### LIBYA: TROUBLED TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

Sectarian clashes, attacks against suspected Gaddafi loyalists and violence targeting the central government have marred Libya's transition to democracy.

**BABJEE POTHURAJU**

Libya, an oil-rich Northern African nation, has been in the news for more than a year now since the popular revolt, inspired by the Arab Spring, began in February 2011. The protests began in Benghazi and rapidly spread to the capital, Tripoli, and other locations. The people of Libya, who suffered for more than 40 years under the dictatorial rule of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, finally succeeded in ousting him in August 2011 with the help of the larger international community. He was killed in his hometown of Sirte on October 20, 2011 by opposition rebels. The country was formally declared liberated on October 23 by a provisional government, the National Transitional Council (NTC), which named Abdel Rahim el-Keib as the interim prime minister. In the following months, efforts were made to lay the foundation for democracy by holding the first national election to a new National Assembly that was to oversee the process of democratisation. The National Assembly, under its president Mohammed Magarief, will hold full parliamentary elections in Libya after a new constitution is drafted by 2013.

It certainly seems that the transition to democracy has been very smooth. However, contrary to popular perceptions, the transition to democracy has not been very smooth in Libya as the events of this process illustrate. For example, within months of the NTC taking over, clashes have erupted between former rebel forces in Benghazi. Dissatisfied with the slow pace of change under the NTC, the militia leaders resorted to violence on the streets, targeting suspected Gaddafi loyalists, and even attacking and kidnapping members of the ruling government.<sup>1</sup> Adding to the woes, sectarian clashes have erupted between Arab Zawi and African Tebu groups in the Al-Kufra region of south-east Libya, which resulted in the deaths of scores of people in February 2012. Further, some NTC officials have launched a campaign to re-establish autonomy in the oil-rich eastern region, further increasing the law and order tensions of the central government. Close to the scheduled national elections on June 19, armed rebels attacked the Tripoli headquarters of Libya's interim prime minister in May. These attackers were militiamen from the Nafusah mountains south-west of Tripoli, who were demanding bounty for their role in fighting against the Gaddafi forces.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The attack on the NTC deputy Abdel Hafid Gogha and also the attack on the NTC headquarters in Benghazi in January 2012 represent such violent incidents. See Mohamed Eljarh, "Assessment of the Recent Developments in the Post-Revolution Libya", Middle East Online, January 25, 2012, at <http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=50243>

<sup>2</sup> "Libya- Revolution and Aftermath", The New York Times, August 21, 2012, at <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/libya/index.html>

Given this precarious security situation, Libya's transitional government postponed the scheduled national election from June 19 to July 7, 2012 as a precautionary measure to avert further escalation of violence. However, the real reasons for postponement are debatable as critics argue that the elections were postponed since the transitional authorities could not complete the list of candidates for the election or put in place necessary arrangements for the election. On the other hand, tribal clashes have continued unabated with government spokesman Nasser al-Manaa reporting that 105 people were killed and about 500 injured in tribal clashes in western Libya, which includes the towns of Zintan, Mizdah and Shegayga.<sup>3</sup> Further, renewed tribal clashes between Toubou and Zwai tribesmen in the city of Kufra claimed at least 47 lives and left more than 100 others wounded.<sup>4</sup>

Amidst these disruptive incidents, the first national election was held on July 7. Incidents of violence were reported on the day of voting as well at several polling stations especially in the eastern coastal region, where regional rivalries led to armed assaults on polling stations. In the southern city of Kufra, the polling was closed due to tribal conflict. At least two people were killed in election-related violence. Nevertheless, given the prevailing lawlessness, the largely peaceful election in the country received much appreciation from the Western powers as well as the international monitors who applauded the election as a "critical milestone" in the complicated transition towards democratic setup.<sup>5</sup> Boosting the morale of democratic forces and reversing the trend of the success of Islamist parties in the Arab Spring countries, the National Forces Alliance, a moderate coalition led by Mahmud Jibril, won the election by defeating the Muslim Brotherhood by a sizable margin.<sup>6</sup> Later, Mohammed Magarief of the National Front Party was elected as the president of the 200-member National Assembly to oversee democratic processes in Libya.

However despite these elections, there is no respite from violent incidents such as the one on August 19, 2012, in which two people were killed and three others injured when car bombs exploded outside security buildings in Tripoli. Though the authorities have arrested 32 people suspected of being supporters of Colonel Gaddafi, it is argued that the officials have routinely blamed Gaddafi loyalists for the violence. In the process, they overlook the fact that there are also tensions between former rebel fighters and Libya's nascent government, which is struggling to

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<sup>3</sup> The fighting was mainly between fighters from Zintan, backed by another tribe Guntrara from Mizdah, and armed members of the Mashashya tribe based in Shegayga. The clashes were triggered by the death of a man from Zintan after he was stopped at a checkpoint, which Zintan militias have blamed on the Mashashya tribe. See "Libya's tribal clashes leave 105 dead", BBC News, June 20, 2012, at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-18529139>

<sup>4</sup> Toubou tribal leader Hussein Sake blamed the outbreak of violence on rival Zwai tribesmen and their allies, who include the Libya Shield brigade, a force deployed by the interim government to act as a buffer between the conflicting camps. See Dominique Soguel, "South Libya clashes 'kill 47' in three days", AFP, July 1, 2012, at [http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jTAH\\_316wKXoDX0bPTR\\_uNZ-ggmQ?docId=CNG.c91772083f0e08ad2fbc893999aa0a54.5d1](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jTAH_316wKXoDX0bPTR_uNZ-ggmQ?docId=CNG.c91772083f0e08ad2fbc893999aa0a54.5d1)

<sup>5</sup> "US envoy Burns visits Libya after landmark vote", AFP, July 14, 2012, at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iVudMmCBuWe0C9-j6rrN3CpawEA?docId=CNG.40992966a83ac7a41c76618c19df3ca9.601>

<sup>6</sup> The alliance gained 39 of 80 seats available to parties in the general national congress, whereas the Justice and Construction Party, founded by Libya's Muslim Brotherhood, took 17 seats. See "Libya moderates beat Muslim Brotherhood in election", Daily News & Analysis, July 19, 2012, at [http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report\\_libya-moderates-beat-muslim-brotherhood-in-election\\_1717069](http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report_libya-moderates-beat-muslim-brotherhood-in-election_1717069)

create a new army of its own to integrate former rebels who took up arms during the revolt. Separately, under the command of Al-Mahdi al-Harati, one of Libya's well known rebel commanders, more than 30 Libyan fighters have entered Syria and are supporting the Free Syrian Army rebels in their war against president Bashar al-Assad's regime.

**Given the current situation, it will take some time to address the concerns of the various sections and integrate them into the democratic process. At the same time, rebuilding the nation requires the collective effort of various factions.**

All these incidents highlight lack of effective control of the government over militias, in a country that has been divided on regional, factional and tribal lines. They highlight the strong differences between officials in Tripoli and the rebels on streets as well as the inability of the government to prevent the situation from descending into chaos where different groups are competing for power. Citing this security lag, the International Committee of the Red Cross suspended its work in Benghazi and Misurata from mid-August 2012.

This troubled transition to democracy in Libya could be attributed to various factors. Firstly, the long dictatorial rule of Colonel Gaddafi virtually denied political education and proper administrative training to a large section of the population. The previous administration had controlled Libyans in all spheres – social, economic, and political. As a result, the new government lacked experience and expertise in handling socio-economic and administrative issues emanating from different sections.

Secondly, the Libyan citizens, who experienced true freedom after long authoritarian rule, hoped that the new government would control the situation quickly and end their insecurity. However, the NTC could not react swiftly enough to control chaos as the preventive mechanism for dealing with untoward incidents like tribal clashes is not put in place. Nevertheless, the dissatisfaction and anger at the performance of the government led to further violence. In fact, some of the earlier attacks highlighted the serious trust gap between the NTC and the Libyan people.

Thirdly, Libya is divided on regional, factional, and tribal lines, with members of each faction supporting their respective leaders. However, there is no coordination among these political factions and movements, which is very essential given the multi-dimensional aspects of the transition. It has resulted in the sidelining of pressing issues that otherwise might have been appreciated by the public. For example, Libya's civil war hugely disrupted the economic activity by reducing oil output, which is the primary source of revenue. There are other socio-economic issues like extreme social inequality, high rates of youth unemployment and regional economic disparities. All these culminated in a slowdown of the economy, which contracted 41.8 per cent in 2011.

Finally, taking advantage of political vacuum created by the fall of the Gaddafi regime, the former militiamen who were instrumental in overthrowing that regime have started interfering in politics. They have transformed various regions of Libya into "semi-autonomous fiefs" and are exerting political influence in those regions. For example, the rebel leaders in Benghazi accuse the government of ignoring former fighters by not renewing security contracts that would provide salaries to these fighters.

Given the current situation, it will take some time to address the concerns of the various sections and integrate them into the democratic process. At the same time, rebuilding the nation requires the collective effort of various factions. Therefore, the government as well as various factions should prioritise nation building and make sure that the gains accrued are not lost.

## Country Watch

### MALI IN CRISIS

While northern Mali remains under the control of armed groups, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) prepares an intervention force to assist Malian forces in a battle to restore Mali's sovereignty.

**PRINCY MARIN GEORGE**

It has been a difficult six months for the Malian people. Following a coup in March this year, Tuareg opposition rebels, buoyed by an inflow of unsecured weapons and ammunition from Libya, maneuvered a takeover of parts of northern Mali after large numbers of the Malian army abandoned northern towns to support the coup leaders in Bamako. In April, alongside two previously unknown armed groups linked with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Ansar Dine and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), the Tuareg group, the Movement for the Liberation of Azwad (MNLA) declared an independent state of Azawad in northern Mali – an area approximately the size of France. In Bamako, following regional and international pressure on the military junta to hand over power to a civilian government, West African leaders negotiated the formation of a transitional government tasked with restoring order and the sovereignty of Mali, and conducting elections. The government has failed in its mandate so far. The coup leaders are still seen as influential; as part of the handover deal, Captain Amadou Sanogo who led the junta in Bamako in March was recognised as a former head of state. Relations between the interim government and members of the junta are reported to be fractious. In July, interim president Dioncounda Traore sustained injuries from being beaten by supporters of the coup who protested against Traore possibly remaining in office for a year.<sup>7</sup>

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has played a lead role in negotiations through the crisis, had ordered Bamako to form a transitional unity government by August, or face expulsion from the group. After consultations with a wide range of civil society actors, political parties and the junta, Traore on August 20, announced the formation of a new administration, headed by Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra, which also includes a new ministry of religious affairs. Three members of the military who are seen as close to the coup leaders have also been appointed to the new cabinet.<sup>8</sup> The focus has now shifted to the possibility of military intervention to restore constitutional rule in northern Mali.

Over the past four months, Ansar Dine and MUJAO, both hardline Islamist groups aiming to rule by Sharia law, have chased out the secular MNLA, and consolidated their control over key northern towns. The two groups, now joined by foreign fighters (including from Somalia, Pakistan, and

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<sup>7</sup> "Mali President Traore beaten up by protesters", BBC News, May 21, 2012, at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-18142488>

<sup>8</sup> "Mali forms national unity government", AFP, August 20, 2012, at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hUzdwb6DwRzxAVBUIB3-2LMLXS5A?docId=CNG.190ace56035c08110aa9b72cd4d0d3cd.751>

**The crisis in the north has wreaked hitherto unforeseen consequences not only on security conditions in Mali and the surrounding region, but also on the economies of these states.**

Nigeria), have also been carrying out corporal punishments, including amputations for minor crimes, public floggings and stoning.<sup>9</sup> There is also evidence that the northern towns of Gao, Kidal and Timbuktu are being used as a base for training and recruitment by AQIM. Groups in northern Mali would also have the opportunity to profit from the trans-Saharan drug smuggling route that crosses this region. Most worrying to international observers would be that AQIM now control civilian airports in all three towns, in addition to a military base in Tessalit near the Algerian border.

After months of hesitation to request for military help, France confirmed in the first week of September that the Malian government had made a formal appeal to the ECOWAS. ECOWAS is also considering the possibility of reimposing sanctions on members of the Malian military who are seen

as obstructing political transition in the country and inciting violence within certain sections of Malian society.<sup>10</sup>

Mali did not make the request earlier apparently because the former coup leaders opposed the idea for intervention by a foreign force that could diminish their influence. Sanogo has announced that he supports Traore's efforts to reclaim the north, and that the request to ECOWAS had not "stepped on the Malian army's toes" since the appeal was only for logistical and technical support for the Malian army, rather than intervention by foreign troops.<sup>11</sup> African Union leaders had reiterated their preference for a peaceful solution, with the use of military force as a last resort, during a heads of state meeting in Addis Ababa in July. The UNSC is expected to discuss the intervention force for Mali on the sidelines of the upcoming session of the UN General Assembly.

While diplomacy takes its course, thousands in the region face distressing humanitarian conditions. Acute food shortage, drought, and lack of access to aid have placed more than 1.6 million northern Malians at risk of starvation. Close to 400,000 people have fled northern towns to central Mali or neighbouring Mauritania, Niger and Burkina Faso since armed groups took over. A military offensive in the northern region is bound to exacerbate the situation, forcing more people out of their homes.<sup>12</sup> The crisis in the north has wreaked hitherto unforeseen consequences not only on security conditions in Mali and the surrounding region, but also on the economies of these states. Mali for instance has scarce natural resources but a rich cultural history that has brought in much needed revenue from tourism. The historic northern town of Timbuktu, a spiritual and intellectual capital and a centre for Islam in Africa around the 15<sup>th</sup> century, has

<sup>9</sup> "Mali Islamists chop hands, feet off five suspected robbers", Reuters, September 11, 2012, at <http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/09/10/mali-crisis-sharia-idINL5E8KAKAI20120910>

<sup>10</sup> "Army: ECOWAS may re-impose sanctions on Mali's military", Afriquejet, September 12, 2012, at <http://www.afriquejet.com/army-ecowas-may-re-impose-sanctions-on-malis-military-2012091244901.html>

<sup>11</sup> "Mali coup leader 'in sync' with govt on north", AFP, September 11, 2012, at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hImpJROR8vDG-X9HutVCvhehcbCw?docId=CNG.ce8cdecf7232ab5eb29b9decf03ab872.c91>

<sup>12</sup> "Northern Mali risks starvation thanks to al-Qaeda, drought and no aid", The Telegraph, July 11, 2012, at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/mali/9392368/Northern-Mali-risks-starvation-thanks-to-al-Qaeda-drought-and-no-aid.html>

been one of Mali's biggest tourist destinations. Since the takeover of the town, the armed groups have destroyed centuries-old mausoleums of Muslim saints, deeming the sites to be un-Islamic.

Without regional and international assistance, even a functioning government in Bamako would not be able to regain control over the northern regions, given that the Malian army lacks the military capacity for such an operation. The regional context does not ease the situation for Mali or its neighbours; drought, famine, rising food prices and the large number of refugees and IDPs are already a pressing concern for states including Mauritania, Niger, Algeria, and Burkina Faso. In the meantime, while AQIM and allied groups seem focused on consolidating control over the north, the threat of targeted attacks on foreign soil by groups trained here remains high. Restoration of political stability and security in Mali is crucial in a region where other countries such as Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire are still emerging from recent political crises. In a region already plagued by activities of transnational criminal networks, the establishment of a base for groups such as AQIM has the potential of creating swathes of insecure, unstable territories across the Western Sahel, posing a threat to both regional and global security.

## Book Review

*Theodore Trefon, Congo Masquerade: The Political Culture of Aid Inefficiency and Reform Failure*

Zed Books, London and New York, 2011, ISBN: 978 1 8481 3836, 160 pp.

**SNEHA BHURA**

The baffling enigma of international aid with futile consequences in a land of extensive resources is exemplified in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Numerous academics, scholars, policy makers and field experts have been stunned by the spectre of aid insufficiency in this Central African country, which occupies the last place in the UNDP Development rankings of 187 countries. *Congo Masquerade* is born out of this crisis of reform failure. Studying the politics of aid in the African context is not a novel undertaking, but there is indeed limited literature available on specific analysis of the ever-unfolding saga of the failed attempts at state building in the DRC. The book derives its salience from the information gap that exists between the hyperactive clamour to provide cutting-edge life-support to a highly diseased entity and the same entity simultaneously being afflicted by newer and ever more dangerous ailments.

Trefon, a veteran Congo expert and head of the Contemporary History section of the Belgian Royal Museum for Central Africa, has attempted to solve the Congo conundrum by using masquerade as a metaphor for the lack of transparency and hypocrisy in the country. A mask deftly conceals personal motives and political intrigues. The metaphor is largely synonymous with the hidden agendas of the protagonists involved in the colossal reform being undertaken in the Congo. As the author perceptively notes, masquerade “takes the form of going through the motions by being physically present and visible instead of being productive or efficient”. In effect, ‘masquerade’ could also mean “manipulation of anticipation”. The book takes a political-anthropological approach to probe the complexity of the large international investment in a self-defeating project that is the DRC. Written in five short chapters, the book offers a swift, exhilarating ride through a post-conflict DRC. The book rightly examines the international reform initiatives undertaken since 2001, when Joseph Kabila, the son of slain former President, Laurent Kabila, came to power. For it is indeed after Joseph Kabila’s ascension to power that greater international assistance has been allowed to shape Congo’s politico-military as well as socio-economic landscape.

Trefon’s main arguments are derived from the impact of reform packages of the last decade. Firstly, both international partners and Congolese authorities are responsible for failing to usher in genuine political and institutional reform. The international partners have relied on one-size-fits-all development templates while the government has used ruse and strategy to deliberately hamper reform in order to stay in power. Secondly, because of the lack of a master plan, there is no co-ordination or shared vision between external donors and Congolese authorities - leading to a situation of change without improvement. Thirdly, and very pertinently indentified, one of the root causes for lack of positive change relates to the entrenched cultural ethos of secrecy, corruption and predation since the Belgian rule, a pattern which manifests itself even to this day in the most counter-productive ways. According to the author, such donor-driven, context-insensitive reform templates that do not factor in the dynamics of local political culture are bound to fail.

Trefon points out how various reform policies make sense only at a theoretical level by giving examples of failed enterprises in various sectors, while reinforcing the masquerade motif. But when issues of humanitarian aid, correction of human rights abuses and judicial reform are also brought into the purview of the masquerade metaphor, the strident dismissal of their having had any positive effects seems unfair and overstretched. However, the book does offer some important cues that could direct policymaking on the right track. For example, the author believes that territorial integration and nation building are inseparable and justifiably decries the consistent infrastructure degradation. International experts involved in reforming the social, political and economic morass the country is mired in, cannot do so without building the rail-road-river network in the geographically treacherous terrain of the DRC. Development of the transportation sector is highly crucial for addressing - to some extent- the byzantine consequences of the reforms. Yet another important achievement of the book is the succinct analysis of the social challenges arising out of industrial logging wherein the author lashes out at the World Bank's new mining and forestry codes that have been drafted without reference to indigenous representation and logistical handicaps. With compelling examples coherently incorporated in the text, the author makes the case that sustainable forestry is more of a social and political problem than a technical one.

**... by all means  
Congolese society  
is "strong,  
tolerant, creative,  
generous and  
vibrant", ... but  
how far  
mechanisms of  
self-help will  
create a  
holistically safe  
and secure country  
is an argument the  
author fails to  
develop.**

The author convincingly breaks down the widespread belief that industrial logging is a significant contributor to the Congolese economy and argues how the annual timber production has never touched its confirmed potential. According to the author, there is a need for a tripartite *modus vivendi* between the local populations, the private sector and the Congolese state to usher in sustainable forestry with greater investment in building social infrastructure. Other important insights provided by the author include a detailed analysis of the role of Congolese civil servants working in an administrative juggernaut which hampers reform, leading to the privatisation of public services. The author brings to light the two parallel forms of command under which these vainglorious civil servants operate thus rendering their statute incompatible with the logic of territorial decentralisation. In a disturbing finding illustrating the manipulative inefficiency of the Congolese administrative structure, the author tells us that studies, reports and other archival elements are usually perceived as being either useless or dangerous and are removed or destroyed when a civil servant takes on new responsibilities. However, the author tends to make general observations on the bureaucratic mismanagement existing in countries of all hues whereas a deeper examination of what really ails the Congolese administrative machinery would have gone a long way towards adding something new to the existing corpus of information on the Congolese set-up.

On closer observation, the book could have adopted a less generalist approach and tenor. The author fails to make any serious impact because he does not make any concrete policy prescriptions after describing the anarchic world of the DRC. There is a conspicuous absence of a definitive closure and the reader would find it hard to see any real hope in the rather trite concepts of unity in diversity and order in disorder. Yes, by all means Congolese society is "strong, tolerant, creative, generous and vibrant", and to an extent, it is possible to repose faith in the reinvigorating process of "social dynamism", but how far mechanisms of self-help will create a holistically safe and secure country is an argument the author fails to develop. However, he should be given his due for taking up the daunting challenge of studying a country, which in its post-conflict avatar

is far more complex and multi-layered than ever before, a region where external and internal forces have intermingled in such a way that the resultant mess is a drama whose thread one continually loses as the characters keep changing. Understanding this interplay is the key to comprehending the failure of reforms in the DRC.

## News Track

### *Northern Africa*

#### Egypt

**Egypt and Saudi Arabia discuss regional stability; Hesham Qandil appointed as PM of Egypt; Egypt's Copts unhappy over smaller cabinet presence; Egypt demands release of Guantanamo detainee; 16 Egypt border guards killed, Islamists suspected; President Morsi replaces military chiefs in bid to consolidate power; IDF detaining asylum-seekers inside Egypt: Amnesty**

President Mohamed Morsi visited Saudi Arabia on his first foreign trip since taking office and met with King Abdullah, and Saudi Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz. Both leaders discussed various issues related to both the countries as well as regional stability. Earlier, Riyadh has deposited US\$ 1 billion into the Egyptian Central Bank as a loan guarantee. Egypt also received a US\$ 1 billion pledge of assistance from the Saudi-based Islamic Development Bank. Saudi Arabia has also allocated US\$ 250 million for natural gas exports to Egypt.<sup>13</sup>

President Morsi appointed Irrigation Minister Hesham Qandil as the new prime minister, with the mandate to form a new cabinet at the earliest. Qandil is a prominent independent national figure who has never been a member of any party. Qandil has promised that he would form a technocrat government and would consult with the president over all his choices, assuring that all national powers will be represented in his government.<sup>14</sup>

Egypt's Coptic church has been vehement in its criticism on the composition of the new cabinet which does not have proportionate representation for the Coptic community in the country's government. Reports said that only one Copt was given a minor portfolio. On August 2, Egypt's new president Mohammad Morsy, established a cabinet with only one Christian in spite of earlier promises to give a good representation to Copts in his cabinet.<sup>15</sup>

The United States has been asked by the Egyptian government to release the sole Egyptian held hostage at the Guantanamo Bay military prison. Egypt has remained Washington's most reliable ally in counter-terrorism efforts in the Middle East. The detainee, Tariq Mahmoud Ahmed al-Sawah, is 54 years old. The United States believes he has ties with the al-Qaeda. The sole detainee has the potential to become the first point of contention between the two countries since Egypt

<sup>13</sup> "Egyptian President Mursi and Saudi King Abdullah discuss regional stability", Al Arabiya, July 12, 2012, at <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/07/11/225853.html>

<sup>14</sup> "Egyptian president appoints Hesham Qandil as new PM", Xinhua News, July 25, 2012, at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-07/25/c\\_131736347.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-07/25/c_131736347.htm)

<sup>15</sup> "Egypt's Copts unhappy over smaller cabinet presence", AFP, August 4, 2012 at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5ikggTKAQ0zjtfrLEIORJevREr4hA?docId=CNG.3a08c6899195c45e01f258f28bb7edc1.551>

elected its new president and could endanger the decades-old alliance between the two governments.<sup>16</sup>

Sixteen Egyptian soldiers were shot down by masked gunmen on August 5 at a checkpoint along Egypt's border with Gaza and Israel in the Egyptian border town of Rafah. Egypt has blamed Islamist militants from Gaza and Egypt's troubled Sinai Peninsula for the attack. According to the Israeli military, the attack was designed to abduct an Israeli soldier. Israel's Defence Minister Ehud Barak claimed that Israel's military along with the internal security agency "thwarted an attack that could have injured many. The militants' attack methods again raise the need for determined Egyptian action to enforce security and prevent terror in the Sinai."<sup>17</sup>

Following the incident, President Morsy ousted the country's two top military chiefs in what could be perceived as a bold move to extract power from the armed forces and subdue existing military officers from former president Hosni Mubarak's reign. He installed a new defence minister in addition to other personnel re-configuration. The president also declared that he had suspended a constitutional amendment the generals had passed to garner more political power at the time of Morsi's election. With the dismissal of Field Marshal Mohammed Hussein Tantawi – the defence minister and top military chief – and his deputy, army chief of staff Sami Anan, the president's party is acting more swiftly on its plans to take control from the military than many analysts had assumed.<sup>18</sup>

According a report released by Amnesty International, Israel Defence Forces (IDF) soldiers are believed to be entering Egyptian territory on order to detain asylum-seekers and hand them over to Egyptian authorities before they can enter Israel as migrants. The report may reveal a new kind of "hot returns", which would primarily constitute a violation of international obligations which prohibits turning over migrants to countries where they face the prospect of persecution.<sup>19</sup>

## Tunisia

**Tunisia growth to continue: IMF; Panetta sees closer U.S. security partnership with Tunisia; Thousands rally in Tunisia for women's rights; Tunisia's new constitution 'not ready' before April 2013**

Tunisia's economic revival is set to march forward after the political turmoil and economic downturn that convulsed the country last year, as per IMF predictions. IMF stated that the country will witness GDP growth of 2.7 per cent this year and 3.5 per cent in 2013. The improved economic outlook is due to a rise in tourism and foreign investment. However, a worse-than-anticipated

<sup>16</sup> "Egypt demands release of Guantanamo detainee", The Washington Post, August 4, 2012 at [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypt-demands-release-of-guantanamo-detainee/2012/08/03/7fac84a0-dd9d-11e1-8ad1-909913931f71\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypt-demands-release-of-guantanamo-detainee/2012/08/03/7fac84a0-dd9d-11e1-8ad1-909913931f71_story.html)

<sup>17</sup> "16 Egypt Border guards killed, Islamists suspected", AFP, August 5, 2012 at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5gjhL3UUOEppqKUnky-YQqo6jEZEQ?docId=362b48e0f7db409a8c48b2372d917e9a>

<sup>18</sup> "Egypt's Morsi replaces military chiefs in bid to consolidate power", The Washington Post, August 2, 2012 at [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/egypts-morsi-orders-retirement-of-defense-minister-chief-of-staff-names-vp/2012/08/12/a5b26402-e497-11e1-8f62-58260e3940a0\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egypts-morsi-orders-retirement-of-defense-minister-chief-of-staff-names-vp/2012/08/12/a5b26402-e497-11e1-8f62-58260e3940a0_story.html)

<sup>19</sup> "IDF entering Egypt to stop entry of asylum seekers", The Jerusalem Post, August 8, 2012, at <http://www.jpost.com/DiplomacyAndPolitics/Article.aspx?id=280828>

recession in Europe could depress exports and foreign investment apart from aggravating social tensions.<sup>20</sup>

Visiting Defence Secretary Leon Panetta in his discussion with Tunisian leaders on July 30 sought to achieve closer ties with Tunisia in the realm of counter-terrorism in order to develop regional stability in the Middle East and North Africa. Panetta said that the inspiring revolution that ousted Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's regime in January 2011 and led to the establishment of a democratically elected government has provided the opportunity to forge closer security ties between the two countries.<sup>21</sup>

Close to 6,000 Tunisian women assembled on August 20 to protest against what they perceive as moves by the Islamist-led government for constitutional changes that would denigrate women's status in one of the Arab world's most liberal nations. The new constitution, which is in the process of being drawn up, has evoked criticism from many quarters. Tunisia's ruling Ennahda movement is under pressure from both hardline Salafi Muslims and secular opposition parties. Activists are unhappy with a provision in a draft of the constitution that deems women to be "complementary to men". Women activists have demanded a reinstatement of a pioneering 1956 law that grants men and women equal status in society.<sup>22</sup>

Separately, Habib Khedher, head of the drafting committee of Tunisia's constitution, has said that the new constitution will not be adopted until April 2013. This implies a delay of 6 months and has the potential to exacerbate political tensions. The new timetable will inevitably delay general elections that were scheduled to be held in March next year.<sup>23</sup>

## Libya

### **Head of Libya's new national assembly pledges neutrality; Libya's largest refinery Ras Lanuf to restart by Aug 28; Moderates defeat Muslim Brotherhood in Libyan election**

Mohamed al-Megaryef has been elected as head of Libya's newly-empowered national assembly. As he presided over the proceedings of the first official meeting of the General National Congress on August 10, he said "My main duty is to stand aside, away from political, regional and tribal considerations." He was elected head of the 200-seat assembly by defeating liberal independent Ali Zidane in a run-off by 113 votes to 85. Megaryef is perceived to be a pro-Islamist and was a veteran opponent of former Libyan strongman, Muammar Gaddafi.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Tunisia growth to carry on: IMF", AFP, August 3, 2012, at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iDM9mVwIzqPK3qIxo6cXOBM3Wcxg?docId=CNG.3012aa25793d245b04367a928a3d5bf9.3d1>

<sup>21</sup> "North Africa: Panetta Sees Closer U.S. Security Partnership With Tunisia", AllAfrica.com, July 31 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208010897.html>

<sup>22</sup> "Thousands rally in Tunisia for women's rights", Reuters, August 13, 2012, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/14/us-tunisia-women-rights-idUSBRE87C16020120814>

<sup>23</sup> "Tunisia's new constitution 'not ready' before April 2013", AFP, August 13, 2012, at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5g0ZI4iuSnLeBUfWOYorciyqDf9oQ?docId=CNG.f38e34cb397482694ac54f52e247d561.201>

<sup>24</sup> "Head of Libya's new National Assembly pledges neutrality", AFP, August 10, 2012, at [http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hZNCObXoo8TqsuNSibJrP\\_lS3UdQ?docId=CNG.48554042d68428db81e8bede5026a24a.4a1](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hZNCObXoo8TqsuNSibJrP_lS3UdQ?docId=CNG.48554042d68428db81e8bede5026a24a.4a1)

Libya's largest refinery, Ras Lanuf, is poised to restart operations by the end of August, as per the statement of a National Oil Corporation (NOC) official. The reopening comes after months of delays that freed up additional volumes of crude oil for export and strained markets for light, sweet grades. Ras Lanuf is believed to be capable of processing 220,000 barrels of oil per day (bpd). Its prolonged outage tightened product markets in the Mediterranean as the plant was an important supplier of jet fuel and naphtha apart from other products to customers there.<sup>25</sup>

The National Forces Alliance, a moderate coalition led by the wartime prime minister Mahmud Jibril, defeated the Muslim Brotherhood in Libya's first post-Gaddafi elections, reversing the trend of success for Islamist parties in Arab Spring countries. The alliance gained 39 of 80 seats available to parties in the general national congress, whereas the Justice and Construction Party, founded by Libya's Muslim Brotherhood, took 17 seats. The remainder went to a variety of smaller parties.<sup>26</sup>

## Algeria

### UN confirms Algeria's Brahimi to replace Annan as Syria envoy

The United Nations confirmed on August 7 that veteran Algerian diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi will replace former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan as the international mediator on Syria. The announcement comes in the midst of the 17-month old conflict sliding deeper into a highly precarious civil war. Brahimi will set about the task as a mediator with a new title of Joint Special Representative for Syria. Diplomats said that the change was introduced to distance Brahimi from Annan. Brahimi had hesitated for days to accept this position that France's UN envoy Gerard Araud called an "impossible mission".<sup>27</sup>

## Sudan

### UN agrees to aid flights into Sudanese rebel held areas; Sudan Expresses 'Strong Reservations' over LRA inclusion in UNAMID's mandate; Sudan's government accuses SPLM-N of stalling talks; 655,000 displaced in Sudan border states; UN; Israel deports Sudanese asylum seekers as South Sudanese nationals; Sudan opens Africa's largest sugar plant in White Nile State

The UN, African Union and Arab League have signed an agreement with *Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM North)* rebels for delivering aid to the South Kordofan and Blue Nile regions of Sudan, where thousands of people are reported to be critically short of food. The agreement, which was signed in Addis Ababa calls for the immediate establishment (within two weeks) of an assessment team to report on conditions in Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountain region of South Kordofan. However, the issue of access to aid is subject to approval by the Khartoum government.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> "Libya's largest refinery Ras Lanuf to restart by August 28", Reuters, August 14, 2012, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFJOE87D04Y20120814>

<sup>26</sup> "Libya moderates beat Muslim Brotherhood in election", Daily News & Analysis, July 19, 2012, at [http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report\\_libya-moderates-beat-muslim-brotherhood-in-election\\_1717069](http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report_libya-moderates-beat-muslim-brotherhood-in-election_1717069)

<sup>27</sup> "UN confirms Algeria's Brahimi to replace Annan as Syria envoy", Haaretz, August 18, 2012, at <http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/un-confirms-algeria-s-brahimi-to-replace-annan-as-syria-envoy-1.459038>

<sup>28</sup> "UN agrees aid flights into Sudanese rebel held areas", BBC News, August 5, 2012, at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19136406>

Sudan registered its “strong reservations” with regard to Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) rebels being included in one of the paragraphs of the UN Security Council resolution 2063 which recently renewed the mandate of Darfur peacekeepers. The resolution brought the hybrid force down to 16,200 military personnel from 19,555 and adjusted the police force to 2,310 from 3,772. Sudan’s UN ambassador pointed out that there was conclusive proof of the LRA’s presence in Darfur, and that the UN Secretary-General in his latest report on Darfur never mentioned such an issue.<sup>29</sup>

A Sudanese government delegation has accused rebel Sudan People’s Liberation Movement North (SPLM-N) of not being serious about coming to a settlement with the Sudan. The head of the Sudanese delegation, Kamal Obied, held a press conference upon his return to Khartoum from the Ethiopian capital Addis Adaba, where talks with the rebels began on July 23. The talks were conducted under the mediation of the African Union High Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) and it aims to handle both the humanitarian and political dimensions of the conflict. However, the talks have so far remained woefully unsuccessful.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, the UN has observed that fighting between the Sudanese army and rebels has displaced or severely affected close to 655,000 people in two Sudanese southern border states. Major clashes have continued between the Sudanese army and rebels of the SPLM-North in South Kordofan state since the time of South Sudan’s independence a year ago. It spread to nearby Blue Nile state in September 2011. The areas held by rebels in both the states have been especially warned of famine by the UN and other aid groups.<sup>31</sup>

According to a report published by the London Bureau of Investigative Journalism (BIJ), Israel, in a bid to deport asylum-seeking Sudanese citizens, is issuing them with South Sudanese documents. Israel currently has over 100 asylum seekers holding passports or birth certificates which show them to have been born within the territory of Sudan. However, it has no repatriation agreement with Sudan, making it impossible for Israel to deport the asylum seekers. Since South Sudan seceded in 2011, Juba has established a transitional constitution and independent diplomatic ties with Tel Aviv among others.<sup>32</sup>

Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir inaugurated Africa’s largest sugar refinery, a US\$ 1 billion facility in White Nile state. It is hoped that the facility will boost exports after the loss of billions of dollars in oil revenue following the separation of South Sudan. White Nile Sugar announced that it aimed to produce 450,000 tonnes of sugar annually and 60 million litres of ethanol. Sudan’s Kenana Sugar is the largest shareholder in the facility, with a 30 per cent stake.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “Sudan expresses ‘Strong Reservations’ Over LRA Inclusion in Unamid’s Mandate”, AllAfrica.com, July 31, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208010344.html>

<sup>30</sup> “Sudan’s government accuses SPLM-N of stalling talks”, Sudan Tribune, August 5, 2012, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article43476>

<sup>31</sup> “655,000 displaced in Sudan border states: U.N”, Reuters, August 8, 2012, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/08/us-sudan-displacement-un-idUSBRE87715820120808>

<sup>32</sup> “Israel Deports Sudanese Asylum Seekers As South Sudanese Nationals”, Sudan Tribune, August 18, 2012 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208190303.html>

<sup>33</sup> “Sudan opens Africa’s largest sugar plant”, The Australian, July 12, 2012, at <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/breaking-news/sudan-opens-africas-largest-sugar-plant/story-e6frg90f-1226424123793>

## South Sudan

### **Sudan, South Sudan reach oil deal, will hold border talks; South Sudan says oil pipeline via Kenya to cost US\$ 3 billion**

Sudan reached a deal with South Sudan on oil transit fees in early August. The agreement ended a yearlong dispute that had brought the hostile neighbours close to war in April 2012. However, the border dispute also needs to be resolved before oil flows actually resume. The sharing of oil revenues constituted one of the biggest issues which was not resolved when South Sudan gained independence in July last year. Landlocked South Sudan threw its own economy and Sudan's into disarray when it shut down the operation of its oil wells of 350,000 barrels a day in January 2012 after evidence revealed that Sudan was siphoning oil going through its pipelines to compensate for so-called unpaid transit fees.<sup>34</sup>

According to South Sudan's finance minister, Kosti Manibe, the pipeline which will allow South Sudan to export its oil via the Kenyan port of Lamu, would cost US\$ 3 billion. This alternative pipeline will free the landlocked country from dependence on a route through Sudan. Officials expect construction on the pipeline to take two years to be completed if it starts by its planned time of June 2013. The pipeline is billed to transport between 700,000 barrels and 1 million barrels of Southern Sudanese crude per day.<sup>35</sup>

## *Western Africa*

## Cote d'Ivoire

### **Ivorian President urges African nations to boost ties with China; Chinese President proposes measures to boost China-Africa ties**

President Alassane Ouattara has called on all African nations to increase their cooperation with China. In an interview prior to the fifth ministerial conference of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum held in Beijing on July 19-20, Ouattara expressed satisfaction with the current "intense" cooperation between Cote d'Ivoire and China and said the Beijing forum is a good opportunity to discuss ways to strengthen ties between Africans and the Chinese people. Ouattara also said the Chinese development model could be emulated by African countries. Bilateral visits between the two countries has led to the signing of five cooperation, technical and financial assistance agreements worth over US\$ 19 million. Ouattara has invited Chinese businesses and Ivorian private sector players in the country itself to fund large infrastructure projects to assist reconstruction in the country following post-election violence.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> "Sudan, South Sudan reach oil deal, will hold border talks", Reuters, August 4, 2012 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/04/us-sudan-southsudan-idUSBRE87300520120804>

<sup>35</sup> "South Sudan says oil pipeline via Kenya will cost \$ 3 billion", Reuters, August 10, 2012 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/10/us-kenya-sudan-south-oil-idUSBRE8790JU20120810>

<sup>36</sup> "Cote d'Ivoire president urges African nations to boost ties with China", Xinhua news agency, July 14, 2012

Speaking at the opening ceremony of the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in Beijing on July 19, Chinese President Hu Jintao proposed measures in five key areas to boost China-Africa ties. Hu said that the Chinese government would take measures over the next three years to support peace and development in Africa and strengthen the China-Africa strategic partnership. The proposed measures in the five priority areas are – 1) expand cooperation in investment and financing to support sustainable development in Africa; 2) increase development assistance in areas including agricultural technology, cultural and vocational skills training, medical cooperation, and other capacity building; 3) support African integration process through trans-national and trans-regional infrastructure development; 4) enhance people-to-people friendship through mutual visits and exchanges; 5) promote peace and stability in Africa, including through peacekeeping missions.<sup>37</sup>

## Ghana

**New president, vice-president sworn in following President Mills' death; Ghana hosts China-Africa trade forum; Clinton urges partnerships with 'responsible foreign powers' during seven-nation Africa tour**

Ghana has sworn in a new president following the sudden death of President John Evans Atta Mills on July 24.<sup>38</sup> Following an emergency parliamentary session, Vice-President John Dramani Mahama was appointed as the new president on July 25. Mahama will complete Mills' remaining term in office. The National Executive Council of the ruling National Democratic Congress has endorsed President Mahama as the party's candidate for the general elections to be held in December, following Mills' death. Mahama's candidature will now be presented to congress in September to be endorsed by delegates.

Following discussions in the Ghanaian cabinet on possible candidates for the Vice-President position, Central Bank governor Kwesi Amissah Arthur, was appointed to the post. The vice-president is likely to become the running mate for President Mahama in the December elections.<sup>39</sup>

Ghana hosted a forum in Accra aimed at cementing Sino-African business ties on August 30-31. The "China Meets Africa" forum was aimed at offering a venue for entrepreneurs to explore mutual trade and investment opportunities, in addition to facilitating greater interaction between the political and business class, and academia and multilateral institutions to debate the economic partnership between Africa and China. The forum targeted small-medium enterprises, investment banks and public investment promotion agencies, in addition to strategic sectors of the economy including agribusiness, ICT and telecoms, energy and mining, manufacturing, infrastructure and construction. Kenya, Ghana, South Africa, Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire were the five African countries being targeted in this forum.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> "President Hu proposes measures in five key areas to boost China-Africa ties", Xinhua news agency, July 19, 2012, at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-07/19/c\\_131725353.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-07/19/c_131725353.htm)

<sup>38</sup> "Ghana TV says vice president to take over after president's death", TV3, Accra, July 24, 2012; "New Ghana president sworn in - TV", Al-Jazeera TV, July 25, 2012; "Ghanaian state broadcaster's website profiles newly sworn in president", Radio Ghana website, July 24, 2012; "Ghana's Mahama endorsed as ruling party candidate for December polls", Joy FM text website, Accra, July 26, 2012

<sup>39</sup> "Ghana appoints Kwesi Amissah as new vice-president", Joy FM text website, July 31, 2012

<sup>40</sup> "Ghana to hold forum on China-Africa trade", Xinhua news agency, August 14, 2012

The US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, urged African leaders to 'embrace democracy and partnerships with responsible foreign powers' during a seven-nation, 11-day tour of Africa. She added that the US seeks "'a model of sustainable partnership that adds value, rather than extracts it" from Africa'. Clinton traveled to Senegal, South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Ghana and South Africa during the tour, which included attending the August 10 state funeral for the late Ghanaian president, John Atta Mills.<sup>41</sup>

## Mali

**UN says ready to support African efforts to restore order in Mali; West African nations call for military intervention in Mali; US warns against military intervention in northern Mali; Sahelian military chiefs discuss new security plan to fight terrorism and organised crime**

The UN Representative of the Secretary-General in West Africa, Said Djinnit, has said that the UN would support the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) to help Mali restore constitutional order and territorial integrity. No UN resolution is currently under consideration on the issue. Security Council members have been debating if military intervention in northern Mali, which is now controlled by Islamist groups, is realistic and achievable.<sup>42</sup> The Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), one of the groups in control of northern Mali, has threatened reprisals on countries that plan to contribute to any African intervention force. Mali and Algeria, along with the US, has opposed such an intervention, while other West African leaders, in addition to France, have urged military action, warning that terrorist networks are transforming northern Mali into a centre of coordination between militant groups in Africa.<sup>43</sup> The Malian government has pressed for a political solution to safeguard its territorial integrity.<sup>44</sup>

The US has warned the ECOWAS against intervention in the north of Mali, and has advised that the planned 3,300-strong ECOWAS force should instead try to stabilise the south of the country, given that the Malian armed force has lost its capacities. ECOWAS would require AU and international support for any intervention, particularly logistic support from the US and France.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, military chiefs of Mali's neighbours, Algeria, Mauritania, Niger and Burkina Faso met in Mauritania on July 11 to discuss boosting cooperation in the fight against terrorism and organised crime in the Sahel region.<sup>46</sup> The four countries have endorsed a plan that allows their forces to pursue terrorists across their borders, particularly in the open desert areas of northern Mali and Niger, subject to agreed principles. The new security plan aims to deal with the unsettled situation in northern Mali and to prevent jihadist groups from extending their activities to new

<sup>41</sup> "Hillary Clinton warns Africa over China during Senegalese visit", Al Jazeera, (in Arabic), August 2, 2012

<sup>42</sup> "UN confirms readiness to support African efforts to restore order in Mali", republicoftogo.com website, (in French), June 29, 2012

<sup>43</sup> "West African countries call for intervention in Mali", Al-Jazeera TV, (in Arabic), June 30, 2012

<sup>44</sup> "Algeria, Mali reject military intervention in Azawad region", El-Khabar website, (in Arabic), July 3, 2012

<sup>45</sup> "US says military intervention in northern Mali risky", republicoftogo.com website, (in French), July 29, 2012

<sup>46</sup> "Military chiefs of Mali's neighbours discuss action against armed groups", Al-Jazeera TV, (in Arabic), July 11, 2012

areas in Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Burkina Faso. The countries have also decided to allocate and equip around 60,000 forces, with Algeria as the biggest contributor, to be deployed on joint borders for daily patrols.<sup>47</sup>

## Niger

### EU counterterrorism mission in Sahel begins operation

The EU civilian mission in Niger has begun operations following the appointment of Spanish Civil Guard Colonel Francisco Espinosa Navas as the mission's head. The mission aims to train Niger's security forces in its fight against organised crime and terrorism in the Sahel. The European Union Capacity Building (EUCAP) Sahel mission is scheduled to last two years and has been allocated an annual budget of US\$ 10.8 million. The mission comes in response to an invitation by the Nigerien government and forms part of EU strategy for greater security and development in the Sahel. The mission hopes to establish links with Mali and Mauritania at a later stage. Nigerien forces will be advised on security matters, provide support for regional coordination relating to the fight against terrorism and organised crime, and help in setting up a penal procedure based on the rule of law.<sup>48</sup>

## Nigeria

### AU Council urges international support in fight against Boko Haram; China seeks cooperation with Nigerian army against insecurity in Gulf of Guinea; Pakistan keen to sign trade treaty with Nigeria, says diplomat

The African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council (PSC) has condemned the activities of the Boko Haram group, and has for the first time, urged global assistance for Nigeria in its fight against the group. The AU Commissioner for the PSC, Ramtane Lamamra, said that the situation in Nigeria posed a serious threat to regional security and urged attention on all the other flashpoints on the continent where populations are affected by terrorist activities. The PSC confirmed that AU leaders were seeking UN Security Council support for military intervention in northern Mali so as to restore Mali's territorial integrity.<sup>49</sup>

China has called for naval cooperation with Nigeria to check growing security threats in the Gulf of Guinea. China's military attaché in Nigeria has said that China can be of assistance in modernising the Nigerian navy's equipment through its cost effective defence products. Senior Col. Kang Honglin laid out three major areas of cooperation between the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Nigerian Armed Forces – mutual visits by senior military officers, training of Nigerian military officers at all levels, and cooperation on defence products.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> "Algeria, other states endorse plan to combat terrorism in Azawad region", El-Khabar website, (in Arabic), August 7, 2012

<sup>48</sup> "Spanish colonel assumes command of EU's counterterrorism mission in Sahel", ABC website, August 9, 2012

<sup>49</sup> "AU Council Wants Support On Fight Against Boko Haram", The Guardian, Nigeria, July 15, 2012, at [http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=92332:au-council-wants-support-on-fight-against-boko-haram&catid=1:national&Itemid=559](http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=92332:au-council-wants-support-on-fight-against-boko-haram&catid=1:national&Itemid=559)

<sup>50</sup> "China wants to partner Nigeria on Gulf of Guinea", The Guardian, Nigeria, August 3, 2012, at [http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=94354:china-wants-to-partner-nigeria-on-gulf-of-guinea-&catid=1:national&Itemid=559](http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=94354:china-wants-to-partner-nigeria-on-gulf-of-guinea-&catid=1:national&Itemid=559)

Pakistan's High Commissioner to Nigeria, Ahmed Ali Sirohey, has said that Pakistan is keen to sign a trade and investment treaty with Nigeria to boost existing economic ties. According to Sirohey, a trade treaty would "engender mutual benefits for Nigeria and Pakistan, especially in the crucial areas of agricultural equipment, improved seed technology, health technology and education." Pakistan is calling for a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) to strengthen joint ventures in irrigation, farming, home gas technology and power generation.<sup>51</sup>

## *Eastern Africa*

### **Eritrea**

**Mandate of UN monitoring group on Somalia and Eritrea extended for another year; Eritrea seeks to facilitate talks between Sudan and SPLM-N Rebels**

The Security Council has extended the mandate of the United Nations panel of experts monitoring compliance with the embargoes on the delivery of weapons and military equipment to Somalia and Eritrea for another year until August 25, 2013. The Monitoring Group on Eritrea and Somalia also investigates activities in the financial and maritime sectors generating revenue used to break the arms embargoes. The resolution also decided that the arms embargo on Somalia shall not apply to supplies of weapons and military equipment, or the provision of assistance for use by the UN Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS).<sup>52</sup>

The Eritrean government has launched an initiative to bridge gaps between the Sudanese government and Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) in order to end the South Kordofan and Blue Nile conflict. The Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki proposed to facilitate a negotiated settlement to the conflict that erupted in June 2011.<sup>53</sup>

### **Ethiopia**

**UNAMID to open office in western Ethiopia; Ethiopia signs US\$ 3.2 billion railway deal; 19<sup>th</sup> African Union Summit held in Addis Ababa after Malawi declines to host; Rising tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea; Ethiopian prime minister Jacob Zenawi passes away**

Ethiopia has offered the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), the opportunity to open offices in the western Ethiopian town, Assosa near the Sudanese border. Ethiopia's deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister, Hailemariam Dessalegn held talks

<sup>51</sup> "Pakistan seeks trade treaty with Nigeria", The Guardian, Nigeria, August 14, 2012, at [http://www.guardiannewsngr.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=95525:pakistan-seeks-trade-treaty-with-nigeria-&catid=31:business&Itemid=562](http://www.guardiannewsngr.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=95525:pakistan-seeks-trade-treaty-with-nigeria-&catid=31:business&Itemid=562)

<sup>52</sup> "Mandate of UN monitoring group on Somalia and Eritrea extended for another year", UN News Centre, 25 July 2012, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42556&Cr=somalia&Cr1=>

<sup>53</sup> "Eritrea seeks to facilitate talks between Sudan and SPLM-N rebels", AllAfrica, August 19, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208200286.html>

with the visiting UN Department of Field Support Assistant Secretary General, Anthony Banbury, over the country's peacekeeping contribution and the activities of the AU-UN hybrid peacekeeping operations.<sup>54</sup>

Ethiopia has signed two agreements with Chinese and Turkish companies to construct a US\$ 3.2 billion railway network. According to the Ethiopian Railways Corporation (ERC), the Turkish firm, Yapi Merkezi, will build a US\$ 1.7 billion section of the project, while the Chinese company, China Communications Construction Company (CCCC), will build the remaining portion. Ethiopia plans to construct 5,000 km of railway lines by 2020.<sup>55</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> African Union Summit was held in Addis Ababa instead of Lilongwe in Malawi from July 9-16, 2012.<sup>56</sup> Separately, during the summit, the African Union chose Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma from South Africa as its chairperson, making her the first woman to hold the post.<sup>57</sup>

The latest report from the United Nations Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea has stirred tensions between Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. Eritrea has seized on a selective reading of the report to call for the lifting of UN imposed sanctions, a call that has been rebuffed by the Monitoring Group's Coordinator. Tensions are rising along the region's main political and security fault-line between Ethiopia and Eritrea as the Ethiopian government has taken an increasingly bellicose tone towards its former province signaling an increased willingness to push more actively for regime change in Eritrea.<sup>58</sup>

Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi passed away from a sudden infection while recovering at a hospital abroad. The 57 year old Ethiopian leader had not appeared in public for the last two months because of an unspecified illness. The Ethiopian state television announced that Deputy Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn, would be the acting prime minister.<sup>59</sup>

## Kenya

### **EU Naval Force German Frigate Bremen liaises with Kenyan Piracy Information-Sharing Centre; President Kibaki welcomes AGOA extension after a meeting with Hillary Clinton**

EU Naval Force (EU NAVFOR) German frigate Bremen organised an exchange of experience with the Piracy Information-Sharing Centre (ISC) in Mombasa. It is one of the three centres

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<sup>54</sup> "UNAMID to open office in western Ethiopia", Sudan Tribune, June 26, 2012, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/UNAMID-to-open-office-in-western,43053>

<sup>55</sup> "Ethiopia signs \$ 3.2 billion railway deal", Sudan Tribune, June 30, 2012, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/Ethiopia-signs-3-2-billion-railway,43100>

<sup>56</sup> "Malawi: Summit Meeting Declined", New York Times, June 9, 2012, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/09/world/africa/malawi-african-union-summit-meeting-declined.html>

<sup>57</sup> "AU chooses Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as leader", BBC News, July 15, 2012, at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-18846210>

<sup>58</sup> "Ethiopia and Eritrea: rising tensions amid new opportunities for engagement", Chatham House, July 19, 2012, at <http://www.chathamhouse.org/media/comment/view/184853>

<sup>59</sup> "Ethiopian prime minister passes away", South African Government News Agency, August 21, 2012, at <http://www.sanews.gov.za/news/12/12082109551001>

commissioned by the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) in 2011 under the Djibouti Code of Conduct concerning the Repression of Piracy and Armed Robbery against ships in the Western Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. The Mombasa ISC is co-housed with the Regional Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre (RMRCC), which operates on a 24-hour basis and covers extensive areas of the western Indian Ocean, including the Seychelles. Countries such as Maldives, Seychelles, Mauritius, Kenya and later also Somalia report information on the movement of pirates to the ISC/RMRCC, and thus contribute to efforts to suppress piracy in the region.<sup>60</sup>

President Mwai Kibaki welcomed the decision by the US Congress to extend the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) preferential trade programme by three years after a meeting with the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Kibaki said that the move will secure thousands of jobs for Kenyan workers in the textile sector and will lead to an expansion in exports from Kenya and the whole of Africa to the US markets besides promoting a high-level dialogue on trade and investment-related issues. He further said that the Act, which was signed 12 years ago, has encouraged economic integration and has stimulated job growth in the country.<sup>61</sup>

## Madagascar

### Madagascar presidential elections set for May 2013

Madagascar's presidential elections are scheduled to be held on May 8, 2013. The second round of the presidential elections is scheduled for July 3, 2013 with the legislative vote, while the municipal election will take place on October 23, 2013. Madagascar is in political crisis because of a stalemate between Marc Ravalomanana and Andry Rajoelina since the former had to resign from Presidency and fly to South Africa giving way to Rajoelina to take power in March 2009.<sup>62</sup>

## Malawi

### Malawi and Tanzania will not go to war; New law bars foreigners from trading in outlying and rural areas of Malawi

Joyce Banda, the president of Malawi, and her Tanzanian counterpart, Jakaya Kikwete, stated categorically that their countries will never go to war with each other and called for patience as a joint committee works to find a lasting solution to the Lake Nyasa border dispute. The two presidents reaffirmed their commitment to pursue diplomatic channels to ensure the wrangle was resolved amicably.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> "EU Naval Force German Frigate Bremen liaises with Kenyan Piracy Information-Sharing Center", EU NAVFOR Somalia, July 15, 2012, at <http://www.eunavfor.eu/2012/07/eu-naval-force-german-frigate-bremen-liaises-with-kenyan-rescue-center/>

<sup>61</sup> "President Kibaki welcomes AGOA extension", Capital FM, August 4, 2012, at <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/08/president-kibaki-welcomes-extension-of-agoa/>

<sup>62</sup> "Madagascar presidential elections set for May 8, 2013", Xinhua, August 8, 2012, at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-08/01/c\\_131754285.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-08/01/c_131754285.htm)

<sup>63</sup> "Kikwete: Tanzania, Malawi will not go to war", Daily News Online, August 19, 2012, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/8724-kikwete-tanzania-malawi-will-not-go-to-war>

A new law enforced from July 31 bars foreigners from carrying out trade in Malawi's outlying and rural areas. The Investment and Export Promotion Bill required traders to move to the southern African nation's major cities Lilongwe, Blantyre, Mzuzu and Zomba. The law is an attempt to protect local small-scale business from competition from foreign traders. Two prominent civil rights organisations, the Centre for Development of People and the Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (CHRR), have warned the Malawian government against encouraging the victimisation of foreign traders as many Chinese enterprises were closed down.<sup>64</sup>

## Mauritius

### UN-backed investigation exposes arms trafficking network in Mauritius; Seychelles and Mauritius establish commission to manage world's largest offshore joint zone

An investigation by the Conflict Awareness Project initiated by the United Nations has exposed an active arms trading network of the associates of former trafficker Viktor Bout that, among other countries, involves companies from the United States, South Africa and the United Kingdom. All are cross-linked in a complex system that is centred in the island of Mauritius. The traffickers' ultimate goal was to access countries such as Iran, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and possibly Syria.<sup>65</sup>

Seychelles and Mauritius have established a commission to manage the world's largest offshore joint management zone measuring 400,000 square kilometers of continental shelf. This will enable both countries to jointly regulate seabed activities, including the exploration of petroleum and minerals, as well as the conservation and management of the living resources of the seabed. Officials from both countries met in Seychelles, from August 20 to 22 to launch the commission and discuss the future management and regulation of activities in the joint zone.<sup>66</sup>

## Mozambique

### Mozambique receives SADC council of ministers chair, SADC tribunal disbanded

Angola handed over the chair of the Council of Ministers of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) to Mozambique<sup>67</sup> before the 32<sup>nd</sup> SADC summit started on August 17 in the Mozambican capital, Maputo.<sup>68</sup> In a significant development, a summit resolution upheld the

<sup>64</sup> "Malawi checks China's African advance", IPS News Agency, August 4, 2012, at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/08/malawi-checks-chinas-african-advance/>

<sup>65</sup> "UN-backed investigation exposes arms trafficking network in Mauritius", Leadership, July 18, 2012, at [http://www.leadership.ng/articles/30102/2012/07/18/unbacked\\_investigation\\_exposes\\_arms\\_trafficking\\_network\\_mauritius.html](http://www.leadership.ng/articles/30102/2012/07/18/unbacked_investigation_exposes_arms_trafficking_network_mauritius.html)

<sup>66</sup> "Seychelles and Mauritius establish commission to manage world's largest offshore joint zone", The Commonwealth, August 23, 2012, at <http://www.thecommonwealth.org/news/34580/249320/230812jointzone.htm>

<sup>67</sup> "Angola hands over SADC Council of Ministers chair to Mozambique", Agência AngolaPress, August 15, 2012, at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en\\_us/noticias/politica/2012/7/33/Angola-hands-over-SADC-Council-Ministers-chair-Mozambique,18f1c066-5c3d-49d2-9449-4dda4e39a8e2.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en_us/noticias/politica/2012/7/33/Angola-hands-over-SADC-Council-Ministers-chair-Mozambique,18f1c066-5c3d-49d2-9449-4dda4e39a8e2.html)

<sup>68</sup> "SADC summit kicks off in Mozambique", Xinhua, August 17, 2012, at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-08/17/c\\_131792459.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-08/17/c_131792459.htm)

decision taken in 2011 to permanently disband the bloc's tribunal. SADC Ministers of Justice and Attorney-Generals were directed to negotiate a new protocol to reconstitute the tribunal, which will have a fresh mandate.<sup>69</sup>

## Rwanda

### Rwanda wants lead UN expert on Congo probed; Australia, Rwanda strengthen ties; SADC accuses Rwanda of interference in Congo

The government of Rwanda has requested the United Nations to investigate into the appointment of Steve Hege as coordinator of the UN Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of Congo despite his open support for the blacklisted Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), a militia group based in the Democratic Republic of Congo which comprises of elements responsible for the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsis that left more than one million people dead in Rwanda. Hege has become the subject of increasing scrutiny following the circulation of publications that depict him as an FDLR sympathiser.<sup>70</sup>

The special envoy of the Australian Prime Minister, Bob McMullan, met with President Paul Kagame of Rwanda at Village Urugwiro, and discussed bilateral relations. Earlier, McMullan while meeting senior government officials during an event held at Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), announced support for education and training initiatives in Rwanda's mining sector as a means to boost the industry.<sup>71</sup>

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has blamed the current upsurge of fighting in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo on Rwanda. The final communiqué from the SADC heads of state summit called on Rwanda "to cease immediately its interference that constitutes a threat to peace and stability, not only of the DRC, but also of the SADC region". The summit also mandated the SADC chairperson, Mozambican President Armando Guebuza to visit Rwanda in order "to engage the government of Rwanda with the aim of urging it to stop military support to armed rebels in the DRC".<sup>72</sup>

## Seychelles

### Deputy Chief of People's Liberation Army in Seychelles

The deputy chief of the People's Liberation Army, General Ma Xiaotian, met James Michel, the president of Seychelles, on July 14, and reaffirmed China's commitment to deepen bilateral military

<sup>69</sup> "Regional leaders permanently disband SADC tribunal", The Herald Online, August 21, 2012, at [http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=50361:regional-leaders-permanently-disband-sadc-tribunal&catid=37:top-stories&Itemid=130](http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=50361:regional-leaders-permanently-disband-sadc-tribunal&catid=37:top-stories&Itemid=130)

<sup>70</sup> "Rwanda wants lead UN expert on Congo probed", The New Times, August 7, 2012, at <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?a=56810&i=15077>

<sup>71</sup> "Australia, Rwanda strengthen ties", The New Times, August 22, 2012, at <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?a=57356&i=15092>

<sup>72</sup> "SADC accuses Rwanda of interference in Congo", AllAfrica, August 18, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208210524.html>

cooperation. Beijing has worked to deepen its partnership with Seychelles since the Chinese President Hu Jintao visited the Indian Ocean Island state in 2005. Falling midway on the sea lanes from China to Africa, Seychelles has acquired significance in Beijing's rising naval profile in the Indian Ocean. In the attempt to put away the doubts about its intentions, Beijing has so far consistently maintained that it has no plans to establish military bases abroad.<sup>73</sup>

## Somalia

### **US breaks Somalia arms embargo; Somali National Constituent Assembly adopts a new provisional Constitution; New Somali parliament sworn in**

The US has violated the United Nations arms embargo regarding Somalia by helping local militias fighting al-Qaeda. According to the UN's Somalia Eritrea Monitoring Group, the US is carrying out three covert programs to assist Somali fighters in their battles with the al-Shabab. The Central Intelligence Agency has reportedly sent officers to the government of Puntland, a semi-autonomous region not recognised by the UN. American Special Forces are also fighting alongside Puntland soldiers. The Obama administration has not notified the UN of these activities, which is required under the embargo established in 1992 after civil war broke out. At least eleven other governments have failed to inform the UN of cargo flights providing supplies to various parties in the Somalia conflict.<sup>74</sup>

The Somali National Constituent Assembly has voted to adopt a new provisional constitution. The constitution was adopted with a whopping majority of 96 per cent while two per cent of the members voted against and another two per cent did not vote at all. The representatives of the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) were selected by the traditional elders of Somalia.<sup>75</sup>

Meanwhile, the committee tasked with approving parliamentarians began swearing in 225 parliamentarians. The parliament will eventually have 275 members, following which it will be able to hold crucial votes for speaker and the president by secret ballot.<sup>76</sup>

## Uganda

### **Security Council endorses UN regional strategy to combat LRA threat**

The Security Council endorsed the regional strategy developed by the United Nations to tackle the threat posed by the Ugandan rebel group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and called for necessary support to ensure that it is carried out successfully. The strategy developed by the UN Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA) focuses on five key objectives to address the threat

<sup>73</sup> "Military diplomacy: China woos Seychelles"; The Indian Express, July 16, at <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/military-diplomacy-china-woos-seychelles/975070/>

<sup>74</sup> "U.S. breaks Somalia arms embargo it helped establish", Aletho News, July 28, 2012, at <http://alethonews.wordpress.com/2012/07/28/u-s-breaks-somalia-arms-embargo-it-helped-establish/>

<sup>75</sup> "Somalia adopts a constitution, amidst insecurity", Garowe Online, August 1, 2012, at [http://www.garoweonline.com/artman2/publish/Somalia\\_27/Somalia\\_adopts\\_a\\_constitution\\_amidst\\_insecurity.shtml](http://www.garoweonline.com/artman2/publish/Somalia_27/Somalia_adopts_a_constitution_amidst_insecurity.shtml)

<sup>76</sup> "Presidential elections in Somalia postponed as new parliament sworn-in", African Elections Project, August 21, 2012, at [http://www.africanelections.org/new\\_news.php?nid=519](http://www.africanelections.org/new_news.php?nid=519)

from the LRA which has affected civilians in South Sudan, the Central African Republic (CAR) and Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), in addition to Uganda.<sup>77</sup>

## United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania looks for fair deal for its gas finds, additional deep water oil and gas block to be auctioned; Tanzania to host global food security meeting

Recent discoveries of massive offshore natural gas fields in Tanzania by different international exploration companies have placed the country on the world energy map. According to the Ministry of Energy and Minerals, Tanzania's proven natural gas resources now stand at 47 trillion cubic feet (TCF). The discoveries are expected to bring into the country billions of dollars worth of investment that might transform the economy, particularly in the energy, agricultural and manufacturing sectors.<sup>78</sup> It is estimated that the natural gas will last for more than 100 years.<sup>79</sup> In other developments, Tanzania will auction an additional deep water oil and gas block in its next bidding round near the sea border of Mozambique, where companies including Eni SpA (ENI) and Anadarko Petroleum Corp. (APC) have discovered natural gas. Tanzania will open a licensing round for nine offshore exploration blocks in September.<sup>80</sup>

Tanzania will host the African Green Revolution Forum (AGRF) from September 26 to 28, 2012. The forum has been identified as the next milestone in developing solutions to achieve food security and aims to tackle leadership policy, revolutionising African agricultural finance models, strengthening markets and transforming agriculture through innovative partnerships. At the recent G8 Summit, global leaders, including 21 African countries and 27 members of the private sector had committed US\$ 3 billion to a New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, launching the next phase of the global food security effort to raise 50 million people out of poverty over the next 10 years.<sup>81</sup>

## Zambia

**Zambia tasked to help resolve DRC unrest**

Zambia has been chosen as a member of the three-country group of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) to resolve civil unrest in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Zambia will team up with the other countries to the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) to bring peace to DRC.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> "Security Council endorses UN regional strategy to combat LRA threat", UN News Centre, June 29, 2012, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42363&Cr=LRA&Cr1=>

<sup>78</sup> "Fair deals needed for our gas finds", Daily News Online, June 26, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201206260445.html>

<sup>79</sup> "Local gas stock to last 100 years", Daily News Online, July 23, 2012, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/7764-local-gas-stock-to-last-100-years>

<sup>80</sup> "Tanzania will auction additional deep water block near gas finds", Bloomberg, July 13, 2012, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-07-13/tanzania-will-auction-additional-deep-water-block-near-gas-finds.html>

<sup>81</sup> "Tanzania to host global food security meeting", The New Times, August 25, 2012, at <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?a=57511&i=15095>

<sup>82</sup> "Zambia tasked to help resolve DRC unrest", The Times of Zambia, August 20, 2012, at <http://www.times.co.zm/?p=8962>

## Zimbabwe

### Mugabe dismisses EU's selective action on sanctions as meaningless; SADC Summit resolutions on Zimbabwe

Speaking at a dinner hosted in his honour by his Zambian counterpart on August 2, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has dismissed the European Union's selective removal of few people from its sanctions list as meaningless because it will have no real change on their overall negative impact. Instead, he called for an unconditional lifting of the sanctions to improve the conditions of Zimbabwe's people. These sanctions against Zimbabwe were originally imposed by the EU a decade ago in response to human rights abuse and political violence. The European Union, in July, had announced that it would suspend most sanctions against Zimbabwe once it holds a credible referendum on a new constitution.<sup>83</sup>

The 32<sup>nd</sup> SADC Summit adopted the report of the SADC Facilitator to Zimbabwe, Jacob Zuma, South Africa's president. The summit noted the progress in implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and urged the stakeholders to work together, in particular, on the constitution making process in Zimbabwe. It also urged the signatories to the GPA to develop a roadmap with timelines that are guided by the requirements of the process necessary for adoption of the constitution and the creation of conditions for free and fair elections to be held. The summit resolved that if there are any difficulties with regard to the constitution and implementation of agreements, the facilitator should be called upon to engage with the parties and assist them in resolving such issues, bearing in mind the timeframes and the necessity to hold free and fair elections.<sup>84</sup>

## Central Africa

### United Nations initiative to protect forests in the region; Growth in Central Africa expected to hit 5.7%

A United Nations-backed initiative will help ten Central African countries set up national forest monitoring systems and strengthen cooperation among nations in the region. The initiative will target the forests of the Congo Basin, which is one of the world's largest primary rainforests, and aims to protect the forests from direct threats such as land-use change and unsustainable logging and mining. The project will be jointly managed by the Central Africa Forests Commission (COMIFAC) and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in close collaboration with the Brazilian National Institute for Space Research (INPE).<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> "EU's actions on sanctions meaningless", The Herald Online, August 4, 2012, at [http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=49069:eus-actions-on-sanctions-meaningless&catid=37:top-stories&Itemid=130](http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49069:eus-actions-on-sanctions-meaningless&catid=37:top-stories&Itemid=130)

<sup>84</sup> "SADC Summit resolutions on Zimbabwe", Sokwanele, August 20, 2012, at <http://www.sokwanele.com/thisiszimbabwe/archives/8027>

<sup>85</sup> "Ten Central African countries to take part in UN-backed forest monitoring system", UN News Centre, July 26, 2012, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42560&Cr=Forests&Cr1=>

According to reports, the six-nation Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States (CEMAC), comprising Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Central African Republic and Chad experienced two straight years of improved growth with output of 5.1 per cent in 2011, up from 3.9 per cent in 2010. This year the growth in the Central African regional bloc is expected to hit 5.7 per cent.<sup>86</sup>

## Angola

**Youth movement against government gathers momentum; Angola and the EU sign accords for cooperation; 20,000 jobs to be created by the Ministry of Environment, greater responsibility called for in the exploitation of natural resources; Government and South Africa sign agreement on technical cooperation; China, biggest investor in Angola**

Ahead of the August elections, Angola's youth movement gained momentum by exposing corruption and rights abuses by the President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Dos Santos though did not refer to the protests directly but urged the young Angolans to seek dialogue to resolve issues.<sup>87</sup>

Angola and the European Union signed a 'Joint Way Forward' accord in July, which focuses on political dialogue and a more comprehensive cooperation in various new areas such as peace and security, economy and trade, industry, energy, transport, training and science and technology. The accord marks a new era in relations between Angola and the EU which will now focus on assistance and development.<sup>88</sup>

With the creation of policies for an environmental economy, the Ministry of Environment intends to generate 20,000 new jobs.<sup>89</sup> On a separate occasion, the Environment Minister, Fatima Jardim called for greater responsibility in the exploitation of natural resources, especially from those companies involved in exploration of aggregates in northern Bengo province.<sup>90</sup>

Angola and South Africa signed an agreement on technical cooperation that will stimulate infrastructure development in Angola. Infrastructure development was high on the South African government's priority list and it was committed to taking the implementation of the programme to the next level.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>86</sup> "Growth in Central African regional bloc seen at 5.7 pct in 2012", Reuters, July 27, 2012, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJJOE86Q00Z20120727>

<sup>87</sup> "Angola youth movement presses for change ahead of polls", Euronews.com, August 17, 2012 at <http://www.euronews.com/newswires/1626978-angola-youth-movement-presses-for-change-ahead-of-polls/>

<sup>88</sup> "Angola, Belgium sign cooperation reinforcement deal", Angola Press, July 24, 2012, at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en\\_us/noticias/politica/2012/6/30/Angola-Belgium-sign-cooperation-reinforcement-deal,2567bc11-a8cf-4ed5-8557-446b81d5e676.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en_us/noticias/politica/2012/6/30/Angola-Belgium-sign-cooperation-reinforcement-deal,2567bc11-a8cf-4ed5-8557-446b81d5e676.html)

<sup>89</sup> "Environment Ministry wants to create 20,000 new jobs", Angola Press, July 25, 2012, at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en\\_us/noticias/ambiente/2012/6/30/Environment-Ministry-wants-create-000-new-jobs,3bc4b0a9-e466-456e-98ff-041f2b7461c8.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en_us/noticias/ambiente/2012/6/30/Environment-Ministry-wants-create-000-new-jobs,3bc4b0a9-e466-456e-98ff-041f2b7461c8.html)

<sup>90</sup> "Minister calls for greater responsibility in exploitation of natural resources", Angola Press, July 24, 2012 at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en\\_us/noticias/ambiente/2012/6/30/Minister-calls-for-greater-responsibility-exploitation-natural-resources,2628c288-ff1a-4a29-bb91-9848ae37d9a9.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en_us/noticias/ambiente/2012/6/30/Minister-calls-for-greater-responsibility-exploitation-natural-resources,2628c288-ff1a-4a29-bb91-9848ae37d9a9.html)

<sup>91</sup> "SA, Angola collaborate on infrastructure development", SAnews.gov.za, July 22, 2012 at <http://www.sanews.gov.za/news/12/12072211551001>

China tops the list of countries with private investment contracts signed in the first half of the year in sectors such as industry, telecommunications and construction in Angola. After China, the biggest investors in Angola are Germany, Spain and Portugal.<sup>92</sup>

## Cameroon

### Joint investment with India in sugarcane processing

Cameroon and Indian investors will invest US\$ 112.7 million in sugarcane processing company which is likely to increase the country's white sugar output by about 50 per cent. The company will produce 60, 000 tonnes of refined sugar per year by 2014.<sup>93</sup>

## Democratic Republic of Congo

**UN Security Council condemns attacks by M23 rebel group; Clashes between government forces and rebel groups in eastern DRC, Rwanda suspected of supporting rebels; Government refuses to negotiate with rebels, UN urges protection of civilians; Thousands protest against violent fighting; DRC and Rwanda fail to agree on measures to achieve peace; SADC intervenes in DRC violence; Great Lakes Region Summit calls for greater commitment in resolving DRC conflict**

In mid-July, the UN Security Council strongly condemned attacks in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo by the M23, a group of renegade soldiers and demanded that all forms of support to armed groups in the country cease immediately. The Council also called upon all countries in the region to cooperate actively with the Congolese authorities in demobilising the M23.<sup>94</sup>

In the last week of July, Congolese rebels and government forces traded heavy weapons fire around two eastern villages which forced thousands of civilians to flee towards the provincial capital. UN experts have said that Rwanda is supporting the rebels but the Rwandan government has denied the claims. The rebellion has increased tensions between Congo and Rwanda after three years of improved relations.<sup>95</sup> In early August, the government declared that it would not negotiate with M23 rebels who mutinied from the army to battle government forces.<sup>96</sup> In the interim, thousands of people across the DRC took to the streets in protest of the violence and the uprising by the M23 rebel group.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> "China is biggest foreign investor in Angola in 1<sup>st</sup> semester", Macauhub.com, July 30, 2012 at <http://www.mcauhub.com.mo/en/2012/07/30/china-is-biggest-foreign-investor-in-angola-in-1st-half/>

<sup>93</sup> "Cameroon, Indian investors target \$ 113 mln sugar plant", Reuters, August 14, 2012 at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/14/cameroon-india-sugar-idUSL6E8JEB8020120814>

<sup>94</sup> "DR Congo: Security Council condemns attacks by rebel soldiers in country's east", UN News Centre, July 16, 2012, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42487&Cr=democratic&Cr1=congo>

<sup>95</sup> "Thousands flee heavy fighting between Congo army, rebels", Reuters.com, July 24, 2012, at [www.reuters.com/article/2012/07/24/us-congo-democratic-rebels-idUSBRE86N14W20120724](http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/07/24/us-congo-democratic-rebels-idUSBRE86N14W20120724)

<sup>96</sup> "DR Congo says no negotiation with M23 rebels", Gulfnews.com, August 9, 2012, at <http://gulfnews.com/news/world/other-world/dr-congo-says-no-negotiation-with-m23-rebels-1.1060029>

<sup>97</sup> "DR Congo protestors demand end to fighting", Al Jazeera, August 2, 2012, at <http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2012/08/20128264548542634.html>

Meanwhile, a meeting of the Defence Ministers of the countries from the region was called for where a neutral international force was proposed to tackle militia groups in eastern DRC. The force would not include troops from DR Congo or any other country accused of involvement in the fighting.<sup>98</sup> On another occasion, a summit was held in Uganda to discuss the deployment of the neutral force but leaders from the DRC and Rwanda failed to agree on any measures to achieve peace.<sup>99</sup>

In other developments, the intervention of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the DRC violence was welcomed by the government. The government also said that the shooting had stopped in the east due to pressure from SADC.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile, at the Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, it was recommended that the member states make a greater commitment to the settlement of the crisis. It was also decided at the Summit that all member states must marshal resources to help the DRC.<sup>101</sup>

## Republic of Congo

### **Chevron to invest in development of Lianzi oilfield; MoU with Rwanda to boost bilateral trade**

According to reports, Chevron Corporation will invest US\$ 2 billion for the development of the Lianzi oilfield that straddles the maritime border between Republic of Congo and Angola. Both the countries confirmed the finalisation of an agreement, which states that the revenues from the oilfield that hold reserves of 70 million barrels will be split equally between the countries.<sup>102</sup>

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed between Congo Brazzaville and the Rwanda Private Sector Federation to boost trade between the two countries. According to the Rwanda Private Sector Federation, the purpose of the agreement was to widen the market base of Rwanda's exports to ensure diversity.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> "DR Congo intervention force to have 4,000 troops: minister", Radio Netherlands Worldwide, August 17, 2012 at <http://www.rnw.nl/africa/bulletin/dr-congo-intervention-force-have-4000-troops-minister>

<sup>99</sup> "DR Congo conflict: Kagame and Kabila fail to agree on force", BBC News Africa, August 8, 2012, at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19180445>

<sup>100</sup> "SADC intervention in DRC welcomed", SABC, August 19, 2012, at <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/63f4ba004c66a214a4b6e71e720b61ff/SADC-intervention-in-DRC-welcomed-20121908>

<sup>101</sup> "Summit recommends greater commitment to DRC problem", Angola Press, August 8, 2012, at [http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en\\_us/noticias/politica/2012/7/32/Summit-recommends-greater-commitment-DRC-problem,5b11f120-632e-4a27-9399-05db85cb254b.html](http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/en_us/noticias/politica/2012/7/32/Summit-recommends-greater-commitment-DRC-problem,5b11f120-632e-4a27-9399-05db85cb254b.html)

<sup>102</sup> "Exploration of oil field in Angola/Republic of Congo requires US \$2 billion", Macauhub.com, July 30, 2012, at <http://www.mcauhub.com.mo/en/2012/07/30/exploration-of-oil-field-in-angolademocratic-republic-of-congo-requires-us2-billion/>

<sup>103</sup> "Rwanda signs trade deal with Congo Brazzaville", East African Business Week, August 6, 2012, at <http://www.busiweek.com/news/rwanda/3305-rwanda-signs-trade-deal-with-congo-brazzaville->

## *Southern Africa*

### **Botswana**

#### **Botswana and US Host Joint Military Exercise; Jindal Power Set to Purchase CIC Energy Corporation**

Botswana and the US hosted a three-week joint military exercise known as Southern Accord 12 that ended on August 16. The exercise involved approximately 700 military personnel each from Botswana Defence Force (BDF) and the US armed forces and took place at the Thebephatshwa Air Base. The exercise was intended to enhance capabilities of military personnel on both sides in a variety of areas, including humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, anti-poaching, peacekeeping, and convoy operations, as well as aero-medical evacuation.<sup>104</sup>

Indian energy company Jindal Steel & Power Limited is set to purchase the Canadian coal mine developer, CIC Energy Corporation, the company that owns the Mmamabula coal field in Botswana, for US\$ 114 million. Jindal Steel made an offer price of approximately US\$ 2 per share. The Mmamabula coal field has an estimated mineral resource of about 2.4 billion tones.<sup>105</sup>

### **Namibia**

#### **New Water Source Discovered on Namibia-Angola Border; US Seeks Better Relationship with Namibia; Namibia Discusses the Possibility of Nuclear Energy; China Intends to Build 1300 Classrooms in Namibia**

A new water source was discovered in Namibia that could have a major impact on development in this driest country of sub-Saharan Africa. Estimates suggest that the aquifer, called Ohangwena II and flows under the boundary between Angola and Namibia, could supply water to the north of the country for 400 years at current rates of consumption. Scientists say the water is up to 10,000 years old but is cleaner to drink than many modern sources. However, there are concerns that unauthorised drilling could threaten the new supply.<sup>106</sup>

During his visit to Namibia, the US Under Secretary for Economic Growth, Energy and the Environment, Robert Hormats, said that his country seeks better political and economic relationship with Namibia. He added that the US sees an opportunity to do the same by helping Namibia's economy to diversify its exports, create more jobs and strengthen its economy. Further, he mentioned that the citizens of both countries would benefit through additional trade and investment.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> "Botswana: Defence Force, U.S. to Conduct Joint Military Exercise", July 25, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201207250775.html>

<sup>105</sup> "Indians purchase Botswana coal interest", Mining Review, July 25, 2012, at <http://www.miningreview.com/node/21145>

<sup>106</sup> "Vast Namibia water source found, enough for 400 years", Pakistan Observer, July 23, 2012, at <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=166148>

<sup>107</sup> Desie Heita (2012), "Namibia: U.S. Seeks Better Relations", New Era, Quoted in All Africa, August 6, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208070337.html>

During the Electricity Supply Industry Stakeholders Forum meeting in Rundu, the Minister of Mines and Energy (MME), Isak Katali, opined that the inadequate supply of power in Southern Africa leaves the door open for the possibility of a nuclear power station in Namibia. Although there has been an opposition to the idea of having a nuclear plant in the country, mainly due to safety concerns, the Ministry of Mines and Energy finalised a nuclear cycle policy that is expected to pave the way to see how nuclear power can be harnessed to satisfy the country's growing energy needs. Katali mentioned that NamPower plans to construct eight more power stations in the country to ensure lesser dependence on imports.<sup>108</sup>

Chinese ambassador-designate to Namibia, Xin Shunkang, said that bilateral trade volumes between China and Namibia increased to US\$ 700 million in 2011. He announced that the Chinese government intends to build 1,300 classrooms across Namibia to help curtail the classroom shortage that has seen some learners being taught under trees, especially in the rural areas. He also indicated the need to train Namibian personnel as technicians.<sup>109</sup>

## South Africa

**South Africa Calls for National Dialogue on Social Cohesion; India and South Africa to Work on Enhancing Small Business Base; World Bank Lowers Growth Forecast for South Africa; South Africa Halts Oil Imports from Iran; Cairn India Acquires 60 per cent Stake in South African Gas Block; Shooting in South African Mine Kills 30 Miners**

During a summit on social cohesion, South African President Jacob Zuma called for a national dialogue on social cohesion. The "social cohesion summit", the first event of its kind since the end of apartheid, aims at getting citizens of all races to confront social inequalities and challenges. Zuma clarified that it was through dialogue and reaching out to one another that South Africa was able to produce what is now fondly referred to as the "South African miracle".<sup>110</sup>

More than 70 small and medium scale businesses from India interacted with the local industry at the Southern African International Trade Exhibition (SAITEX) held in Johannesburg from July 15-17. The event is aimed at helping South Africa evolve a strong Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) base to boost growth and job creation, while showcasing their products. India was a partner country at SAITEX-2012, with the biggest-ever participation indicating the kind of collaboration that was possible between India and the countries of Southern Africa.<sup>111</sup>

Citing income inequality, unemployment rate and commodity price risks, the World Bank lowered its growth forecast for South Africa. It added that the continent's largest economy faces serious economic challenges as Europe's debt crisis persists and China's growth slows. The bank forecasts

<sup>108</sup> Mathias Haufiku (2012), "Namibia to Explore Nuclear Energy Option", New Era, Quoted in All Africa, August 13, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208130503.html>

<sup>109</sup> Lorraine Kazondovi (2012), "Namibia: China to Build 1300 Classrooms", New Era, Quoted in All Africa, August 20, 2012, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201208200262.html>

<sup>110</sup> "S.Africa's Zuma calls for dialogue to mend divisions", AFP, July 5, 2012, at [http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jcNMVHazyhZIPN\\_FgKeG7j6VwB\\_Q?docId=CNG.3d4dfb998642cb4dc07e4b704572326d.a21](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jcNMVHazyhZIPN_FgKeG7j6VwB_Q?docId=CNG.3d4dfb998642cb4dc07e4b704572326d.a21)

<sup>111</sup> "Indian SMEs, South Africa to work on enlarging small business base", The Economic Times, July 11, 2012, at [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-07-11/news/32633213\\_1\\_indian-smes-sme-sector-sme-development](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-07-11/news/32633213_1_indian-smes-sme-sector-sme-development)

that South Africa would likely grow at 2.5 per cent in 2012, less than the 2.7 per cent expansion it had predicted in January 2012. Earlier, South Africa's reserve bank said that the economy would grow at 2.7 per cent, but warned that the forecast could be cut if growth slows globally.<sup>112</sup>

According to the South African Revenue Service, South Africa halted its oil imports from Iran in June 2012 as the Middle Eastern nation faces sanctions over its nuclear development programme. It said that South Africa received shipments of crude worth 13.3 billion rand (\$1.62 billion) in June, with 60 per cent coming from Saudi Arabia, 19 per cent from Angola and 18 per cent from Nigeria. Contrarily, Iran supplied 13 per cent of South Africa's 14.9 billion rand of oil imports in May and Saudi Arabia supplied 30 per cent oil.<sup>113</sup>

In its first deal since being acquired by Vedanta Resources, Cairn India acquired a 60 per cent stake from PetroSA, South Africa's national oil company, in an oil and gas exploration block on the west coast of South Africa. The block comprises an existing gas field discovered in 1987. With this, Cairn India's presence abroad has been extended beyond Sri Lanka. Cairn India would conduct seismic surveys and carry out initial exploration drilling. Cairn India would be the operator in the block, while PetroSA would hold the remaining interest. However, the transaction is subject to regulatory approvals from the South African government.<sup>114</sup>

South African police killed more than 30 armed miners who charged them at Lonmin PLC platinum mine. The shootings were one of the worst in South Africa since the end of the apartheid era, and are seen as a sign of the deepening rift between the ruling African National Congress and an impoverished electorate confronting massive unemployment, and growing poverty and inequality. Police ministry spokesman Zweli Mnisi informed that an investigation into the shooting near Marikana, about 70 kilo metres northwest of Johannesburg, is underway. However, political parties and labour unions, including the African National Congress, called for an independent inquiry.<sup>115</sup>

## Swaziland

### South Africa and Swaziland Sign MoU on Cross-Border Rail Connection; Swaziland exports iron ore to India via Mozambique

South Africa and Swaziland signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) reaffirming their support to the new R17 billion, 146 km cross-border rail connection from Lothair, in Mpumalanga, to Sidvokodvo, in Swaziland. The link would divert general freight from the existing corridor from Ermelo to the Port of Richards Bay, in KwaZulu-Natal, enabling Transnet to raise the yearly

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<sup>112</sup> Patrick Mcgroarty (2012), "Growing Pains Strain South Africa", The Wall Street Journal, July 24, 2012, at [http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390443570904577546400858546534.html?mod=wsj\\_streaming\\_stream](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390443570904577546400858546534.html?mod=wsj_streaming_stream)

<sup>113</sup> Mike Cohen (2012), "South Africa Halts Iran Oil Imports as U.S. Imposes Sanctions", Businessweek, July 31, 2012, at <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-07-31/south-africa-halts-iran-oil-imports-as-u-dot-s-dot-imposes-sanctions>

<sup>114</sup> "Cairn India buys 60% in South African gas block", Business Standard, August 17, 2012, at <http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/cairn-india-buys-60-in-south-african-gas-block/483507/>

<sup>115</sup> "South African police kill more than 30 striking miners", NDTV, August 17, 2012, at <http://www.ndtv.com/article/world/south-african-police-killed-more-than-30-striking-miners-255866>

capacity of the coal line to over 90 million tons. The proposed rail link through Swaziland would be the first large-scale rail investment in Southern Africa since the construction of the Richards Bay line in 1976 and could create additional general-freight capacity of 15 million tons. South Africa's Public Enterprises Minister Malusi Gigaba described the project as a forerunner for Transnet's expansion plans into the Waterberg coalfields, which is considered as South Africa's next coal-mining frontier.<sup>116</sup>

Mozambican daily newspaper *Notícias* reported that two million tons of iron ore from Swaziland were due to be transported along the Goba railroad and exported via the port of Maputo. It added that around 670,000 tons of iron ore was mined and exported to India via the port of Maputo until now.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Terence Creamer (2012), "SA, Swaziland reaffirm commitment to R17bn cross-border rail link", *Mining Weekly*, August 2, 2012, at <http://www.miningweekly.com/article/sa-swaziland-reaffirm-commitment-to-r17bn-cross-border-rail-link-2012-08-02>

<sup>117</sup> "Swaziland exports iron ore to India via Mozambique", *Macauhub*, August 8, 2012, at <http://www.mcauhub.com.mo/en/2012/08/08/swaziland-exports-iron-ore-to-india-via-mozambique/>

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