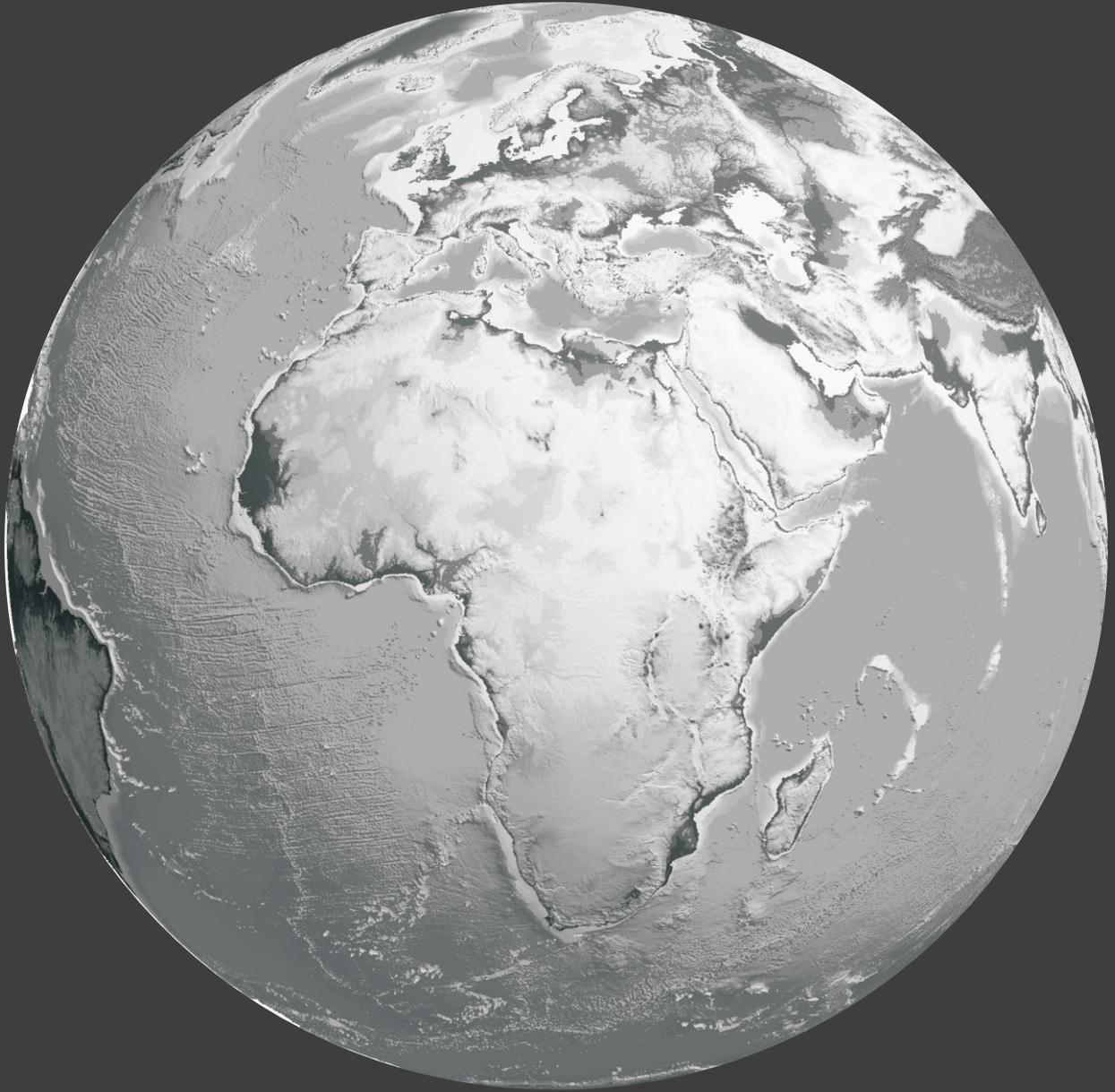


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Editor's Note

Greetings for 2015! We begin the fourth year of our publication. We present the newsletter to you in a changed format. The newstrack section now carries important news items under four heads: Conflict and Security, Politics, Economy and Development and India-Africa relations.

In this issue, the cover story focuses on the increasing instances of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Abhijit Singh analyses the nature of piracy on the west coast of Africa and brings out important differences between it and the piracy on the east coast. He outlines the African and international response and argues that given India's energy related stakes in the region, it could help with naval capacity building to counter the menace. The Nigerian election, which was the first ever transfer of power to an opposition through elections, is the subject of the commentary in this issue. Kuhoo Saxena looks at the challenges ahead for the newly elected Mahammadu Buhari government in Nigeria. She argues that unless the new government suppresses the activities of the Boko Haram, it will not be able to move along the path of social and economic development. The ongoing turmoil in Libya is the focus of the viewpoint in this issue. Nachiket Khadkiwala analyses the regional proxy war being played out in Libya, with local groups supported by them taking control of different parts of the country. He argues that it is the change in regional circumstances that offers the hope for peace in Libya. Maritime Africa abutting the Indian Ocean is the focus of the Dennis Rumley edited book titled *The Political Economy of Indian Ocean Maritime Africa*. The review of the book by Aakriti Sethi presents perspectives on the geopolitical and geo-economic context; trade, investment and aid; maritime security; and education and innovation in the region.

The fight against Boko Haram gained strength with the formation of a regional Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF). Al-Shabaab suffered several casualties in drone strikes on their locations but was able to inflict a serious loss through a seige that claimed the life of the Somali Permanent Representative to UN in Geneva. Ethiopia has stepped up its contribution to peacekeeping in Somalia, South Sudan and Abeyi; while Djibouti had sent additional troops to the AMISOM in Somalia. On the political front, Lesotho and Nigeria held successful elections; 11 African countries signed the Malabo protocol to set up an African International Crimes Court; and Ethiopia assumes the Chairmanship of COMESA. As the Ebola crisis wanes down, affected countries have requested for international help to rebuild their economies. US has stopped Diaspora remittances to Somalia fearing their use for terrorist finance and money laundering. Egypt has finally signed a deal with Ethiopia for the construction of the Great Renaissance Dam.

India's trade with Nigeria touches an all time high of \$17 billion, even as India seeks to strengthen business relations with East African countries.

We hope you will find this an interesting read. We welcome your feedback, suggestions and comments.

Cover Story

COMBATING GULF OF GUINEA PIRACY - BETWEEN 'DEVIL' AND THE 'DEEP SEA'

Since 2012, the Gulf of Guinea has emerged as one of the most pirate-infested waters in the world, posing an urgent security threat to the maritime environment. While the total number of piracy incidents world-wide has fallen in recent years... attacks on the west coast of Africa have witnessed a steady rise, now accounting for nearly a fifth of all attacks.

ABHIJIT SINGH*

Since 2012, the Gulf of Guinea has emerged as one of the most pirate-infested waters in the world, posing an urgent security threat to the maritime environment. While the total number of piracy incidents world-wide has fallen in recent years - owing in main part to the decrease in the number of attacks by Somali pirates following a concerted international naval campaign - attacks on the west coast of Africa have witnessed a steady rise, now accounting for nearly a fifth of all attacks.¹ With an assault on local shipping nearly every second week, piracy in West Africa is today a burning issue on the global maritime agenda.

... attacks on the Gulf of Guinea have been localised, with assailants targeting cash and cargoes of fuel.

Fighting pirates on Africa's west coast, however, is a vexed undertaking. To begin, attacks in the Gulf of Guinea follow a different template from that one observed in the waters off Somalia. On the east coast of Africa, pirates captured ships and crews for ransom, venturing deep into the Southern and Western Indian Ocean. In contrast, attacks on the Gulf of Guinea have been localised, with assailants targeting cash and cargoes of fuel. But this has also meant that assaults are better

planned, with gangs working to a precise strategy including short attack-spans and fool-proof get-away methods. Using superior intelligence, gang-members have been remarkably efficient in carrying out the attacks, mostly in the dead of the night on anchored cargo ships and oil tankers.

Importantly, piracy on the West coast has rarely mirrored Somali attacks, with a low incidence of actual hostage-taking. On the contrary, Gulf of Guinea pirate have been more inclined to incapacitating the crews of the hijacked vessels - sometimes by tying them up, putting them on a boat and setting them adrift. The downside of this approach is that with little incentive to keep the ship crews safe, attackers have also displayed a high propensity for violence. Armed resistance by ships' crews, therefore, has been met more often with machine gun fire and machete attacks than any form of calculated empathy to maximise bargaining capacity.

Piracy watchers also point out that attacks off the West African coast are hard to investigate and track. Often the targets happen to be regional smugglers operating on vessels with silent transponders and forged crew identities. Expectedly, many of such boats do not report pirate

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attacks. Incidents in recent years have reportedly stretched all the way from the Ivory Coast to Angola, even though it is Nigeria where the root of the problem is said to lie. Most acts of piracy are committed in Nigeria's seas, by local gangs. African maritime experts point out that piracy in West Africa is linked to the region's dysfunctional oil industry and the violent politics of the Niger Delta, where most of the oil is produced. Needless to say, there has been hesitation on the part of some Western African states to share information with Nigeria, based purely on the suspicion of supposed links between Nigerian criminal networks and the political and military elites.

Most acts of piracy are committed in Nigeria's seas, by local gangs.

African Initiatives

To be sure, the regional response to pirate attacks has been encouraging. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Commission has played a leading role in forging a joint response to the piracy threat. In March this year, the organization inaugurated a multinational maritime coordination centre (MMCC) for a maritime zone christened Pilot Zone E. The commissioning of the centre marked an important milestone in the implementation of the ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy (EIMS), particularly since Pilot Zone E is considered as one of the most sensitive security hot-spots in West Africa, spanning a vast region comprising Benin, Niger, Nigeria and Togo.²

The MMCC is an outcome of the Yaoundé summit in June 2013, where ECOWAS, in conjunction with governments of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Commission of the Gulf of Guinea adopted a common policy to respond to maritime insecurity in West African waters. Now, for the first time in many years, regional maritime forces are able to coordinate counter-piracy activities, including patrols, information sharing, training and security drills. The new pilot zone E is meant to work in combination with multinational maritime coordination centres being set up in other sensitive zones (F and G), with each zonal centre reporting developments to the Regional Maritime Security Coordination Centre of West Africa.

Now ... regional maritime forces are able to coordinate counter-piracy activities, including patrols, information sharing, training and security drills.

Meanwhile, regional governments have initiated independent security measures. Nigeria, for instance, has ramped up anti-piracy and oil theft measures in the southern Niger Delta region, with one local newspaper even reporting more than 84 ships conducting illicit activities had been intercepted by local maritime forces in 2014.³ Similarly, the navies of Ghana, Togo and Benin too have expanded coastal security efforts. In January this year, a spectacular effort by the Ghana navy resulted in the repossession of the hijacked Nigerian oil tanker, Mariam, and arrest of eight heavily armed attackers.⁴ Importantly, West African states are now establishing maritime authorities responsible for coordinating state action at sea, and equipping themselves with patrol boats and remote surveillance systems to monitor their respective maritime domains.

Despite commendable progress, however, ECOWAS is yet to finalise its maritime security architecture. While the installation of the Regional Maritime Security Coordination Centre of West Africa has been encouraging - especially the interface established between the Interregional Coordinating Centre (ICC) and various RMSCCs in West and Central Africa - the ECOWAS commission is yet to designate host countries for the future multinational maritime coordination centres in Zones F and G, which will be established based on the lessons learnt from the centre in Zone E.⁵

The International Response

The international community and maritime industry have been supporting regional efforts to fight piracy, but most endeavours have been limited to support from the US, European Union and the International Maritime Organization. Among Asian nations Japan and China have provided

For many international maritime forces, the problem is that anti-piracy operations around the Horn of Africa have strained their existing resources.

some rudimentary support, but as regional observers point out, material resources in terms of naval assets and hard-surveillance capabilities have been sorely lacking.

For many international maritime forces, the problem is that anti-piracy operations around the Horn of Africa have strained their existing resources. The high-intensity engagement with Somali pirates has resulted in an attenuated mission focus and an aversion for extended patrol missions.

And yet, the main reason for the international community's reluctant to get involved in fighting pirates on Africa's western coast is the absence of pirate attacks on the high-seas. With almost all of the reported incidents taking place within the maritime territorial limits of coastal states - where domestic laws apply and only national law-enforcement agencies are authorized to act - international forces are left with little legal and operational freedom to participate in maritime operations.

In addition, the propitious set of conditions in the waters off Somalia that enabled a robust international response has been conspicuous by its absence in West African waters. The nature of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea precludes measures such as intense patrols by international navies, the deployment of armed guards on ships, and the movement of ships in protected convoys through an internationally recognized corridor, making it harder for maritime forces to effectively tackle pirate attacks. To make matters worse, countries like Nigeria and Cameroon have refused to allow merchant ships to bring armed guards into their territorial waters, even going to the extent of arresting crews of ships that attempt to do so.

India's Stakes in West African Security

India has so far kept away from the collaborative anti-piracy effort in the Gulf of Guinea. The consensus in New Delhi seems to be that West Africa is too physically distant and politically insignificant for India to be seriously involved in the anti-piracy effort. But with growing reliance on energy supplies from West Africa that could soon change.

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According to recent reports, North American shale oil output has been fast displacing West African crude. Consequently, there is growing possibility of bigger markets opening up in Europe, India and northeast Asia. Indian supplies from Nigeria and Angola already make up for nearly a fifth of the total oil import. But recent reports suggest that oil imports from West Africa are poised to nearly double in the near future.⁶ New Delhi would therefore be well advised to pitch in with greater financial, training and technological assistance.

India's biggest contribution, in fact, could be in naval capacity building efforts. Courtesy its participation in the IBSAMAR exercises, the Indian navy has been involved in security efforts off

Southern Africa since 2008. Indian naval ships played a prime role in escorting vessels, both Indian and foreign, from the Gulf of Aden. The IN's experience of working in coordination with other maritime task forces from NATO, EU, Russia, China, Japan and other nations to suppress Somali piracy, renders it apt to partner existing security initiatives in the Gulf of Guinea. Moreover, with the development of closer ties with ECOWAS, there is a greater regional expectation of training and capacity-building aid from New Delhi. Indeed, by allocating resources, providing expertise, and supporting regional efforts for combating pirates, India could play an important role in the creation of a sustainable maritime security architecture for West Africa.

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 - 2 "A huge step forward in tackling piracy in the Gulf of Guinea", This is Africa, March 19, 2015, at <http://thisisafrica.me/huge-step-forward-tackling-piracy-gulf-guinea/>, (Accessed on March 23, 2015).
 - 3 "Nigerian Navy Arrested Over 84 Vessels For Maritime Offences In 2014", Leadership, January 11, 2015, at <http://leadership.ng/news/401165/nigerian-navy-arrested-84-vessels-maritime-offences-2014> (Accessed on January 27, 2015).
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 - 5 See Note 2.
 - 6 "India Doubles Oil Import from Nigeria, Angola", First Africa News, March 16, 2015, at <http://firstafricanews.ng/index.php?dbs=openlist&s=17459>, (Accessed on March 23, 2015).

Commentary

NIGERIAN ELECTIONS: CHALLENGES FOR THE MAHAMMADU BUHARI GOVERNMENT

On March 28, 2015, Nigerians elected to power a new government after 16 years. Despite the constant threat of Boko Haram looming, the Nigerian people were not afraid and came out in large numbers to vote.

Kuhoo Saxena*

On March 28, 2015, Nigerians elected to power a new government after 16 years. This was the first time in Nigerian election history that a sitting president was voted out of power by an opposition party. The 72-year-old opposition leader of the All Progressive Congress (APC) and ex-commander-in-chief of the Nigerian Army, Mahammadu Buhari, defeated Goodluck Jonathan's Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). APC carried Nigeria's two biggest cities, Lagos and Kano, and also had massive victories in its northern territories. Overall, Buhari won 21 states, while Jonathan took 15 along with the territory of the capital city, Abuja. Buhari had contested and had conceded losses in the last three elections. But out of the three, this is Buhari's second contest against Jonathan which proved to be a sweet victory.

The current Nigerian election commission, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), has been commended by the EU Observer Mission for conducting a transparent and fair election in the wake of difficulties. The election had to be postponed from early February, which was when it was initially scheduled. INEC had said this was because the military had advised that it would be unable to provide security as its soldiers were committed to the fight against Boko Haram in the north. However, despite the constant threat of Boko Haram looming, the Nigerian people were not afraid and came out in large numbers to vote. The use of technology was crucial in motivating the public to vote. It was the first time that a biometric voting system was used. In addition to this, Nigeria being the biggest market for cell phones in Africa, the population used this medium to exchange ideas and discuss their concerns and queries about the elections. Femi Longe, co-founder of Co-Creation Hub said that technology had helped people get involved in the conversation around democracy and elections.¹ This was very important as the enthusiasm for the election had waned when the election dates were postponed.² Also a website called Govote.nja was launched with a focus on registering voters of the most populous African nation of 170 million.³

The use of technology was crucial in motivating the public to vote.

Buhari, upon winning the election, said: "the global triumph of democracy has shown that another and a preferable path to change is possible". However looking at Buhari's past, some feel that the prospects for change are remote. This is because Buhari's military regime which lasted only 20 months from 1983-1985 was draconian. He had systematically repressed freedom of expression through jailing journalists, radical public intellectuals and student protestors. On the other hand,

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he has also been credited for taking a strong stand against deep-rooted corruption by purging corrupt officials after taking power in the 1983 coup. However, this did not last long as Buhari was walked out of his office at gun point by his fellow soldiers in 1985. However, now that he is elected, Nigerians would want to see whether this time around he will work for the common good of Nigerians.

Buhari has inherited a fragile state. Nigeria is considered as a key country in Africa because of its size and political and economic weight in the region. It is Africa's largest economy, largest oil producer and the most populous country. However, under the former president Goodluck Johnathan, although the economy was expanding, there were other problems that Nigeria was dealing with which if not solved under the current regime, would stall Nigeria's development. Hence, Buhari's APC is faced with challenges ranging from the realm of security to economy, political and social.

First, Nigeria is home to a corrupt government apparatus. According to the Transparency International, Nigeria ranks 136 out of 175 states in terms of perception of corruption. Buhari has garnered his votes on the pretext of the tough stand he had taken against corruption during his military rule from 1983-1985 and his credibility was stronger in comparison to Jonathan's. People did not take the former president's words seriously when he said that "we are fighting corruption. It is not by publicly jailing people. Yes, we believe in suppressing corruption, but our emphasis is in prevention."⁴ This is because the difference in tackling corruption can be clearly seen in their campaign pitches. For PDP corruption was one of the many problems to be solved, whereas for Buhari it is a key priority and he has promised to wipe corruption out of the political system. To quote him: "If Nigeria doesn't kill corruption, corruption will kill Nigeria".⁵

The second challenge that the government needs to address is the Nigerian economic crisis. Nigeria is suffering from the phenomenon of resource crisis. 80 per cent of its national income is dependent on the revenue it receives by exporting oil. However, recently the international prices of oil have plummeted. This had led to many public sector jobs being cut. Already, 24 per cent of Nigerians are unemployed and further cuts in jobs will create social dysfunctions. Buhari has promised to create 20,000 jobs per state, adding up to 720,000.⁶ He also pledged support for the agricultural sector and soft loans for small manufacturers to boost job creation. In addition to this, Buhari needs to create jobs in the power sector, water and sanitation sector, road networks and infrastructure. He has promised to complete stalled road projects and improve infrastructure development nationwide, especially in the north-east; and in the energy sector he will tackle the corruption and mismanagement and adopt a market-based approach. In addition to this, he also favours exploration of non-oil sectors for job creation.⁷

Third, even though Nigeria is credited to be the first African nation to be Ebola free as a result of the collaboration between international organisations and the government, Nigerian people still suffer from health related issues. Nigeria has 40,000 pregnancy related deaths. The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends that the Nigerian government should spend 15 per cent of its budget on health as Nigeria spends only 6 per cent.⁸ Hence, Buhari's government will have to allocate funding to this sector when other pressing issues related to security and economic

development need equal attention. The new Nigerian government will also have to prioritise education. Lack of access to education is a reason behind Boko Haram's success in recruiting minors and men into their group, especially in the north. In 2011 in northern Nigeria, half of the men had no education at all, only 7 per cent completed primary education, and only 6 per cent completed secondary education. Education in the north should therefore be a priority for Buhari's government. This is important not only for men, but it is also essential for women; in 2011, 65 per cent of women had no education, 6 per cent completed primary education, and 3 per cent completed secondary education⁹

Last but not the least, the most pressing challenge that the new government has to deal with is to eliminate the threat and presence of the Boko Haram insurgents. Since 2014 more than 6000 civilians have been killed. One million Nigerians have been forcibly displaced and 200,000 have fled to Cameroon, Niger and Chad. The past government has been criticized for not doing enough to fighting this menace. Thus far, the government has failed to rescue the 276 girls that had been kidnapped from Chipok School in north-eastern Nigeria in April 2014. There is a lack of good governance and heavy military action in dealing with the insurgent group. The international community, especially United States has also been reluctant to aid the Nigerian military in their effort to defeat Boko Haram due its history of human rights abuses.

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In this context Buhari's win in the elections is of global significance as the world would want to see a former commander-in-chief lead the army to defeat Boko Haram which has inflicted violence on the Nigerian people. The international community feels that given his experience and knowledge of the northern territory, Buhari can oversee a coordinated effort to destroy the insurgency.¹⁰ If Buhari's government achieves progress in fighting the Boko Haram group, it will also lessen the friction between Nigeria and certain western powers like the United States who had disagreements with Jonathan over Nigeria's approach to countering Boko Haram.¹¹

Buhari and the All Progressive Congress have made many pledges to bring Nigeria back on the road to development. However, the challenges that this new government faces are many. It will have to provide and develop social policies to reduce inequalities in order to prevent young men joining the Boko Haram group and inflict violence on the Nigerian people. APC would also need to take steps to reduce institutional corruption to make sure that the elites are held accountable for their actions. It will need to invest heavily in other sectors to make Nigeria less dependent on oil exports and create more jobs for the unemployed. But the key priority for Buhari will be to maintain security within the country. Achieving security and stability within Nigeria through the elimination of the Boko Haram insurgents is the only way by which Nigeria can fully achieve true economic and social development.

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2 "Call for calm after Nigerian elections postponed", *RTE News*, February 8, 2015, at <http://www.rte.ie/news/2015/0208/678654-nigeria-elections/>, (Accessed on March 15, 2015).

3 See Note 1.

- 4 "How Nigeria's presidential election works", *BBC*, March 27, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31111572>, (Accessed on April 3, 2015).
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- 9 Ibid.
- 10 John Kerry, "Global Spotlight Firmly Fixed on Nigerian Elections", *The Huffington Post*, March 22, 2015, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/johnkerry/global-spotlight-firm-fixed-on-nigerian-elections_b_6916188.html?ir=India&adsSiteOverride=in, (Accessed on April 10, 2015).
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Viewpoint

REGIONAL POWERS IN LIBYA

Libya has ripened into a proxy war between the regional powers. While Qatar, Turkey and Sudan have been supporting the Libya Dawn and General National Congress (GNC) based in Tripoli, Egypt and United Arab Emirates (UAE) are backing the internationally recognised government based in Tobruk and its allied General Khalifa Haftar's Operation Dignity. However, such a proxy war will only destabilise Libya.

Nachiket Khadkiwala*

Just like the conflict in Syria, Libya has ripened into a proxy war between the regional powers. While Qatar, Turkey and Sudan have been supporting the Libya Dawn and General National Congress (GNC) based in Tripoli, Egypt and United Arab Emirates (UAE) are backing the internationally recognised government based in Tobruk and its allied General Khalifa Haftar's Operation Dignity. However, such a proxy war will only destabilise Libya. Rather than taking sides, countries in the region would be better advised to support the United Nations backed peace process and aid peace building measures in Libya. There is a glimmer of hope as recent developments in the region augur well for peace and reconciliation in Libya.

Libya: A status quo of chaos

Libya became the first case of foreign intervention in the indigenous social uprising that was called the 'Arab Spring'. Starting from the month of February 2011, Libya grabbed global headlines, from the time Colonel Qaddafi issued his heart wrenching warning of a massacre to the rebels of

Plagued by a precarious security situation and caught in a political conundrum that involves two governments located in two different cities, Libya is slowly deteriorating into a 'failed state'.

Benghazi up till the point when the Colonel himself was brutally mobbed, beaten and killed. Slowly and steadily, however the focus shifted, from Libya to Syria, then the Islamic State (IS) and the Ukraine crisis. The headlines moved on, yet Libya remained caught up in the chaos that it was left in by its triumphant liberators. Plagued by a precarious security situation and caught in a political conundrum that involves two governments located in two different cities, Libya is slowly deteriorating into a 'failed state'. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined by 20 to 30 per cent in 2014, and fiscal deficit was 50 per cent of GDP.¹ Libya is exhausting its foreign reserves at a massive rate of \$2.5 billion per month to pay wage bills including wages to various militias, subsidies and other government

expenses.² Amid armed conflicts among militias, oil production to 200,000 to 300,000 barrels per day from 1.6 million barrels per day and the time when oil prices have also declined.³ With a population that mostly depends on state dole outs and food imports, the economic situation looks alarming.

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The state of affairs in the security realm is distressing. Libya's transition highlights the complexity of post-conflict state building. On one hand, the state has not been able to exercise monopoly over force and hence it cannot exercise sovereign control over its resources and territory. According to estimates, Libya has some 1700 militia groups with 231,000 registered fighters.⁴ The numbers vary according to estimates; some reports claim that there are few hundred militias in single city alone.⁵ In the current conflict in Libya, the powerful Misrata militias supported by Islamists militias control the capital Tripoli and most of Tripolitania region as well as Benghazi. They have reinstated the General National Congress (GNC) said to be dominated by Islamists members.⁶ Collectively known as the Libya Dawn, they rose up in response to Operation Dignity launched by General Khalifa Haftar with a mission to defeat Islamists forces that he claimed dominated the Ahmed Maiteg government of March 2014.⁷ General Haftar's Operation Dignity is said to be supported by the Qaqa and Swaiq militias of Tripoli.⁸ Zintan militias are also said to be allied to Haftar and control the mountainous region of north-western Libya. The Tuaregs control eastern regions near Mali and most of the smuggling routes to Algeria are said to be aligned to Libya Dawn.⁹ Their rivals, the Toubou, control routes towards Niger and Chad and are said to be allies of Operation Dignity due to their rivalry with Tuaregs.¹⁰ To add to the complexity, there are various jihadists' elements like Ansar-al Sharia that partly control some towns both in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. Shura Council of Islamic Youth control Darna, a port city in the east and have declared allegiance to Islamic State. On the other hand, the political transition in Libya is on an uncertain path. There are two governments, the reinstated GNC supported by Libya Dawn and Tobruk based internationally recognised government led by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thinni which is backing Operation Dignity. However, the lines between Islamists and non-Islamists, Libya Dawn and Operation Dignity militias are very ambiguous. Divisions are undercut by many factors like, changing tribal loyalties, economic incentives and political opportunism.

...the lines between Islamists and non-Islamists, Libya Dawn and Operation Dignity militias are very ambiguous.

Libya Dawn backers and Supporters of Operation Dignity

Libya Dawn and the GNC in Tripoli are backed by Qatar, Turkey and Sudan. These countries have traditionally backed Muslim Brotherhood affiliated movements during the Arab Spring. Qatar has used the Arab Spring to expand its influence in the region. It has provided political dissidents from the Muslim Brotherhood the means of venting their views through Qatari media channel Al-Jazeera. The Muslim Brotherhood within Qatar has been externally focussed since in a rich and lightly populated country like Qatar, the state has ensured its population gets quality health and education services, thereby limiting Brotherhood's scope to influence population by offering such social services.¹¹ Therefore, Brotherhood has tried to expand its influence in countries like Libya backed by the Qatari monarchy. Qatar may be working in tandem with Turkey to supply arms to militias, with Turkey acting as middlemen. In September 2014, Libya had accused Qatar of providing arms to militias that occupied Tripoli.

Turkey's support for Libya Dawn spawns from its rivalry with Egypt. President Morsi was actively backed by Turkey and it has criticised the regime of President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi. In August 2013, Turkey had requested the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Egypt as response to the military coup led by Al-Sisi to overthrow Morsi's government. When Egypt launched air strikes in Libya as response to the presence of Islamic State in Darna, Turkey condemned the air strike.¹² Turkey continues to not recognise Prime Minister Al-Thinni's government. Egypt on its part has accused Turkey of supporting terrorism in Sinai. The Egyptian Foreign Minister had

objected to the African Union's invitation to Qatar and Turkey to attend the International Contact Group for Libya meeting held in January 28, 2015 in Addis Ababa. In protest, Egypt had not attended the opening session of the meeting accusing the African Union of not coordinating the participation of outside countries properly.¹³ Sudan's backing of Libya Dawn stems from its rivalry with Egypt over the Renaissance Dam.

General Haftar's Operation Dignity has received support from Egypt. United Arab Emirates has also given support at the behest of Saudi Arabia. Egypt does not want an Islamic government in its eastern neighbourhood. There are many Egyptian migrants that work in Libya and their security raises the stakes for its involvement in Libya. UAE and Saudi Arabia, being gulf monarchies are worried about Muslim Brotherhood dominated forces coming to power in Libya, especially after having successfully deposing their prime foe Qaddafi. It was these concerns that led Egypt and the UAE to launch air strikes in Libya in August 2014.

A glimmer of hope for peace

However as the recent developments in the external environment suggests, the chances of peace and reconciliation appear brighter in Libya. Firstly, there has been a rapprochement between the GCC and Qatar in November 2014 after Saudi Arabia and UAE had recalled their ambassadors from Qatar in March 2014 due to its alleged Qatar's alleged interference in internal matters of other countries in the region.¹⁴ Qatar is also distancing itself from Muslim Brotherhood especially

Rapprochement among GCC members augurs well for peace in Libya as intra-Gulf rivalries will not play out in the country.

after the growing threat from Islamic State. Rapprochement among GCC members augurs well for peace in Libya as intra-Gulf rivalries will not play out in the country. Secondly, there has been rapprochement between Sudan and Egypt as well over the Renaissance Dam issue, with both of them along with Ethiopia signing a framework agreement.¹⁵ Thirdly, the countries south of Libya, particularly Mali, Mauritania and Senegal are increasingly weary of jihadist threat emanating from Libya and hence are pushing the UN to act on the Sub-Saharan jihadists network that has caused disturbances in their territories.¹⁶ Algeria is also sensitive towards

the trans-Saharan smuggling networks that operate in Libya. Hence Algeria is actively engaged in supporting the peace process in Libya. Lastly, the presence of French troops in Mali and Niger is partly due to growing threat of jihadists in Libya. Even though French will not directly intervene in Libya, the presence of French troops will help in building western pressure on Libya and other regional powers to work towards peace and stability.

Regional powers in Libya need to work for peace and stability in Libya rather than choosing proxies for furthering their narrow interests. Instead, their interests shall be better served if they aid Libya in post-conflict peace building. These countries would not have to incur the expenses of peace building in Libya as the country is rich enough to foot the bill. Rather an effort towards peace will not only be good for overall regional stability but will also present opportunities for these countries to economically engage with Libya.

¹ Missy Ryan, "Oil-rich Libya, torn by conflict, may be going broke", *Washington Post*, February 18, 2015, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/torn-apart-by-conflict-oil-rich-libya-may-be-going-broke/2015/02/18/b2a1912a-b78e-11e4-aa05-1ce812b3fdd2_story.html, (Accessed on March 13, 2015).

² Ibid.

- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Candice Moore, "Four Years After the Fall of Gaddafi: The Role of the International Community in Stabilising a Fractured Libya", *Conflict Trends*, Issue 1, 2015, p. 52.
- ⁵ Christopher S. Chivvis and Jeffrey Martini, "Security After War", in *Libya After Qaddafi: Lessons and Implications for the Future*, National Security Research Division, RAND Corporation, 2014, p. 13.
- ⁶ It cannot be said for sure whether GNC was dominated by Islamists. The Muslim Brotherhood affiliated Justice and Construction Party had 21 per cent of seats in the GNC, while the moderate National Forces Alliance won 49 per cent of seats. It was the presence of large number of independents whose ideological loyalties were not clear that probably gave an impression that GNC was dominated by Islamists.
- ⁷ Candice Moore, "Four Years After the Fall of Gaddafi: The Role of the International Community in Stabilising a Fractured Libya", *Conflict Trends*, Issue 1, 2015, p. 54.
- ⁸ Ishaan Tharoor and Adam Taylor, "Here are the key players fighting the war for Libya, all over again", *The Washington Post*, August 27, 2014, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2014/08/27/here-are-the-key-players-fighting-the-war-for-libya-all-over-again/>, (Accessed on March 25, 2015)
- ⁹ Richard Reeve, "Libya's Proxy Battlefield", *Oxford Research Group Briefing*, January 13, 2015, at http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/publications/briefing_papers_and_reports/briefing_libya_proxy_battlefield, (Accessed on March 23, 2015).
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ David Roberts, "Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood: Pragmatism or Preference?", *Middle East Policy*, Vol XXI, No.3, 2014.
- ¹² Soner Cagaptay and Marc Sievers, "Turkey and Egypt's Great Game in the Middle East: The Regional Powerhouses Square Off", *Foreign Affairs*, March 8, 2015, at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2015-03-08/turkey-and-egypts-great-game-middle-east> (Accessed on March 21, 2015).
- ¹³ "Egypt takes issue with AU inclusion of Turkey, Qatar in Libya meeting", *Daily News Egypt*, January 28, 2015 at <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/01/28/egypt-takes-issue-au-inclusion-turkey-qatar-libya-meeting/>, (Accessed on March 26, 2015).
- ¹⁴ Justin Vela, "UAE, Saudi and Bahrain ambassadors to return to Qatar", *The National*, November 17, 2014, at <http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/uae-saudi-and-bahrain-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar>, (Accessed on March 22, 2015).
- ¹⁵ "Nile water countries sign framework deal on Renaissance Dam", *Sudan Tribune*, March 24, 2015, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article54369>, (Accessed on March 21, 2015).
- ¹⁶ Richard Reeve, "Libya's Proxy Battlefield", *Oxford Research Group Briefing*, January 13, 2015, at http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/publications/briefing_papers_and_reports/briefing_libya_proxy_battlefield, (Accessed on March 23, 2015).

Book Review

Dennis Rumley (ed), *The Political Economy of Indian Ocean Maritime Africa*.

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Aakriti Sethi*

The Political Economy of Indian Ocean Maritime Africa is an edited book with sixteen chapters, written by various scholars in the field of African studies, on a plethora of issues impacting the dynamic geopolitics of the African subcontinent. The primary focus of the book is on the Indian Ocean Region, with special emphasis on the Indian Ocean Maritime Africa (IOMA). The political and economic fabric of the region has been assessed by the authors around the larger discourse of 'Rising Africa'. Author Dennis Rumley has stated three principal aims of this book-

- i) to examine the states of maritime Africa in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), in terms of their changing geopolitical and geo-economic context,
- ii) to discuss the changing pattern of the region's trade, investment and aid relationships with both extra-regional states and with countries that are members of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and
- iii) to analyse the extent of actual cooperation of regional states with other IORA members, especially in terms of maritime security and education and innovation.

In chapter 1 (introduction), the author places the 15 chapters under four key themes- 1) the geopolitical and geo-economic context, 2) trade, investment and aid, 3) maritime security and 4) education and innovation.

Chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5 discuss the geopolitical and geo-economic scenario of the Indian Ocean Maritime Africa. The Chapter 2 of the book titled 'The Indian Ocean Region: The Evolving context and rising significance of Indian Ocean Maritime Africa' by Christian Bouchard and William Crumplin forms the geographical base of the book. The authors explain various geographic terms used in the academia involving the Indian Ocean Maritime Africa and further discuss the maritime, human, economic and political aspects of this region. The chapter ends on an optimistic note, with the authors stressing on IOMA "*being ready to assume its Indian Ocean identity and connections...which can successfully be achieved by getting fully involved in the maritime affairs and activities of the Western Indian Ocean*". Chapter 3 titled 'Infrastructure and Influence: China's Presence on the Coast of East Africa' by Ross Anthony and Chapter 4 titled 'Revisiting Alternative Futures in the Indian Ocean Nexus: CHIMEA vs Great Power Rivalry' by Francis A. Kornegay, Jr discuss the role and impact of external powers in the region, with special attention to China and India. In Chapter 3, the author has made an attempt to analyse the Chinese presence on the continent by pointing out the differences and similarities with the African colonial experience. Whereas, in Chapter 4, the primary focus is to understand whether Africa's Indian Ocean region can be a

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'zone of peace' or will it become a theatre of tension, given China's proclivity for 'maritime disputes', in East Asia. The author then also talks about the Sino-Indian rivalry amidst their ambitions of becoming a superpower in the region. In Chapter 5 titled 'Africa and Contested Constructions of the Indian Ocean Region', the authors Timothy Doyle and Dennis Rumley deliberate on the place of Africa in conflicting regional security arrangements of the IOR. The authors try to understand the three competing security constructions i.e. Indian Ocean Region (an all embracing concept), East Indian Ocean (a scaled down concept) and Indo-Pacific (a concept with emphasis on regional power). The chapter concludes by raising a few questions on the aspect of regionalism. The authors also try to delicately understand the core ideas behind regionalism, taking these three security constructions into consideration.

The theme of trade, investment and aid has been discussed in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. Chapter 6 titled 'African Countries' Trade and Investment with Indian Ocean Rim States' by Saman Kelegama and Dharshani Premaratne, talks exclusively about the progress of Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) in economic terms and its interaction with Least Developed Countries (LDCs) of the region. The authors assess the trade pattern of 8 African members in IORA i.e. Comoros, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles, South Africa and Tanzania. Chapter 7 of the book titled 'Trade and Investment Relations in the IORA Area: The Case of India-Tanzania Trade and Investment Flows' by Honest Prosper Ngowi examines the trade relations between India and Tanzania. The chapter begins with the historical roots of the relations between the two countries, going back to the World War I era. It further discusses the investment relations and trade balance of India and Tanzania in the contemporary times. The editor has authored Chapter 8 titled 'The Geopolitics of Official Development Assistance in Indian Ocean Africa: An Australian Perspective'. Dennis Rumley has tried to understand the paradigm shift in the idea behind Official Development Assistance (ODA) to the African states amidst the backdrop of Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and rising nationalism. He has chosen the case of Australia, and has tried to evaluate the Australian ODA with special reference to IORA states. The author concludes the chapter by saying that "*the principal focus for aid allocations would be on Australia's region- the Indian Ocean Asia Pacific- while at the same time maximizing Australia's national interest.*" Chapter 9, 'The Indian Ocean Region and Opportunities for Global South-African Development', by Siphamandla Zonditalks talks about the strategic significance of the two oceans on both sides of Southern Africa i.e. Indian Ocean and South Atlantic Ocean. The author's opinions principally revolve around the importance and efforts to improve regional integration or 'South-South Cooperation'. The role of IORA, Indian Ocean Commission (IOC) and New Africa Asia Strategic Partnership (NAASP) is also acknowledged for their contribution in the wave of cooperation emerging in the Oceanic region.

The topic of maritime security has been extensively discussed in Chapter 10, 11, 12 and 13. Chapter 10 of the book titled 'Law of the Sea: Maritime Security Enforcement and Jurisdictional Issues for the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Member States' by Bimal N Patel deals with various issues posing as a challenge to the region's stability. Seven key problems are mentioned in the chapter- terrorism, WMD trafficking, drug trafficking, smuggling and trafficking of persons by sea, Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing, marine environment and marine biodiversity. The author criticized the lack of availability of legal and regulatory framework in the region to deal with all these challenges. Vijay Sakhuja has authored Chapter 11 titled 'Myriad Maritime Threats and Multilateral Approaches: The Indian Ocean and East Africa'. The chapter confronts a number of threats and asymmetric challenges the region faces which can hamper its economic potential. It further tries to showcase the positive steps taken by the states of the region on national, bilateral and multilateral levels. Chapter 12 of the book is 'Maritime Security and its Impact on Trade in IORA Region', written by Nancy Karigithu. This chapter is unique in its

writing style, as the author has put across all viewpoints in the form of bullet points. The maritime security aspect of the region has been analyzed in this chapter by understanding the maritime domain concerns (transportation, management of marine resources, security for vessels and port facilities, maintenance of territorial integrity etc), maritime security concerns, maritime insecurity, security risks and legal frameworks for the security. The final chapter on this theme titled 'Silences on Maritime Security in Existing Regional Security Architecture: the Case of East African and Indian Ocean Waters', has been penned by Paul Wambua. This chapter is highly elaborate and has a strong theoretical approach to understanding the maritime security aspects of the region. The author suggests that in the light of the region's maritime security problems, the conceptual framework of the term 'security' needs to be expanded.

The last theme of the book, education and innovation, has been deliberated on in chapter 14 and 15. Chapter 14 titled 'A Virtual Open University for the Real Transformation of Regional Cooperation and Trade: Lessons Learned from the Pan-African E-Network Project' by KS Sukon, has tried to understand the micro causes of the shortage of skills, leading to a derailed socio-economic transformation. With the intention to spread education to the remotest parts of the continent, the author talks about setting up a virtual open university for the countries of the IOR. The author takes the case study of the Pan e-African Network (PeAN) Project, between India and the African countries, as a good example of the South-South cooperation. Author Mario Scerri has written Chapter 15 titled 'Africa's Economic Relations with the Indian Ocean Rim: A Systems of Innovation Approach'. The chapter talks about the four IORA countries namely- Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and South Africa and their engagement with other economies of IORA. The author has used innovation systems approach as the theoretical framework to understand these countries' path to development. Mario Scerri has tried to define Innovation systems approach by explaining it as "*the web of institutions within which innovation emerges, and is diffused and deployed*". He has used this approach to understand the developmental aspects of the countries taken as a case study.

The last chapter of the book titled 'Conclusion: Towards an Agenda for Stronger Africa-Indian Ocean Linkages' by Dennis Rumley, summarizes the main suggestions and policy recommendations made by various authors of all the chapters. This contribution has been made towards 'Agenda for Stronger African-Indian Ocean Linkages (ASAIL). The three primary aims of the book listed earlier have been clearly achieved through the chapters as a result of the extensive research done by the authors. The unique factor of the book is its holistic approach towards the IOMA region, as not many books are available in the academia. Though the geopolitical and trade aspects have been given more importance, the socio-economic sphere has also been mentioned to an optimum level with the help of few case studies. Also, the book has maintained its focus on the African issues and the African matters, not diverting much towards the larger power politics on the continent. Even though some parts of the book are repetitive, the book does cover the vast IOMA region considerably well. To the credit of the editor, the book manages to convert rigorous academic research into an informal, policy relevant document for the various regional institutes and thus endeavours to contribute to the region's booming future.

News Track

Conflict and Security

Angola

Angola to play an active role in UNSC

As a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos said that his country will be an active member and vote for the defence of all noble causes, with emphasis on the promotion of sovereignty of peoples and for the consolidation of peace and security of the world. In addition to this, José Eduardo dos Santos also highlighted the need for rich and developing nations to work together to build a more balanced international economic and financial architecture that will be fair to both the North and South. He especially emphasised on the need to build this architecture in the light of the current Ebola crisis that has stagnated the growth and development of many African nations affected by it.¹

Burundi

More than 100 rebels killed in Burundi attack

After a cross-border attack from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), at least 100 rebels have been killed by the Burundian Army. This was an attack by an unidentified rebel group that has been defeated in a five-day heavy fighting. The incident happened in the border areas north of the capital Bujumbura. The security forces have also captured 4 rebels. The rebels, 121 in number, had entered into the Cibitoke province of Burundi from the DRC. A 60 mm mortar, five rocket launchers, machine guns and more than 100 assault rifles have also been seized by the soldiers. Although claims of losses in the Burundian army in the operation have varied, the loss of its two soldiers has been confirmed. The DRC's eastern Kivu region is a chronically unstable and resource-rich area and home to dozens of rebel groups. The opposition in Burundi and civil society also came up with reports of the rebels having been disarmed and then killed by shooting or with machetes. However, the army has denied the veracity of any such report.²

Djibouti

Djibouti and Ethiopia jointly accuse Eritrea for destabilising the region

Djiboutian President Ismail Omar Guelleh in a joint press conference with visiting Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn stated that "Eritrea is destabilizing peace and security in the countries of the region, including Djibouti." They agreed that sanctions on Eritrea should remain in force. Prime Minister Desalegn said that Ethiopia and Djibouti would defend their common borders by working together. Tensions have been high between Eritrea and both Djibouti

¹ "Angolan President Guarantees Active Role in UN Security Council", *AllAfrica.com*, January 16, 2015, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201501170037.html>

² "At least 100 dead in Burundi attack by rebel group: Military source", *Yahoo News*, January 4, 2015, at <http://news.yahoo.com/least-100-dead-burundi-attack-rebel-group-source-092603270.html>

and Ethiopia on the border issue and Djibouti and Eritrea have recently engaged in two border conflicts. Ethiopia and Eritrea had also engaged in a two-year war over the border in 1998.³

Djibouti reinforces AMISOM by sending its second battalion

On February 17, 2015, the Djibouti Armed Forces (FAD) announced the arrival of its second battalion to join the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The FAD has transported Cougar mine-resistant ambush-protected (MRAP) vehicles, donated by the US in April 2014, and tankers to Somalia. The AMISOM also announced that the FAD chief General Zakaria Cheikh Ibrahim had visited the headquarters of the mission's Sector 4 in Beledweyne in the Hiraaan province of Somalia.⁴

Ethiopia

Ethiopia decides to send 600 additional troops to Somalia and South Sudan

Ethiopia has decided to send 600 additional troops to Somalia, South Sudan and to Abyei, informed the Ethiopian International Peace-keeping Training Centre. The deployment would take place in the supervision of the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN). This move by Ethiopia is in response to the requests made by the respective countries. Three helicopter gunships would also be sent to South Sudan. The troops would be deployed around Kismayo in Somalia replacing a battalion of more than 800 troops from Sierra Leone whose mission has been cut short as one of the members of the rotating replacement contingent from the country tested positive for the deadly Ebola virus. Currently, there are over 12,000 Ethiopian peacekeepers, mandated by the UN, serving in Somalia, South Sudan, Darfur in western Sudan and in the Abyei region.⁵

UNHCR to relocate more than 50,000 South Sudan refugees in Ethiopia

More than 50,000 refugees from South Sudan in the flood prone areas of Ethiopia are being relocated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This is being done well ahead of the rainy season in Ethiopia. The Leitchuor and Nip Nip refugee camps in Ethiopia's Gambella region, from where the refugees are being shifted, saw severe floods in 2014. Most of the 51,300 refugees to be shifted are from Leitchuor. The Pugnido camp, which already hosts about 56,000 refugees, has been extended and another new camp has also been opened to receive the refugees being relocated.⁶

Eritrea-Canada mine bombed by Ethiopia

A gold mine at Bisha, located 150 km away from Asmara, Eritrea, was hit by Ethiopian fighter jets. The mine is partly owned by Nevsun Resources, a Canadian company. At least two media

³ "Djibouti, Ethiopia accuse Eritrea of undermining stability", *WORLD BULLETIN*, February 7, 2015, at <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/154556/djibouti-ethiopia-accuse-eritrea-of-undermining-stability>

⁴ "Djibouti deploys second battalion to Somalia", *IHS Jane's 360*, February 18, 2015, at <http://www.janes.com/article/49123/djibouti-deploys-second-battalion-to-somalia>

⁵ "Ethiopia to deploy more troops in Somalia, South Sudan", *Sudan Tribune*, February 6, 2015, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article53907>

⁶ "UNHCR begins relocation of 50,000 South Sudan refugees in Ethiopia before the rains come", *UNHCR*, March 17, 2015, at <http://www.unhcr.org/550807656.html>

reports from different outlets confirmed that the mine was targeted by two bombing raids conducted on March 22, 2015. In its operational update on March 22, the company stated that an act of vandalism had happened at the Bisha plant but no person was harmed and no significant impact took place on its operations. The company also said that additional safeguards have been applied to ensure site and personnel safety while the Eritrean and mine security forces have undertaken an investigation in the matter.⁷

Kenya

Kenya High Court suspends some sections of the recently passed anti-terrorism law

Some provisions of the new security law enacted by the Kenyan Parliament recently have been suspended by Kenya's High Court. The law had been enacted amid fierce opposition. The opposition and rights groups in the country went to the court that has now blocked its eight clauses until the legal challenge is heard. The opposition in the country alleges that the law would turn Kenya into a 'police state' while the government defends its move by saying that the measures are necessary to prevent the wave of attacks by Somalia-based Islamist militants. The Kenyan Government suspects that some of the 500,000 Somali refugees living in camps in Kenya have links with the al-Shabaab militant group. Mwenda Njoka, the interior ministry spokesman, said that the government would appeal against the ruling. He downplayed the effect of the ruling by saying that it has suspended only eight clauses out of more than a hundred. The suspended clauses allow the security agencies to intercept communications and seize any equipment that can be used to commit a crime, limit the number of refugees and asylum-seekers to 150,000 etc.⁸

Kenya to construct a wall between Mandera and Wajir along the Somali border

In order to stop the terror attacks that Kenya is frequently facing, it has decided to construct a separation along its border with Somalia. Joseph Nkaissery, the Interior Cabinet Secretary, told that the wall would start from Mandera down to Wajir to reduce intrusions through the border. Although Billow Kerrow, the senator from Mandera welcomed the decision, he expressed his doubt about the nature of the solution to the problem. He felt that despite being expensive, the construction of the wall would not be a long-term solution. It would be actually very difficult to construct a more than 200 kilometer long wall.⁹

Malawi

Material spill at Paladin's Malawi uranium mine

Just days after its denial of reports that it was discharging harmful waste into a local river from its mine, Paladin Energy has revealed a spill at its Uranium project in Malawi. The company told that its Kayelekera mine in northern Malawi had suffered a "minor" damage during a 20-minute

⁷ "Canadian mine targeted in Eritrea: African media reports", *MINING.com*, March 22, 2015, at <http://www.mining.com/ethiopian-jets-attack-canadian-gold-mine-eritrea/>

⁸ "Kenya court suspends parts of security law", *BBC News*, January 2, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30655139>

⁹ "Kenya to build separation wall along porous Somali border", *Radio Dalsan*, March 23, 2015, at <http://www.radiodalsan.com/2015/03/23/kenya-to-build-separation-wall-along-porous-somali-border/>

high-intensity storm that came on January 5, 2015. The storm saw 25 mm of rainfall on the site. The water surge ruptured the liner in the plant run-off tank, releasing up to 500 cubic metre of material into the bunded areas of the site. About 50 litres could have “overtopped” one of the containment bunds. The company has immediately taken steps for repairing the damaged tank and protect against any further damage. The site, according to the company, remains secure as all necessary remedial measures have been taken. Samples have also been taken from the local stream system to confirm that no contamination has happened. Concerned government authorities and agencies have also been informed about the incident. Paladin also said that no water had been treated and released yet but that it has plans of starting controlled release of surplus water into the local river system during the monsoon season. However, the production of Uranium in the plant has been suspended due to current low prices for the element in the market. The production will restart as soon as Paladin finds the prices it expects.¹⁰

Mozambique

Dialogue between Mozambique Government and RENAMO Chief

The meetings between Mozambique’s President Filipe Nyusi and Afonso Dhlakama, the chief of the opposition RENAMO party have been welcomed by the United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. The Secretary General, according to an official statement, also congratulated the two leaders for their “commitment to dialogue.” He hoped that the parleys would “pave the way for the peaceful resolution of outstanding issues” with regard to the constitutional framework and the work of the National Assembly of Mozambique. The talks between the two leaders that were held in Maputo, the capital of the country, from February 7-9, 2015 are the first face-to-face encounter between the two since RENAMO announced a boycott of the Mozambican Parliament.¹¹

Rwanda

Rwanda accuses MONUSCO of being disinterested in FDLR Disarmament

The Rwandan Government accused the UN peacekeeping mission (MONUSCO) in the Democratic Republic of Congo of sabotaging and downplaying the efforts to disarm the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) rebels peacefully. According to a UN resolution, the FDLR was expected to disarm voluntarily before January 2, 2015. Leaders of the region under the aegis of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) had also agreed for military action in case the deadline is missed. Jean Sayinzoga, Chairperson of the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission, claimed that over 10 top MONUSCO leaders were asked to proceed on leave as the deadline came closer. It has also been found that top MONUSCO officials, including the UN special representative, were indeed on leave even on the last day of the deadline. The special representative had left for leave in December 2014 and was only to return in the second week of January 2015. The Rwandan Government further accused that there was no arrangement to receive

¹⁰ “Paladin Energy alerts ASX to spill at Malawi uranium mine”, *The Australian*, January 8, 2015, at <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/mining-energy/paladin-energy-alerts-asx-to-spill-at-malawi-uranium-mine/story-e6frg9df-1227177696428>

¹¹ “UN chief welcomes dialogue between president and opposition leader”, *UN News Centre*, February 10, 2015, at http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=50040#.VU9SE_AprdE

the rebels in case they came with their guns. The MONUSCO and the Congolese armed forces are mandated with the task but neither of them seems to be keen to disarm them.¹²

Somalia

Strikes by unidentified drone kill at least 45 al-Shabaab militants in Somalia

Drone strikes have killed at least 45 suspected al-Shabaab militants in southern Somalia. The Governor of the Lower Shabelle region, the site of the strikes, stated that there were 30 foreign militants among the dead extremists. He could not give any details about the drones. According to him, at least three missiles were fired in areas where the militants had gathered, including at a convoy. It is very difficult to verify the numbers of the dead as journalists are prohibited in the area. However, al-Shabaab, affiliated to the al-Qaeda, has not issued any statement regarding the incident.¹³

Somali Federal Parliament member shot dead in Mogadishu

Abdullahi Qayad Barre, a member of the Federal Parliament, Somalia, was shot dead by the militant group al-Shabaab. The incident happened in Jamar Jajab district when Barre was heading to attend a session of the Parliament. The al-Shabaab claimed the responsibility for the killing and threatened further attacks on legislators. The driver of Barre's vehicle has been arrested by the security officials for investigations. At least ten lawmakers have been killed in Mogadishu, Somalia, since 2012, when the new parliament was formed. Al-Shabaab has claimed responsibility for most of them.¹⁴

Somali UN diplomat killed with other 19 people in a hotel siege in Mogadishu

A hotel siege that began in the evening of March 27, 2015 in Somalia ended on March 28 with the death of at least 20 people. The attackers detonated a bomb and fired indiscriminately in the hotel in Mogadishu. Yusuf Mohamed Ismail Bari-Bari, Somalia's permanent representative to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland and Fahia Bashir Nur, a Somali-American woman, were among the dead. Nicholas Kay, the special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Somalia, said that Bari-Bari would be remembered for his commitment for protecting and promoting human rights for all. The al-Shabaab has claimed the responsibility of the attack and the gun-battle with the Somali forces that lasted for about 17 hours.¹⁵

¹² "Rwanda accuses UN of sabotaging FDLR disarmament, reports KT Press", *PR Newswire*, January 6, 2015, at <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/rwanda-accuses-un-of-sabotaging-fdlr-disarmament-reports-kt-press-300015838.html>

¹³ "Drone strikes kill at least '45 militants' in Somalia", *Horseed Media*, January 31, 2015, at <http://horseedmedia.net/2015/01/31/drone-strikes-kill-at-least-45-militants-in-somalia/>

¹⁴ "Al-Shabaab guns down Somalia MP in Mogadishu", *Horseed Media*, February 9, 2015, at <http://horseedmedia.net/2015/02/09/al-shabaab-guns-down-somalia-mp-in-mogadishu/>

¹⁵ "Somalia hotel siege ends; U.N. diplomat, 19 others killed", *CNN News*, March 28, 2015, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/28/africa/somalia-hotel-attack/>

South Africa

Failures in South African security exposed

According to leaked documents released by Al-Jazeera, lapses in the South African intelligence and government services have left it exposed to foreign spies. The documents reveal the poor job the South African government and intelligence has done in protecting itself from foreign espionage, especially at the entry level. The reports claim that over 140 foreign spies are estimated to be operating in South Africa, having gained access to government departments and ministries. Civil servants in South Africa have not properly concealed confidential information and files and thorough background checks of new recruits into the government and intelligence agencies are not done. A confidential assessment of security vulnerabilities done in October 2009 by South African intelligence, concluded that information security was at "serious risk" and would remain so in the "long-term".¹⁶

Tanzania

Tanzania dismisses speculations about its reluctance to tackle Rwandan rebels in the DRC

President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania has indicated that his government is ready to take on the Rwandan Hutu rebels in the eastern parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He indicated that a joint offensive against the rebels with UN-backed South African forces is forthcoming. President Kikwete dismissed all talk about his reluctance for tackling the FDLR. The army of the DRC, a 3,000-strong South African, Tanzanian and Malawian UN mandated force for intervention was to launch an offensive against the rebels who have been at the core of the conflict in the central Africa's Great Lakes region. There have been consistent speculations over Tanzania's willingness to act against the FDLR due to a number of statements suggesting sympathy to their cause. President Kikwete had once suggested Rwanda to talk to the FDLR, something Kigali had ruled out.¹⁷

West Africa

West Africa forms regional block to fight Boko Haram

On February 7, 2015 the governments of Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Benin, backed by the African Union formed an 8,750-member Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to fight against the Boko Haram insurgency. This decision was taken in the light of the escalation in attacks by Boko Haram, especially in Nigeria. However, the Human Rights Watch says that the new multinational regional force would need to abide by the international human rights and humanitarian law. Regional governments have finalized operational mandate for the mission against Boko Haram and are seeking a United Nations Security Council mandate, which could

¹⁶ "South Africa: SA 'Security Failures' Exposed – Report", *AllAfrica.com*, February 25, 2015, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201502250235.html>

¹⁷ "Tanzania says ready to take on Rwandan rebels in Congo", *Reuters*, January 14, 2015, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/14/us-congodemocratic-rwanda-rebels-idUSKBN0KN1DB20150114>

also include logistical support from other countries. The aim of this task force would be to defeat the insurgent group with minimum damage caused to the civilian population including the child soldiers.¹⁸

Politics

Ethiopia

Ethiopia is the new chair for COMESA

The 18th Heads of States and Governments Summit of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) began in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The country has taken over the chairmanship of COMESA for the next term starting from March 30, 2015. Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn, the new Chairman of COMESA, opened the summit saying "COMESA is moving forward with Africa's remarkable policies, strong institutions, and vibrant private sector."¹⁹

Kenya

Kenya 'ICC defence witness' allegedly found dead, fingerprints do not match

Some people claim that the body of a man found in western Kenya was of Meshack Yebei, who had disappeared on December 28, 2014. Yebei was a key witness for William Ruto, Deputy President of Kenya, in a case against him in the International Criminal Court (ICC) at Hague. The body was discovered decomposed in a river. The ICC stated that Yebei was offered protection at some other place but he willingly had returned home. Ruto claims innocence against all the charges of violence and crime against humanity in the ICC. These charges came after the 2007-8 post-election violence in Kenya. The ICC had earlier dropped similar charges against President Uhuru Kenyatta.²⁰ However, the story of Ruto's witness has taken a twist as Yebei's family had earlier identified his body positively but according to John Kariuki, a criminal investigations officer, the fingerprints taken from the body do not belong to him. A DNA-test would be conducted to identify the body.²¹

11 countries sign the Malabo Protocol intending for an African international crimes court

Kenya's Foreign Affairs Cabinet Secretary (CS) Amina Mohammed said that 11 countries have signed the Malabo Protocol that was adopted towards setting up an African international crimes

¹⁸ "West Africa: Regional Boko Haram Offensive: Multinational Effort Should Protect Civilians, Respect Prisoner Rights", *Human Rights Watch*, February 11, 2015, at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/11/west-africa-regional-boko-haram-offensive>

¹⁹ "Ethiopia has taken COMESA chairmanship", *GEESKA AFRICA ONLINE*, March 31, 2015, at <http://www.geeskaafrika.com/ethiopia%E2%80%AC-has-taken-comesa-chairmanship/8446/>

²⁰ "Kenya 'ICC defence witness' in Ruto's trial killed", *BBC News*, January 6, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30703876>

²¹ "Body found in Kenya river is not missing ICC witness Meshack Yebei's", *The Guardian*, January 14, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/14/kenya-meshack-yebei-william-ruto-international-criminal-court>

court. Only three more countries are needed to sign up the Kenyan-backed protocol. The court is intended to try crimes against humanity in Africa. Kenya has decided to donate Kenyan Sh92 million for the establishment of the court. Other countries have also pledged support to the court. She said that although there already exists an African Court of Justice and Human Rights, the countries signing the Malabo Protocol are trying to expand its mandate to make it more efficient and enable it to try diverse crimes including crimes against humanity. Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta has described the continent's relationship with the ICC as negative. He has also said that an observation would tell everyone that the ICC has unfortunately become more "vulnerable to blatantly politicised designs."²²

Lesotho

SADC says Lesotho elections were transparent

Southern African Development Community (SADC) Electoral Observation Mission has declared Lesotho elections as fair and transparent. It has commended the Lesotho people for voting in a "dignified way" by waiting patiently to cast their votes. In order to ensure that these elections ran smoothly, 82 observers from 11 SADC member states were deployed to the ten districts in Lesotho. SADC Electoral Observation Mission (SEOM) said that the political rallies were peaceful and no incidents of violence were observed.²³

Mozambique

Political crisis for new Mozambican Parliament

After successful elections in October 2014 and a new president being elected at the Mozambican Parliament, the country is struggling from a national crisis because the top opposition figure Afonso Dhlakama this week threatened to secede and declare himself president of the "Republic of Central and Northern Mozambique. He also led a boycott of Monday's parliamentary session, keeping away RENAMO's 89 representatives in the 250-seat parliament. Dhlakama says Nyusi's party, FRELIMO, rigged the polls, a move that cost him his fifth successive run for the presidency. According to Mozambique Analyst University of South Africa Professor Shadrack Gutto, there should be some kind of political dialogue between RENAMO and FRELIMO in order to bring in RENAMO, because the figures are evident enough to show that it is a major party and a major player in the politics of Mozambique. This is the only solution to solve the present political crisis and protect Mozambique's democratic structure.²⁴

²² "11 countries have backed African international crimes court, says Amina Mohammed", *Standard Digital*, February 2, 2015, at <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000150286/11-countries-have-backed-african-international-crimes-court-says-amina-mohammed>

²³ "Lesotho elections transparent and fair, says SADC", *Mail and Guardian*, March 2, 2015, at <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-02-lesotho-elections-transparent-and-fair-says-sadc>

²⁴ "Mozambique's New Parliament Faces 'Political Crisis'", *Voice of America*, January 12, 2015, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/mozambique-new-parliament-facing-political-crisis/2594810.html>

Namibia

Namibian President wins African Leadership Prize

Mo Ibrahim Foundation awarded a \$5 million African leadership prize to the Namibian President Hifikepunye Pohamba for encouraging governance, media freedom and human rights in the southern African country. According to the World Bank, Pohamba was praised for overseeing strong economic growth with gross domestic product per capita rising from \$3,297 in 2004 to \$5,693 in 2013. He was also commended for forging national cohesion and reconciliation at a key stage of Namibia's consolidation of democracy and social and economic development. Pohamba was a founding member of Namibia's ruling party, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and under his rule SWAPO is credited for making strides in gender equality, with 25 of 72 parliamentary seats filled by women, improving national health services and increasing Namibia's life expectancy from 55 in 2004 to 64 in 2012.²⁵

Economy and Development

Djibouti

Djibouti begins constructing two new airports financed by China

As a part of the endeavor to turn Djibouti into a regional travel hub, Djibouti's President Ismail Omar Guelleh laid the foundation stone of a new Chinese-funded airport in the country. The project is estimated to cost of US\$599 million approximately. The airport, to be named Hassan Gouled Aptidon international airport, would be located at Ali-Sabieh, 25 km south of the capital city. China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) would pay for its construction. The airport is expected to start functioning in the year 2018 with an annual capacity of handling 1.5 million passengers. The terminal would also have the capacity to handle 100,000 tonnes of cargo per year. The US\$599 million would also cover the construction of a second airport near the Seven Brothers Island with a capacity to handle 350,000 passengers annually. This is expected to open in the year 2016.²⁶

Egypt

Egypt signs preliminary agreement for construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam in Ethiopia

Setting aside the concerns regarding the Grand Renaissance dam, Egypt has signed a preliminary deal with Ethiopia. Egypt has been consistently feeling that the dam project would hamper the flow of the Nile to the country. The agreement was signed in the presence of the leaders of Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan in Khartoum on March 23, 2015. It frames some principles on Ethiopia's Grand Renaissance dam project and lays down the provision for a binding regional agreement in

²⁵ "Namibia's president wins \$5m African leadership prize", *The Guardian*, March 2, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/02/namibias-president-wins-5m-african-leadership-prize>

²⁶ "Djibouti starts building two Chinese-funded airports", *Reuters Africa*, January 20, 2015, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/djiboutiNews/idAFL6N0UZ0PO20150120>

future. Hailemariam Desalegn, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, promised that the Renaissance dam would not cause any damage to the three states signing the agreement, especially to the Egyptian people.²⁷

Ethiopia

Ethiopia's Gilgel Gibe III dam may start power generation in June

Ethiopia's US\$1.8 billion Gilgel Gibe III dam project under construction on river Omo may start generating power by June 2015. The project is expected to help resolve chronic power shortages in the country by doubling the power production once it is fully operational by early 2016. The construction of the dam had started over seven years ago and it has already been delayed by three years due to funding issues. Recently, the Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation has announced the completion of almost 90 per cent of the dam.²⁸

Ethiopia and Djibouti sign agreement to construct pipeline for fuel transportation

Ethiopia and Djibouti have signed an agreement for the construction of a pipeline between the two countries. Black Rhino, a US-based African infrastructure development company, would manage the pipeline. The project is estimated to cost US\$1.4 billion and is expected to minimise the cost for fuel transport that is very high for Ethiopia as currently it has to transport it by trucks through road. The plan is to link the Djiboutian sea ports and the fuel depot in Awash through a 550 km long pipeline via Dire Dawa, Ethiopia. The project is expected to be completed in three years.²⁹

Kenya

140MW geothermal power plant inaugurated in Kenya

A 140-megawatt Olkaria Geothermal Power Plant in Naivasha, a town in Nakuru County, Kenya, has been inaugurated by President Paul Kagame of Rwanda and his Kenyan counterpart Uhuru Kenyatta on February 19, 2015. The project is a part of the effort of Kenya Electricity Generating Company Ltd (Ken Gen), Kenya's main electricity producer, to upgrade the country's power distribution systems. This also comes as the last phase of a larger 280MW Olkaria geothermal power project. Kagame said that Kenya is making a significant contribution to the development and transformation of the East African Community (EAC). The geothermal plant is important not only to Kenya, but to Rwanda, Uganda and other east African countries also.³⁰

²⁷ "Egypt sets concerns aside to sign Nile dam deal with Ethiopia and Sudan", *The Guardian*, March 23, 2015, at <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/23/egypt-signs-grand-renaissance-dam-nile-deal-ethiopia-sudan>

²⁸ "Ethiopia dam project could start generating power in June", *CCTV*, January 2, 2015, at <http://www.cctv-america.com/2015/01/02/ethiopia-dam-project-could-start-generating-power-in-june>

²⁹ "Ethiopia and Djibouti conclude pipeline construction agreement", *World Pipelines*, February 23, 2015, at <http://www.energyglobal.com/pipelines/project-news/23022015/Ethiopia-and-Djibouti-conclude-pipeline-construction-agreement/>

³⁰ "Kagame, Kenyatta open 140MW geothermal power plant in Kenya", *The New Times*, February 20, 2015, at <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2015-02-20/186173/>

Somalia

Chinese firm in Somalia expelled for 'illegal mining'

Chinese mining company ARC has been ordered out of Somalia for its involvement in illegal mining and causing "public turmoil." The Somali government stated that the company was involved in illegal digging for minerals in the Simodi mountain range in Somalia's Awdal region. According to the government, this was tantamount to violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Somalia. The company not only violated the Somali laws of mining, but also the immigration laws of the country. The company hired Chinese nationals for working in Somalia without work permits and also an armed militia to protect its illegal mining acreage. It has also been accused for displacing native inhabitants, destroying private property, and harming the local environment.³¹

US banks stop cash transfer to Somalia

The US Office of the Comptroller of Currency has set very strict rules regarding money laundering and finances going to terrorist organisations. This has induced the US banks to stop transferring money to Somalia from February 6, 2015. The result is that many people in Somalia dependent on cash remittances from the US have been left without financial support. Remittances are very important in the Somali economy. The Somali diaspora remits approximately US\$1.2 billion annually. This sum is greater than all the foreign aid and investments combined and makes for more than half of the nation's gross national income. Some 73 per cent of Somali households use such cash transfers to pay for food.³²

South Africa

South Africa diversifies its energy sector

President Jacob Zuma told a business delegation at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos Switzerland that it plans to make South Africa an attractive business destination allowing investment in different energy sectors. Zuma said South Africa had targeted investment of R50-billion in the year 2013-2014. He said South Africa had committed itself to achieving 5 per cent growth by 2019 if the country manages to create jobs. He urged foreign investors to continue exploring opportunities within South Africa and also the continent. In the ocean economy of South Africa, manufacturing, tourism, mining and beneficiation are the several sectors that can create jobs, and have been identified for investment. Mining is the backbone for South Africa's economy hence Zuma says that the government, businesses and labour are working hard to revitalize the mining sector. Zuma also announced the establishment of a Tripartite Free Trade Area, which includes the Southern African Development Community Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, and the East African Community.³³

³¹ "Somalia expels Chinese firm for 'illegal mining'", *WORLD BULLETIN*, January 7, 2015, at <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/152452/somalia-expels-chinese-firm-for-illegal-mining>

³² "US bank regulators may destroy Somalia's economy", *Al Jazeera*, February 27, 2015, at <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/2/us-banks-look-to-destroy-somalia-economy.html>

³³ "SA developing reliable energy mix, Zuma tells Davos", *SouthAfrica.info*, January 22, 2015, at <http://www.southafrica.info/davos/1648932.htm#.VVSOCY6qqk>

Tanzania

Operational losses force suspension of Tanzania-Zambia railway

Due to financial losses, the Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA) suspended all rail activity between Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania and New Kapiri-Mposhi, Zambia until further notice. The employees of the authority have gone on strike as it has not been able to pay their salary for several months. The authority has also not been able to meet its operational costs. Government officials from both Tanzania and Zambia have met several times to find out ways to resolve the problem. The two governments have failed their promise to fund the authority's operations as they had promised US\$25 million in support of the railway in 2014 but nothing has been credited to the authority's account yet.³⁴

West Africa

Ebola halts West African Economic Development

Ebola has severely affected the economic development of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, according to a new study by UNDP. The recovery plan would have to wait till the disease is completely eradicated from these countries. These countries in the last 10 years had achieved a so called peace dividend after years of civil war unrest. However, the Ebola crisis has again caused a breakdown of trust between these governments and their people. The weak health care systems in the country and the government's inability to provide facilities to the international community that are helping to tackle this outbreak of the virus has resulted in the slow response to eradicating the disease in this region. As a result of this, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea have witnessed job losses, rising food prices, and agricultural disruption. This will also inadvertently increase poverty, child and maternal mortality, and facilitate the spread of HIV/AIDS and malaria, particularly for the rural poor. The economic impact of this is immense and according to UNDP it can take a long time for these to recover from this crisis.³⁵

Marshal Plan for Ebola

At an international conference in Brussels leaders of the West African Countries – Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Sierra Leone President Ernest Bai Koroma and Guinean President Alpha Conde – hit by the Ebola virus have urged nations around the world to back their “Marshal Plan” to help them eradicate the disease and rebuild their economies. Conde describes the state of the Western countries as if they are “coming out of war” with their economies and public services decimated. On March 2, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington approved funding and debt relief worth about \$187 million for Sierra Leone for coming years, of which \$85 million was to be disbursed immediately. World leaders have also reiterated that there is no place for compliancy and agreed that there will be no victory until there are zero cases of Ebola in these three regions. The Brussels conference came out with a statement saying that “This will

³⁴ “Tanzania-Zambia railway suspended over losses”, *WORLDBULLETIN*, January 15, 2014, at <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/153004/tanzania-zambia-railway-suspended-over-losses>

³⁵ “Ebola Brings West Africa Economic Development to Screeching Halt”, *Voice of America*, January 14, 2015, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/ebola-brings-west-africa-economic-development-to-screaching-halt/2597874.html>

require continued political engagement, a sustained level of funding and the constant mobilization of technical staff and specialized assets".³⁶

India-Africa Relations

Mozambique

Jindal mining company will stay in its Mozambique coal operations

The Indian mining company Jindal is suffering losses in coal mining operations in Mozambique's western province of Tete. Despite this, the company intends to remain in the country. The loss by the company is not unique as, like others, it is suffering from the collapse of coal price in international market. However, the company is adjusting to the market conditions by rationalising its operational and production costs and cutting down on sub-contractors. Jindal clarified that it is not committed to exporting all the coal it mines and intends to build a power station at the mouth of the mine to use the low quality, non-exportable coal. The powerhouse is expected to produce 300 megawatts of electricity in its first phase.³⁷

Tata Steel to sell its stakes in Mozambique's Benga coal project

Tata Steel Ltd is looking to sell its 35 per cent stake in the Benga coal mines in Mozambique. The company said that it does not want to invest in the project any more. Tata Steel had taken a one-time impairment charge of Rupees 1,577 crore on investment in the mine after the Rio Tinto Group sold its stake in the mine at a huge loss to an Indian mining consortium led by Steel Authority of India Ltd (SAIL). Its decision to sell its stakes in the Benga project highlights the difficulties in mining and transporting coal from overseas mines for steel plants in India and Europe.³⁸

Nigeria

Nigeria-India bilateral trade hits \$17 billion

Kaisar Alam, India's Acting High Commissioner to Nigeria announced that goods worth \$17 billion were traded between India and Nigeria, Africa's largest economy, from April 2013 to March 2014. India has become the largest importer of Nigeria's crude and largest trading partner following the United States' reduction of crude imports from Nigeria. Trade between Nigeria and India has increased significantly since Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999. It increased from \$293.71 million in 1999 to \$875 million in 2006. Between April and September 2006, exports to India accounted for \$3.9 billion. India imported \$14 billion worth of goods from Nigeria from April

³⁶ "West African leaders urge Ebola 'Marshall Plan'", *Al Jazeera*, March 3, 2015, at <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/3/3/african-leaders-urge-ebola-marshall-plan.html>

³⁷ "Jindal will not pull out of Mozambique", *All Africa*, February 2, 2015, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503021981.html>

³⁸ "Tata Steel to cash out of Mozambique asset: TV Narendran", *Live Mint*, February 16, 2015, at <http://www.livemint.com/Companies/VJmNUV2tNGM9AZdsbCU5nK/Tata-Steel-to-cash-out-of-Mozambique-asset-TV-Narendran.html>

2013 to March 2014, including \$12 billion worth of crude oil.³⁹

Tanzania

India to give US\$380 million loan for water projects in Tanzania

India is to provide Tanzania a total of US\$380 million in loans for two major water projects. The Office of the President of Tanzania informed that the Indian government would give US\$100 million to improve water supply in Dar-es-Salaam and US\$280 million to bring water to Tabora, Nzega and Igunga towns from Lake Victoria. Fast-growing Dar-es-Salaam generates more than 40 per cent of Tanzania's GDP and its population is projected to double in the next 15 years. However, it needs help to deal with problems like flooding, water scarcity and insect-borne diseases that it suffers from.⁴⁰

East Africa

India and East Africa set to collaborate and tap business opportunities

Under a programme set by the International Trade Centre (ITC), Indian and East African firms are set to collaborate in sectors such as cotton and textiles, IT, leather, oil meal, spices, medical equipment and coffee. Arancha Gonzalez, the Executive Director, ITC, indicated that business opportunities with entrepreneurs in India and countries of the region are being mapped following which other details, including financing of projects, would be worked out. The Export Import (EXIM) Bank of India and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) have partnered with the ITC, a joint agency of the World Trade Organisation and the United Nations, for capacity enhancement in developing countries. They would identify potential trade partners from India and finance their ventures in East Africa. Speaking with a delegation of 200 business people from Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia in New Delhi, Gonzalez said that the programme is not only about African countries exporting to India but also about Indian companies investing in Africa. However, in 2013-14, India's exports to East African countries were worth about US\$10 billion, over 3 per cent of its total exports, while imports stood at approximately US\$1 billion, just 0.23 per cent of its total imports.⁴¹

³⁹ "Nigeria's Bilateral Trade Volume with India Hits \$17bn", *Ventures Africa*, January 5, 2015, at <http://www.ventures-africa.com/archives/55386>

⁴⁰ "Tanzania to get \$380 million loans from India for water projects", *Yahoo News*, March 17, 2015, at <http://news.yahoo.com/tanzania-380-million-loans-india-water-projects-161640034—business.html>

⁴¹ "India, East Africa set to tap joint business opportunities", *Business Line*, March 20, 2015, at <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/international/india-east-africa-set-to-tap-joint-business-opportunities/article7016137.ece>

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

Articles could be of approximately 2000 words. Commentaries can range between 1,000-1,500 words (excluding footnotes) and book reviews between 600-1,000 words. Guidelines for contributors may be found at: <http://www.idsa.in/africatrends>. Submissions may be emailed to the Editor at idsa.africatrends@gmail.com.

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