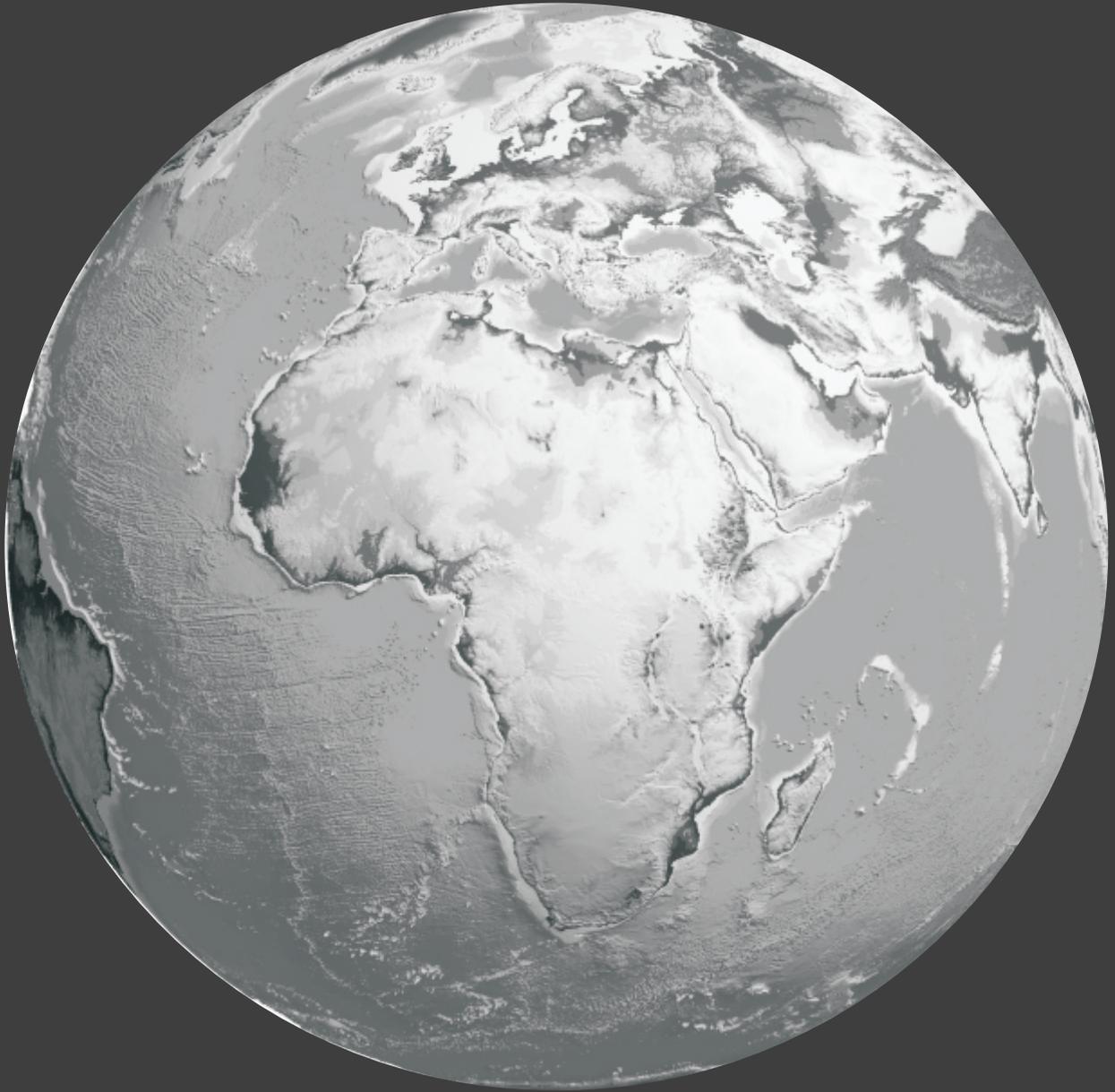


# Africa Trends

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## ***Disclaimer***

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## Editor's Note

As another eventful year draws to a close, we bring you the last issue of Africa Trends for 2016. The cover story by Dr. Rajeesh Kumar analyses the succession of conflicts in Sudan and South Sudan and explains that the relapse into conflict is due to the improper integration of the various armed groups into the South Sudanese army and the predominance of a single ethnic group in the military. The commentary by Ms. Ruchita Beri brings forth the propitious circumstances for cooperation between African countries and India in an upcoming industry, that of the blue economy. The viewpoint by Dr. Saurabh Mishra looks at the instances of South Africa, Burundi and Gambia's intention to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court and suggests that if the UNSC were to have permanent African representation, African countries could be persuaded to adhere to some international norms and better their records on humanitarian issues. A review of Richard Dowden's Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles by Mr. Sankalp Gurjar reveals the many marvels unfolding in sub-Saharan Africa's countries driven by the increased mobile phone connectivity, trade with China and growing middle class.

There were several important developments related to matters of security in this quarter. Djibouti agreed to be host to yet another military base, this time of Saudi Arabia. In Mozambique, at the end of a turbulent year that saw much violence, including the killing of a prominent opposition leader, talks finally commenced between the government and the opposition, RENAMO. An investigation into the Rwandan genocide of 1994 has indicted senior French military officials for it. NATO's anti-piracy operations off the coast of Seychelles were called off after a decade due to decline in piracy. Defence cooperation between China and Seychelles was strengthened with the country seeking Chinese help to structure its defence forces. The troubles for peacekeeping in Africa continued as the EU slashed funds for AMISOM. As Ethiopia withdrew its troops from Southwest Somalia, though it clarified these troops were not from AMISOM. Bases cleared by the Ethiopian troops were occupied by the al-Shabaab. Meanwhile a report on the UN peacekeeping failure in South Sudan blamed a Kenyan General for the chaotic response of the peacekeepers leading to the death of nearly 300 people.

Energy and connectivity related issues dominate economic developments in this period. A China-built railway line between Ethiopia and Djibouti became functional, another one connecting Zambia to Mozambique via Malawi is planned. Djibouti Data Centre was designated as the hub of China's telecom activities in Africa. Amidst a debt crisis and news of resumption of IMF loans came a silver lining for Mozambique as Italian energy company Eni agreed to invest in Mozambique's gas fields of Coral South and BP signed a deal to buy gas from them for 20 years. Tanzania is to set up a natural gas plant by 2025 and explore petroleum along with Congo in Lake Tanganyika. A 10 MW grid connected solar power plant worth USD 19 million built by Access Power and Eren Re was inaugurated in Uganda, Zambia signs agreement with Rusatom for a 2 gigawatt nuclear energy plant.

India delivered a fast patrol boat to Mauritius and initiated railway projects in Ghana. Under an EXIM bank line of credit, Ashok Leyland to supply vehicles, gensets and spares to Tanzania. The fourth Seychelles India Day was celebrated in October 2016.

We welcome your feedback.

## Cover Story

### SOUTH SUDAN: FROM CONFLICT TO PEACE AND BACK

One of the primary reason for recurrence of violence is the failure of peace agreements to address the real issues of conflict. The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) and Addis Ababa Agreement of August 2015 have many fault lines which potentially contribute to protracted conflict.

**Dr. Rajeesh Kumar\***

A significant characteristic of post-Cold War conflicts in Africa was their intractability. With brutal violence and bloodshed, and roots stretched from territory to ethnicity, clashes in the region turned into a colossal assault on humanity. Though many negotiations, mediations, and treaties were endeavoured to resolve the conflicts, none of them could bring lasting peace to the region. In most of the situations, peace was short-lived and conflict re-escalated very soon. South Sudan is one such case where peace was established with high hopes, but optimism is rapidly fading. After one year of relative peace, violence and bloodshed have come back to the streets and villages of the Central African nation. This was evident in the words of the officials and staff of the United Nations and other humanitarian actors in the field that the country is “on the brink of genocide.”<sup>1</sup> Spreading violence across the country, even to the regions that were untouched by violence during the decades-long civil war in the past is tangible proof of a genocide in the making.

#### Conflicts in Sudan and its South

South Sudan is the world’s newest country. It became independent in 2011, after over six decades of irregular warfare between the government of Sudan and various opposition forces, which made the Horn of Africa as one of the deadliest places in the world. The conflict claimed the lives of around 1.5 million people and more than four million people were displaced. The secession movement began right after the independence from the United

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<sup>1</sup> Statement by Yasmin Sooka, Chair of the Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan at the 26th Special Session of the UN Human Rights Council, December 14, 2016, at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=21028&LangID#sthash.XQocrzxn.dpuf>.

Kingdom in 1956. The determined resistance by the southern rebels under the umbrella of South Sudanese Liberation Movement (SSLM) resulted in the creation of an autonomous region in the south in 1972. However, this autonomy was later overturned by the Sudanese government, and the north-south conflict came back to life. The second civil war, which started in 1983 with the formation of Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and ended with the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) in 2005, had witnessed many transformations at various junctures; for instance, change of actors, methods, leaders, causes and interests. Finally, it led to the formation of the independent South Sudanese nation in 2011.

**The second civil war, which started in 1983...had witnessed many transformations at various junctures**

However, the present civil war in South Sudan has nothing much to do with the conflict between the North and South. The ongoing conflict began in 2013 as a result of internal power struggles in Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), the ruling party of South Sudan. In July 2013 President Salva Kiir Mayardit alleged that Vice-president Riek Machar attempted a coup against his government. As a result, the president immediately sacked the cabinet and expelled Riek Machar and his colleagues from the government. Since Kiir and Machar represent two dominant and rival ethnic groups, Dinka and Nuer, the conflict of interest between these two men soon transformed into a bloody civil war, where two ethnic communities slaughtered each other.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the Sudan's People Liberation Army (SPLA), the national army of South Sudan formed out of former rebel movements also split into several fractions with two dominant segments, one supporting Kiir and the other backing Machar. Targeted killing of civilians and ethnically motivated violence in the central regions of the country, especially in Malakal and Balia, Jonglei and Upper Nile has invoked the formation of local militia groups and retaliatory attacks. The violence had claimed tens of thousands of lives and millions of South Sudanese became refugees unto the ceasefire. According to UNHCR, around 1.83 million people were displaced internally and 1.17 million South Sudanese fled to neighbouring countries.<sup>3</sup> The UN also said that thousands of young girls had been raped and burned alive during the conflict.

**...the national army of South Sudan formed out of former rebel movements also split into several fractions with two dominant segments, one supporting Kiir and the other backing Machar.**

<sup>2</sup> Carlo Koos and Thea Gutschke, "South Sudan's Newest War: When Two Old Men Divide a Nation," *GIGA Focus*, No. 2, 2014, at [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/180522/gf\\_international\\_1402.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/180522/gf_international_1402.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> OCHA South Sudan Humanitarian Bulletin, 21 December 2016, <http://www.unocha.org/south-sudan/>; Also see "UNHCR Operational Update 23/2016," at <http://data.unhcr.org/SouthSudan/documents.php?page=1&view=grid&Country%5B%5D=251>.

## Towards Peace

20 months of conflict ended with a peace agreement-Agreement on Resolution of the Conflicts in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) - between the two parties on 17 August 2015, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia under the auspices of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).<sup>4</sup> The parties then signed the agreement in Juba, South Sudan on 26 August and it was ratified by the South Sudan National Legislative Assembly on 10 September 2015. In the peace agreement, both parties pledged to end the fighting and

**...the unity government also marked its beginning with selection of cabinet ministers from two parties.**

promised to work towards “an inclusive and democratic society founded on the rule of law.”<sup>5</sup> The parties also agreed to form a Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) to monitor the implementation of the pact. TGNU proposed power-sharing among the conflicting parties; Kiir and Machar to be president and vice president respectively. Other positions in the government were also distributed among the parties; 53 per cent for Kiir’s party, 33 per cent for SPLA-IO, 7 per cent for former political detainees and 7 for other political outfits.<sup>6</sup> Machar and his colleagues who flew to neighbouring Ethiopia returned to Juba in April 2016 and the unity government also marked its beginning with selection of cabinet ministers from two parties.

**Some mischievous developments in July 2016 destroyed all these hopes, and South Sudan went onto the trajectory of a bloodier civil war.**

Though the fighting between the government forces and armed opposition groups continued during the implementation of the peace agreement and formulation of the transitional government, it is possible to say that the

IGAD-led deal brought optimism of peace in South Sudan. Many saw the return of Machar as vice president and the creation of the transitional government based on the power-sharing formula as indicators of sustainable peace. However, some mischievous developments in July 2016 destroyed all these hopes, and South Sudan went onto the trajectory of a bloodier civil war.

## Reescalation of Conflict and Impending Genocide

From August 2015 to July 2016 repeated breaches of peace agreement were reported across South Sudan. However, none of them have escalated into large-scale conflicts. On 7 July, this relative peace was broken with a clash between the rival forces in Juba. Within days

<sup>4</sup> Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is a regional forum created in 1996 with eight countries in the Horn of Africa as members. It focuses on peace, prosperity, and integration of the region.

<sup>5</sup> “Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan,” Addis Ababa Ethiopia 17 August 2015, at [https://unmiss.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/final\\_proposed\\_compromise\\_agreement\\_for\\_south\\_sudan\\_conflict.pdf](https://unmiss.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/final_proposed_compromise_agreement_for_south_sudan_conflict.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Lauren P. Blanchard, “Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead”, *CRS Report*, September 22, 2016, at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43344.pdf>.

more than 300 people died, and opposition leader Machar and his forces were compelled to leave the capital. Amidst these troubles, on 11 July, President Kiir unilaterally declared a ceasefire and later opposition forces also agreed to it. However, two weeks after ceasefire, on 23 July, Kiir appointed Taban Deng Gai, another prominent leader of SPLM-IO, as the First Vice President to replace Machar. President Kiir also accused Machar of orchestrating a coup. As a result Machar again fled the country to Congo border and later went to Sudan. These developments not only resulted in escalating conflict between government and opposition but initiated new conflict within the SPLM -IO, between Deng Gai and Machar supporters.

The re-escalation of the conflict in July resulted in a humanitarian catastrophe with one million people fleeing to neighbouring countries and three million IDPs. As per a report of Yasmin Sooka to the special session of UNHRC, 4.8 million people in South Sudan need humanitarian assistance for their next meal and survival. In the past three years, 70 per cent of women in the protection camps had been sexually violated, Sooka informed the Council. Moreover, South Sudan's economy also collapsed with 837 per cent inflation as reported in October 2016.<sup>7</sup> The most alarming statement from Yasmin Sooka was "genocide is looming in South Sudan" and an ethnic cleansing is underway.

**...“genocide is looming in South Sudan” and an ethnic cleansing is underway.**

When we compare the recent conflict that began in July 2016 with the previous conflicts, Sooka is right in her observation. The present conflict is more intensive and massive and also spread to entire South Sudan. During the twenty months of civil war (December 2013-August 2015) the conflicts were concentrated primarily in two states; Unity and Jonglei. Now violent clashes are spreading to Juba, Equatoria, and Lake Region, which were more or less untouched by the past conflicts. Moreover, from a conflict between Nuer and Dinka, the July clashes witnessed the entry of more ethnic groups such as Equatorians, Murle, and Shilluk into the conflict. The magnitude of the violence is also very high in the ongoing conflict, for instance, in Equatoria, 1900 houses were destroyed within one week of the violence broke out. The pattern of atrocities perpetrated against civilians in places such as Akobo, Bor, Bentiu, Juba, and Malakal point toward an ethnically targeted mass carnage never seen before in the history of South Sudan.<sup>8</sup> This intensity and magnitude of the violence after re-escalation of civil war in July, and the warnings from humanitarian organisations in the field signal toward an impending genocide in South Sudan.

**The July clashes witnessed the entry of more ethnic groups such as Equatorians, Murle, and Shilluk into the conflict.**

<sup>7</sup> Statement by Yasmin Sooka, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See "UNHCR Operational Update 19/2016," for a detailed account on the scale of violence in these places, at <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/UNHCR%20SSD%20Operational%20Update%20No%2019%20-%2015%20October%202016.pdf>.

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## Why Peace Fails

One of the primary reason for recurrence of violence is the failure of peace agreements to address the real issues of conflict. The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) and Addis Ababa Agreement of August 2015 have many fault lines which potentially contribute to protracted conflict. The problems within the South Sudan Army, which is the predominant reason behind the recurrence of conflict was, in fact, a fault line in the provisions for Security

**...the CPA did not suggest any mechanism to integrate these groups into a national army.**

Sector Reforms (SSR), especially Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration in the CPA and its repetition in Addis Ababa Agreement. South Sudan army includes the group fought against Khartoum, those who fought against SPLA and many other groups as well. As per the CPA provision, the opposing armed

groups were forced to join either the Sudanese or South Sudan army. However, the CPA did not suggest any mechanism to integrate these groups into a national army. As a result, these armed groups are still under the command of their leaders. Besides, 60 percent of South Sudan military personnel are from one ethnic group, Nuer. This ethnic dimension, domination of one group, was also not addressed in these peace agreements. Moreover, the disarmament provisions in the accords also backfired and led to re-escalation of the violence across the country. For instance, in many places, the community that was disarmed today was slaughtered by the one that was to disarm next day. Without fixing these fault lines it would be difficult to prevent the impending genocide in South Sudan.

## Commentary

### BLUE ECONOMY: TOWARDS INDIA-AFRICA COOPERATION

The existence of vast natural resources, both living and non-living, in the marine ecosystem, has led to a concern about sustainability of harnessing these resources. The increasing emphasis on the blue economy by policy makers in the African countries and India, presents an opportunity for cooperation in this crucial area.

Ruchita Beri \*

Promoting a blue economy has become a priority in various parts of the world including in the African countries and India. This focus on blue economy is driven by the gradual recognition of the economic potential of the maritime space. A large part of Africa's economic activities are linked to the oceans. According to United Nations Economic Commission of Africa, Africa has jurisdiction over 13 million square kilometres of maritime zone including 6.5 kilometres of the continental shelf. Among Africa's 54 countries, 34 are coastal.<sup>1</sup> In addition, 90 percent of the continent's trade is conducted through the oceans. Similarly, India with a coastline of 7516 kilometres, over 1200 island territories and a huge Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 2.4 million square kilometres, recognizes the importance of maritime sphere.<sup>2</sup> Moreover nine of India's 28 states (provinces) and two of the country's nine union territories are coastal. At the same time, 97 percent of India's trade takes place over the seas.<sup>3</sup> The existence of vast natural resources, both living and non-living, in the marine ecosystem, has led to a concern about sustainability of harnessing these resources. The increasing emphasis on the blue economy by policy makers in the African countries and India, presents an opportunity for cooperation in this crucial area.

**...focus on blue economy is driven by the gradual recognition of the economic potential of the maritime space.**

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations Economic Commission of Africa, *Blue Economy*, UNECA, 2016, at [https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/blue\\_economy\\_english-nov2016.pdf](https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/blue_economy_english-nov2016.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> Data Base on Coastal States of India, at <http://iomenvi.nic.in/index2.aspx?slid=&sublinkid=119&langid=1&mid=1>, Harsh Pant, 'A force to reckon with', *The Telegraph*, February 20, 2016, at [https://www.telegraphindia.com/1160220/jsp/opinion/story\\_70239.jsp](https://www.telegraphindia.com/1160220/jsp/opinion/story_70239.jsp).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

## Blue Economy: The Concept

The concept of blue economy is still evolving and at the moment there is no universally accepted definition available. Gunter Pauli's book *The Blue Economy 10 years, 100 innovations, 100 million jobs* (2010) brought this concept into the discourse. According to him blue economy approach calls for solutions being determined by the local environment as well as their physical and ecological characteristics. The application of blue economy concept to the marine sphere took place at the Rio +20, United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. At the Rio conference, blue economy was described as an ocean economy that aims for the "improvement of human wellbeing and social equity while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities."<sup>4</sup> The blue economy concept goes beyond the term ocean economy that is defined as "any economic activity which directly or indirectly uses sea as an input."<sup>5</sup> The United Nations (UN) considers blue economy in "a sustainable development framework for addressing equity in access to development of and sharing of benefits from marine resources."<sup>6</sup> The UN further views oceans as "development spaces" where spatial planning integrates conservation, sustainable use, oil and mineral wealth extraction, bioprospecting, sustainable energy production and marine transport.<sup>7</sup> Thus blue economy covers several sectors directly or indirectly linked to the oceans such as fishing, minerals, shipping and port infrastructure, marine biotechnology, marine manufacturing, marine renewable energy, marine tourism, marine construction, marine commerce, ocean governance and education.

## Towards India Africa Cooperation

Globally several countries such as the US, China, Australia and Brazil have evolved strategies that focus on developing maritime resources and blue economy in particular. Similarly multilaterally, the European Union, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and East Asia Summit (EAS) have highlighted the importance of blue economy.

**Mauritius is the first country within the African continent to develop a roadmap for blue economy.**

Within Africa, the African Union's Agenda 2063 lays special emphasis on development of blue economy for the continent's growth.<sup>8</sup> Similarly AU's 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy (2050 AIM Strategy) seeks "to foster more wealth creation from Africa's oceans, seas and inland water ways by developing a thriving maritime

<sup>4</sup> United Nations, "Blue Economy Concept paper", New York, 2015, at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/2978BEconcept.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> SK Mohanty et al, *Prospects of the Blue Economy in the Indian Ocean*, RIS, New Delhi, 2015.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations, "Blue Economy Concept paper", New York, 2015, at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/2978BEconcept.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> African Union, "Agenda 2063: Africa We Want", 2015, at <http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf>

economy...<sup>9</sup> Mauritius is the first country within the African continent to develop a roadmap for blue economy (2013). It has set up a Ministry of Ocean Economy, Marine Resources, Fisheries, Shipping and Outer Island. In 2014, South Africa launched Operation *Phakisa* to harness the blue economy. Similarly countries like Seychelles and Kenya have developed comprehensive plans to deal with blue economy. In 2015, Seychelles launched the long term National Development Plan, with blue economy as the centrepiece. Similarly in May 2016, Kenya set up a Department of Fisheries and Blue Economy under the Ministry of Agriculture.

**... "the blue chakra or wheel in India's national flag represents the potential of blue revolution or the ocean economy".**

Efforts by the African countries to give thrust towards building maritime capacities and blue economy find an echo in India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has observed that for him "the blue chakra or wheel in India's national flag represents the potential of blue revolution or the ocean economy".<sup>10</sup> In 2015, during a visit to Mauritius, Modi unveiled a new vision in the maritime sphere - Security and Growth for All (SAGAR).<sup>11</sup> This proactive strategy calls for increase in maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region and reiterates the centrality of oceans in India's economic and security policy. Another important initiative, mooted by Modi is the "Sagarmala".<sup>12</sup> This mega project calls for port modernisation and infrastructure development, coastal area development and connectivity within India.

Hence there is tremendous scope for India and the African countries to work towards enhancing cooperation in this crucial area. The outcome document of the third India Africa Forum Summit, "India Africa Framework for Strategic Cooperation" refers to blue economy as an area of future cooperation.<sup>13</sup> Similarly collaboration in the blue economy sphere was discussed during Modi's visits to South Africa, Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya in July 2016 and earlier visits to Mauritius and Seychelles in 2015. However as pointed to earlier, blue economy encompasses a large area of economic activity- including aquaculture, marine manufacturing, port infrastructure development, deep sea mining, ocean governance, etc.

**... steps should be taken towards tailoring and funding joint projects for sustainable development of the blue economy in Africa.**

<sup>9</sup> African Union, "2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy" (2050 AIM Strategy), 2012, at [http://cggrps.org/wp-content/uploads/2050-AIM-Strategy\\_EN.pdf](http://cggrps.org/wp-content/uploads/2050-AIM-Strategy_EN.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Text of PM's remarks on the commissioning of the coast ship Barracuda, March 12, 2015, at [http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/news\\_updates/text-of-the-pms-remarks-on-the-commissioning-of-coast-ship-barracuda/](http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/news_updates/text-of-the-pms-remarks-on-the-commissioning-of-coast-ship-barracuda/).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> MEA, "Sagarmala concept and implementation towards blue revolution", March 25, 2015, at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=117691>.

<sup>13</sup> Third India Africa Forum Summit, "India Africa Framework for Strategic Cooperation", October 29, 2015, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25981\\_framework.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25981_framework.pdf).

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India and the African countries, bilaterally and at the regional level need to identify the important sectors for cooperation. India has the experience and the expertise to support the African initiatives to develop and manage the maritime resources. In recent years Prime Minister Modi has given high priority to enhancing relations with African countries. In order to keep the momentum of building political and economic ties with this increasingly important region, steps should be taken towards tailoring and funding joint projects for sustainable development of the blue economy in Africa.

## Viewpoint

### THE AFRICA-ICC TROUBLE: A CASE FOR SYSTEMIC REFORMS

The African notifications of intention to quit ICC have yet again highlighted the need for systemic changes in the current world order. Only a non-discriminatory, democratic and inclusive UNSC reflecting the contemporary world could address these challenges and questions. The presence of an African state or two in the UNSC would have compelled the AU and the African states to look at the ICC cases differently and not project them as issues of continued racism and colonialism.

**Saurabh Mishra\***

The last quarter of the year 2016 was a bad one in the history of the International Criminal Court (ICC). South Africa announced its intention to withdraw from the Rome Statute and submitted its notification to the Court on October 19, 2016. Burundi and Gambia followed on October 27, and November 10, 2016 respectively. While African discontent with it has been brewing for some time,<sup>1</sup> the notifications for withdrawal from the ICC mark a step backward in the process of developing the institution into a truly international court. South Africa being the first country to file the 'notification of withdrawal'<sup>2</sup> comes as a major setback as it was one of the forerunners in the shaping of the Statute of the ICC. Late Nelson Mandela, the former president of South Africa, was a champion of the idea of an international court dealing with the impunity of humanitarian crimes.

**...the notifications for withdrawal from the ICC mark a step backward in the process of developing the institution into a truly international court.**

The institution of ICC came into existence through the Rome Statute signed in 1998, and has been enforced from the year 2002 after ratification by 60 signatory states. It has been under the scanner ever since. Important and powerful countries have kept at a distance from the

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<sup>1</sup> Nine out of the 10 cases under consideration by the ICC are from Africa; and some of the heads of the states have also been accused of genocide and war crimes. Referral of Libya, Sudan and Kenya to the ICC, and investigating their heads of state became a bone of contention between the AU and the ICC. Although many African countries are in favour of the institution of the ICC, the official position of the AU, due to sovereignty issues and perceived discrimination against Africa, remains critical for the ICC.

<sup>2</sup> A party-state to the Rome Statute can withdraw from the Statute under article 127(1) by submitting a written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

jurisdiction of the ICC as they find it unrealistic and unhelpful. Although the US and Russia had signed the Rome Statute, they did not ratify it. The US has passed a special American Service Members' Protection Act (2002), also known as the Hague Invasion Act, to protect its soldiers from ICC jurisdiction. The Russian Foreign Ministry, on November 16, 2016 expressed its willingness to "unsign" the treaty establishing the Court alleging that it has "failed to meet the expectations to become a truly independent, authoritative international tribunal".<sup>3</sup> The President of Philippines Rodrigo Duterte also said that he "might follow" Putin if he withdraws Russia out of the Pact.<sup>4</sup> Leading developing countries and rising powers India and China have not even signed the Statute as they have reservations about the nature and implementation of the treaty. It is evident that the problem with the ICC is not just African, but fundamentally political and international.

**Important and powerful countries have kept at a distance from the jurisdiction of the ICC...**

**...the problem with the ICC is not just African, but fundamentally political and international.**

The stated as well as alluded to reasons for the withdrawals by South Africa, Burundi and Gambia tell us that the initial fears regarding the working of the ICC are coming true. The current cases in the ICC and the political complications regarding them have allowed the African countries to raise the issue of the 'West' victimising Africa through a 'neocolonial' instrument. The reasons given for the intention to withdraw by the three African countries invigorate the debate on the viability and credibility of the ICC.

### South Africa

The withdrawal notification by South Africa has come in the wake of the country's failure to fulfil the ICC's expectation to arrest President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan when he was in Johannesburg to attend the African Union summit meeting in June 2015. Indicting Bashir for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, the ICC had issued a warrant to arrest him. Now, the issue of arresting Bashir has turned political and constitutional in South Africa as the Government failed to implement an internal High Court order to arrest him. The Government of South Africa had allowed Bashir to leave the country despite a high court arrest order.<sup>5</sup> The Jacob Zuma Government in South Africa then decided to quit the ICC to resolve the conflict between 'diplomatic immunity' to the visiting heads of states and the Rome Statute. The Zuma Government introduced the 'Implementation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court Act Repeal Bill' in the National Assembly in

<sup>3</sup> "How the International Criminal Court can survive Russian and African scorn", *The Conversation*, November 19, 2016, at <http://theconversation.com/how-the-international-criminal-court-can-survive-russian-and-african-scorn-69059>.

<sup>4</sup> "Russia quits International Criminal Court, Philippines may follow", *CNN*, November 7, 2016, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/16/world/russia-quits-international-criminal-court/>.

<sup>5</sup> "Africa turning its back on International Criminal Court", *The Irish Times*, December 28, 2016, at <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/africa-turning-its-back-on-international-criminal-court-1.2915667>.

November 2016. It explains that the Republic of South Africa “is hindered by the Implementation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court Act, 2002” together with the Rome Statute in “exercising its international relations with the heads of state of foreign countries” even when the country has been actively involved in promoting peace, stability and dialogue. However, the constitutionality of the Cabinet decision was challenged by Democratic Alliance (DA), the opposition in South Africa, in a domestic High Court.

### Burundi

The Parliament of the Republic of Burundi, on October 12, 2016 voted to withdraw its country from the Rome Statute. Although the country has given no reasons in the notification for its withdrawal, the circumstances and statements before and after the notification was issued give us some sense of the causes. The decision is supposed to be triggered by the announcement of a preliminary examination by the ICC on April 25, 2016 regarding the “acts of killing, imprisonment, torture, rape and other forms of sexual violence, as well as cases of enforced disappearances that have been allegedly committed since April 2015 in Burundi.”<sup>6</sup> Gabriel Ntisezerana, former vice president of Burundi and currently a lawmaker, said that the court was “a political tool used by powers to remove whoever they want from power on the African continent.”<sup>7</sup> Alain Nyamitwe, the Foreign Minister of Burundi said, “I believe that there are some other politically motivated reasons which have pushed the ICC to act on African case. How many times have you heard about the ICC investigating crimes committed in Iraq?”<sup>8</sup>

**“How many times have you heard about the ICC investigating crimes committed in Iraq?”**

### Gambia

The decision to quit the ICC was made by President Yahya Jammeh; and as in the case of Burundi, Gambia did not state the reasons for the intended withdrawal. Jammeh had seized power in a coup in 1994 and was to face an election on December 1, 2016. He has been in power for a long time and has been accused of suppression of dissent, freedom of press and human rights violations.<sup>9</sup> But, Gambia’s Information Minister Sheriff Bojang had described the ICC as “an International Caucasian Court for the persecution and humiliation of people

<sup>6</sup> “Alleged crimes under the ICC’s jurisdiction committed in Burundi since April 2015”, *International Criminal Court*, at <https://www.icc-cpi.int/burundi>.

<sup>7</sup> “Burundi notifies UN of International Criminal Court withdrawal”, *Reuters*, October 26, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-burundi-icc-idUSKCN12Q287>.

<sup>8</sup> “Burundi officially informs UN of intent to leave ICC”, *Voice of America*, October 27, 2016, at <https://www.voanews.com/a/burundi-icc-withdrawal/3568311.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Gambia’s Adama Barrow says shock win heralds ‘new hope’”, *BBC News*, December 2, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38186751>.

**Gambia has also been trying to prosecute the EU in the ICC**

of colour, especially Africans.”<sup>10</sup> Gambia has also been trying to prosecute the EU in the ICC for the death of Africans trying to reach European shores for refuge. It is also supposed that the long time president initiated the withdrawal process after anticipating an ICC investigation against himself.

**Systemic Trouble**

The tension between African countries and the ICC is neither primarily racial nor regional in nature. South Africa did not rake up the colonial or racial issues as the reason for its intention to withdraw. The racial and regional aspects are the ‘ideational superstructures’ created on the ‘base’ of the issue of discrimination in the constitution of the ICC and the ways it functions. The ICC can start investigation in three ways: (a) a state-party brings a case to the Court; (b) the Court takes a *suo motu* cognizance; (c) The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) refers a case to the Court. The latter two modes of functioning are quite problematic as they lend themselves to the play of global politics and manipulations. However, the principles of *complementarity* and *the court of last resort* reconcile and mitigate some of the concerns of the countries being investigated under the *suo motu* principle as they can initiate their own internal enquiry and court trial in the matter of concern; and thereby avoid an ICC investigation.

The UNSC referral method to initiate investigation is the most controversial and fundamentally discriminatory in nature as it is another political lever with the permanent members (P5) of the UNSC. In effect, the provision of the referral by UNSC means a veto

**Countries like India had objected to the provision subordinating the court to the UNSC as they could foresee the trouble it would pose...**

power given to the P5 against any possible investigation of crimes related to them or their allies. Moreover, it binds even the non-signatory states to the Rome Statute, thus violating a fundamental principle of the law of treaties – that the states which have not signed a treaty cannot be bound by it. Countries like India had objected to the provision subordinating the court to the UNSC as they could foresee the trouble it would pose for the very existence and legitimacy

of the ICC. Hence, the current African problem is a larger systemic problem that cripples the ICC from being a truly global criminal justice court. The dissenting state voices from Africa are comments on a discriminatory global order that is inherent in the UN system.

<sup>10</sup> “Gambia to leave International Criminal Court Nov. 10, 2017-UN”, *Reuters*, November 14, 2016, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFKBN13924A>.

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## Conclusion

The 'revolt from Africa' is not a surprise as nine of the cases currently under consideration at the ICC are from Africa. The historical experiences of Africa before and during the Cold War linger on in the post-Cold War period as well. The non-performing, dictatorial and oppressive regimes fear an external intervention through the ICC that might delegitimise, trouble or depose them. Further, the conflict between the diplomatic immunity and the implementation of the Rome Statute is over the concept of national sovereignty, the very foundation of the current international system. Hence, The African notifications of intention to quit ICC have yet again highlighted the need for systemic changes in the current world order. Only a non-discriminatory, democratic and inclusive UNSC reflecting the contemporary world could address these challenges and questions. The presence of an African state or two in the UNSC would have compelled the AU and the African states to look at the ICC cases differently and not project them as issues of continued racism and colonialism. However, with the current structures and relationship of the UNSC with the ICC, the international Court would remain prone to such perennial allegations.

## Book Review

**Richard Dowden, *Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*, Portobello books, 2016. ISBN 9781846276040**

**Sankalp Gurjar\***

It is always a difficult exercise to understand and write about the complexities of a vast region like Sub Saharan Africa. Richard Dowden attempts to do just that in his book *Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*. He draws a vivid picture of a part of a complex and colossal continent. His book is a valuable addition to the burgeoning literature on Africa and covers African states as well as various thematic areas related to Africa.

Richard Dowden has been covering the continent since 1980's for British newspapers. He has seen Africa passing through political upheavals, civil wars and ethnic conflicts; as also its rising economies, democratisations and growing middle class in the more recent times. He writes about all these phenomena connected to Africa's post-independence political history and several other facets of Africa in his book.

The book is written in a journalistic style and the author brings in his personal experiences of travels and of people across Africa. He has travelled extensively in Africa, and has lived in the remotest places of the continent. He has not been a detached observer of the events and processes around him. Rather he takes a keen interest in the African way of life and hence presents before us a continent full of surprises, optimism and hope through incidents, stories and anecdotes. The central argument of the book is that Africa contains surprises for its observers and that the continent is changing for the better in the last few years. Dowden writes about his reasons to be optimistic about Africa in spite of the enormous socio-economic and political challenges.

In this book, Dowden writes about economically large and politically significant countries like Nigeria and South Africa. He also includes chapters on smaller and civil war-torn countries like Sierra Leone and Rwanda. Oil and mineral rich states like Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), politically unstable states like Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan also find space in the book. The book has chapters about recent issues affecting Africa like spread of AIDS and growing Asian presence, especially that of China. It is interesting to note that Dowden's book focuses more on Anglophone states. Barring chapters on Senegal, Burundi, Rwanda, Angola and DRC, most other chapters are devoted to British African states like Kenya, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and South Africa.

As the author shows in all of his chapters, African states have long been marred by a colonial past, economic exploitation, racial problems like apartheid, lack of infrastructure, ethnic

violence, artificial borders, civil wars, bad governance, resource curse, dependence on foreign aid and cold war politics. He touches upon several other factors like problems of foreign aid in perpetuating civil wars, involvement of foreign powers in domestic affairs, complexities of local politics, difficulties in stabilizing societies like Somalia and working of a democratic system in racially/ethnically divided societies like Kenya and South Africa. Dowden shows us in the context of his specific chapters that specific problems may change but all these factors have affected to a varying degree, the politics of post-colonial Africa.

But the story of Africa is not all pessimistic. He also shows in the book that in spite of these depressing factors, basic hope existed among African societies as was reflected in the fact that African states and societies survived the darker days since 1970s continuing till the end of 1990s. But Dowden is also quick to spot changes taking place in the continent in the last decade and half. He identifies three factors that are responsible for changing the face of the continent: mobile phones, rise of China and African middle class. Each of these factors is shaping the new Africa in its own way and is bringing positive effects for the people.

He notes that mobile phones have helped overcome the problem of connectivity in a vast and difficult landmass of Africa and have brought benefits in the life of its ordinary people. China's trade with Africa is growing and is generating more politico-economic options for African states. The author discusses the question of whether China is a new imperial power in Africa and also notes that China could never become a model for African development. He explains how African states prefer Chinese assistance as China does not demand democracy, human rights and rule of law for making available economic assistance unlike traditional Western partners of Africa. Finally, the growing middle class in Africa is useful in sustaining economic growth instead of depending solely on the global prices of commodities and economic assistance. He does take note of India in his chapter on 'Asia in Africa', but rather discusses China-Africa relations in detail. India does not find any significant mention in other chapters. It is also evident in the book that Dowden has a sense of colonial past of Africa but does not discuss in detail historical processes of any particular state. He rather paints for us the past and present of a given country, its basic problems and some of his personal experiences. This writing style in addition to the high quality prose makes the book a deeply engaging and readable one.

Some of Dowden's insights about Africa are worth highlighting. It was the Sudanese government that turned an insurgency into a civil war; In Nigeria, money is power and vice versa. Dowden notes the paradox and different trajectories of the two mono-ethnic African states of Botswana and Somalia. While writing about Kenya, the author reveals how it is ethnically divided in spite of being democratic for a long time. It is because of these and several other insights that the book is a must read for anyone interested in Africa. More focus on French and West Africa would certainly have improved the worth of the book but nonetheless it is still an essential book on Africa to have come out in recent times.

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## News Track

### *Conflict and Security*

#### Djibouti

##### Japan to expand Djibouti military base

Japan is to lease a plot of land alongside its existing military base in the East African country of Djibouti from 2017 to enhance the operational security of its anti-piracy operations facility, a source in Japan's Ministry of Defense (MoD) told *IHS Jane's* on October 14, 2016. The official denied suggestions, however, that expanding the base has anything to do with China stepping up its military presence in the region. Djibouti is the home of Japan's only foreign military base and the United States' only acknowledged base in Africa, as well as there being a long-standing French military presence. A unit of around 180 members of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force has been using a 12-hectare base close to Djibouti's international airport since 2011.<sup>1</sup>

##### US Air Force operates F-16s in Djibouti

A detachment of US Air Force F-16 Fighting Falcons is operating out of Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti over concerns of threats to Americans in South Sudan. The US Department of Defense released photos taken on November 6, 2016 of the aircraft at Camp Lemonnier, with around six aircraft deployed along with United Kingdom-based KC-135 Stratotankers. Stars and Stripes reports the aircraft were deployed to Djibouti in July 2016. Quoting Africa Command, the publication said the deployment was a precautionary measure in order to protect Americans and American interests in South Sudan if required.<sup>2</sup>

##### Saudis to have a military base in Djibouti

Djibouti's Foreign Minister Mahamoud Ali Youssouf said that his country welcomed a Saudi military base to be built on its territory. "I took Saudi military leaders to some of Djibouti areas for Saudi Arabia's military bases" Youssouf said, adding that the agreement will be signed off in the near future. With regards to Djibouti's relations with Iran, Youssouf

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<sup>1</sup> "Japan to expand Djibouti military base", *Janes 360*, October 14, 2016, at <http://www.janes.com/article/64633/japan-to-expand-djibouti-military-base>

<sup>2</sup> "US Air Force F-16s in Djibouti", *Defence Web*, November 15, 2016, at [http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=45919:us-air-force-f-16s-in-djibouti&catid=35:Aerospace&Itemid=107](http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=45919:us-air-force-f-16s-in-djibouti&catid=35:Aerospace&Itemid=107)

explained that after Tehran supported that attack against the legitimate government of Yemen, Djibouti decided to cut all ties with Iran.<sup>3</sup>

### Djibouti Military Chief-of-Staff visits China

A senior Chinese officer met Djibouti's military chief-of-staff in Beijing and thanked him for supporting China's construction of a military base in the Horn of Africa country. This was the second such high-level meeting in a month. Djibouti's position on the northwestern edge of the Indian Ocean has fueled worries in India that it would become another of China's "string of pearls" of military alliances and assets ringing India, including Bangladesh, Myanmar and Sri Lanka. In February 2016, China began construction of a logistics base in strategically located Djibouti that will resupply naval vessels taking part in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions off the coasts of Yemen and Somalia in particular. This will be China's first overseas naval base, although China officially terms it a logistics facility.<sup>4</sup>

### Egypt-Saudi tension bubbling over planned Djibouti base

Saudi plans to open a military base in the tiny Red Sea state of Djibouti have raised concerns among Egyptian officials, as strained relations between Cairo and Riyadh show little sign of improving. The base, which will reportedly be built "very soon", would threaten national security, and the Egyptian government is "deeply suspicious", according to a diplomatic source. Djibouti is strategically located in the Horn of Africa across the Gulf of Aden from Yemen, where the Saudis have been waging war against Houthi rebels. "Cairo is totally against the deal because it considers Djibouti to be under the Egyptian sphere of influence and because its location is important for national security," an Egyptian diplomatic source, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, told *The New Arab*.<sup>5</sup>

## Kenya

### Kenya agrees to delay the closure of Dadaab refugee camp

Kenya said that it agreed delaying the closure of a teeming Somali refugee camp that it sees as a security risk, after international pressure to give residents more time to find new homes. Nairobi had vowed to shut Dadaab camp in November 2016, saying it was being used by Islamist militants from neighboring Somalia who have launched a string of attacks on Kenyan

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<sup>3</sup> "Djibouti agrees to a Saudi military base on its territory", *Al Arabiya*, December 4, 2016, at <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/gulf/2016/12/04/Djibouti-agrees-to-a-Saudi-military-base-on-its-territory.html>

<sup>4</sup> Djibouti Military Chief-of-Staff visits China amid base building", *Voice of America*, December 5, 2016, at <https://www.voanews.com/a/reu-djibouti-military-chief-of-staff-visits-china-amid-base-building/3624630.html>

<sup>5</sup> Egypt-Saudi tension bubbling over planned Djibouti base", *The New Arab*, December 6, 2016, at <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2016/12/6/egypt-saudi-tension-bubbling-over-planned-djibouti-base>

soil. But rights groups criticised the decision, saying it would hurt Somalis fleeing violence and poverty, and accused Nairobi of forcibly sending people back to a war zone. The government dismisses that allegation. "The government has accepted the request to extend the deadline for the completion of repatriation of Somali refugees, and this is essential to the closure of the Dadaab refugee complex, by six months," Kenya's Interior Minister Joseph Ole Nkaisery said.<sup>6</sup>

### Iranians face terrorism charges after filming Israeli embassy in Kenya

Two Iranians and their Kenyan driver, who worked for the Iranian embassy in Nairobi, were charged on December 1, 2016 with collecting information for a terrorist act after filming the Israeli embassy, lawyers said. Sayed Nasrollah Ebrahimi, Abdolhosein Ghola Safafe and driver Moses Keyah Mmboga "were found taking video clips of the Israeli embassy...for the use in the commission of a terrorist act", according to a charge sheet produced in court. The three men were in a car belonging to the Iranian embassy when they were arrested on November 29, 2016, the court papers said. The diplomatic status of the two Iranians was unclear. The Iranian embassy did not respond to requests for comment.<sup>7</sup>

## Malawi

### Malawi announces Africa's first Humanitarian Drone Testing Corridor

Malawi's government on December 15, 2016 announced Africa's first drone air corridor to provide a controlled platform for drones to deliver needed services to communities. Alfred Mtilatila, director of the Department of Civil Aviation, said the launch of the testing corridor is largely supported by UNICEF-Malawi as a pilot project using unmanned aircraft systems, or UAS, for transporting dried blood samples for the early diagnosis of HIV in infants. "We would like to establish a designated area where we will permit different types of unmanned aerial vehicles so that we will be able to come up with the right type of vehicles which can be used for different purposes," Mtilatila said. In March 2016, UNICEF-Malawi successfully completed its first test flight of the 10-kilometer route from a community health center to the Kamuzu Central Hospital in the capital, Lilongwe.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Kenya delays closure of Somali refugee camp", *Reuters*, November 16, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-somalia-idUSKBN13B13Q>

<sup>7</sup> "Iranians face terrorism charges after filming Israeli embassy in Kenya", *Reuters*, December 1, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-security-iran-idUSKBN13Q506>

<sup>8</sup> "Malawi announces Africa's 1st humanitarian drone testing corridor", *Voice of America*, December 15, 2016, at <https://www.voanews.com/a/malawi-announces-africas-first-humanitarian-drone-testing-corridor/3637979.html>

## Mauritius

### India delivers fast patrol vessel to Mauritius

India's Goa Shipyard Limited has delivered the fast patrol vessel MCGS Victory to Mauritius, which is due to receive a second in 2017. The vessel was ceremonially handed over to K Jhugroo, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mauritius Police Force, on September 26, 2016 at Goa Shipyard Limited (GSL) in the presence of senior officials from Mauritius and India. The contract for the vessel was signed on May 17, 2014 and the keel was laid on December 18, in the same year.<sup>9</sup>

## Mozambique

### Mozambique Government and RENAMO resume peace talks

The Mozambique government and opposition party RENAMO have resumed talks despite the October 9 killing of a senior RENAMO official by unidentified gunmen, the state news agency AIM said on October 19, 2016. The death of Jeremias Pondeca, a member of the Joint Commission set up to find ways to overcome a standoff between the government and RENAMO over a range of issues, cast a cloud over the negotiations. AIM said the talks, which were originally supposed to have resumed on October 17, did so on October 18 after a minute's silence for Pondeca. The commission has so far reached no definitive agreement on any of the matters on its agenda, including RENAMO's demands for six provincial governors and the inclusion of its militia in the army and police. The commission was also set up to prepare the ground for a face-to-face meeting between President Filipe Nyusi and RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama.<sup>10</sup>

### Peace talks between Mozambique's opposition leader and the Government called off

Peace talks between Mozambique's opposition leader Afonso Dhlakama and mediators were called off at the weekend after fighting broke out between the military and ex-rebel fighters, local media reported on October 26, 2016. The meeting was part of negotiations that opened in May 2016 to end a simmering conflict between the government and the former RENAMO rebel group. "We had agreed (with President Filipe Nyusi) that two mediators would come...to meet me," Dhlakama told the independent weekly Canal de Mocambique. But Dhlakama, who has been holed-up in the central Gorongosa Mountains for a year now, said the military increased its presence near the venue of the meeting on the morning of the talks.

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<sup>9</sup> "India delivers fast patrol vessel to Mauritius", *Defence Web*, December 11, 2016, at [http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=45505:india-delivers-fast-patrol-vessel-to-mauritius&catid=51:Sea&Itemid=106](http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=45505:india-delivers-fast-patrol-vessel-to-mauritius&catid=51:Sea&Itemid=106)

<sup>10</sup> "Mozambique opposition Renamo, government resume peace talks: state media", *Reuters*, October 19, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mozambique-renamo-talks-idUSKCN12J294>

“It is obvious they have a plan to kill me,” he added. Raffaelli, the European Union-appointed mediator, declined to comment when contacted by AFP.<sup>11</sup>

### Thousand’s flee Mozambique due to escalating violence

The year 2016 has seen a sharp escalation in violence between the Government troops and the rebels in Mozambique; and more than 15,000 people have been forced to flee to government-run camps, relatives’ homes or across the border to Malawi and Zimbabwe. The clashes between longtime rivals, the Frelimo government and RENAMO, an armed insurgent group and also an elected opposition party, have revived the spectre of Mozambique’s civil war that ended more than 20 years ago. The authorities estimate several thousand more internally displaced people have escaped the conflict zone to stay with relatives elsewhere. The UN refugee agency says 8,600 people have also fled from the conflict in neighbouring Malawi and Zimbabwe. Mozambique is still recovering from its bloody 1976-1992 civil war when one million people died during years of sporadic fighting between Frelimo and RENAMO.<sup>12</sup>

## Rwanda

### Rwanda accuses 22 French army officers of genocide

Rwanda’s Government said that 22 French senior military officers helped plan and execute the 1994 genocide, in which more than 800,000 people were killed. The French officers were involved both as perpetrators and accomplices, Rwanda’s National Commission for the Fight against Genocide said in a statement on October 31, 2016. “The refusal to end the judicial investigation and pronounce a dismissal against Rwandan leaders who ended the genocide is an attempt to conceal their responsibilities,” the statement said, referring to France. The publication of the list, including four French generals, comes after French investigators reopened an inquiry into the plane crash that killed a Rwandan president and sparked the genocide.<sup>13</sup>

### Refugee status of the Rwandan refugees to be taken away after 2017

Rwandans living in foreign countries as refugees will lose that status at the end of next year (2017) and should use the remaining time to plan their relocation or get proper documentation

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<sup>11</sup> “Peace talks with Mozambique’s opposition leader called off”, *news24*, October 26, 2016, at <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/peace-talks-with-mozambiques-opposition-leader-called-off-20161026-172>

<sup>12</sup> “Mozambique’s escalating violence forces thousands to flee”, *Yahoo News*, December 30, 2016, at <https://www.yahoo.com/news/mozambiques-escalating-violence-forces-thousands-flee-061811994.html>

<sup>13</sup> “Rwanda names 22 French army officers accused of genocide”, *US News*, October 31, 2016, at <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-10-31/rwanda-accuses-22-french-army-officers-of-genocide>

from their host countries. The announcement was jointly made by the Minister for Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs, Seraphine Mukantabana, and Saber Azam, the country representative for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). They were speaking at a news conference in Kigali held to highlight key achievements made in 2016 in line with protecting refugees who live in Rwanda as well as progress towards helping former Rwandan refugees who return home.<sup>14</sup>

## Seychelles

### Seychelles and China boost defence cooperation

The Deputy Chief of the Joint Staff Department at the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China, General Wang Guanzhong, paid a courtesy call to President Danny Faure at State House on November 22, 2016. General Wang and his delegation are in Seychelles to pursue discussions and explore new avenues to enhance the bilateral cooperation between Seychelles and China in the field of defence. President Faure welcomed General Wang on his first visit to the country and said that Seychelles remains grateful for all the support provided by the Government of the People's Republic of China, especially in its difficult moments. The President also expressed his wish to increase cooperation with the Chinese military to help shape the structure of the defence forces of Seychelles so that it helps the community. They also had lengthy discussions on possible future cooperation with the Chinese military through exchange of personnel, training, equipment, and high level exchange visits between Seychelles and China. Defence cooperation between Seychelles and China has progressively increased since the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on Defence Cooperation in October 2004.<sup>15</sup>

### NATO formally ends anti-piracy operations near Seychelles

A decade after the Somali pirate threat began to paralyse the maritime trade off East Africa, harming Seychelles' tourism numbers in the process, NATO on December 15, 2016 will formally end its counter-piracy operation known as Operation Ocean Shield. Seychelles should see the end of the international military alliance's counter-piracy operation as a sign of the international community's growing confidence in the region's capacity to detect maritime threats and ensure security, an official of the island nation's Foreign Affairs Ministry says. Announcing the decision to end the operation in July, NATO highlighted a sharp drop in piracy attacks in the region, citing no successful attacks since May 2012. Pirate attacks off the vast coastline of Somalia declined from 236 in 2011 to two reportedly unsuccessful attacks

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<sup>14</sup> "Rwanda refugees to lose refugee status after 2017", *The New Times*, December 21, 2016, at <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/206446/>

<sup>15</sup> "Boost of defence cooperation between Seychelles and China", *Mareeg*, November 23, 2016, at <http://mareeg.com/boost-of-defence-cooperation-between-seychelles-and-china/>

in 2014, thanks to international counter-piracy cooperation efforts as well as armed guards now stationed on most large ships that traverse the region's waters.<sup>16</sup>

## Uganda

### At least 62 dead as Uganda acts against tribal king

The death toll from a weekend of fighting in western Uganda has risen to 62 after clashes between police and a militia loyal to a tribal king, according to regional police. "So far we managed to kill 46 of the royal guards and we also arrested 139 [guards]," regional police spokesman Mansur Suwed told the Reuters news agency. He said the number of police personnel killed had risen to 16 from 14 after two officers died of their injury. Police arrested King Charles Wesley Mumbere on November 27, 2016; and accused his supporters of trying to create a new state in the area near the border with Democratic Republic of Congo. Mumbere has distanced himself from the cause. However, the authorities accuse his royal guards of training in the mountains beside separatist militia forces to attack government installations.<sup>17</sup>

## *Economy and Development*

## Djibouti

### Chinese-built railway link from Ethiopia to Djibouti opens

A US\$3.4 billion Chinese-built railway linking the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa and the port city of Djibouti opened on October 5, 2016. It is a boost to the economies of both the African countries; and an important milestone for Chinese investments in Africa. The new 750-km line, which completely replaces a long-defunct French line built in the early 20th century, will reduce travel time between the two cities to 10 hours from the two to three days it currently takes to navigate the congested potholed roads crossed by 1,500 trucks a day. The trains, which will transport freight only during an initial three-month testing period, will be manned by Chinese drivers and conductors for five years while local staff are trained to operate the line.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "NATO ends anti-piracy operation; Seychelles to continue to monitor sea threats", *Seychelles News Agency*, December 14, 2016, at <http://www.seychellesnewsagency.com/articles/6434/NATO+ends+anti-piracy+operation%3B+Seychelles+to+continue+to+monitor+sea+threats>

<sup>17</sup> "At least 62 dead as Uganda moves against tribal king", *Al Jazeera*, November 28, 2016, at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/62-dead-uganda-moves-tribal-king-161128092819220.html>

<sup>18</sup> "Chinese-built railway opens linking Ethiopia to Djibouti", *France 24*, October 5, 2016, at <http://www.france24.com/en/20161005-chinese-built-railway-opens-linking-ethiopia-djibouti>

### Djibouti Data Center selected as a Strategic Hub for Pan-African Expansion by China Telecom

China Telecom Global (CTG), the international operating subsidiary of China Telecom Corporation (China Telecom), a leading integrated information service provider in China, has selected the Djibouti Data Center (DDC), to help facilitate network expansion, co-location and submarine fiber cable access services in East Africa. The Djibouti Data Center has been built to Tier III data center standards and serves as a major meeting point for submarine fiber cable systems including the new Southeast Asia-Middle East-Western Europe (SEA-ME-WE 5) submarine cable designed to connect Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Western Europe. China Telecom Global is a founding member of the consortium for SEA-ME-WE 5, which is expected to be ready for service in late 2016.<sup>19</sup>

### Joint Ethiopia and Djibouti company to manage Chinese railway

Ethiopia and Djibouti have entered an agreement which will see them establish a joint company which will manage the newly built Ethio-Djibouti railway. The 750-km railway line linking Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa and Red Sea state of Djibouti was formally inaugurated in October 2016. The Chinese built project was aimed at creating new manufacturing industries, improving transport and further opening up landlocked Ethiopia. Ethiopia's Minister of Transport, Ahmed Shide and his Djiboutian counterpart, Mohammed Abdulkadir Musa, signed the agreement after a negotiation that took more than a year, the state affiliated FANA broadcasting corporate reported.<sup>20</sup>

## Ethiopia

### Five cooperation agreements signed between Ethiopia and Turkey

Ethiopia and Turkey signed five cooperation agreements in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa on December 28, 2016, setting out mechanisms to facilitate more trade between the two countries. Turkish Economy Minister Nihat Zeybekci and heads of Ethiopian agencies had signed the agreements. "Both sides agreed to mutual cooperation in the fields of energy, mining and hydrocarbon," the agreement said. Turkey will cooperate with relevant Ethiopian institutions to upgrade their skill sets in geothermal and coal field surveys. Turkey also agreed to provide technical support to build the capacity of Ethiopia's small-and-medium enterprises. Also, "both sides agreed to strengthen the technical and capacity building cooperation between the Ministry of Industry of Ethiopia and the Ministry of Economy of

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<sup>19</sup> "China Telecom Global selects the Djibouti Data Center (DDC) as a strategic hub for pan-African expansion", *Marketwired*, December 5, 2016, at <http://www.marketwired.com/press-release/china-telecom-global-selects-djibouti-data-center-ddc-as-strategic-hub-pan-african-expansion-2180862.htm>

<sup>20</sup> "Ethiopia and Djibouti establish joint company to manage Chinese railway", *africanews.com*, December 13, 2016, at <http://www.africanews.com/2016/12/13/ethiopia-and-djibouti-establish-joint-company-to-manage-chinese-railway/>

Turkey to strengthen the manufacturing sector's productivity, competitiveness and export capacity," the agreement said. The Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation also signed a cooperation agreement with the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation. The two countries also agreed to "enhance their efforts to promote their products in each other's markets, establish a sustained mechanism for the exchange of trade and investment information, and narrow trade imbalances."<sup>21</sup>

## Kenya

### Kenya's main opposition party warns investors against next Eurobond

Kenya's main opposition party cautioned transaction advisers and potential foreign investors against participating in the nation's next Eurobond offer as it revived allegations that almost US\$1 billion from a sale of the securities in 2014 remains unaccounted for. Odinga, a former Kenyan prime minister, first alleged last year (2015) that some of the proceeds from the sale of US\$2.82 billion of Eurobonds two years ago were misappropriated. In May 2016, the country's director of public prosecutions declined to investigate the allegations, citing a lack of evidence. President Uhuru Kenyatta's government has repeatedly denied any wrongdoing and said the funds were used to pay off a US\$600-million syndicated loan, finance road, rail and port construction and expand electricity generation. East Africa's largest economy is considering selling as much as US\$4.6 billion of debt including Eurobonds to plug a budget deficit expected to widen to 9.3 per cent of gross domestic product in 2016 from about 7.9 per cent in 2015.<sup>22</sup>

### Oil and mining pacts signed between Kenya and Sudan

Kenya and Sudan have signed agreements to deepen collaboration in oil and mining industry. Hence, Kenya is poised to gain from the agreements as Sudan has made strides in both sectors. Sudan is an established oil exporting country and has also made progress in mineral business with the government owned Sudan Gold Refinery in Khartoum producing 80 tonnes of pure gold in the last one year. President Uhuru Kenyatta and President Omar al-Bashir witnessed the signing of the two MoUs at the Presidential Palace in Khartoum. The agreement on mining will enhance cooperation in the sector for mutual benefit. It also aims to strengthen cooperation in mineral research and exploration institutions. Further, it will boost Kenya's mining industry through the exchange of expertise and training.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> "Ethiopia, Turkey sign 5 cooperation agreements", *aa.com.tr*, December 28, 2016, at <http://aa.com.tr/en/africa/ethiopia-turkey-sign-5-cooperation-agreements-/715920>

<sup>22</sup> "Kenya's opposition warns investors against next Eurobond", *Bloomberg*, October 17, 2016, at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-17/kenya-s-main-opposition-warns-investors-against-next-eurobond>

<sup>23</sup> "Kenya, Sudan sign oil and mining pacts", *Daily Nation*, October 31, 2016, at <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/-oil-and-mining-pacts/1056-3435312-x0q7ck/index.html>

### Volkswagen to reopen assembly in Kenya

President Uhuru Kenyatta is expected to reopen the Volkswagen assembly plant in Thika. The State House said that it indicates Kenya's improving business environment. The opening of the plant on December 21, 2016, which had been announced in early 2016, will mean that the German car maker is returning to assembling cars in Kenya since 1970s when it used to manufacture the Beetle model. "It is evidence that we have put in place the right policies and are promoting the right environment for industry to grow, for business to grow, for jobs to grow," President Kenyatta said in a statement released by State House on December 18, 2016.<sup>24</sup>

## Malawi

### Malawi to benefit from Chinese built railway link with Zambia

The 388-kilometer railway, to run from the eastern town of Chipata to the central town of Serenje via another eastern town of Petauke, where it will meet the existing line to Lilongwe in Malawi and the port of Nacala in Mozambique, will be constructed by China Civil Engineering Construction Company (CCECC), at a cost of US\$2.3 billion within a four-year period. Zambia's Minister of Transport and Communication Brian Mushimba said during the signing on ceremony in Lusaka that the railway line will promote local and international trade once completed. "This project is meant to enhance regional and international trade through the Nacala Development Corridor with a direct economic stimulus in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique," he said.<sup>25</sup>

## Mauritius

### Mauritius hopeful of remaining top FDI source to India despite new treaty

Even as negotiations are underway, Mauritius is hopeful of remaining the largest source of foreign investments into India even under the new treaty. In May 2016, India and Mauritius signed a protocol amending the India-Mauritius Tax Treaty to introduce in-principle taxation of capital gains in India in a phased manner. "The initial treaty was the double taxation avoidance, it was helpful to both Mauritius as well as India because many investments were coming here through Mauritius. The Prime Minister of the island nation said economic and diplomatic ties between the two nations have been on an upswing and pointed out that there are already lots of investments by Indian people so he does not see any reason why it

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<sup>24</sup> "Volkswagen to reopen assembly in bid to improve economy", *Daily Nation*, December 19, 2016, at <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Volkswagen-to-reopen-assembly-in-bid-to-improve-economy/1056-3490786-ykc6ew/index.html>

<sup>25</sup> "Malawi to benefit from US\$2.3 billion Chinese railway link with Zambia", *Nyasa Times*, November 5, 2016, at <http://www.nyasatimes.com/malawi-benefit-us2-3-bn-chinese-railway-link-zambia/>

should not continue. He said the country is trying to diversify and at the same time negotiating for new treaty.<sup>26</sup>

## Mozambique

### BP signs a 20 year deal with Eni to buy gas from Mozambique

BP has agreed a 20-year deal with Eni of Italy to buy liquefied natural gas from a big new field off the coast of Mozambique in a step toward the south-east African country's emergence as a force in global energy production. By guaranteeing a customer for the entire output of the Coral South field in the Indian Ocean, the BP contract clears the way for Eni to make its long-awaited final investment decision on the multibillion-dollar project. It could also add impetus to efforts by Eni to sell a stake in its Mozambique assets, with Exxon widely touted by bankers and analysts as the most likely buyer. Eni has been at the forefront of several big gas discoveries off the Mozambique coast, raising hopes of a natural resources boom for one of the world's poorest countries.<sup>27</sup>

### Mozambique's message to bondholders brings economic crisis to a head

Mozambique stunned bondholders by telling them that it had barely US\$25m left in its coffers to pay creditors in 2017 after falling into "debt distress" from a series of contentious loans that have pushed its debt levels to 130 per cent of gross domestic product. The admission has brought to a head a crisis that had already caused the International Monetary Fund and western donors to suspend vital lending and aid to the government. The saga, which involves loans of more than US\$2 billion, has raised huge concerns about governance and transparency and threatens to further delay the development of the very gas projects that Maputo has been banking on. The consortiums developing the fields are led by Anadarko of the US and Italy's Eni. The projects were already behind schedule, partly because of low oil prices. The debt crisis will add to uncertainty about when the projects will go ahead and threatens to increase the cost of financing, said a banker with knowledge of the projects.<sup>28</sup>

### IMF may resume aid to Mozambique from early 2017

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) could agree a new aid programme to Mozambique early next year (2017) if the government makes good on pledges to renegotiate loans with creditors and allows an independent debt audit, an IMF official said. The IMF cancelled its funding in 2016 after the emergence of more than US\$2 billion in loans that were not approved

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<sup>26</sup> "Mauritius hopes to remain top FDI source despite new treaty", *The Indian Express*, November 20, 2016, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/mauritius-hopes-to-remain-top-fdi-source-despite-new-treaty-4386203/>

<sup>27</sup> "BP signs deal with Eni to buy gas from new Mozambique field", *Financial Times*, October 4, 2016, at <https://www.ft.com/content/a42be174-8a44-11e6-8cb7-e7ada1d123b1>

<sup>28</sup> "Message to bondholders brings Mozambique crisis to a head", *Financial Express*, October 28, 2016, at <https://www.ft.com/content/7eee7ef0-9c5d-11e6-a6e4-8b8e77dd083a>

by parliament or disclosed publicly, sending the war-scarred southern African nation's currency into freefall. The metical has lost 40 per cent of its value against the dollar since January 2016, inflating the cost of servicing more than US\$11 billion of state debt. The government recently admitted that the situation was unsustainable, with the country's debt to GDP ratio likely to hit 130 per cent in 2016.<sup>29</sup>

### **Eni finalises plans for Mozambique's offshore gas development**

Eni, the Italian energy company, on November 18, 2016 finalised plans to develop Mozambique's Coral South offshore gas project, part of a larger scheme that will see Italy's top energy company and partners spend an estimated US\$50 billion. ENI has discovered huge gas reserves in its Area 4 concession, offering Mozambique, one of the world's poorest countries, potentially lucrative liquefied natural gas (LNG) exports. The Coral South project will require the construction of six subsea wells connected to a floating production facility capable of producing more than 3.3 million tonnes of LNG per year, ENI said. The latest approval by ENI's board of directors clears the way for final investment decision (FID) on the deep-water Coral South project once ENI's partners also approve it and financing has been underwritten.<sup>30</sup>

## **Rwanda**

### **Agriculture agreements signed between Rwanda and Morocco**

Rwanda and Morocco, on October 20, 2016 sealed cooperation Agriculture agreements in areas including: exchange of expertise in water management, agriculture finance and crop insurance, horticulture, as well as animal health and production. Other areas include soil mapping and testing, irrigation as well fertiliser manufacturing and blending. The signing was witnessed by His Majesty Mohammed VI, the King of Morocco, and President Paul Kagame of Rwanda. The two leaders were accompanied by senior officials from both countries.<sup>31</sup>

## **Seychelles**

### **Qatar Airways to provide daily service to Seychelles**

Qatar Airways will provide travellers with greater access to the idyllic white sand beaches and turquoise waters of the Seychelles with daily flights from Doha starting on December

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<sup>29</sup> "IMF says could resume Mozambique aid early 2017", *Reuters*, November 2, 2016, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFKBN12X0XL>

<sup>30</sup> "Eni signs off on plans for Mozambique gas development", *Reuters*, November 18, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-eni-mozambique-idUSKBN13D1B1>

<sup>31</sup> "Rwanda and Morocco sign agriculture agreements", *All Africa*, October 20, 2016, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201610250168.htmlv>

12, 2016. Travellers wishing to explore the beauty of the Seychelles – one of the world’s most popular tourist destinations in the Indian Ocean – will enjoy convenient flights and award-winning service when travelling with Qatar Airways. Residents of the Seychelles will also benefit from the opportunity to connect to the airline’s network of more than 150 business and leisure destinations around the world via the airline’s hub in Doha.<sup>32</sup>

#### Fourth Seychelles India Day celebrated

Graced by top Indian talent from Indian cinema, performing arts and culinary world, the 4th year event was a landmark in itself. Seychelles India Day was conceptualised to celebrate and strengthen bi-lateral ties between India and Seychelles through experiences around food, music, culture of both countries. This occasion is now celebrated over the weekend after Gandhi Jayanti every year, and is now established by the Seychelles government as an official public holiday. **Alchemist is the curator and incubator of the event.** This year, the celebrations opened with an Inauguration Ceremony that was jeweled by Indian and Seychellois performers.<sup>33</sup>

## Tanzania

#### Tanzania, Congo sign joint petroleum exploration deal on Lake Tanganyika

Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo signed a memorandum of understanding on October 4, 2016 for joint exploration and development of hydrocarbons in Lake Tanganyika. The lake, which straddles the border between Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Zambia, is the world’s second largest by volume and second deepest, according to officials. “We have signed a memorandum of understanding to exchange experiences in exploration and exploitation of petroleum in Lake Tanganyika,” Congolese President Joseph Kabila told a news conference in Dar es Salaam after talks with Tanzanian President John Magufuli. “We believe that there is petroleum in Lake Tanganyika.” Kabila, who arrived in Tanzania late on October 3, 2016 for a three-day state visit, said the two countries had agreed to pursue joint oil and gas exploration activities in the lake.<sup>34</sup>

#### Tanzania to commission natural gas plant by 2025

Tanzania, which has at least 57 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves, plans to commission a plant by 2025 to process as much as 11.1 trillion cubic feet. The Ministry of Energy’s plan

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<sup>32</sup> Qatar Airways plans daily service to Seychelles”, *Trade Arabia*, October 20, 2016, at [http://www.tradearabia.com/news/TTN\\_315403.html](http://www.tradearabia.com/news/TTN_315403.html)

<sup>33</sup> “4th Seychelles India Day executed by Alchemist, featured Shibani Dandekar, Sunidhi Chauhan, Udit Narayan”, *Everything Experiential*, November 25, 2016, at <http://everythingexperiential.businessworld.in/article/4th-Seychelles-India-Day-executed-by-Alchemist-featured-Shibani-Dandekar-Sunidhi-Chauhan-Udit-Narayan/25-11-2016-108805/>

<sup>34</sup> “Tanzania, Congo sign deal for joint petroleum exploration in Lake Tanganyika”, *Reuters*, October 4, 2016, at <http://af.reuters.com/article/africaTech/idAFL5N1CA40M>

estimates that the East African nation can recover as much as 70 per cent of the resource. It also projects total demand at 32.5 trillion cubic feet over three decades, with 8.8 trillion cubic feet going to power generation, according to a document handed to reporters in the commercial capital, Dar es Salaam. Tanzania utilizes about 33 billion cubic feet each year to generate 711 megawatts of electricity, according to the document. The nation plans to export at least 3.1 trillion cubic feet of natural gas to East and Southern Africa in the 30 years through 2045 as global prices drop. "Declining global prices mean regional markets maybe be a better option to monetize the resource," according to the plan.<sup>35</sup>

#### US\$120 million ADB infrastructure loan to Tanzania

The African Development Bank Group and Tanzania's CRDB Bank Plc signed a US\$120 million loan agreement on November 30, 2016 to finance infrastructure projects and give credit to small and medium size businesses in Tanzania, a press release said. "The loan will support infrastructure development, particularly the power and transport sectors, which is a major constraint for Tanzania's economic diversification and growth," the statement said. Tanzanian President John Magufuli, nicknamed "the Bulldozer" during his previous stint as public works minister, is keen to expand the country's infrastructure and has launched a revenue drive to fund new roads, bridges and electricity infrastructure.<sup>36</sup>

## Uganda

#### Ugandans can now travel to Rwanda and Kenya without passports

While officially Launching the six edition of Magical Kenya at Kenyatta International Conference Center Nairobi, Hon. Najib Balala, Cabinet Secretary, Ministry of Tourism Kenya noted that the move was the missing link to creating a "border-less" East Africa. Over a year back, Uganda, Kenya and Rwanda had established a tripartite agreement meant to promote inter-state travels among the three countries. Since then, a couple developments have been registered. The Visa was scrapped. The construction of a standard Railway was commissioned. On October 12, 2016 a pledge was made to establish a system through which citizens from the three countries can travel using only their National Identity Cards as opposed to passports.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "Tanzania plans to commission natural gas plant by 2025", *Bloomberg*, October 6, 2016, at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-06/tanzania-plans-to-commission-natural-gas-plant-by-2025>

<sup>36</sup> "ADB gives Tanzania bank \$120 million loan for infrastructure", *Reuters*, November 30, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/tanzania-infrastructure-idUSL4N1DV4DK>

<sup>37</sup> "Ugandans to travel to Rwanda and Kenya without Passports", *New Vision*, October 12, 2016, at [http://www.newvision.co.ug/new\\_vision/news/1437547/ugandans-travel-rwanda-kenya-passports](http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1437547/ugandans-travel-rwanda-kenya-passports)

### Uganda starts up first solar power plant

Uganda on December 12, 2016 started up its first grid-connected, 10 megawatt solar power plant as the east African country moves to tap its renewable energy resources and expand its electricity generation capacity. Funded by Norway, Germany, UK and the European Union, the US\$19 million plant was developed by Access Power and Eren Re, two energy sector investors based in Dubai and France respectively. Uganda, a prospective crude oil producer of some 34 million people, generates about 850 megawatts of electricity, mostly from hydropower dams. Officials have said they want to increase that capacity to 1,500 megawatts by 2018 and are seeking foreign investors to develop the country's non-traditional energy sources such as solar and geothermal.<sup>38</sup>

## Zambia

### Zambia, Russia sign MoUs on nuclear energy

Zambia has signed four memorandums of understanding (MoU) in nuclear development with Russia's energy giant Rosatom to ultimately construct a two gigawatt nuclear power plant.

The MoUs signed are on co-operation enhancement of public awareness of nuclear energy in Zambia; co-operation in training and skills development in the field of nuclear sciences; co-operation in nuclear safety and regulation; and for the construction of a centre for nuclear science and technology in Zambia. Rosatom deputy general director Nikolay Spassky has said that the economic potential of the agreements and memorandums is worth US\$10 billion and he has commended President Lungu for his political will to the project.<sup>39</sup>

### Zambia withholds US\$243 million in tax refunds owed to mining firms

Zambia is withholding 2.4 billion kwacha (US\$243 million) of the 5 billion kwacha owed to mining companies in tax refunds because the correct documentation has not been provided, the tax authority said. Zambia's government began paying up to 800 million kwacha a month in Value Added Tax refunds to mining companies in June, aiming to put an end to a long running dispute in which firms were owed about US\$700 million. Some funds are being withheld because companies have not provided documents showing the export destination, Zambia Revenue Authority head Kingsley Chanda told reporters.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> "Uganda starts up first solar power plant in bid to tap renewables", *Voice of America*, December 12, 2016, at <https://www.voanews.com/a/uganda-solar-power/3632928.html>

<sup>39</sup> "Zambia, Russia in nuclear energy pact", *Zambia Daily Mail*, December 8, 2016, at <https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/zambia-russia-in-nuclear-energy-pact/>

<sup>40</sup> "Zambia withholding \$243 million in tax refunds owed to mining firms", *Reuters*, December 28, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/zambia-tax-idUSL5N1EN0T4>

## Zimbabwe

### Mugabe launches new currency for Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has launched a controversial new currency in a last ditch bid to inject desperately needed cash into its failing economy. Many ordinary people fear the new “bond notes”, issued on November 28, 2016 by the central bank in Zimbabwe, will trigger economic chaos, wiping out savings and causing massive hardship for millions. Zimbabwe has been ruled by Robert Mugabe, 92, since 1980. Some observers have called the bond notes the autocratic president’s “last gamble”. The central bank says bond notes will ease crippling shortages of currency, but there are fears their introduction could encourage rampant printing of cash, as happened in 2008. Only the introduction of the dollar as the official currency in 2009 halted an economic meltdown. In recent months, there has been unrest after the Zimbabwean government was repeatedly forced to delay salary payments to teachers, doctors, soldiers and administrators.<sup>41</sup>

## Politics

## Eritrea

### Two Eritrean pilots defect to Ethiopia with their fighter jets

Two Eritrean pilots have defected with their fighter jets to neighboring Ethiopia, an Eritrean opposition group confirmed on October 27, 2016, in a dramatic exit from one of the world’s most closed-off states. “The two pilots flew their small-sized fighter jets to Mekelle on Wednesday morning,” Nasredin Ahmed Ali, spokesman for the Ethiopia-based Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization, told The Associated Press. The spokesman identified the pilots as Afeworki Fisehaye and Mebrahtu Tesfamariam and described them as being very experienced with Eritrea’s air force.<sup>42</sup>

## Ethiopia

### Ethiopia withdraws troops in Somalia

Ethiopia has withdrawn troops from Somalia, where they had been battling Islamist militants. It blames a lack of international support for the move, following the EU’s recent cut in its funding for foreign troops in Somalia. Ethiopia is a major contributor of soldiers to the AMISOM, the African Union mission in the country. Ethiopia has recently withdrawn from

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<sup>41</sup> “Mugabe launches new currency in ‘last gamble’ for Zimbabwe”, *theguardian*, November 28, 2016, at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/28/mugabe-launches-new-currency-in-last-gamble-for-zimbabwe>

<sup>42</sup> “2 Eritrean pilots defect to Ethiopia with jets, group says”, *Voice of America*, October 27, 2016, at <https://www.voanews.com/a/two-eritrean-pilots-defect-to-ethiopia-with-jets-group-says/3568331.html>

several other bases, which were quickly occupied by al-Shabab militants. Officials in Somalia's Bakol region say some residents have already fled the area since the Ethiopian troops left, fearing an imminent of al-Shabab, which is part of al-Qaeda. Ethiopian Communications Minister Getachew Reda told the BBC that the troops withdrawn from south-western Somalia were not part of Amisom.<sup>43</sup>

### **Top Oromo opposition politician arrested for his European Parliament speech by Ethiopia**

A top opposition politician from Ethiopia's Oromo ethnic group who criticised the country's state of emergency at the European Parliament has been arrested, the government announced on December 1, 2016. Police arrested Merera Gudina and three others from his home in Addis Ababa late December 31, 2016, shortly after his return from Europe. The trip included a November 9 speech to the European Parliament in which Gudina said tens of thousands have been arrested under the state of emergency in Ethiopia. The Oromo, the largest ethnic group in the country, have been protesting in 2015 over their historical marginalisation as well as corrupt local government and the confiscation of farmland for factories. At least 700 people are estimated to have died in the ongoing crackdown.<sup>44</sup>

## **Kenya**

### **Kenya fumes after UN blames its General for South Sudan violence**

Kenya's UN ambassador said that the Kenyan general who was in charge of peacekeepers in South Sudan during a violent episode in July 2016 has been made a 'scapegoat' for systemic UN peacekeeping failures. Ambassador Macharia Kamau told reporters that an internal UN investigation into events during July 8-11, was conducted with a "preordained outcome in mind." "The investigation, we have come to conclude, is shameful, unfair and an exercise in scapegoating," Kamau said at a news conference. An independent investigation team appointed by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon blamed "a lack of leadership on the part of key senior mission personnel" for the peacekeepers chaotic and ineffective response to fighting that killed some 300 people.<sup>45</sup>

### **Kenya deports British journalist**

A British journalist working for The Times of London newspaper said that he was being deported from Kenya after being detained for more than a day at the airport without

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<sup>43</sup> "Ethiopia withdraws troops in Somalia over 'lack of support'", *BBC News*, October 26, 2016, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-37775555>

<sup>44</sup> "Ethiopia arrests top Oromo opposition politician after Europe Parliament speech", *The Washington Post*, December 1, 2016, at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/ethiopia-arrests-top-oromo-opposition-politician-after-europe-parliament-speech/2016/12/01/b79add2c-b79a-11e6-a677-b608fbb3aaf6\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.259018626b7e](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/ethiopia-arrests-top-oromo-opposition-politician-after-europe-parliament-speech/2016/12/01/b79add2c-b79a-11e6-a677-b608fbb3aaf6_story.html?utm_term=.259018626b7e)

<sup>45</sup> "Kenya in uproar after UN blames General for S. Sudan violence", *Voice of America*, November 3, 2016, at <https://www.voanews.com/a/south-sudan-kenya-unmiss-ondieki/3579735.html>

explanation or charge. Jerome Starkey, 35, was locked in a cell overnight after arriving in Kenya from the UK late on December 8, 2016. "Over 24 hrs in detention in Kenya – denied access to a lawyer – now I'm being deported without explanation? Smacks of intimidation," Starkey wrote on Twitter shortly before being flown out of Kenya. Officers told Starkey a "security block" had been placed on his passport but were unable to provide any further information. Kenyan authorities did not respond to requests for a comment. An award-winning journalist, Starkey has lived in Kenya since 2012 when he was appointed Africa correspondent for *The Times* after years working in Afghanistan. Starkey has reported extensively on terrorism, security, miscarriages of justice, conservation and drugs trafficking while based in East Africa.<sup>46</sup>

## Mozambique

### Prominent opposition leader in Mozambique killed

The killing of a prominent opposition leader on October 8, 2016, in Maputo puts ongoing peace talks in Mozambique at risk, said Human Rights Watch October 11, 2016. Jeremias Pondeca, 55, was a former member of parliament representing the opposition party RENAMO. He was also a member of a team preparing a meeting between President Filipe Nyusi and the opposition leader Afonso Dhlakama to end the current military and political hostilities between RENAMO and the government. At least nine other people have died across Mozambique since March 2015 in what seem to be politically motivated killings, which the authorities have failed to properly investigate or prosecute. "The killing of Jeremias Pondeca is not only a horrendous taking of a life, but is a blow to efforts to resolve Mozambique's dangerous political situation," said Daniel Bekele, Africa director at Human Rights Watch.<sup>47</sup>

### Rwanda's Kagame visits Mozambique

President Paul Kagame arrived in the Mozambican capital Maputo on October 24, 2016 for a two day state visit. The visit falls within the framework of strengthening bilateral relations, solidarity and cooperation existing between Mozambique and Rwanda. "Many items on bilateral menu: Agriculture and Fisheries, Infrastructure, Justice, etc.," Rwanda's Foreign Affairs Minister Louise Mushikiwabo tweeted. A highly anticipated event in this visit is a lecture the president will deliver on "The Private Sector Contribution to Rwanda's Economic Development." The president, accompanied by Francois Kanimba, Minister of East African Affairs, Trade and Industries, Min. of Foreign Affairs Louise Mushikiwabo and Francis Gatete the CEO of Rwanda Development Board (RDB) and cabinet minister, will also visit

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<sup>46</sup> "British journalist deported from Kenya", *Capital FM*, December 10, 2016, at <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2016/12/british-journalist-deported-kenya/>

<sup>47</sup> "Mozambique: Prominent opposition leader killed", *Human Rights Watch*, October 11, 2016, at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/10/11/mozambique-prominent-opposition-leader-killed>

the Port of Maputo and participate in a talk with Mozambican business community and academicians.<sup>48</sup>

## Rwanda

### UN calls for cutting greenhouse gases at Rwanda talks

The world will not forgive leaders gathered in Rwanda if they fail to back a proposed agreement to cut greenhouse gases, a top UN official said on October 13, 2016, calling the deal an easy one to achieve. Representatives from about 150 nations heard the appeal as they opened negotiations on a deal to reduce the use of factory-made hydrofluorocarbon (HFC) gases, which are used in refrigerators, air conditioners and aerosols. US Secretary of State John Kerry landed in Rwanda on October 13 evening and will join the talks. US officials said they were optimistic an agreement could be reached at the meeting, which ends on October 14, 2016.<sup>49</sup>

## Seychelles

### Seychelles' new President sworn in to office

Mr. Danny Faure was sworn in to office on October 16, 2016, becoming the Seychelles' fourth president since the island nation gained independence from Britain. Faure succeeds outgoing President James Michel, whose resignation was announced in September 2016. Faure, 54, took the oath of allegiance and the presidential oath in a ceremony held at State House in the capital, Victoria. Outgoing President Michel was in attendance, as were government, judiciary and national assembly officials, foreign diplomats and families and friends.<sup>50</sup>

## South Africa

### South Africa announces quitting International Criminal Court

On October 21, 2016 South Africa announced that it was quitting the International Criminal Court (ICC) because membership conflicted with diplomatic immunity laws, dealing a new blow to the struggling court and angering the political opposition. Pretoria, in 2015, had announced its intention to leave after the ICC criticised it for disregarding an ICC order to

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<sup>48</sup> "Kagame in Mozambique for state visit", *KT Press*, October 24, 2016, at <http://ktpress.rw/2016/10/kagame-in-mozambique-for-state-visit/>

<sup>49</sup> "UN calls for deal to cut greenhouse gases at Rwanda talks", *Reuters*, October 13, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-un-climatechange-idUSKCN12D17G>

<sup>50</sup> "Seychelles' new President: Danny Faure sworn in to office, calls for unity", *Seychelles News Agency*, October 16, 2016, at <http://www.seychellesnewsagency.com/articles/6102/Seychelles%27+new+President+Danny+Faure+sworn+in+to+office%2C+calls+for+unity>

arrest Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, who is accused of genocide and war crimes, when he visited South Africa. Bashir has denied the accusations. The United Nations has confirmed the receipt of South Africa's withdrawal from the ICC, which will take effect one year from October 19, spokesman Stephane Dujarric said, making it the first country to quit the Rome Statute.<sup>51</sup>

## Zimbabwe

### At 92, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe to contest for another presidential term

Zimbabwe's 92-year-old president, Robert Mugabe, was endorsed on December 18, 2016 as the ruling party's candidate in a national election scheduled for 2018. The ruling Zanu-PF party announced its support in the south-eastern town of Masvingo, where the party's youth wing proposed that Mugabe should rule for life with broad powers. Opposition groups have described such adulation as a sign that Mugabe and his loyalists were out of touch with the desperation of a nation that is suffering massive unemployment, cash shortages and company closures. Despite the praise, Mugabe has acknowledged that some people within the ruling party wanted him to quit. "Let us stop fighting each other," he said, referring to the succession disputes that have engulfed his party.<sup>52</sup>

## India-Africa Relations

## Ghana

### India-financed rail project to enhance connectivity in West Africa

An India-financed US\$398 million railway project will push trade in eastern and northern Ghana and also open up landlocked countries in West Africa. Another US\$24.54 million project will enable the production of 102,000 tonnes of sugarcane to feed the Kommenda Sugar Factory in the central region, which is also Indian-financed. An Indian company, Afcons Infrastructure Limited, is to construct an 84.8 kilometre standard gauge railway line from Tema Port near Accra – financed by the Exim Bank of India – to link up with the Volta Lake at Akosombo in the eastern region, its assistant general manager, Amit Shah, told IANS. Shah said the project is to begin in January 2017.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> "South Africa to quit troubled UN war crimes court", *Reuters*, October 21, 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-safrica-icc-idUSKCN12L025?il=0>

<sup>52</sup> "Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe, 92, to stand in next election", *theguardian*, December 18, 2016, at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/18/zimbabwe-president-robert-mugabe-92-to-stand-in-next-election>

<sup>53</sup> India-financed rail project to enhance connectivity in West Africa", *Business Standard*, December 1, 2016, at [http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/india-financed-rail-project-to-enhance-connectivity-in-west-africa-116120100523\\_1.html](http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/india-financed-rail-project-to-enhance-connectivity-in-west-africa-116120100523_1.html)

## South Africa

### Tata strikes deal with South African car hire company

Automobile manufacturer Tata has struck a deal with a major South African car hire company to supply Tata Bolt 1.2 Turbo hatchbacks for its national rental fleet. Tata declined to disclose the exact number of vehicles, except to say that it was “a substantial number.” The Bolt, which was recently introduced in South Africa, will be offered at a competitive hire charge which will be one of the lowest in the country, including 100 kilometres free per day and standard insurance cover. Tata Bolt has been finding favour with particularly younger buyers in South Africa because of its affordability and features that include air conditioning, electric windows, Bluetooth connectivity and a touchscreen infotainment system, not found in similarly-price competitor vehicles.<sup>54</sup>

### South Africa presses for the revival of India-SACU trade pact talks

South Africa pressed for revival of the negotiations for the proposed preferential trade agreement between India and five-nation Southern African Customs Union (SACU). South Africa’s Minister of Trade and Industry Rob Davies said that both the sides have their sensitivities but the effort should be to expedite the negotiations, which are on a “very slow track”. “India has got its sensitivities, we have our sensitivities,” Davies told PTI in an interview. Citing an example, he said there are high taxes on wines in India and “we are pretty sensitive about our clothing and textiles. So, I think sensitivities there on both the sides”. When asked whether there is any deadline to conclude the negotiations, he said, “No we have not (fixed any deadline). It (has) gone on to a very slow track. We could agree to revive it”.<sup>55</sup>

### Dabur to acquire South African personal care firm

Consumer goods maker Dabur is acquiring the personal care business of CTL group of South Africa. The estimated size of the buyout is over INR10 crore. In July 2016, the maker of Real juices and Vatika shampoo had bought South African cosmetics manufacturing and trading firm Discaria Trading. The acquisition has been made by Dabur South Africa, which was the erstwhile Discaria. Dabur’s wholly-owned subsidiary Dabur International had acquired 100 per cent share capital of Discaria Trading, making the latter a step-down wholly owned subsidiary company of Dabur India.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> “Tata strikes deal with South African car hire company”, *The Economic Times*, October 6, 2016, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/auto/news/passenger-vehicle/cars/tata-strikes-deal-with-south-african-car-hire-company/articleshow/54715301.cms>

<sup>55</sup> “India-SACU trade pact talks needs to be revived: South Africa”, *The New Indian Express*, October 12, 2016, at <http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2016/oct/12/india-sacu-trade-pact-talks-needs-to-be-revived-south-africa-1527254.html>

<sup>56</sup> “Dabur to acquire personal care firm in South Africa”, *The Economic Times*, November 1, 2016, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/cons-products/fmcg/dabur-to-acquire-personal-care-firm-in-south-africa/articleshow/55186842.cms>

### India donates R2 million to South Africa's Nelson Mandela Foundation

India has given a two million rand grant to the Nelson Mandela Foundation to ensure that the legacy of the iconic anti-apartheid leader continues to improve the lives of South Africans. Indian High Commissioner Ruchi Ghanashyam presented the grant to the Foundation's Chief Executive Sello Hatang at a function in Johannesburg on November 29, 2016. The decision to make the donation was made following Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to South Africa in July and his interaction with struggle heroes at the Foundation.<sup>57</sup>

## Tanzania

### India's Ashok Leyland bags US\$170 million order from Tanzania

Hinduja flagship firm Ashok Leyland announced on October 20, 2016 that it had bagged order worth US\$170 million from Tanzania to supply vehicles, gensets and spares, among others. The order also includes supply of equipment for development of workshops, training modules and allied equipment to be fitted on ambulances, Ashok Leyland said in a BSE filing. Export to key international markets is an essential part of the company's strategic intent to globalise its product and reduce the risk to itself by supplying only into India. The latest order is being financed fully by EXIM Bank of India under National Insurance Account (NEIA) scheme. Recently, the company had concluded the supply of 773 vehicles to Tanzania under Line of Credit from the Indian government.<sup>58</sup>

## Zambia

### Vedanta unit told to pay US\$103 million to Zambian State Company

Vedanta Resources Plc's Zambian unit must pay the southern African country's majority state-owned mining investment company about US\$103 million after a London ruling related to a copper-price agreement. ZCCM Investments Holdings obtained a default judgment in the UK's High Court of Justice against Konkola Copper Mines on December 16, 2016, it said in an e-mailed statement on December 19, 2016. KCM said in an e-mailed statement on December 19, 2016 that it's consulting with ZCCM-IH and "other relevant stakeholders to resolve all outstanding issues within 30 days, in accordance with the court's ruling."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> "India donates R2 million to Nelson Mandela Foundation in South Africa", *NDTV*, December 1, 2016, at <http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/india-donates-r2-million-to-nelson-mandela-foundation-in-south-africa-1637993>

<sup>58</sup> "Ashok Leyland bags Rs 1,140 crore order from Tanzania", *The Economic Times*, October 20, 2016, at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/auto/news/industry/ashok-leyland-bags-rs-1140-crore-order-from-tanzania/articleshow/54956887.cms>

<sup>59</sup> Vedanta unit told to pay Zambian state company \$103 million", *Bloomberg*, December 19, 2016, at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-12-19/vedanta-zambia-unit-ordered-to-pay-103-million-to-state-company>

## Call for Contributions

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

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

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

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

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

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