



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

**The Africa Watch  
October – December 2012**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document contains the October 2012 through December 2012 issues of *The Africa Watch*. *The Africa Watch* is a twice-monthly report on trends and developments that might contribute to discontinuous change and instability in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The first October 2012 issue contains the following articles – The Ogaden: Will the Current Peace Talks Lead to an End to Conflict; African Economies and the Global Slowdown: Buffered But Not Immune; Togolese Women Push for Electoral Reform as Political Tension Rises; Regional Entanglements in the DRC: The Case of Uganda; Ghana Promises Stricter Visa Regulation Amid Chinese Illegal Mining Concerns; Malema Charged with Money Laundering in South Africa; Leadership Profile: Willy Mutunga, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Kenya; Central African Republic Update: New Rebellion and LRA Activity; and Niger's Riches: Oil and Uranium.

The second October 2012 issue contains the following articles – Islamist Occupation Wreaks Social Havoc in Northern Mali; African Union: The Continental Early Warning System: An Overview; Africa's Demographic Challenges: Paths to Prosperity or Instability; Invisible Influences: Secret Societies and Black Magic; Mali: The MNLA No Longer Wants Independence; Tanzania: Zanzibar VP Calls for Full Autonomy from Mainland; Zimbabwe: Mugabe's Elections Timetable Revealed in Court Documents; New Gambian Opposition Group Emerges; and The Sahel: First Drought – Now Floods – Devastate the Region.

The first November 2012 issue contains the following articles – Manufacture of Illicit Synthetic Drugs in West Africa; Zanzibar's Troubles; DRC Regional Entanglements: Zimbabwe; Northern Nigeria: Civilians Caught in the Middle; Benin: The Plot Behind the Assassination Attempt; DRC: Resumption of Violence and the Evolution of the M23; Mozambique: Political Tensions Rise; Social Media in Africa: Growth and Controversy.

The second November 2012 issue contains the following articles – Untangling Kenya's Political Webs; Kenya's Engagement with Somalia: An Assessment; Madagascar: Unstable Civil-Military Relations Persist; Regional Entanglements in the DRC: The Case of Angola; Cote d'Ivoire: President Ouattara Dissolves Cabinet; Liberia: Coup Plot Posters Highlight Tensions in Oil Sector; Zambia: Poll Violence Escalates Political Tensions; Cameroon: Paul Biya Marks 30-Year Rule While Opposition and Police Clash; Nigeria: Re-Declaring the Republic of Biafra; and Leadership Profile: Kenyan Senate Candidate David Kuria Mbote.

The first December 2012 issue contains the following articles – Mozambique: RENAMO Threatens Return to Bloodshed; Guinea's Sagas Continue; Nigeria: Is There a Country; Water and Conflict in Africa; South Africa: Political Wrangling Ahead of Mangaung Conference; Mali: Will the Real Ansar Dine Please Stand Up; Sao Tome and Principe: Government in Peril as Political Tensions Escalate; Sierra Leone People's Party Boycotts Election Results; and Azerbaijan and Sudan Expanding Bilateral Ties Despite Significant Blowback Potential.

The second December 2012 issue contains the following articles – Nigeria: Illegal Oil Bunkering; The Balkanization of the Democratic Republic of Congo; Taiwan's Uphill Fight to Maintain Influence in Africa; and Leadership Profile: Uganda's Major General (ret.) Gregory Mugisha Muntu, President of the Forum for Democratic Change.

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

OCTOBER 3, 2012

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## T O T H E R E A D E R

IDA's team of Africa researchers welcomes your comments, questions, and feedback on the contents of *The Africa Watch*. If you would like to discuss an article in this issue or provide suggestions for future research, please contact me at (703) 845-4394.

With best regards,

*George Ward*

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward



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## ANALYSES

### The Ogaden: Will the Current Peace Talks Lead to an End to Conflict?

**Researcher:** Dr. Dorina A. Bekoe

#### Summary

- On September 6, the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and the government of Ethiopia entered into peace talks in Nairobi, under the facilitation of the government of Kenya.
- This marks the second time in as many years that the ONLF and the Ethiopian government have attempted to end the conflict. The 2010 peace agreement was signed by only a faction of the ONLF, thus ensuring its demise.
- The new peace talks will yield a durable agreement only if they clearly articulate and monitor the potential of Eritrea and Somalia to undermine the agreement, attract the support of the broader international community, take measures to prevent spoilers from gaining ground, clearly outline the benefits to the Ogaden from the oil and gas reserves, and, finally, outline the penalties each party will face for violating the agreement.

#### Background to the Conflict

The Ogaden region, also known as Ethiopia's Somali Regional State, borders the State of Somalia in the Horn of Africa. The region has been the source of many groups fighting the Ethiopian state.



Source: <http://somalilandtimes.net/sl/2007/290/72.shtml>

Chief among the armed movements are the ONLF and the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), which have been fighting for secession from Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government signed a peace deal with the WSLF in July 2010.<sup>1</sup> A peace agreement was also signed with the ONLF in December 2010, but it has since broken down.

The ONLF originated in 1984, after the WSLF fractured following a defeat by the Ethiopian army. It is fighting for the self-determination of the Somalis in the region; it is not a pan-Somali movement.<sup>2</sup> Initially, the ONLF allied with the Tigray People's Liberation Front

(TPLF), led by Meles Zenawi, to fight the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam, their common enemy. The victory of the TPLF brought the ONLF into government. In 1994, however, the

ONLF began to wage a new war for secession as relations with the TPLF/Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF) broke down over the ONLF's renewed insistence for self-determination of the Somalis.<sup>3</sup> This second secessionist war has continued to the present.

Peace talks aimed reviving negotiations to resolve the conflict began on September 6, 2012 in Nairobi.<sup>4</sup> Although the talks are still in their early stages, it is important to consider the factors that are relevant to making any peace agreement both implementable and durable. Key among these considerations are the role that the international and regional communities can play, the presence of spoilers, and the impact of the natural resources – namely, the new oil and gas discoveries – in the Ogaden. These suggest the incentives the ONLF and the Ethiopian government have to maintain their promises and the penalties each would incur for violating the terms of an agreement.<sup>5</sup>

### ***The Regional Dimension***

A peace agreement can be undermined by hostile neighbors. In the case of the ONLF, the roles of the governments of Eritrea and Somalia are particularly critical. Eritrea has long been accused of arming the ONLF, along with other groups in Ethiopia.<sup>6</sup> Thus, an important aspect to the peace talks will be either to address the influence of Eritrea or to include it within the negotiations. In particular, it would be important to elaborate on how funding and arms from Eritrea to the ONLF could be monitored, stopped, and sanctioned. While the government of Somalia might not be as hostile to Ethiopia as in the past, disorder within Somalia facilitates trafficking in weapons and other materiel that could undermine the peace agreement. Thus, it will be equally important that negotiations and the peace agreement consider the future role of Somalia.

### ***Natural Resources***

PETRONAS, a Malaysian oil company, signed a \$25 billion, 20-year agreement with the Ethiopian government to develop gas reserves in the Ogaden. Oil has also been discovered in the region,<sup>7</sup> and China's Zhongyan Petroleum Exploration Company began work in 2006.<sup>8</sup> Tellingly, research by Ballentine and Sherman (2003) found that separatist movements are more likely when resources are difficult to recover, as is the case with oil.<sup>9</sup> This scenario fits the current situation in the Ogaden.

Yet, though conflicts may become intertwined with natural resources, the existing grievances remain. The Ogaden region is remote, poor, under-developed, and reliant on food assistance from the international community. A settlement of the conflict in the Ogaden will need to address the real and perceived grievances of marginalization felt by Ethiopia's Somalis and the notion that the region's resources will be used to enrich the Ethiopian state with little returning to the Ogaden.

### ***The International Community***

The international community has never been vested in ending the conflict in the Ogaden. In fact, apart from the news generated in 2007 when the ONLF attacked a Chinese oilfield, little has appeared about the conflict in the international media.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the ONLF's strategy of hit-and-run attacks, guerrilla tactics, and kidnappings<sup>11</sup> has resulted in a low-intensity war that has failed to garner the international community's attention. Furthermore, with the Ethiopian government tightly controlling access to the region by journalists and aid organizations, this has become one of the world's forgotten conflicts. The largest handicap in reaching a peace agreement might be the lack of an international champion that could help guarantee implementation.

Already, the parties are unevenly matched, with the government of Ethiopia commanding more authority than the ONLF. Moreover, there is little precedent that indicates the international community will penalize Ethiopia for violating a peace agreement. In the far deadlier Ethiopian-Eritrean war, the government of Ethiopia has repeatedly failed to uphold the promises it made in the Boundary Agreement that was meant to resolve the conflict, and yet has suffered no consequences. Furthermore, during the 2005 post-election violence, the Ethiopian government and its security forces killed nearly 200 opposition supporters and jailed nearly 30,000 others, again with little condemnation from the international community. Thus, without a champion in the form of a state or international institution, any agreement is likely to fail.

### ***Spoilers***

Any peace agreement must guard against empowering spoilers. The ONLF's history is replete with splinter groups and internal divisions. For example, when the ONLF declared a return to war following its break with the EPRDF in 1994, a group led by Bashir Abdi Hassan remained committed to the Ethiopian regime;<sup>12</sup> similarly the 2010 peace accord was not agreed to by all members of the ONLF.

Spoilers come in varying strengths and interests. Once identified, however, it is important that they be either accommodated or marginalized to forestall the unraveling of the agreement. Thus, if the current peace talks result in the signing of an agreement, the post-negotiation phase will be critical in determining how much power and influence spoilers will have in undermining it.

### **Conclusion**

Some analysts believed that the passing of Meles Zenawi in August afforded the ONLF a second chance for peace. Thus, the start of peace talks in Nairobi is an auspicious development. Negotiations will not, however, result in a strong or durable peace agreement if they do not involve the international community in a manner that will guarantee that promises are kept; do not account for the roles that Eritrea and Somalia can play in undermining the accord; and do not take steps to curtail the influence of spoilers and if the agreement remains silent on revenue-sharing formulas for oil and gas resources.

## **African Economies and the Global Slowdown – Buffered but Not Immune**

**Researcher:** Amb. (ret.) George F. Ward

### **Summary**

- Sub-Saharan African economies proved remarkably resilient during the sharp economic recession of 2007-2009, due in part to their insulation from the global financial system. Economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa rebounded sharply from 2009 to 2010.
- Although estimates for 2012 and 2013 have been pared back slightly, sub-Saharan Africa is expected to continue to grow strongly this year and next.
- Growth rates could be impacted by several factors, including the length and severity of the European recession, changes in the Chinese economy, and the price of oil. Negative growth surprises could have implications for social stability in affected countries.
- Growth will be unevenly distributed, with South Africa and a few other countries of particular concern.

### **Africa – A Secular Growth Story**

Real gross domestic product (GDP) grew on average 5.3 percent annually in sub-Saharan Africa from 2000 to 2008. If South Africa and Nigeria were excluded, the rate would have been even higher – 5.6 percent.<sup>13</sup> The drag created by South Africa was due to its high degree of integration with the slow-growing world economy and questionable policy choices. Nigeria's below-average rate of growth illustrates that oil revenues alone cannot support the African economic growth story. Commodity prices, including that of oil, were a positive factor in African growth, but rising consumer demand from the growing middle class, increased foreign direct investment, and government spending on infrastructure projects were even more important. As current USAID chief economist Steven Radelet has documented, the growth rates of the most dynamic non-oil-producing African countries have exceeded those of the petroleum-rich ones.<sup>14</sup>

The global recession of 2007-2009 affected sub-Saharan Africa, but its impact was limited. Real GDP growth in sub-Saharan Africa excluding South Africa fell to just short of 4 percent in 2009. With South Africa included, the impact of the recession was more severe, taking overall sub-Saharan GDP growth down to a level of less than 2 percent.<sup>15</sup> The snapback in growth was rapid, with real GDP growing at 5.5 percent in 2010.<sup>16</sup> The “Great Recession” arose from a financial crisis that affected developed countries most strongly. Because sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of South Africa, was in some degree disconnected from the global financial system, the effects of the crisis on the continent were muted.

### **Consensus Is for Continued Growth**

The consensus of leading analysts of African economies is for continued strong economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa. McKinsey and Company put this view succinctly in 2010: “While short-term risks remain, our analysis suggests that Africa has strong long-term growth prospects, propelled both by external trends in the global economy and internal changes in the continent’s societies and economies.”<sup>17</sup> The World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the African Development Bank broadly agree with this thesis. The IMF projects real GDP growth in sub-Saharan Africa at 5.4 percent for this year and 5.3 percent for 2013.<sup>18</sup> Even taking population growth into account, growth at this rate would ensure the continued increase in the number of Africans joining the class of consumers and the gradual reduction in poverty.

### **Risks to the Consensus**

There are risks to this consensus. The first is that the nature of the current global economic slowdown is different from that of the “Great Recession” of 2007-2009 and could have greater impact on Africa. The 2007-2009 recession was triggered by a crisis in financial institutions while the current situation has more to do with contracting consumer demand as European nations seek to deal with the burden of indebtedness. Merchandise exports, tourism receipts, commodity prices, foreign direct investment, and remittances – all important elements in Africa’s GDP – would be susceptible to a new recession in the Euro-currency area.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the situation in the Euro-area has already contributed to a moderate decrease in growth estimates for Africa. World Bank/IMF estimates for real GDP growth in sub-Saharan Africa in 2013 declined from 5.6 percent in January 2012 to 5.3 percent just three months later. In July, the World Bank estimated that South Africa, the continent’s largest economy, would grow 2.5 percent this year, down from the Bank’s 3.1 percent projected in November 2011 and the 2.7 percent that the South African government predicted in February 2012.<sup>20</sup>

A second risk is that China’s demand for African commodities and Chinese direct investment in Africa might decline in the short term. China’s economic growth rate, while still very positive, has moderated somewhat, and some economists believe that a Chinese slowdown would have a proportionally greater impact on Africa than a European one. Others see less of an impact because they believe that China will take advantage of softer commodity prices to build long-term inventories.<sup>21</sup>

A third risk is that of long-term downward pressure on the price of oil. A recent Harvard Kennedy School study projects an “unprecedented upsurge of oil production capacity” between now and 2020, based mainly on increased supplies from North America and Iraq. The study begins, “Contrary to what most people believe, oil supply capacity is growing worldwide at such an unprecedented level that it might outpace consumption. This could lead to a glut of overproduction and a steep dip in prices.”<sup>22</sup> If this scenario unfolds, consequences for African economies could be severe. According to the World Bank, “16 of 47 African economies earned more than 50 percent of their export earnings from a single primary export.”<sup>23</sup> In several cases, notably Nigeria, Sudan, Angola, and Gabon, that commodity is oil, and a decline in price could materially affect their ability to service external debt.

### **Economic Growth and Social Stability**

With sub-Saharan populations growing at around 2.5 percent annually, a fairly substantial rate of real GDP growth is required to reduce poverty, address high unemployment, especially among youth, and meet the aspirations of a growing class of consumers. Even a relatively high rate of real GDP growth of, say, 5.5 percent annually, would yield only around 3 percent annual growth in real per capita GDP. At that rate, real personal incomes would double in approximately 20 to 25 years, permitting some progress toward reducing poverty, albeit at a much slower rate than experienced in the “Asian tiger” countries. Since this scenario seems to be within the reach of many sub-Saharan African countries, it could be that a level of growth that would promote social stability is feasible.

There are exceptions that bear watching. Using World Bank and IMF data for both GDP and population growth, a few countries stand out at below the 3 percent real per capita GDP growth standard posited above (see table below). The most notable is South Africa, where GDP growth has stagnated between 3 and 4 percent annually and the population continues to grow at 1.8 percent. Without greater growth, the possibility of additional strife in South Africa’s mines and cities could increase. Other countries that face a similar dilemma include Senegal, Uganda,

Cameroon, and Chad. In all of these, rising expectations are colliding with the reality of limited economic means, making social instability more likely.

**Growth in Real GDP and Population  
Selected Sub-Saharan African Countries**

Country	Real GDP Growth (%)			Population – Annual Growth (%)
	Actual	Projected		
	2011	2012	2013	
<b>Oil Exporters</b>				
Nigeria	7.2	7.1	6.6	2.3
Angola	3.4	9.7	6.8	2.6
Eq. Guinea	7.1	4.0	6.8	2.6
Gabon	5.8	5.6	2.3	1.8
Chad	1.6	6.9	0.1	2.6
Republic of Congo	4.5	3.1	5.4	1.9
<b>Middle Income</b>				
South Africa	3.1	2.7	3.4	1.1
Ghana	13.6	8.8	7.4	2.1
Cameroon	4.1	4.1	4.5	2.2
Côte d'Ivoire	-4.7	8.1	6.2	2.3
Botswana	4.6	3.3	4.6	1.5
Senegal	2.6	3.8	4.5	2.6
<b>Low Income</b>				
Ethiopia	7.5	5.0	5.5	2.6
Kenya	5.0	5.2	5.7	2.6
Tanzania	6.7	6.4	6.7	2.9
Uganda	6.7	4.2	5.4	3.3
Dem. Rep. of Congo	6.9	6.5	6.7	2.7
Mozambique	7.1	6.7	7.2	2.3

Data: The WorldBank, *African Development Indicators – 2011*, Washington: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, p. 104 and International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook, April 2012*, Washington: International Monetary Fund



## Togolese Women Push for Electoral Reform as Political Tension Rises

**Researcher:** Dr. Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

### Summary

- Political tension has been on the rise in Togo since June 2012 as opposition political parties and civil society groups join forces to demand sweeping democratic reform, beginning with presidential term limits. This loose coalition rejected the recommendations of the Inter-Togolese Dialogue announced on September 13 on the grounds that the provision on presidential term limits is not retroactive and would allow the current president to stay in power until 2025.
- Representatives of the UN, EU, and the United States issued a statement on September 19 expressing “deep concern in view of images of violent confrontations and use of weapons” during a peaceful “Let’s Save Togo” protest the previous weekend. Forty protestors were injured by a mob carrying sticks and machetes while police looked on.<sup>24</sup> On September 20, several thousand “women in red” marched in Lome to demand that President Faure Gnassingbé announce that he will not stand for a third term in 2015. The most recent march took place without incident.
- Under the leadership of lawyer and Togolese National Assemblywoman Isabelle Amenganvi, the women’s collective of the civil society coalition Let’s Save Togo announced a week-long sex strike in late August 2012.

### Rising Political Tension

Political tension in Togo is rising in anticipation of parliamentary elections scheduled for October 2012. Opposition parties have long pushed for sweeping electoral reform in an effort to end the four-plus-decade dictatorship of the Gnassingbé family. The authoritarian Gnassingbé regime has ruled Togo since Eyadema Gnassingbé led the military coup that assassinated Togolese independence leader Sylvanus Olympio, the country’s first president, in 1963. The military junta gave way to a sham democracy that kept the elder Gnassingbé in power until his death in 2005 and installed his son, Faure Gnassingbé as his successor. The younger Gnassingbé has since won rigged elections in 2005 and 2010. According to Togolese human rights groups, more than 800 protestors were killed in the lead-up to the 2005 elections. Thousands more were forced into exile.

In early September, the government entered into talks with the opposition under the watchful eye of EU and UN observers. The Inter-Togolese Dialogue announced a proposal on September 13 that would limit future presidents to two 5-year terms. Gnassingbé’s prime minister, who chaired the dialogue, has indicated that the president supports its recommendations. The devil, however, is in the details. Togolese law is not retroactive, and it is likely that Gnassingbé will contend that his first two terms do not, therefore, count against the term limits. Thus, as the opposition points out, Togo faces the prospect of at least 13 more years of Gnassingbé family rule.<sup>25</sup>

The opposition, citing the regime’s bad faith in implementing earlier reform agreement, boycotted the Inter-Togolese Dialogue and rejected its recommendations. Let’s Save Togo coordinator Zeus Ajavon summed up the opposition reaction: “We are saying that Faure Gnassingbé cannot run in 2015.”<sup>26</sup> “We’re asking for a radical change in our country,” Togolese lawyer and Let’s Save Togo leader Jil-Benoît Afangbedji told *The New York Times’* Adam Nossiter. “We want to establish a nation truly founded on laws, one that respects the rights of men.”

While the opposition is unlikely to force the president out of office, the regime has been weakened according to leading Togolese political scientist Comi Toulabor.<sup>27</sup>

### **The Let's Save Togo Agenda**

The Women's Collective of Let's Save Togo laid out their agenda in a statement on *The Guardian's* public comment site in late August. "The human rights situation," they charged, "is disastrous, torture is widespread, the press is on probation, endemic corruption plagues our economy, and the vast majority of the population is languishing in a growing misery." Denouncing the government's foot-dragging in implementing the political reform agenda, the group called for the sex strike, after "exhausting all imaginable peaceful remedies," as a "specifically feminine action" that enabled Togolese women to "freely vote against dictatorship, in the secrecy of one's bedroom."

The movement's leaders responded to those who criticized the use of sex as a political weapon:

Togolese women are more affected by poverty. They must keep the pot boiling, feed their husband and children who, in disadvantaged communities, remain dependent on them for a long time – especially as unemployment is rampant and the price of food staples is soaring. What are our demands? We asked for the release of those who have been arbitrarily arrested and held in appalling conditions in overcrowded prisons following peaceful demonstrations organised by our Collective. We also want to awaken the national and international community to our plight – too often, they pretend not to see Togo's inexorable descent into hell. And since negotiations are impossible at this point, we demand Gnassingbé's departure.<sup>28</sup>

The women considered calling for a week of abstinence, fasting, and prayer, but concluded that such a protest would not have the same media impact, and they were right. "The worldwide echo that the initiative sparked was totally unexpected. Suddenly, all newspapers from Greenland to Australia, Japan and Senegal, wanted to know about Togo's plight: it must have been bad, they wondered, for women to be driven to that extreme. Believe us, this time, nobody mistook Togo for Congo."<sup>29</sup>

### **The Sex Strike in African Politics**

Liberian Nobel Peace Prize laureate Leymah Gbowee is credited with adding the sex strike to the political toolbox of African women. In 2003, she mobilized the ecumenical Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace – known as the "women in white" – for a sustained campaign of peaceful protest, including a sex strike, to pressure the government of then-President Charles Taylor to enter into peace talks to end Liberia's bloody 14-year civil war. As Gbowee later explained, African women "didn't have the power to go to peace talks, so we just thought 'What else do we have to lose?' . . . . Our bodies are their battlefield. Let's just put our bodies out there because it was just about that point in time – all of us, [sic] the mindset was we need to do something to change the situation if our children must live in this country."<sup>30</sup> Gbowee later acknowledged that the impact of the sex strike was primarily in attracting international media attention: [The months-long strike] "had little or no practical effect, but it was extremely valuable in getting us media attention. Until today, nearly 10 years later, whenever I talk about the Mass Action, 'What about the sex strike?' is the first question everyone asks."<sup>31</sup>

In April 2009, Kenya's Women's Development Organization urged women to boycott the bedroom in the hope of ending political bickering that threatened to bring down a fragile coalition government and throw Kenya back into the widespread violence that killed more than

a thousand people and left more than 600,000 homeless in 2008. Ida Odinga, wife of the Prime Minister, joined the protest, saying: “This should not be seen as a punishment to men, it is a measure that is aimed at drawing their attention to the real issues.”<sup>32</sup> Not all Kenyan men saw it that way. One, James Kimondo, filed a lawsuit against the strike organizers seeking compensation for his pain and suffering – “anxiety, stress, back pain, lack of sleep, lack of concentration.” Despite concerns, however, strike organizers reported that there were no cases of domestic violence, sexual abuse, or women being forced out of their homes because of the strike.<sup>33</sup>

The sex strike is known in activist circles as “Lysistratic nonaction,” in homage to Aristophanes’ heroine Lysistrata, who rallied the women of ancient Greece to end the disastrous Peloponnesian war by denying their men sex. “O women, if we would compel the men to bow to Peace. We must refrain from every depth of love,” she said.<sup>34</sup> The tactic has met with some notable successes in recent years – in Colombia and Mindanao as well as in Africa – but it raises concerns among some women’s rights advocates. In a region in which rape and sexual violence are too often used as weapons in conflict, the sex strike risks legitimizing the notion that sex is an acceptable political transaction point. In short, by acknowledging that women can gain power by withholding sex, some fear these movements are (unintentionally) sending the message that men might seize their power back by forcing it.<sup>35</sup>

Other African feminists counter that, in a cultural context in which women remain, by and large, disempowered, sex strikes make a degree of sense. As one such commenter put it: “For any political movement to be successful in Africa, it must speak to African people at large. Not just the affluent, or the literate, or just the Christians, or the Muslims, but *everyone*. And everyone understands sex. Female activists and parties led by women are a relatively new development in African politics, and women can’t (yet) strike the sort of combative attitudes that men are allowed to strike. The striking women are speaking to the African woman conditioned to fulfilling her role as an African woman, a role that doesn’t include political activism.”<sup>36</sup>

## Regional Entanglements in the DRC – The Case of Uganda

**Researcher:** Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

### Summary

- Although recently maintaining a somewhat lower profile in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) than Rwanda, Uganda has just as frequently been accused of either direct or indirect involvement in the successive conflicts in the DRC.
- In addition to allegations of misappropriating Congolese mineral resources, there is potential for a future oil dispute between the DRC and Uganda since much of Uganda's oil reserves are found beneath the border of the two countries. A stable and unified DRC would be in a better position to challenge Ugandan ownership of these oil reserves.

### Recent Events

The conflict in the eastern DRC continues to smolder<sup>37</sup> while evidence of the involvement of its neighbors mounts. The international community reacted to initial reports of direct Rwandan involvement by withdrawing or suspending aid, some of which has since been restored.<sup>38</sup> The European Union announced on September 25 that it was suspending new allocations of aid to Rwanda until the country begins constructively engaging the DRC to end the ongoing conflict in the east.<sup>39</sup>

In July, August, and September, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda convened peace talks in Kampala as part of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) attempts at ending the conflict in the DRC. (Uganda is currently the chair of the ICGLR.) Another meeting of the heads of state of ICGLR member states is scheduled to take place in October.<sup>40</sup>

### Ugandan Relations with and in the DRC

Like neighbor Rwanda, Uganda has a long and checkered history of involvement in the DRC. Since the 1980s, President Museveni has conducted military operations against various Ugandan rebel groups based in eastern DRC such as the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). In the 1980s and 1990s, Sudan and Uganda waged a proxy war in the DRC (with former Congolese autocrat Mobutu Sese Seko's knowledge and consent) through the armies of the LRA, ADF, and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), the political arm of which is now in power in newly independent South Sudan.<sup>41</sup>

Uganda, which already had a significant military presence in Congo at the time, was directly involved in the First Congo War (1996-7) as an ally of Rwanda and remained aligned with Rwanda in the lead-up to and during much of the Second Congo War (1998-2003). Their alliance more or less collapsed in 2000 after fighting broke out in Kisangani, DRC between Rwandan and Ugandan troops, reportedly over strategy and control over Congolese mineral resources.<sup>42</sup> In 2005, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) found that Uganda had violated international laws on the conduct of war and the protection of human rights in the DRC and had participated in the exploitation of Congolese natural resources during the Second Congo War.<sup>43</sup>

After signing a peace accord with the DRC – the Luanda Agreement – in 2002, Ugandan troops agreed to leave the country.<sup>44</sup> Following a particularly brutal massacre of Congolese civilians in Ituri and Orientale by the LRA in 2009, the DRC, Uganda, and South Sudan joined together in "Operation Lightning Thunder" to capture fugitive warlord Joseph Kony and the LRA. Not only did Operation Lightning Thunder fail to capture Kony, but reprisals are believed to have resulted

in the death of almost 1,000 Congolese in the weeks after the operation.<sup>45</sup> Ugandan troops withdrew from the DRC in 2009.

In 2010, Uganda, accused of mobilizing troops in Kivu (eastern DRC), formally denied that its troops were operating there and said that if they were in Kivu, it was unintentional and part of routine border patrol exercises.<sup>46</sup> Ugandan troops deployed to attempt to capture Kony and the LRA yet again; although they were given permission to operate out of Congo in 2011, they left later in the year and have since been asked by the government of Joseph Kabila not to return.<sup>47</sup> Uganda continues to accuse Khartoum of supporting the LRA.<sup>48</sup>

### **Current Allegations and Involvement in DRC**

Relations between Rwanda and Uganda were tense until late 2011 when the two countries seemed to have come to some sort of reconciliation.<sup>49</sup> The timing of their rapprochement is notable, occurring in the weeks after the controversial November 2011 DRC election and only months before the latest intensification of conflict in eastern DRC.

Uganda has offered to contribute troops to help stabilize the eastern DRC.<sup>50</sup> Such a role would not be welcomed by other participants in the ICGLR, which judged Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi ineligible to contribute contingents to a proposed stabilization force.<sup>51</sup> Although evidence of current Ugandan involvement in the conflict in the eastern DRC is less visible than that of Rwanda, several sources have reported the presence of Ugandan troops. The governor of Nord-Kivu alleges that both Rwandan and Ugandan troops have been giving direct support to M23 rebels.<sup>52</sup> Local media reports allege this as well.<sup>53</sup> It was reported in August that Museveni was seeking out a meeting with M23 leadership to help negotiate a truce; this is a position in direct opposition to that of the Congolese government.<sup>54</sup> Editorials in several Congolese newspapers argue that Rwanda and Uganda are stalling negotiations within the ICGLR in order to give time to M23 and other rebel groups to consolidate their control of the east.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the myriad allegations that Uganda is responsible for misappropriating Congolese mineral resources,<sup>56</sup> there is potential for a future oil dispute between the DRC and Uganda. Much of Uganda's oil reserves are found beneath the border of the two countries.<sup>57</sup> There have already been several bilateral talks about ownership of the oil blocks under Lake Albert.<sup>58</sup> A stable and unified DRC would be in a better position to challenge Ugandan ownership of these oil reserves.

## ALERTS

### Ghana Promises Stricter Visa Regulation Amid Chinese Illegal Mining Concerns

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

During the September 20 Meet-the-Press series, Foreign Affairs Minister, Alhaji Muhammad Mumuni announced that Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs would begin strict regulation of its issuance of visas to foreign nationals.<sup>59</sup> More specifically, several local radio stations reported that Mumuni said the ministry had directed the Ghanaian embassy in Beijing to tighten the process of issuing visas to Chinese nationals.<sup>60</sup> According to Mumuni, the change in policy reflects efforts to counter illegal exploitation of Ghana's natural resources in the mining industry.<sup>61</sup> In addition, Ghana is expecting a possible influx of foreign nationals from West African neighbors in search of employment in the petroleum sector. Thus, the desire to protect Ghanaian jobs may also have been a reason for this new policy.

#### Background

Since the world price of gold rose above \$1000 in 2010, Ghana has seen an influx of Koreans, Chinese, Russians, and neighboring West Africans into the gold mining sector. The Chinese, however, have the largest footprint in illegal gold mining. In certain cases, small-scale gold mines (*galamsey* operations) are owned by Ghanaians on paper, but are illegally sublet by groups of Chinese entrepreneurs who then employ locals to work for them as operational cover.<sup>62</sup> Chinese *galamsey* operations have received much criticism from Ghanaians due to state loss of revenue, environmental degradation caused by Chinese heavy equipment, and potential health hazards that operations pose to the local communities. This discontent has led to confrontations between angry Ghanaian youths and the Chinese.

The statement made by Mumuni and recent events signal growing concern over the illegal Chinese mining problem:

- In July, violence erupted at an illegal mine at Manso-Nsiena in Ashanti region. Armed Chinese miners fired gun shots in response to an anti-illegal mining protest led by angry locals.<sup>63</sup> Similar instances have occurred since then and will likely continue.
- In August, the Minerals Commission (Ghana's agency responsible for granting mining licenses) launched an investigation into illegal mining operations by the Chinese.<sup>64</sup>
- In August, security officials arrested 37 Chinese nationals for unauthorized gold mining at a concession belonging to AngloGold at Obuasi (Ashanti region). Police previously arrested 38 Chinese in May at an AngloGold concession in Adansai (Ashanti region).<sup>65</sup>

While the government of Ghana appears to be taking the matter seriously, it is unclear whether the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will implement the new directive given China's large investment in the Ghanaian economy. If the government fails to do so, local communities and angry youth might continue to take the law into their own hands. All Chinese miners, even legitimate operators, stand to be branded "illegal" in the eyes of discontented locals.<sup>66</sup> Resentment of foreign nationals also has the potential to spread to other sectors. West African neighbors and other foreigners looking to capitalize on Ghana's other natural resources, such as oil, will likely face similar opposition.

## Malema Charged with Money Laundering in South Africa

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On September 26, Julius Malema, the expelled leader of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), was charged in court with money laundering and released on bail of 10,000 Rand (approximately \$1,200). Prosecutors at the Polokwane Regional Court accused Malema of "improperly" receiving 4.2 million Rand of public funds in Limpopo.<sup>67</sup> Although Malema had been under investigation for corruption and fraud, only the money laundering charge was levied against him. The case has been postponed until November 30,<sup>68</sup> two weeks before the ANC's Mangaung congress in December, where the ANC leadership battle will be decided.

- In addition to the money laundering charge, Malema owes the South Africa Revenue Service 16 million rand in unpaid taxes,<sup>69</sup> an indication of the massive wealth he has accumulated.
- Outside the courthouse on Wednesday, Malema addressed a crowd of around 1,000 supporters and defiantly dismissed the charge as politically motivated. He said that ANC President Jacob Zuma had instructed prosecutors to "catch this boy," and that, in South Africa, "being next to Julius Malema is a criminal offense."<sup>70</sup>
- Although large-scale demonstrations at the courthouse were promised by Malema supporters, actual turnout was significantly lower than expected.<sup>71</sup>

As Zuma faces increasing political fallout from his mishandling of the Marikana mine violence, Malema's anti-Zuma rhetoric has reached a fever pitch. As such, the charge has been portrayed by Malema supporters as a move by Zuma to silence Malema. Since Malema was under investigation long before the Marikana episode, these claims are unlikely to be true. The outcome of the Malema case could impact Zuma's political fate, since a verdict of not guilty directly before Manguang would be a blow to Zuma.

## Leadership Profile: Willy Mutunga, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Kenya

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### Introduction

Since his June 2011 appointment, Kenyan Chief Justice Willy Mutunga's public profile has grown as a result of his aggressive and progressive judicial reform agenda. The integral role Mutunga will play in next year's elections – he is responsible for certifying the validity of the results – will keep him in the spotlight at least through 2013. His far-reaching anticorruption crusade and firebrand reputation could ensure he stays there through the end of his term in 2021.

### Road to the Supreme Court

Before joining the Kenyan Supreme Court, Mutunga had a long international career as a law lecturer and human rights advocate.

- **Late 1960s - early 1970s:** Mutunga obtained Bachelor and Master of Laws degrees from the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.<sup>72</sup>
- **1980-1983:** He worked as a law lecturer at the University of Nairobi and campaigned for reform of Daniel Arap Moi's government with groups including the Twelfth of December Movement – actions that led to him spending multiple stints in jail, often detained without trial.<sup>73</sup>
- **1983-1991:** Exile in Canada, during which time Mutunga completed a Doctor of Law degree from York University and founded the nonprofit Kenyan Human Rights Commission.<sup>74</sup>
- **1991:** Kenya held its first multi-party elections, and Mutunga returned home to continue his human rights advocacy.<sup>75</sup>
- **1993-1995:** Mutunga chaired the Law Society of Kenya and published prolifically on topics that included the rights of political prisoners and detainees, the role of civil society and the private sector in democratization, and the rights of often marginalized groups such as urban tenants and nomadic pastoralists.<sup>76</sup>
- **Mid-1990s - mid 2000s:** Mutunga continued to lead the Kenyan Human Rights Commission and work with other NGOs on human rights issues.<sup>77</sup>
- **2004:** The Ford Foundation hired Mutunga as a program officer focusing on human rights and women's rights.<sup>78</sup>
- **2009:** Mutunga was put in charge of the Ford Foundation's activities in East Africa.<sup>79</sup>

Reactions to Mutunga's candidacy for Chief Justice under the new open, competitive process Kenya introduced in the 2010 constitution varied widely: some anointed him "the best broom to sweep the alleged rot in the Judiciary"<sup>80</sup> but others decried his history of activism, criticizing his personal life and appearance, and forecasting disaster should he be given a position on the bench.<sup>81</sup>

### On the Bench

As Chief Justice, Mutunga has proved independent and steadfast in his commitment to significant progressive reform of the judiciary.<sup>82</sup> He has continued to upset many of Kenya's social conservatives with speeches like the one he gave on September 8, 2011, during which he



stated “gay rights are human rights” – a declaration that would be repeated verbatim by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton two months later.<sup>83</sup> Mutunga believes that those who have tried to tar him as a radical on abortion, gay rights, the death penalty, and other issues do not represent average Kenyans, but the last vestiges of the corrupt patronage networks Mutunga has begun to dismantle.<sup>84</sup>

Even as he moves to implement his plan to overhaul the judiciary, Mutunga has been careful not to promise more than he can deliver. He believes “that a transformative judiciary will take more than a decade to be realized” and aims only to “[build] firm and permanent cornerstones and foundations” for the institution.<sup>85</sup> Many of his reforms focus on effecting practical, immediate changes that have noticeable impacts on Kenyans – for example, establishing a “paperless judiciary,” which cuts down on opportunities for bribes, increases transparency, and eliminates the problem (common in Kenya) of defendants having to stay in jail longer than necessary because their court proceedings have not yet been typed from the longhand as required.<sup>86</sup>

### **Looking to the 2013 Elections**

Though public support for Mutunga’s reforms appears to be strong, if inconsistent,<sup>87</sup> it remains to be seen whether the judiciary will be trusted and resilient enough as an institution by March 2013 to exert a positive influence on the elections process. Mutunga has made outreach to voters, election workers, and average Kenyans a top priority of his office as part of a broader initiative to reinforce the idea of the courts as objective, independent, and capable – and ready to tackle any instances of fraud, election year or not, quickly and competently.<sup>88</sup>

## Central African Republic Update: New Rebellion and LRA Activity

Researcher: Ms. Ivana Djak

### “New” Rebellion North of Capital

On September 15, 2012, a new rebel group, the “Fundamental” faction of the Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP) attacked Damara, Sibut, and Dekoa, all north of the capital, Bangui, in the Central African Republic (CAR). Fundamental CPJP spokesman, Colonel Hache Ha, told *Radio Ndeke Luka* that the rebels intended to march on Bangui to overthrow President Francois Bozize.<sup>89</sup> He claimed further attacks were imminent, stating: “We are going to reorganize ourselves very soon to attack new targets.”<sup>90</sup> During the attacks, rebels tried to take control of strategic locations such as administrative buildings and police stations.<sup>91</sup> Upon being attacked by Central African Armed Forces (*Forces armées centrafricaines* (FACA)), the rebels retreated, taking an ambulance, a police truck, and other goods.<sup>92</sup> During the radio interview, Ha said the attacks were “to prove to the authorities in Bangui that our movement exists, that we don’t recognize ourselves as a party to the accords signed by [official] CPJP leader Abdoulaye Hissen.”<sup>93</sup> In August, the CPJP had signed a peace accord with the government, ending the rebellion by the largest armed group still active in CAR.<sup>94</sup> The Fundamental element broke with Hissen over the accord.<sup>95</sup>

On September 20, FACA forces killed Hache Ha. In a statement to AFP, another Fundamental CPJP leader, Colonel al-Kassim, said Col. Ha was “coldly gunned down in the street. There was no confrontation.”<sup>96</sup> According to witnesses, however, Col. Ha was killed during clashes with the army near Dekoa.<sup>97</sup> It is unclear how his death will impact the Fundamental CPJP. A spokesman for the CPJP argued that there are many operatives belonging to the Fundamental faction and other rebel groups who will continue to fight as long as “weapons are sold like peanuts on the market.”<sup>98</sup> The area affected by the recent attacks is under the control of the FPR (*Front Populaire Pour le Redressement* [Popular Front for Recovery]),<sup>99</sup> a Chadian rebel group led by Abdel Kader Baba Laddé, who recently surrendered in Bangui and was transferred to Chad on September 5.<sup>100</sup> Locals still report harassment by men claiming FPR affiliation, even though that group has been formally disbanded.<sup>101</sup>

### LRA Terror in Southern CAR

In July, the United Nations (UN) warned that LRA attacks were rising in Central Africa despite U.S.-backed regional military efforts to capture Joseph Kony, the LRA leader. Between April and June, 11 civilians were killed, and 37 people abducted, with at least 62 attacks in northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and nine attacks in eastern CAR.<sup>102</sup> Attacks intensified in CAR from June onward. A series of attacks in Bakouma left several villages destroyed, dozens abducted, and communities in fear of more attacks.<sup>103</sup> A particularly brutal attack took place on September 1, with LRA militants kidnapping 55 people from two villages near Bangassou city (see map below).<sup>104</sup> On September 8, the LRA freed 52 people including some of those from the two villages and others kidnapped years ago. The hostages report being used as cargo carriers and sex slaves. Despite the release, correspondents for *Radio Ndeke Luka* say people have deserted villages near Bangassou for fear of new attacks. The population shifts are disturbing farming patterns, putting the displaced population at risk of food shortages.<sup>105</sup> Reports of imminent attacks circulate across villages, causing panic in locations like Obo and M’Baiki where unidentified men have passed through frequently in recent weeks and where villagers are preemptively fleeing.<sup>106</sup>

The regional military force has made some advances against the LRA, killing Joseph Kony's third in command, General Dominic Ongwen, in August.<sup>107</sup> The Ugandan army engaged LRA elements in clashes in southwestern villages in August, killing dozens of members.<sup>108</sup> The regional force is also expanding. In a September 12 ceremony in Obo, forces from Uganda, South Sudan, CAR, and the DRC were initiated as a new force under African Union (AU) auspices. The force is currently about 3,000-strong, with the AU hoping to grow it to 5,000.<sup>109</sup>



<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/africa/central-african-republic/>

## Niger's Riches: Oil and Uranium

**Researcher:** Ms. Betty Boswell

Niger's economy is poised to grow substantially due to the revenues anticipated from its natural resources. The political instability in neighboring Mali, however, could have a spill-over effect in Niger. President Issoufou has supported the effort to combat the Malian uprising with ECOWAS troops, which could incite Nigerien Tuaregs to join with their brother Tuaregs in Mali. Another cause of insecurity in the region is the influx of Malian refugees pouring across the border, stretching the limits of an already meager food supply.<sup>110</sup> Niger's southern border has become a transit route for Boko Haram militants from Nigeria to link up with AQIM militants who now control northern Mali. Niger has increased security along its border with Nigeria to prevent the transit of militants through the country and on September 23 arrested five suspected Islamists near that border.<sup>111</sup>

Niger is known simultaneously as a resource-rich country and among the world's poorest countries. With a gross domestic product (GDP) hovering historically at poverty levels, the Nigerien economy stands to see a spike in revenue and the GDP as oil exports increase and output at the Teguidda-Azelik uranium mine rises.<sup>112</sup> The projected GDP growth rate is 15 percent, three times the average growth for the country.<sup>113</sup>

In November 2011, Niger became an oil-producing country when the Agadem oilfield began pumping. In December, the Zinder Refinery Company, a 60-40 joint venture between China National Petroleum Corporation and the Nigerien government, opened with a 20,000-barrels-per-day (bpd) capacity. Niger requires only 7,000 bpd for its own use, leaving 13,000 bpd available for export. Initial bureaucratic inefficiencies, however, and ineffective operational distribution plans from Sonidep, the company responsible for marketing the product, caused refinery shutdowns and lower than expected oil output. This situation is likely to continue throughout 2012.

- President Mahamadou Issoufou, speaking at a London think tank in June 2012, advanced his belief that production of 100,000 bpd is possible in the next few years, and 500,000 bpd is an eventual possibility.<sup>114</sup>
- Analysts are less optimistic, estimating production to rise to 80,000 bpd by 2014.<sup>115</sup>

Uranium exports account for 70 percent of Niger's exports by value, and are expected to continue to increase as production at the Chinese-run Teguidda mine increases. The Imouraren uranium mine, under construction and several years beyond its anticipated completion date, will add even further revenue to the country provided political instability and labor strikes do not continue to postpone development of the mine, and the French nuclear energy company Areva remains financially able to complete the mine. It is now scheduled to open in 2014.<sup>116</sup>

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

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## T O T H E R E A D E R

IDA's team of Africa researchers welcomes your comments, questions, and feedback on the contents of *The Africa Watch*. If you would like to discuss an article in this issue or provide suggestions for future research, please contact me at (703) 845-4394.

With best regards,

***George Ward***

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

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## ANALYSES

### Islamist Occupation Wreaks Social Havoc in Northern Mali

**Researcher:** Dr. Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

#### Summary

- Roughly 200 women gathered in Timbuktu on October 6, 2012 to protest the imposition of strict sharia law and the harassment of women and young girls by the Islamist forces controlling the city. The spontaneous protest lasted roughly a half-hour before gunmen fired shots in the air to disperse the crowd. Following the demonstration, members of Ansar Dine agreed to meet with a delegation of local women to hear their grievances.
- The salafist Islamist groups controlling northern Mali are using the proceeds from narco-trafficking and kidnapping for profit to recruit the children of poor rural families to serve as child soldiers.
- Many families, while not adhering to the salafist agenda, nonetheless allow their children to join the Islamist militias for financial reasons. Families of children serving in Ansar Dine or AQIM militias are paid roughly \$150 to \$400 a month.
- This could lay a foundation for the widespread radicalization of youth in the region, which could further undermine local social structures by driving a wedge between a new generation and the moderate Muslim culture of their parents.
- An exile resistance group, the Northern Mali Liberation Front (FLNM), is training militias to fight the Islamists. The FLNM is also recruiting children. In contrast to the largesse of the Islamists, however, the militias not only do not pay their recruits, they struggle to provide them with basic supplies.

#### Women Say Enough Is Enough

“We don’t fear dying because we are already dead. And since one can’t die twice, we have nothing to lose by facing these bandits disguised as Muslims,” one of the women taking part in a October 6 protest in Timbuktu against the Islamist morality police told the Malian daily *L’Essor du Mali*. “They follow us down the street, to the market, and if that isn’t enough, they can come into our homes to punish and humiliate us in front of our husbands and children,” another said.<sup>1</sup> Still another protestor told Reuters that “life has become more and more difficult with these people ... We are tired. They impose veils on us and now they are hunting us down like bandits for not wearing them.”<sup>2</sup> Women are routinely harassed by Islamist thugs or arrested for appearing at the markets unescorted or walking alone on the streets. A favorite pastime of Islamic police, according to one woman, is “hunting down unveiled women and young girls.” Islamists also compile lists of unwed mothers and pregnant women, presumably for future punishment according to sharia law as they interpret it.<sup>3</sup>

The women’s protest, which included about 200 women and lasted roughly a half-hour before it was forcibly broken up by Islamic police, is just one manifestation of the deepening culture clash between the local population and the three Islamist rebel groups that have seized control northern Mali. While local Muslims supported the political goals of the secular, separatist

National Movement for the Liberation of Awazad (MNLA), they chafe under the strict salafist fundamentalism of the Islamist groups that now dominate Northern Mali. Refugees commonly cite the strict imposition of sharia law as a threat to the very fabric of society in northern Mali.

The credibility of the MNLA with the northern Mali populace has declined as a result of its coalition with the radicals. “We’re a democratic, sovereign, secular republic,” one refugee told an interviewer, “We’re in our own country, so we should be free to behave as we wish.” Samuel Sidibe, director of the National Museum of Mali warned that “heritage is important for people because we all need to have the sense that we have an existence in the past. And if someone wants to destroy this idea of the past, I think it’s clear that this one, this person wants to destroy the soul of Malian people.”<sup>4</sup> The social disruption may be creating a renewed sense of unity in Mali as northerners suffering under Islamist rule look south for help. “Keep well, thanks to God this will end,” one teenage girl in Gao texted to her friend. “Our brothers from the south must soon free us,” was the response.<sup>5</sup>

### **A Children’s Jihad?**

The Islamist occupiers are also moving to break down the cohesion of the family in northern Mali. Ansar Dine, Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), and al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) are using the proceeds from drug trafficking and kidnapping to recruit (or, effectively, buy) young boys from rural areas to become “holy warriors” in anticipation of an international military intervention in northern Mali. The families involved do not necessarily adhere to the salafist Islamist political agenda – most probably do not – but in a region in which 69.8 percent of the population already lived in severe poverty before the crisis began, they face an impossible choice.<sup>6</sup> The Islamist recruiters target families – many too poor to flee to refugee camps in the south or in neighboring countries – already devastated by drought, hunger, and poverty. When Islamists offer them as much as \$400 a month (or \$4,800 annually) for their sons, often as young as 10 years old, it is difficult to refuse. This is nearly 4.5 times the *per capita* Gross National Income (GNI) in Mali (\$1,123).<sup>7</sup>

The boys are removed from their families and communities and sent away to camps where they undergo military training and religious indoctrination conducted by Algerian members of AQIM. This is a strategy similar to the one used to radicalize young boys in Southeast Asia in the 1990s.<sup>8</sup> The boys are told, “Once you’ve taken the money ... it’s a done deal. You’re there until you die or the war is over.” Associated Press found, in interviews with residents, Malian human rights officials, children and youth, and one Islamist official, that as many as 1,000 are already serving as child soldiers in Timbuktu, Gao, and Kidal.<sup>9</sup> Desperate families are also selling their girls into an expanding market of enforced marriages. Families receive up to \$1,000 for their daughters who enter a system of what amounts to forced prostitution and rape as they are handed off from one temporary “husband” to another.<sup>10</sup>

This could lay a foundation for the widespread radicalization of youth in the region, which could further undermine local social structures by driving a wedge between a new generation and the moderate Muslim culture of their parents. Many families, while not adhering to the salafist agenda, nonetheless allow their children to join the Islamist militias for financial reasons. It is common in rural Mali for families to send their sons to boarding schools for a traditional religious education, but most of the local schools have ceased operating as the majority of teachers have fled the region. The rise of the Islamist training camps/Koran schools, which assign the boys new “fighter” names and cut them completely off from their families, is unprecedented in Mali and marks what one Malian human rights official characterized as a new and ominous development: “The children are innocent and don’t know what they are doing, and

then they are transformed into criminals.”<sup>11</sup> The fissures are likely to be lasting, even if the Islamists are pushed out of northern Mali. The boys who now live and fight with the Islamist militias will be ostracized as collaborators.

### **Child Soldiers in Exile**

The FLNM, an alliance of Tuareg militias opposed to the Islamist occupation, is also recruiting and training child soldiers to participate in what they hope will become a proxy counterinsurgency in the north.<sup>12</sup> The FLNM, which lacks the financial resources available to the Islamists, appeals to the patriotism of its young recruits, including girls and young women. These militias are short on arms and supplies, despite promises of support from the Malian government. Many rely on local populations to provide food for their trainees. What they lack in material support, however, they make up for in their determination to overthrow the Islamist occupation that is wreaking social havoc in the north. They also share a frustration with the lassitude of the Malian army. As one of their leaders, former Malian soldier Ibrahim Issa Diallo, told the *New York Times* in August, the militias are determined to use their “very few means to get out in front of the army... Our goal is to liberate the north, whatever the price; we can’t abandon our relatives. The Islamists are marrying off our daughters.”<sup>13</sup>

At a militia training camp in Sevaré, one 16-year-old recruit explains that she joined the militia without her parents’ knowledge because “it’s my country and I’m doing whatever it takes to defend it.” Another young female recruit said she has friends who have joined Islamist groups in the north, and she does not blame them. “Here [in the south] you hardly get fed.” She will stay with the rebels. “My only fear,” she says, “is having to fight my friends.”<sup>14</sup> Many of the recruits are under the age of 14 and, thus, ineligible to serve in the army in Mali, which is a signatory of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, which bans the recruitment of soldiers younger than 18.

## **African Union: The Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) – An Overview**

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes and Dr. Janette Yarwood

### **Summary**

- Despite outside criticism from scholars, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) of the African Union (AU) has made significant progress in its capacity to analyze and provide warning of impending conflict situations in Africa.
- Coordination with the various AU organs and departments focusing on peace and security remains a work in progress, as does cooperation with the conflict early warning efforts of the various regional economic communities (RECs).
- While early warning systems have made advancements, early response mechanisms at the AU remain politically fraught and inherently contentious, since high-level political disagreements and issues of sovereignty within member states often preclude effective preventive action.

### **Introduction**

The AU's early warning system, CEWS, was established in 2002 under Article 12 of the protocol creating the AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC). The primary goal of the PSC is to prevent, manage, and resolve African conflicts, with CEWS playing a major role in this endeavor by anticipating conflict situations across the continent. Under the protocol, CEWS is tasked with providing the Chairperson of the AU Commission with early warning information so that he or she can advise the PSC on "potential conflicts and threats to peace and security in Africa and recommend the best course of action."<sup>15</sup> Article 12 also mandated that the Commission coordinate with the United Nations (UN), relevant research centers, and nongovernmental organizations to "facilitate the effective functioning" of CEWS.<sup>16</sup>

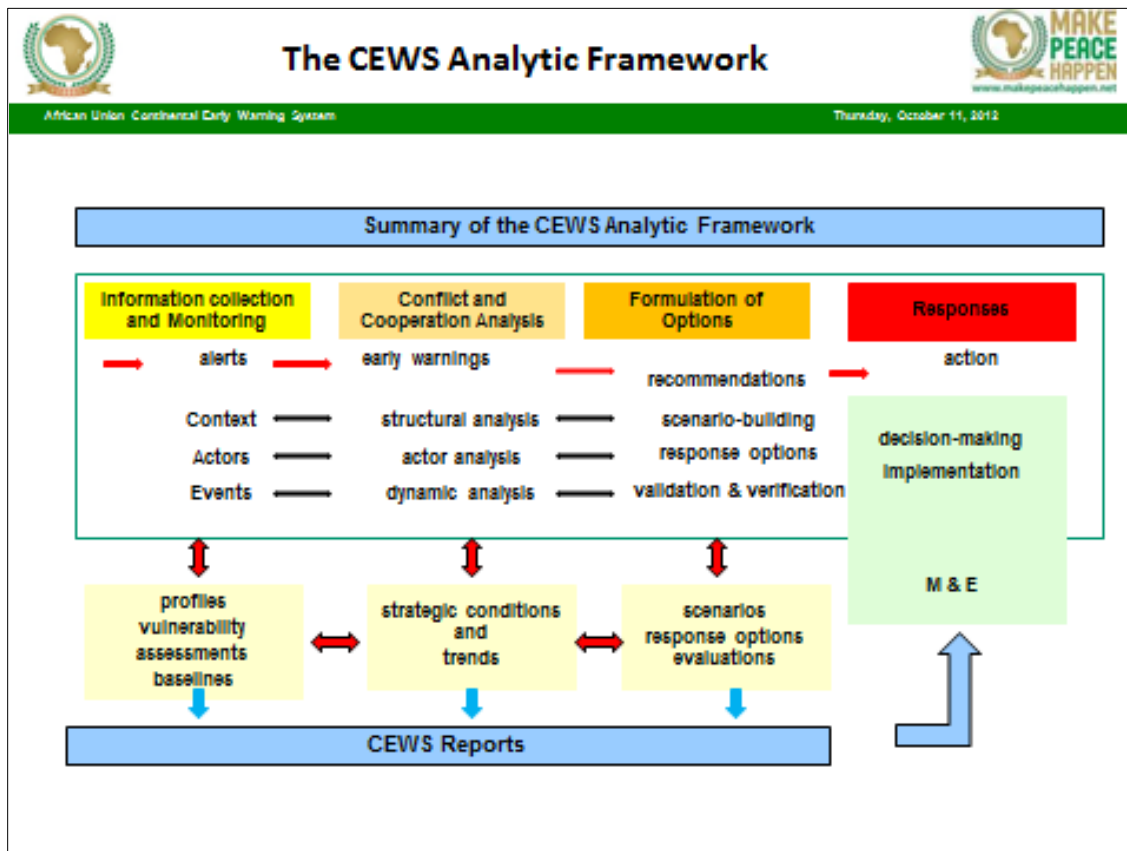
### **Current State of Affairs: Gaps Remain but Significant Progress**

As reflected in a number of recent highly critical scholarly and think-tank reports examining CEWS and the state of early warning at the AU, CEWS faced many hurdles in becoming fully operational. The stand-up process has proceeded exceedingly slowly since 2002.<sup>17</sup> Interviews conducted with CEWS and other AU officials by IDA researchers in September 2012 in Ethiopia nevertheless revealed a more positive state of affairs. IDA researchers found that while gaps remain, particularly on the early response side of the equation, great progress has been made in the past two years in operationalizing the "Situation Room" and in improving the capacity of CEWS to monitor and provide early warning on emerging conflicts.<sup>18</sup>

The CEWS staff consists of a Director and 12 analysts organized into regional clusters. The staff members are housed in an observation and monitoring center known as "The Situation Room," which operates on a 24-hour basis and is located within the AU Conflict and Management Division. Based on structural and event data analysis, CEWS produces multiple regular products, including daily news highlights and a daily field report, a weekly update, and "flash" reports, designed to provide immediate attention to crisis situations as they develop.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, CEWS staff members conduct periodic vulnerability assessments of countries based on various economic and demographic indicators. Interviewees emphasized that many of their products provide recommendations and response options to the PSC and other decision makers. CEWS

products frequently include scenario-building and outline the AU's institutional options for dealing with specific conflict situations, such as employment of the Panel of the Wise.<sup>20</sup>

In order to perform CEWS's early-warning function and produce the regular reports outlined above, the staff collects and analyzes data from a wide variety of sources. The Africa Media Monitor, an in-house tool developed in collaboration with the European Union, captures data from the continent in real time, processing up to 40,000 articles simultaneously in all four AU languages and updating every ten minutes.<sup>21</sup> CEWS also uses Africa Reporter, another analytical tool that gathers primary data from the different field mission and liaison offices of the AU, as well as Live-Mon, a geo-coded tool that automatically displays news events as they develop on a map in the Situation Room. CEWS supplements its in-house capabilities by utilizing private analytical sources such as the Economic Intelligence Unit, Oxford Analytica, and BBC Monitoring.<sup>22</sup>



Source: CEWS Director April 27, 2012 presentation at the International Peace Institute

### Coordination with Regional Economic Communities and Other AU Organs

CEWS has been criticized for its lack of integration with the peace and security and early warning programs of the various Regional Economic Communities (RECs).<sup>23</sup> While IDA researchers found that this criticism is warranted, some progress has been made. In spite of a Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2008 between the AU and the RECs on early warning, interviewees admitted that coordination and information-sharing between CEWS and the RECs have yet to be sufficiently developed and are still evolving. Officials attributed this to low capacity, varying stages of development, and differing agendas on early warning at many of the RECs, with the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) ECOWARN and the Intergovernmental

Authority on Development's (IGAD) CEWARN as possible exceptions.<sup>24</sup> CEWS has, however, recently moved to ameliorate this situation by hiring analysts with experience in the early warning programs at the RECs. One analyst who previously worked for ECOWARN noted that he maintained contact with his former program and regularly received situation reports and forwarded CEWS reports back to ECOWARN on an informal basis.<sup>25</sup>

Coordination with other AU organs focusing on conflict prevention and management also remains a work in progress. The Director of the AU's Border Program revealed in an interview that, when CEWS recently produced a report on border security in Africa, his office was not consulted, even though the two programs are located in the same building.<sup>26</sup> A senior official in the Secretariat of the Panel of the Wise at the AU reported better collaboration between her office and CEWS, although she stressed that such access and coordination were based almost entirely on her personal relationship with the CEWS Director.<sup>27</sup> These discussions with AU officials reveal that channels of communication between CEWS, the early warning efforts of the RECs, and interaction within the AU peace and security architecture are mostly based on personal relationships, and have yet to be effectively institutionalized in any systematic manner. In order to maintain institutional memory and encourage collaboration and information-sharing when current employees depart, formal relationships between CEWS, the various AU peace and security organs, and the RECs must be established, implemented, and maintained.

#### **Early Warning-Early Response Gap**

While the early warning capacity of the AU has advanced significantly in the past several years, early response mechanisms remain politically fraught and contentious at the AU, as high-level political disagreements, personal rivalries, and issues of sovereignty among member states often prevent swift and united action. One CEWS official noted that sufficient early warning was given in the case of recent instability in Mali and Guinea-Bissau, yet no preventive action was taken.<sup>28</sup> The political difficulties in translating accurate early warning into early response are inherent to inter-governmental conflict early warning, and will undoubtedly be a persistent problem in the future. As such, CEWS officials recommended that when assessing early warning efforts, the quality and capacity of the warning system should be decoupled from any subsequent response or lack thereof. Interviewees noted that by the time a particular conflict situation reaches the level of the PSC, it is often too late for any effective early response to be formulated and implemented. Therefore, the AU should make an effort to defuse conflicts at a lower level, whether regionally, nationally, or subnationally. AU officials referred to national-level warning systems in Kenya and Ghana as important examples of this emerging approach.<sup>29</sup>

#### **Conclusion**

The AU's CEWS has made considerable progress in developing its capacity to analyze, monitor, and provide warning of imminent conflict situations in Africa. Coordination with the different AU organs focusing on peace and security is unsystematic, and cooperation and information-sharing with the different conflict early warning efforts of the RECs remain underdeveloped at best. Moreover, early response mechanisms at the AU continue to be impeded by political considerations, disagreements, and rivalries among member states of the AU. While AU support for national-level conflict early warning systems might help circumnavigate these political obstacles, such efforts are undeveloped in Africa and carry their own attendant risks and potential for political manipulation.

## **Africa's Demographic Challenges – Paths to Prosperity or Instability?**

**Researcher:** Amb. (ret.) George F. Ward

### **Summary**

- Africa's population is the world's youngest, offering a growing labor supply.
- Like other developing regions, Africa is becoming more urban. Africa's cities face unique challenges as they strive to meet the demands of growing populations.
- Unemployment, especially of urban youths, is a major problem and potential threat to stability.
- Job creation is the key to a stable future. Success in creating jobs depends on reducing five barriers:
  - Concerns about macroeconomic and political stability
  - Lack of access to finance
  - Infrastructure shortcomings
  - Negative business environments
  - Lack of practical skills and work readiness among job applicants.

### **The Demographic Realities**

Africa has the youngest population in the world. More than 20 percent of Africans, about 200 million people, are aged between 15 and 24 years.<sup>30</sup> The continent's work force is growing rapidly and, unlike many other areas of the world, will continue to grow over the coming decades. A recent study by the McKinsey Global Institute finds that Africa will add 122 million people to its labor force between 2010 and 2020. By 2035, Africa's labor force will be larger than those of China and India.<sup>31</sup>

Not only is Africa's population young and growing, but its distribution is rapidly changing from overwhelmingly rural to urban. In 1960, sub-Saharan Africa's urban population was only around 15 percent of the total.<sup>32</sup> By 2009, the urban population was 37 percent of the total and growing at 3.8 percent annually, while the rural population growth rate was only 1.7 percent.<sup>33</sup> Observers believe Africa will become predominantly urban around the year 2030.

### **The Employment Challenge**

African employment and unemployment statistics are notoriously unreliable. The levels of unemployment reported by the World Bank range from an improbable low of 0.7 percent in Benin to a high of 37.6 percent in Namibia.<sup>34</sup> In general, unemployment rates are likely to be underestimated because the standard International Labor Organization definition excludes people who are not working and not actively looking for work, but who say they would take a job if offered.<sup>35</sup>

While it makes little sense to compare statistics across nations, it is instructive to look at the differences between general unemployment and youth unemployment at the country level. Of the 16 countries that reported both categories of unemployment to the World Bank during the period 2000-2009, 13 had higher rates of youth unemployment. In some cases, especially in southern Africa, the difference is stark (see chart). While the World Bank unemployment figures most often include only those searching for jobs, the African Development Bank has looked more holistically at the youth employment situation. Its conclusion is that 60 percent of Africa's unemployed are between the ages of 15 and 24, and that more than half have given up on finding work.<sup>36</sup>

Country	Unemployment % – Ages 15 and Older	Unemployment % – Ages 15-24
Benin	0.7	0.8
Botswana	17.6	13.6
Ethiopia	20.5	24.9
Ghana	10.4	16.6
Liberia	5.6	4.7
Madagascar	2.6	2.3
Mauritius	7.3	21.4
Namibia	37.6	41.7
Niger	1.5	3.2
Senegal	10.0	14.8
Seychelles	5.5	20.3
Sierra Leone	3.4	5.2
South Africa	23.8	48.2
Tanzania	4.3	8.8
Zambia	12.9	21.4
Zimbabwe	4.2	24.9

Source: The World Bank, *African Development Indicators 2011*, Washington: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Note: Countries listed are those that reported both general and youth unemployment rates

### Urbanization and the Youth Bulge

The combination of growing urbanization and the youth bulge is both a challenge and an opportunity for Africa. The response of governments and the private sector will determine whether Africa reaps a demographic dividend or develops new sources of instability. Experts agree that the key to a positive outcome is job creation. The McKinsey Global Institute study puts the opportunity succinctly: "Africa has the potential to create between 54 million and 72 million more stable wage-paying jobs by 2020, with much of the job growth coming from manufacturing, agriculture, and retail and hospitality. This would raise the share of workers with wage-paying jobs to between 32 and 36 percent by 2020 from the current level of 28 percent. In Africa's most diversified economies ... the number of wage-paying jobs could grow faster than the number of new entrants to the labor force over the next decade."<sup>37</sup>

### The Path to Job Creation and Stability

In looking for indications of success or failure in meeting the challenges of urbanization and the youth bulge, analysts should focus on the extent to which five barriers to stable job creation cited in the McKinsey Global Institute study are being reduced by governments and the private sector. These barriers were highlighted in responses to an in-person survey of 1,373 business leaders and executives in Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa.<sup>38</sup>

- *Concerns about Macroeconomic and Political Stability.* This was the top concern voiced by respondents across sectors, countries, and size of businesses. Decreased political stability would have a chilling effect on the retail and hospitality sectors, which are major engines of growth. Persistent inflation in many countries, especially in East Africa, depresses demand and limits the ability of entrepreneurs to plan.



- *Access to Finance.* This was the barrier most often cited by Nigerian business leaders, and it is a particularly difficult challenge for small businesses, which contribute 75 percent of the continent's jobs. With the exception of South Africa and a few other countries, banking systems are under-developed in sub-Saharan African countries. Microfinance is not yet available to all of the smallest businesses. Small- and mid-sized businesses struggle to find banks willing to lend.
- *Infrastructure Shortcomings.* A lack of electricity, poor transportation infrastructure, and the inability to access land for development are the leading infrastructure-related concerns. McKinsey quotes World Bank estimates that Africa needs to invest \$118 billion annually to address the infrastructure gap. The current level of investment is only \$72 billion annually.
- *Negative Business Environments.* This category captures a range of factors that employers view as obstacles to growth. They include the lack of training, lack of business information, the difficulty in identifying growth opportunities, unnecessarily complex and time-consuming regulations and bureaucracies, and corruption.
- *Lack of Practical Skills and Work Readiness among Job Applicants.* The paradox here is that Africa's youth population is rapidly getting better educated. Today, 42 percent of 20- to 24-year-olds have had a secondary education. If current trends continue, that proportion will increase to 59 percent by 2030.<sup>39</sup> The problem is not years of education, but quality of instruction and the failure to train youths in fields in which demand for labor exists. For example, the leading South African employment services company estimated in April 2011 that there were in that country 829,800 unfilled positions for high-skilled workers across a wide range of occupations.<sup>40</sup> At the time, the total South African work force was just over 19 million. Filling those positions with qualified employees would significantly reduce South Africa's unemployment rate.

## Invisible Influences: Secret Societies and Black Magic

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

### Summary

- Informal cultural institutions such as secret societies, spiritual sects, animism, mysticism, belief in the occult, and forms of “black magic” are deeply entrenched in all aspects of African society. They are most visible at the local level but have become intertwined with modern political life and retain considerable power and influence at both levels.
- The putative purpose of these cultural institutions is to control the powers of the spirit world and to explain the inexplicable such as a strange illness or deviant behavior. In practice, their function is to regulate social and political conduct, particularly in isolated communities where official governance has no reach.
- Paramount chiefs, often the only legitimate authorities for most rural-dwelling and even urban Africans, typically belong to secret societies. Most members of the political elite are also active participants and use their memberships in these networks to rally political support, recruit political enforcers during elections, and even create private security organizations (militia) that may become combatants in conflict. This has been especially true in West Africa.
- Due to the sensitive nature of this topic, data and detailed information on these informal associations is extremely limited. Africans are not forthcoming with their memberships or affiliations with such unofficial networks, as it is considered improper to speak openly about them. As such, the U.S. should not expect to be able to access detailed information on these networks, but should be aware that these associations exert great influence at all levels of society, including the highest levels of national politics.

### Background

Membership in unofficial social networks such as secret societies, cults, and spiritual sects has been commonplace in Africa, as has been the belief in the occult and animism. These traditions are often practiced in tandem with official religion, e.g., Christianity or Islam (particularly the Sufi strain of Islam.) Various forms of black magic such as Voodoo, Juju, or Gri Gri also have long histories in West Africa’s indigenous belief systems and persist today. Some researchers assert that certain modified forms of magic expanded following the arrival of western missionaries in the mid-19th century. In particular, some of their Pentecostal Christian beliefs stressed the need to rid society of satanic and other evil influences, and so began the ritual killings of witches and others believed to be practitioners of black magic.

Today, the image of these cultural institutions varies. Certain organizations are highly respected, and membership in them is even seen as an elite status symbol. Some types of black magic such as West African Vodun (otherwise known as Voodoo) are often considered to be taboo, even among Africans. On the other hand, even spiritual leaders, such as Sufi *marabouts*, embrace certain mystical traditions that are not strictly religious. The Sufi Brotherhoods in Senegal are perceived by many in the West to be entirely religious in nature, but most Africans agree that certain mystical practices that Sufis perform would be deemed taboo by Western standards.<sup>41</sup>

The primary function of these unofficial networks is similar to traditional governance mechanisms in that they organize communities socially and politically in ways that government

cannot. Like a fraternity, they provide benefits to their members and typically play active roles in initiating boys and girls into adult circles, distributing resources, and even establishing relationships with neighboring villages. In some places, public service providers are pressured to join the secret societies that control the communities in which they work. In the case of teachers, this is an attempt by locals to coordinate their children's education in both traditional and official sectors to ensure they receive the maximum support. In other cases, secret societies have settled disputes between local communities and government agencies, particularly over issues of land ownership.<sup>42</sup> It must be emphasized that these functions vary among institutions.

A principal function of black magic is to "explain the inexplicable," such as strange illness or deviant behavior.<sup>43</sup> In modern times, it has also presented new and lucrative business opportunities for religious leaders to identify affected individuals, specifically witches, and "cure" them for a fee.<sup>44</sup>

Data on these informal cultural institutions are hard to collect due to their secretive nature. Most data on religious preferences from Africa (typically collected through national census) reflect percentages of respondents who adhere to Christianity, Islam, or some traditional religion (such as animism or an indigenous belief system). Data do not reflect those who practice some combination of religions, particularly people who might identify themselves as Christians or Muslims but practice some aspects of traditional religions. According to one researcher, the data can be off by a very large amount. In Ghana, the census data suggest that only about 15 percent of Ghanaians practice indigenous religions, while anthropological studies suggest that about 70 percent of respondents practice some aspects of traditional religions.<sup>45</sup> Another researcher from Cameroon noted that in his country "70 percent are Christian, 30 percent are Muslim, and 100 percent are Animist."<sup>46</sup>

### **Role in National Politics**

Membership in unofficial social networks has major political implications. While "official" government policy-making occurs through commonly accepted forums (an institution, negotiation, or other mechanism for decision-making), there is another level of unofficial decision-making that occurs behind closed doors and out of the public eye. It is at this level that the strengths of personal relationships prevail. Common bonds, such as membership in the same secret society, religious sect, or other unofficial social network, will influence alliances, decision-making, and the general placement of loyalties. According to one African researcher, there are numerous examples of African presidents who are thought to be members of the same religious sect or who share a common spiritual guide. This common bond is so deep-rooted that it may dictate their regional political alliances and to a larger extent explains their decision-making.<sup>47</sup>

Particularly in the lead-up to elections or during times of instability, unofficial social networks have historically played an important political role. In Sierra Leone, leading political figures have been known to use their membership in secret societies to recruit and discipline political followers.<sup>48</sup> For example, one politician from the All People's Congress (APC, one of the two major political parties in Sierra Leone) is reported to have used his membership in the Ojeh secret society to recruit and train a private security force during the civil war. Similarly, the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) supporters in rural areas often used the Poro society to harass APC activities and deny them access to loyal youths whom they were trying to recruit.<sup>49</sup> Sierra Leone also provides relevant examples of the use of magic in warfare. During its civil war, the Kamajor counterinsurgency militants were protected by a secret society who claimed they rendered fighters immune to bullets, provided that the militants observed a number of laws to

maintain the efficacy of the protections (such as sexual abstinence).<sup>50</sup> In another example from former times, men and older women were accepted into the “Due Society” in which initiates learned a special language and “mind-reading” techniques that allowed them to detect spies when talking to strangers. This was considered to be a critical tool during pre-colonial warfare.

Additional examples abound. In Gabon, politicians have been accused of ritual killings, particularly of children, in the belief that a human sacrifice will increase their chances of winning elections or lucrative government posts.<sup>51</sup> In the Gambia, President Jammeh’s recent execution spree has been attributed by some to the influence of his *marabouts* (spiritual leaders), their use of Gri Gri, and their belief that some of those prisoners on death row represented a direct threat to Jammeh’s power.<sup>52</sup>

It is important to state that these informal cultural institutions exist at all levels of life in Africa, even in the criminal underworld. Recent investigations have revealed how human traffickers in Nigeria have hijacked cultural beliefs in “Juju” to coerce their victims to comply with their demands. Traffickers force victims to take oaths of protection, which instill the fear of punishment by the spiritual world should they attempt to flee their captors.<sup>53</sup> It is likely that, given the rise in human trafficking from West Africa to Europe in recent years, this exploitation of traditional beliefs will continue to be a powerful tool to force the movement of more Africans.

### **Conclusion**

African societies are complex, even without the informal, undocumented, and secretive cultural institutions and practices that confound many western analysts. Nonetheless, these institutions play a major role in African societies and national politics – to an extent that outsiders might never know.

In Kenya (and probably elsewhere), many observers believe that these spiritual beliefs, or rather their modern manifestations, thrive due to underdevelopment and poor living conditions.<sup>54</sup> People attribute their misfortune to the work of spirits and view membership in spiritual organizations as offering hope where there is otherwise none. This is why many politicians (who may secretly be active members) will discredit these groups, citing that they thrive only because of poverty and poor education.<sup>55</sup>

The role and influence of these informal cultural institutions should be expected to continue over the longer term. Due to its secretive nature, this phenomenon is practically impossible to research, let alone measure or quantify. The existence of these practices points to the importance of taking cultural factors seriously in analyzing developments and trends in Africa.

## ALERTS

### Mali: The MNLA No Longer Wants Independence?

**Researcher:** Dr. Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

A delegation of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) announced in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso on October 7, 2012 that the group is ready to engage in negotiations over the issues that divide Mali. The secular, Tuareg separatist group has renounced independence for the north as a goal. MNLA representatives presented the mediator from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaoré, with a set of demands that fell far short of challenging the territorial integrity of Mali while asserting the right to regional self-determination.

Following a meeting with Compaoré, MNLA representative Ibrahim Ag Assaleh stated:

We are here today to inform the world that we have succeeded ... in agreeing on a political platform with clear and crisp aspirations in order to achieve the first policy that regulates the crisis between us and Mali for 52 years.

We declare a right to self-determination, but that doesn't mean secession. As for independence, that is our objective. But independence doesn't solely mean territorial independence. It is the right to life, to health care, to education, a political voice and freedom of expression.<sup>56</sup>

Thousands of people marched in Bamako on October 11 calling for military intervention against the Islamist groups in the north. The protesters included Malians from both south and north, demanding that the army engage the Islamists, denouncing the MNLA, and carrying banners that read "No Independence, No self-determination."<sup>57</sup>

The MNLA is increasingly being blamed for the chaos that has ensued since the beginning of its uprising in January 2012, especially for the ill-conceived decision to ally itself with the Islamists in Ansar Dine, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, and al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The MNLA relationship with the Islamists has been mercurial from the beginning. As one French observer characterized it, "in the ungoverned breakaway region of Northern Mali, the Tuareg separatist group MNLA has been on-again, off-again with the Islamist Ansar Dine, forging and breaking alliances with all the impetuosity of a Hollywood couple."<sup>58</sup> It has become increasingly apparent that the MNLA, in forming a coalition with the radical Islamists, misread the willingness of the population of the north to trade their culture and religious traditions – which are regarded as heretical and have been brutally suppressed by the Islamists – for political independence.

The MNLA may also have overrated its own military prowess, believing it could exploit outside support from groups like AQIM without being pushed aside by them. In reality, the "battle hardened" reputation of the MNLA fighters was exaggerated. According to Jeremy Keenan, British anthropologist and expert on Islamist terror groups in North Africa, "they haven't done much fighting. When they were in Libya, most of the guys hadn't been fighting; they were just sitting around in barracks. They definitely brought a lot of ammunition with them [from Libya] but they were not hardened fighters. When it comes to the people actually fighting, the cold-blooded killers, they are from Ansar Dine. They are the warriors defending the faith, the ones trained to kill."<sup>59</sup>

## **Tanzania: Zanzibar VP Calls for Full Autonomy from Mainland – Is Divorce Imminent?**

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### **Introduction**

In the first weekend of October, Seif Sharif Hamad, influential First Vice President of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (RGZ), came out in favor of “a fully autonomous Zanzibar with national and international powers,”<sup>60</sup> a statement in direct conflict with his previously stated commitment to the Government of National Unity (GNU). As recently as October 2, Hamad had publicly defended the GNU and reiterated his support for “national cohesion at whatever price,”<sup>61</sup> accusing those who failed to support the unity government of exacerbating dangerous religious rifts for political gain and failing to act in the best interests of the country.<sup>62</sup> The factors that led to his change of position are unclear.

### **Promoting Demonstrations**

In his speech – delivered to a Civic United Front (CUF) rally on Pemba, the second largest island administered by the RGZ – Hamad encouraged those in attendance “to come out in big numbers to air their views and categorically demand” that the country’s Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) grant autonomy for the islands.<sup>63</sup> Hamad also attempted to undercut public faith in the CRC and similar past efforts by the government, claiming that working within the system over the past decades had left the islands so disadvantaged that a radical break from the mainland would be the only way to reclaim what was rightfully theirs.<sup>64</sup>

Hamad specifically pointed to trade and investment deals; oil, gas and mineral reserve development; and representation on the international stage as areas in which Zanzibar and Pemba have been exploited by the mainland.<sup>65</sup>

### **A Volatile Time**

Hamad is hardly the first to call for autonomy for the islands; indeed, some level of discontent has simmered beneath the surface of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar relationship since their merger in 1964.<sup>66</sup> In the past, however, the country has remained relatively peaceful – a trend that some observers fear is coming to an end.<sup>67</sup>

Recent measures like the 2010 establishment of the GNU have failed to sufficiently address islanders’ concerns.<sup>68</sup> Further, increasing religious tensions<sup>69</sup> combined with the rise of violent Muslim separatist group Uamsho – which boycotted the country’s recent census<sup>70</sup> and launched riots on the islands in May, July, and September 2012 that resulted in significant destruction of property, several arson attacks on churches, and injury to civilians<sup>71</sup> – raise questions for the future of the union.

## Zimbabwe: Mugabe's Elections Timetable Revealed in Court Documents

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On October 3, Zimbabwe's high court granted President Robert Mugabe's wish to postpone by-elections for three seats in parliament that have remained vacant for three years. The court decided that the by-elections must be held by March 31, 2013. Mugabe argued that the state lacked the funds to hold separate by-elections because the government is preparing for a constitutional referendum and general elections in the coming year.<sup>72</sup> Documents filed for the case revealed Mugabe's intended timetable for elections: a constitutional referendum in November and presidential and legislative elections in the last week of March 2013.<sup>73</sup>

- Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) dismissed the early timetable, with MDC-T spokesperson, Douglas Mwonozora, calling Mugabe's plan "unilateral" and "unrealistic."<sup>74</sup>
- South African President Jacob Zuma, who heads the South African Development Community's (SADC) mediation on Zimbabwe, reiterated that while both parties have agreed to hold elections in the coming year, steps are still needed to "prepare the environment" for a free and fair poll in Zimbabwe.<sup>75</sup>

While elections may still get pushed back by pressure from SADC and MDC-T, Mugabe's expedited timetable raises questions about whether electoral reforms mandated by SADC could be implemented in time for a March poll in Zimbabwe. As outlined in the September 19, 2012 issue of *The Africa Watch*, Mugabe's newfound popularity in recent opinion polls increases the likelihood of violence surrounding upcoming elections. If elections are held ahead of schedule and before reforms can be realized, the prospects for electoral violence would grow significantly.

## New Gambian Opposition Group Emerges

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

A new opposition group, the National Transitional Council of the Gambia (NTCG), stated on October 10 that President Yahya Jammeh had 30 days to “give up power or else.”<sup>76</sup> NTCG did not specify what action it would take, but stated that it was seeking international recognition. It is unlikely the group poses a legitimate threat, but NTCG rhetoric could play into President Jammeh’s fear and paranoia regarding the safety of his regime.

### **Profile: National Transitional Council of the Gambia**

NTCG is a Dakar-based group calling itself a “government in exile.” The group is led by Sheikh Sidiya Bayo, a 33-year-old Gambian born and educated in France.<sup>77</sup> According to Bayo, the NTCG traces its formation back to the November 2011 presidential election that was marred by voter intimidation and repression of the opposition.<sup>78</sup> The group publicly announced its establishment on September 13, 2012 and claims to have opposition figures and military officials among its 35 members.<sup>79</sup> NTCG’s objective is to lead a political transition, organize elections, and draft a new constitution. NTCG has not ruled out armed conflict as a means to unseat President Jammeh.<sup>80</sup> NTCG named 16 people as future members of the cabinet.<sup>81</sup> In October, “Minister of Justice” Yankuba (“Yanks”) Darboe stated: “The NTCG should now be recognized as the legitimate government of the Gambia.”



### **Assessment**

It remains unclear what support, if any, the group maintains among opposition, civil society, and armed forces members. Civil Society Associations Gambia (CSAG), a coalition of seven civil and human rights organizations, has denied any connection with NTCG and condemned the use of CSAG member names in association with the group.<sup>82</sup> In addition, some of the named cabinet members have also denied their affiliation.<sup>83</sup> In response, NTCG suggests that prominent opposition figures are unable to publicly endorse the group due to safety concerns.

NTCG also claims to have support from members of the Gambian Armed Forces (GAF), including former high-ranking military officials and current members of the Gambian Army. Some local news sources support the claim.<sup>84</sup> Given the nature of the media environment in the Gambia, the reliability of this information is questionable, but should still be taken into consideration.

President Jammeh has made no public statement regarding NTCG as of this reporting, but given his paranoia over threats to his regime, one must assume that it is on his radar. For, example, his recent execution spree has been attributed to spiritual advice received from a Senegalese *marabout* who allegedly predicted Jammeh’s downfall. Some believe the executions were carried out for ritual purposes (human sacrifices) or meant to deter to future coup plotters.<sup>85</sup>



## **The Sahel: First Drought – Now Floods – Devastate the Region**

**Researcher:** Ms. Betty Boswell

This spring, media attention and humanitarian efforts across the Sahel and West Africa were focused on the seemingly never-ending drought and the resultant food crisis. The rainy season came in mid-summer and caused the worst flooding the area has seen in 80 years (150 percent above normal). Some reports predict the flood waters will not recede fully until mid-November. Another food crisis has resulted.

- In Niger more than 7,000 hectares of crops were destroyed by the rains, adding to the effects of the food crisis caused by the drought.
- Rice fields along the Niger River have flooded, affecting the yields and adding to the food insecurity in the region.<sup>86</sup>
- Nigeria's cassava growers have declared the year a "disaster" since most of their farmlands have been ravaged by the floods. Compounding this loss is the lack of food reserves and the waste of the investment in fertilizers made by the farmers.<sup>87</sup>

The flooding has affected more than the food supply in the area – thousands of people have been displaced. Their homes are now under water or crumbling due to pressure from the rains. Other homesteads in northern Nigeria that have not been destroyed by flood waters are being overrun by snakes, crocodiles, and hippos.<sup>88</sup> Schools are being used as shelters, causing a delay in the beginning of the school year.<sup>89</sup> Whole communities will have to be rebuilt once the floodwaters recede.

The affected countries' governments as well as humanitarian support agencies are providing relief for the victims' immediate needs: food, shelter, and cash; however, long-term solutions also need to be sought. As UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said in talking about the politics of floods, "The task is not just to preserve water resources to sustain life, but also to reduce the capacity of water to take life away."<sup>90</sup> Proactive rather than reactive measures at flood control and water management must be considered so that next year's rainy season is not as devastating as the 2012 season has been.

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With best regards,

***George Ward***

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward



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## ANALYSES

### Manufacture of Illicit Synthetic Drugs in West Africa

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

#### Summary

The most recent trend in drug trafficking through Africa has been the significant uptick in local manufacture of Amphetamine-Type Stimulants (ATS or synthetic drugs)<sup>1</sup> for export to East and Southeast Asian markets.

- South Africa first reported isolated instances of methcathinone and methamphetamine (meth) production in 2008, but since 2009 West Africa been identified as an additional manufacturing locale.
- Numerous African countries are used as trans-shipment hubs and have reported increased seizures in ATS and precursor chemicals.
- Because ATS can be manufactured wherever precursors are available, any of these African countries could feasibly become sites for production.

The paucity of data on this illicit trade is particularly acute in Africa, where law enforcement and other government agencies lack the capacity to collect data on seizures, consumption, purity levels, among other information. Moreover, corruption, porous borders, and lack of awareness all contribute to a culture that does not enforce drug laws.

#### ATS – New Entrants into Africa’s Illicit Drug Market

Since approximately 2004, West Africa has been exploited by Latin American Drug Trafficking Organizations (DTOs) moving cocaine from Latin America to Europe. East and Southern Africa are also major transit hubs for Southwest Asian heroin en route to Europe.

Since approximately 2006, the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) noted an alarming rise in the importation of precursor chemicals (pseudoephedrine and ephedrine) that appeared to exceed the legitimate demand of African countries, even considering a modest growth of the pharmaceutical industry in the region.<sup>2</sup> Central Africa in particular was used as a transshipment hub for precursor chemicals imported from Asia for onward shipment to Central and North America, where the illicit manufacture of ATS occurs. In 2007, seven shipments of pseudoephedrine, totaling 23 tons, were intercepted in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) alone under the guise of legitimate industrial demand. That same year, there was an attempted diversion of 500 kilograms of potassium permanganate in the DRC.<sup>3</sup> This illicit trade was believed to be controlled by Mexican DTOs that initially established ties with local criminal groups in Mozambique, the DRC, Ghana and Nigeria.<sup>4</sup> In the last few years, they have found additional partners in Cape Verde, Egypt and Kenya.<sup>5</sup>

The most concerning development on this front is the finding that Africa has advanced beyond simply a transit hub for narcotics to an active manufacturing site for ATS.<sup>6</sup> The discovery of an MDMA (ecstasy) production lab in Guinea in 2009 and several operational meth labs in Nigeria and South Africa in 2011 and 2012 revealed a new source of revenues for Latin American and African criminal organizations, beyond the cocaine and heroin trades in which they have been

heavily involved for several years. The manufactured ATS are exported to Far East Asian markets, most notably Japan and Republic of Korea, after transiting Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia and Thailand.<sup>7</sup> The rising number of very recent arrests (in October 2012) of African nationals in Southeast Asia who have been recruited by large narcotics traffickers (typically Nigerian) as couriers is evidence that this trend is growing.<sup>8</sup>

#### **From Transit Hub to Manufacturing Location**

A few isolated cases of ATS manufacture were reported in South Africa as early as 2002. It is only since 2009 that evidence indicates West Africa is also used as a manufacturing site.

In 2009, teams from UNODC and Interpol discovered precursor chemicals and large-scale equipment used for the production of MDMA outside Conakry, Guinea. Specifically, the teams seized more than 5,000 liters of sassafras oil and 80 liters of 3,4-Methylenedioxyphenyl-2-propanone (3,4-MDP-2-P), quantities that could manufacture more than \$100 million worth of MDMA. Forensic analysis confirmed the presence of MDMA on the equipment at one location (Kissosso, outside Conakry) that had been used previously. This case was the first reported evidence that West Africa hosted any illicit ATS manufacturing sites.<sup>9</sup>

In 2010, the U.S. Government exposed the intention of traffickers to import enough ephedrine into Liberia to manufacture 20 kilograms of crystalline meth every few days. According to the indictment, the large international cocaine trafficking ring planned to establish a meth laboratory in Liberia and use the skills of foreign chemists (Latin American, presumably).<sup>10</sup>

In July 2011, Nigeria became the first West African nation to discover incontrovertible evidence of meth manufacture. The National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) seized a lab near Lagos, which it estimated was able to produce between 25 and 50 kilograms per cycle.<sup>11</sup> Then in February 2012, the NDLEA seized yet another meth lab near Lagos that it estimated was able to produce 25 kilograms per cycle. This lab consisted of two facilities, one which manufactured the drugs and another that stored the chemicals used in production, including 41 kilograms of ephedrine, as well as other chemicals such as iodine, toluene, acetone, phosphoric acid, hydrochloric acid, and sodium hydroxide. A Nigerian and three Bolivians were arrested in connection with the lab. For the first time in a meth lab seizure, a quantity of the finished product (almost 5 kilograms) was also seized in intermediate, crude, crystallized form.

#### **Consumption**

In addition to the potential financing of terrorist activities and the criminality concerns associated with any illicit trade, drug trafficking also presents a major public health issue that African nations can ill afford. Unfortunately, data on the drug trade in Africa are hard to come by, even with various data-submission requirements imposed by international bodies. In 2010, for example, only seven out of 54 African States submitted their Annual Reports Questionnaire (ARG) to the UNODC, which is required of all member states under the UN drug control conventions. This does not necessarily reflect neglect or ignorance on the part of the national governments, simply the limited capacity of local law enforcement agencies to collect such data. In lieu of accurate data on seizures, consumption, and other trends, analysts now rely on anecdotal evidence and unconventional methodologies to estimate the size of the problem, such as reports from East and Southeast Asia on the involvement of Africans in drug trafficking in those countries.

In terms of consumption, it is accepted that the most commonly used drug in Africa continues to be cannabis, followed by ATS.<sup>12</sup> This is surprising to many given that ATS are relatively new entrants into the drug system in Africa, whereas cocaine and heroin have been present in the

region for many years. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the largest consumer market is South Africa, though the recent discovery of meth labs in West Africa will likely result in increased drug use in that region as well.

Cape Town, particularly its gangster-plagued, mixed-race communities, has been battling an explosion in addiction to meth (known locally as “tik”) for five years, aggravating already high rates of violent crime and HIV/AIDS.<sup>13</sup> Among young black South Africans, cannabis and alcohol are the main substances of abuse.<sup>14</sup> Health professionals say one disturbing accompaniment of the tik epidemic is an increase in heroin consumption as people combine the two in a practice dubbed the “rollercoaster” – tik to take them up and heroin to calm them down.

### **Looking Ahead**

The most concerning development in the African drug trade is the expansion and strengthening of indigenous African criminal organizations, which appear to be learning from their Latin American counterparts. Increasingly, African criminal organizations, particularly Nigerian, are involved in ATS trafficking operations through Africa and in the final distribution in local markets. Although Nigerian, South African, and Ghanaian criminal organizations have been active drug traffickers since the 1970s, the increasing reports of African criminal organizations involved in distribution networks in East Asia are a sign that African DTOs are growing more sophisticated and cultivating their criminal networks. These have been reported officially in China, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Viet Nam, as well as Australia and New Zealand,<sup>15</sup> but one must assume that these networks have infiltrated other Asian markets as well.

That said, the recent arrest of Bolivian nationals in connection with a Nigerian meth lab might indicate cooperation of South American criminal syndicates with African criminal groups in meth manufacture and trafficking.<sup>16</sup> Reports that Mexican DTOs are serving as advisors and are being recruited as chemists in the illicit ATS manufacture are further evidence of this.<sup>17</sup>

Another important consideration with regard to ATS production is that this trend, currently limited (as far as we know) to South Africa, Nigeria, and Guinea, could easily spread to other parts of Africa. Unlike the cultivation of cannabis, cocaine, or opium, ATS can be manufactured wherever precursor chemicals are available. As such, it is possible that production could commence in east, central, or other parts of southern Africa. It is unlikely, however, that these activities would be centered in conflict-ridden areas that could pose logistical challenges.

Finally, as long as there continues to be a growing middle class of Africans, one must expect the public health issues associated with amphetamine use, including addiction, aggression, violence, high crime rates, prostitution, and risky sexual behavior, to become increasingly important national concerns.

## Zanzibar's Troubles

**Researcher:** Dr. Dorina A. Bekoe

### Summary

- The Uamsho movement and its recent violent actions reflect political, historical, cultural, and economic divisions on Zanzibar. Latent grievances are being manifested in the growing opposition to the Government of National Unity and the 1964 Union Government Agreement.
- Zanzibar has a history of political and electoral violence fueled by these grievances. Thus, failure to seriously address the roots of the disenchantment voiced by Zanzibaris and to defuse social and political tensions will likely lead to a resurgence in political violence.
- In order to forestall political and electoral violence in Zanzibar, the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi and opposition Civic United Front must find a political solution that includes the isolation of Uamsho.

### Zanzibar and Pemba



Source: Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection  
[http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/zanzibar\\_77.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/zanzibar_77.jpg)

### Political Tension and Violence in Zanzibar

Zanzibar comprises two main islands: Unguja (popularly referred to as Zanzibar) and Pemba (see map). Since May, Zanzibar has experienced street protests, demonstrations, and violent clashes over issues related to its relationship with mainland Tanzania and the viability of its Government of National Unity (GNU), comprising the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and opposition Civic United Front (CUF). The violence and protest rallies have brought attention to a relatively little publicized group, Uamsho, but they also reflect long standing grievances held by Zanzibaris and expose cultural and historical rifts. Zanzibar's history tells us that these latent grievances, normally visible during the election season, are easily fanned and transformed into violent confrontations. Not acknowledging the potency of these grievances and taking

measures to defuse the tension they cause increase the chances of more political violence on the island.

### Uamsho

Uamsho, translated as "The Awakening" in Kiswahili, is an Islamic movement that has existed in Zanzibar since 2001. It is known for its teaching of Islam, and lately for campaigning for a referendum on whether Zanzibar should remain in the Union.<sup>18</sup> Members of Uamsho have been

engaged in violent protests against Zanzibar's union with Tanzania since May 2012. They are one of the main groups advocating for Zanzibar's sovereignty and a "treaty-based union."<sup>19</sup> They burned churches in their protests (though Uamsho's leader Sheik Farid Hadi Ahmed denies it), raising religious tension on the island.<sup>20</sup> When Sheik Ahmed was reported missing on October 16, Uamsho members staged additional demonstrations and clashed violently to protest his disappearance. Since he turned up of his own volition, Sheik Ahmed and seven other clerics have been held for questioning by police for Uamsho's role in the violence.<sup>21</sup>

### **Political Conflict Dynamics and Violence in Zanzibar**

While Uamsho's demonstrations have been seen through a religious perspective because of the attacks on churches, they reflect more deeply held grievances between Zanzibaris and between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania. Specifically, they reflect longstanding unease with the 1964 Union Government Agreement, the political cleavages between CCM and CUF, and the 2010 Government of National Unity.

### ***The Union Agreement and Political Divisions***

The 1964 Union Government Agreement joined Zanzibar (Pemba and Unguja), to Tanganyika, following independence from Britain. The Union Agreement's recognition of Zanzibar as a semi-autonomous entity entitles it to elect members to its House of Representatives and president, in addition to the national parliament and president. Despite its nearly half-century's existence, the Union Agreement continues to be controversial – a sentiment reflecting the Arab/African divisions on the islands and the philosophies of the main political parties, CCM and CUF. Those against the Union Agreement charge that Zanzibar is continually short-changed by mainland Tanzania in political and economic matters. Despite Zanzibar's semi-autonomous status, many opponents of the Union contend that there is too much interference by mainland Tanzania in their own affairs.

The opposition CUF and the ruling CCM reflect geographic, historical, cultural, and social divisions. Generally, Pemba, the poorer of the islands, is a CUF stronghold, while Unguja, the more prosperous island, is a CCM stronghold. Pembans have traditionally claimed discrimination by the residents of Unguja.<sup>22</sup> There are also ethnic divisions: CUF is rooted in Zanzibar's Arab history, while CCM is affiliated with Africans and mainlanders. Finally, the CUF has long been critical of the Union Government Agreement – preferring a federal system instead that encompasses Zanzibar, the Union, and mainland Tanzania (former Tanganyika).<sup>23</sup> CCM, on the other hand, has favored the Union Agreement.

These deeply held grievances are reflected in the public meetings being held by the Constitutional Review Commission in Zanzibar. Those opposing the union want to affirm Zanzibar's sovereignty by insisting on a "treaty-based union." This is essentially a call for secession. It is a position advocated most vocally by Uamsho, but resonates with a significant portion of Zanzibaris – particularly those who support CUF. In fact, CUF's secretary-general and Zanzibar's first vice president, Malaam Seif Shariff Hamad, has been advocating a "treaty-based union."<sup>24</sup>

The ethnic, cultural, and social cleavages have repeatedly led to violent clashes in Zanzibar. Particularly salient has been the violence surrounding each of its elections from 1995 to 2005. The worst violence in Zanzibar followed the October 2000 polls when at least 35 CUF supporters were killed by security forces in January 2001 as they protested the win by CCM.<sup>25</sup> Subsequently, 2,000 Zanzibaris fled to Kenya. In October 2001, CCM and CUF signed the Muafaka-2 agreement in a bid to address the factors leading to the violence (Muafaka-1, agreed

to in 1999 after the violent 1995 elections, was never implemented). The Muafaka-2 agreement called for electoral reforms, judicial reforms, an impartial media, and compensation to the victims of the January 2001 violence. It left the door open for a government of national unity, but this was consistently rejected by CCM. It did, however, envision a role for CUF in government.<sup>26</sup>

By all accounts, the Muafaka-2 was poorly implemented. The CCM and CUF could never establish sufficient trust in each other, the political party representatives failed to meet, and the reforms were not implemented. The lack of progress on Muafaka-2 resulted in a 2005 pre-election season that was characterized by violence and intimidation.<sup>27</sup> After CCM won the elections, CUF refused to take up its positions in parliament for the next four years. The stalemate was broken through the promise of another round of negotiations. The secret Maridianho accords – essentially a series of informal discussions between the President of Zanzibar and the leader of the CUF – led to the referendum on a constitutional amendment to form a Government of National Unity following the October 2010 elections.<sup>28</sup>

### ***The Government of National Unity***

The referendum on the Government of National Unity, approved by 66.4 percent of Zanzibaris,<sup>29</sup> shared power between the first and second place winners of the presidential elections. In Zanzibar's context, this provided assurance to the CUF, which had been shut out of executive power, that it would obtain political power. Specifically, two positions for vice president would be available: the first vice-president would be from the party in second place. Thus, the October 2010 elections, won by CCM, conferred the presidency to Ali Mohammad Shein, while Seif Shariff Hamad (both CUF's presidential candidate and secretary-general) was nominated as first vice-president. The second vice-president, Ambassador Seif Ali Iddi (CUF) acts as the prime minister.<sup>30</sup> The GNU's greatest achievement has been peace. After three cycles of repeatedly violent elections, the October 2010 general elections were peaceful and undisputed.

But there are signs that the GNU could be coming under threat – and with that an increasing chance of a return of political and electoral violence. A number of CCM and CUF representatives have been openly critical of such close collaboration with the other party. One report even states that those in CCM that favor the GNU are suspected of working for CUF.<sup>31</sup> And some in CUF are calling for secession<sup>32</sup> – removing the need for a GNU. CUF's Deputy Secretary Ismail Jussa Ladu justified secession because Zanzibar's economy, based largely on tourism, differs greatly from that of the mainland. But others point to the recent discoveries of oil and gas as the real reason CUF wants to leave the union:<sup>33</sup> Zanzibar has been given control over the revenues that will accrue from oil and gas discoveries.<sup>34</sup>

CUF might also be feeling that its position as the major and permanent opposition party (and therefore occupant of the vice president and prime minister spots) could be in jeopardy. A by-election held in April 2012 to replace a parliamentary vacancy in Uzini district ended with CUF in third place. Second place went to a relatively new party, Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Chadema); it won 281 votes, while CUF received 222 votes.<sup>35</sup> Should Chadema increase its support in Zanzibar, the GNU agreement (which does not specify CUF) might not guarantee CUF's presence in the executive. CUF would risk a return to the political uncertainty it faced before the agreement.

### **The Outlook for Zanzibar**

Cultural and historical differences have a long history of turning violent in Zanzibar. The GNU served as a temporary balm for the political parties, which have fanned the flames of these



divisions. But political changes (the possible rise of Chadema) and new economic opportunities (the discovery of oil and gas in Zanzibar) bring into question the purpose of the GNU and the perceived obstacles placed by Union membership. Zanzibar's history shows that this combination of frustration and political blockage easily erupts into violence. Uamsho's increased visibility also poses a challenge to CUF, because its calls for independence and greater political representation appeal to so many of CUF's supporters. CUF risks losing its base if it is seen as too closely aligned with CCM. If CUF and CCM fail, however, to find a political solution that includes isolating Uamsho, more tension and possible violence on the island are likely.

## DRC Regional Entanglements – Zimbabwe

Researcher: Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

### Summary

- Zimbabwe was one of the key actors supporting the Congolese government in the Second Congolese War.
- While unlikely, future Zimbabwean involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) cannot be ruled out. Any involvement would most likely occur after the tentatively scheduled 2013 election in Zimbabwe and only if ZANU-PF were to resoundingly win.

### Recent DRC Events

Following accusations by the United Nations of direct Rwandan and Ugandan involvement with the M23 rebel group,<sup>36</sup> the conflict in Eastern Congo has continued to fester with sporadic fighting breaking out in Goma<sup>37</sup> and Sake<sup>38</sup> and a high profile assassination attempt on the life of a human rights activist in South Kivu.<sup>39</sup> It is, as of now, unclear whether any other countries are actively contributing to the conflict. While there have been no allegations made against Zimbabwe, it is important – because of that country’s instrumental support of the government of the DRC during the Second Congolese War (1998-2003) – to examine the likelihood of Zimbabwean involvement in the future.



Source: <http://ezilon.com/maps/africa/d-r-of-congo-maps.html>

### **DRC's Historic Relationship to Zimbabwe**

The Second Congolese War pitted Rwandan and Ugandan forces against the DRC army, which was supported by Angolan, Namibian, and Zimbabwean troops. The involvement of Zimbabwe – which does not share a common border with the DRC – caught many by surprise.<sup>40</sup> The decision to contribute Zimbabwean troops to the Congolese War was made even though there seemed no obvious strategic benefit for Zimbabwe.<sup>41</sup> Mugabe announced his intention to support Congolese president Laurent-Desire Kabila in October,<sup>42</sup> and, by early November 1998, Mugabe had sent a total of 13,000 troops to the DRC as a part of a “peacekeeping” effort.<sup>43</sup> Zimbabwe’s involvement in the DRC was deeply unpopular at home and led to numerous riots and protests.<sup>44</sup>

At the time, there were estimates that Zimbabwe – itself suffering from a severe economic crisis – was spending anywhere from \$400,000 to \$1 million per day on the Congolese war.<sup>45</sup> In 1999, in what was perhaps a move to quell some of the war’s domestic critics, the Zimbabwean government claimed that it was acting with the approval and financial support of France, Angola, and Libya.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, it was widely reported that, in exchange for troops and financial backing, the Zimbabwean government received generous diamond and land concessions from Laurent Kabila.<sup>47</sup> By 2000, new estimates put the cost of Zimbabwe’s involvement in Congo at closer to \$15 million per month and a total cost of \$200 million spent from 1998 to 2000.<sup>48</sup> Zimbabwean involvement, often underreported and/or misreported in Zimbabwe, continued throughout the war. Even after the death of Laurent Kabila in early 2001, Zimbabwean troops – who had become the largest source of support for Kabila’s regime – remained in DRC.<sup>49</sup> In 2002, as a provision of the peace accord, Zimbabwe fully withdrew.

What motivated Mugabe to commit Zimbabwean troops to support the Congolese? The official government stance revolved around the need to promote peace in the DRC and the possibility of accessing Congolese export markets in the future.<sup>50</sup> It has also been alleged, however, that Mugabe and other high-ranking government officials stood to profit handsomely from undisclosed supply contracts and mining concessions in the DRC.<sup>51</sup> Mugabe might also have thought that a victory in the DRC would provide Zimbabwe with greater regional and/or continental influence while simultaneously improving his popularity at home.<sup>52</sup> In hindsight, he was wrong on both accounts, but it is telling that despite serious concerns about the state of his own economy, food riots, domestic unrest, and a lack of political support by members of his own party, Mugabe was not only willing but able to send troops and financial support to the DRC for several years. It speaks to the control he had over the military and the likely benefit that was accruing to at least some Zimbabweans.

### **Current and Future Relations between Zimbabwe and Congo**

The governments of Zimbabwe and the DRC have enjoyed a close relationship since the end of the Second Congolese War. There have been numerous reports of military arrangements and weapons deals.<sup>53</sup> In August 2008, the UN reported that several shipments of arms destined for Zimbabwe had transited the DRC.<sup>54</sup> There were also a few scattered rumors in 2008 of the presence of Zimbabwean troops in the DRC, but these could have been started and fueled by opposition leaders.<sup>55</sup> After the disputed 2011 presidential election in the DRC, Robert Mugabe was the only African head of state to attend Joseph Kabila’s inauguration.<sup>56</sup>

In October, Zimbabwe and South Africa – in support of the DRC – objected to the nomination of Rwanda to the United Nations Security Council, proving that DRC-Zimbabwean diplomatic ties remain strong. Additionally, in August, the DRC rejected a proposal from an NGO based in Kinshasa that would have barred Zimbabwean troops (in addition to Angolan and Namibian

forces) from participating in any peacekeeping missions in the DRC based on their involvement in previous conflicts.<sup>57</sup> The DRC government stated that it reserved the right to decide on participation in any peacekeeping efforts in the country. Interestingly, earlier in August the Congolese agreed to a proposal to prevent Rwandan, Ugandan, and Burundian troops from participating in a neutral peacekeeping force in the DRC.<sup>58</sup>

There are currently no indications that Zimbabwe is involved in the conflict in Eastern Congo; however, given its key involvement in Second Congolese War it is important to understand the conditions under which it might become involved and the implications of Zimbabwean involvement. In addition, because Zimbabwe has one of the more capable militaries in the region, it would make sense that, under extreme duress, Joseph Kabila might reach out to former ally Robert Mugabe. Direct Zimbabwean military involvement is an overall unlikely scenario but one that carries a potentially significant impact for the resolution of the conflict in DRC.

There are two primary ways Zimbabwe could provide support to the DRC: financially or militarily. Financial support could be supplied much more easily (and covertly) to the DRC; however, it would appear that troop support is a more pressing need for the DRC since a major part of the current problem is Congolese troop defection. But is Zimbabwe willing or interested in supporting the Congolese and embroiling itself in another conflict in the DRC? All indications are that Zimbabwe is currently focused on internal politics and the tentatively scheduled March 2013 elections.

If Zimbabwe were to become involved, it would probably be after the election and only if Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) were to win decisively. Many high-ranking ZANU-PF members have been accused of profiting from resources looted during and after the Second Congolese War. Defense Minister Emerson Mnangagwe, one of the front runners to succeed Robert Mugabe, was one of the key architects responsible for business dealings in Congolese timber and mining industries during the Second Congolese War.<sup>59</sup> There is also evidence to suggest the late Solomon Mujuru, a former high-ranking military officer and ZANU-PF legislator, and his widow Joyce Mujuru, vice president of Zimbabwe, were involved in deals to sell minerals illicitly mined from the DRC.<sup>60</sup>

In the event, however, of an opposition victory or another power sharing/coalition government, it is unlikely that either of the Movement for Democratic Change factions – owing their growth in popularity and accession to Zimbabwean government in part to the ill-advised and costly involvement of Zimbabwe in the DRC – would agree to overt military action in the DRC.

## Northern Nigeria – Civilians Caught in the Middle

**Researcher:** Dr. Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

### Summary

- The civilian population in Northern Nigeria is increasingly bearing the brunt not only of Boko Haram attacks but also of expressions of fear and frustration by local security forces and other members of the Joint Military Task Force (JTF).<sup>61</sup>
- Undertrained, underpaid, frustrated, and frightened security forces – frequently the target of Boko Haram attacks – have committed serious human rights violations, often in retaliation for Boko Haram attacks on police facilities or the killing of security personnel.
- Despite spending almost 20 percent of its budget on security, the Nigerian government has failed to provide security forces on the ground with even the most basic equipment and training necessary to respond to a Boko Haram-type threat in ways that do not also lead to a further deterioration of local support for what could be the single remaining interest they feel they share with the government: suppression of Boko Haram-related violence.

### Caught in the Middle

On October 8, 2012, an IED explosion struck a military patrol vehicle in Maiduguri, killing an army lieutenant and between one and three other soldiers.<sup>62</sup> In the hours following, security forces engaged in a rampage that left at least 100 homes and shops in ashes, dozens of civilian vehicles burned, and at least 30 civilians dead. While JTF spokesmen denied any civilian casualties and implausibly claimed the widespread fires resulted from the initial IED explosion, a soldier who participated in the actions told an Associated Press reporter in Maiduguri that the attack was retaliation for the dead soldier(s): “They killed our officer! We had no options!”<sup>63</sup> The AP reporter, who saw the immediate aftermath, reported that he saw no weapons or any other indication that civilians killed were associated with Boko Haram. One resident reported that security forces, armed with assault rifles and machine guns mounted on personnel carriers, simply “shot everybody in sight.” Later, a military truck dumped dozens of civilian bodies in front of a Maiduguri hospital “like bags of cement.” Another hospital was forced to turn away corpses because its morgue was already full of bodies.<sup>64</sup>

Two international human rights NGOs – Human Rights Watch (October 2012) and Amnesty International (November 2012) – have both released reports documenting extensive violations of the rights and security of civilians in Northern Nigeria at the hands of both Boko Haram and security forces. The heavy-handed treatment of civilian populations has undermined the government’s campaign by lending credence to Boko Haram’s narrative that it is struggling against a brutal, inept, corrupt, and unjust government and by making civilians much less likely to cooperate with security forces.<sup>65</sup>

Neither the security forces nor Boko Haram militants show any trust or respect for civilians in Northern Nigeria, placing them, as one BBC correspondent described it, “stuck in the middle between the bombs of Boko Haram and the bullets of the army.”<sup>66</sup> Local residents are routinely warned to leave their homes and move to other parts of the country by Boko Haram night letters. Tens of thousands have done so. A local lawyer told Amnesty International, “We are in the middle of two things. If you take a look at your right or you take a look at your left both of them are deadly. It’s a lose-lose situation.”<sup>67</sup> Both security forces and Boko Haram kill civilians

with relative impunity. Residents of the north are constantly harassed by house-to-house searches, property seizures, forced evictions and house burnings. Arbitrary arrests, detention without charges, and enforced disappearances, especially of young men, are common. Amnesty observed young men being mistreated at security check points.<sup>68</sup>

Civilians rarely see signs that the law enforcement and justice establishments are working on their behalf to bring the individuals who victimize them – whether from extremist groups or security services – to justice. Families of victims of violent deaths are rarely offered any explanation of the circumstances of their loved ones' demise or given any hope that killings will be investigated and perpetrators brought to justice. Citizens, fearing reprisals, are often too intimidated to make inquiries or complaints, and police do not present a comforting presence. A local attorney, who had been pressured not to take on criminal cases by threats of retaliation by one side or the other, said he would not report the threats to the police: "I couldn't go to a police station now. They are surrounded by sand bags, people holding rifles. They've made the place so scary; I wouldn't even be comfortable to go."<sup>69</sup> Few cases are brought to trial, and suspicion is widespread that the individuals languishing in Nigeria's prisons are not the guilty parties.

Another option for getting at the truth – objective, professional, investigative journalism – is also gradually disappearing as journalists, themselves caught between Boko Haram and government threats, are opting not to cover violence on the ground, fearing violent retaliation. Journalists are routinely threatened, a few have been murdered, and they have no confidence in the security forces. As one said, "Being a journalist is very dicey. We are in a serious dilemma. Even the security man can shoot you. It's not easy to operate here." Since the bombing of *Thisday* newspaper's offices in Kaduna on April 26, 2012 and subsequent threats to attack eleven other national and international media outlets – including *Voice of America Hausa* and *Radio France International* – journalists have become reluctant to cover the aftermath of bombings, investigate killings, or even report on the general security situation.<sup>70</sup> One local expressed the general despair: "The atrocities going on in Maiduguri is [sic] worse than what obtains in Somalia. People are being killed and their wealth destroyed by the soldiers. Today, even new cars displayed for sales have been vandalised ... We want them to go, we prefer to be killed by the terrorists."<sup>71</sup> Yet, the government increasingly "discourages" journalists from publishing photos and detailed accounts on the the grounds that photographs of the destruction will just further alienate local populations.<sup>72</sup>

### **Security Forces: Undertrained, Under-resourced, and Out-of-Control**

Local populations encounter, on a day-to-day basis, rank-and-file security forces that are undertrained, underequipped, and on a hair-trigger because they themselves are the most common targets of Boko Haram attacks. Because of corruption at virtually every level, very little of the N4.877 trillion (about \$31 billion (US)) budgeted for security in Nigeria, roughly 20 percent of the total Nigerian budget, makes its way to support basic police operations.<sup>73</sup> Local security forces are widely believed to be infiltrated by Boko Haram, usually through bribery. Some have been implicated in facilitating jailbreaks of Boko Haram detainees and others suspected of turning a blind eye to preparations for major bomb attacks, including the one against the UN office in Abuja in 2011.

Nigeria's failure to prosecute terrorists and other suspected perpetrators of violence is attributable, in part, to an utter lack of capacity to investigate crimes at the local level. Amnesty has found that Nigerian Police lack basic forensic equipment for securing and examining crime scenes or ballistics and other forensic tests such as autopsies or medical examinations. There are

only three forensics labs in all of Nigeria, none of which are in the north.<sup>74</sup> Local police stations lack electricity, running water, sanitation, bullet-proof vests, handcuffs, and fuel for police vehicles. A human rights worker in Kano told Amnesty that “police face lot of problems; they are wearing army bullet proof [vests] because they don’t have their own. They are afraid. They lack expertise. The pattern they are using [of roadblocks] wouldn’t stop anything, you’re just exposing yourself to danger, one sniper can take all of you.”<sup>75</sup>

### **Out-of-Touch**

The dire state of JTF forces in the north undermines the credibility of the Nigerian government nationwide, especially as it regularly announces that the final breaking of Boko Haram is right around the corner. There is already a deficit of trust in the government that grows deeper when the people see Nigeria’s leaders “barricade themselves behind tall, reinforced concrete fences and bulletproof cars. They move with a fearsome retinue of guards, soldiers and police,” oblivious to the reality that, as *The Daily Sun* columnist Okey Ndibe put it, “their so-called security is a lie, a huge illusion. They don’t reckon that the monster abroad in the land is growing stronger and fiercer by the day, and will soon lay siege on their doors.”<sup>76</sup> In the eyes of civilians on the ground, especially in the north, the government is skilled at only two things: corruption and passing the buck.

When Amnesty International questioned Nigerian justice and security officials concerning the fact that very few, if any, of the individuals arrested or detained on charges or suspicion of Boko Haram-related activities have even been brought to trial, passing the buck proved to be the norm. Defense Headquarters replied: “It is not the responsibility of the military to take them to court. Our responsibility is to keep them. Since Yusuf [who died while in police custody after being transferred from the military to the police] we take care of custody. But it’s the responsibility of the police to prosecute them.”<sup>77</sup> But the Police Commissioner in Borno state claimed that the military does not send those cases to the police for prosecution. It is the responsibility of the state director of the Department of Public Prosecution (DPP) to press charges and bring cases to court. The Nigerian Inspector General of Police took a slightly different tack, blaming the lack of terrorism prosecutions on the fact that “the current Terrorism (Prevention) Act 2011 and other criminal and penal codes are not sufficient to charge people suspected of acts of terrorism.”<sup>78</sup>

This abject failure to bring anyone to justice – from the ranks of either Boko Haram or the security forces – for the killings that have become tragically commonplace in northern Nigeria has seriously, and perhaps irreversibly, undermined local confidence in the ability of the government or the JTF to bring the violence to an end.

## ALERTS

### Benin: The Plot behind the Assassination Attempt

**Researcher:** Ms. Betty Boswell

It sounds like a movie plot: a wealthy businessman, angry and frustrated over business matters with a former close friend who happens to be president of Benin, decides to change his circumstance by doing away with the president. He bribes people with access to the president (his physician, a niece, and a former trade minister) to poison the president. One of the conspirators gets cold feet and exposes the plot, which is foiled. The conspirators are arrested, but the ringleader remains at large. Although international arrest warrants are issued, the ringleader is not yet in custody.

It sounds like a movie, but it happened in mid-October. President Boni Yayi is serving his second term as president of Benin while also serving as president of the African Union. He was in Belgium as a guest of the European Union when this assassination attempt unfolded. The alleged mastermind of the plot is Patrice Talon, a cotton magnate whose company had lost a very lucrative contract with the government of Benin in the import verification program. The three persons who are in custody charged with criminal conspiracy and attempted assassination claim that Talon had offered each of them \$2 million for their parts in replacing the president's regular medications with poison.<sup>79</sup> Fortunately for President Yayi, his niece told another family member about the plot, and that family member warned the president, thus saving his life.

Talon, once a close friend of President Yayi and contributor to his political campaigns, had a falling out with the president in 2011 when he refused to support the president's quest to revise the constitution so he could run for office again in 2016. According to Talon, once his opposition to President Yayi's intent became known, the government "punished" him by retracting his contracts with the government, by making accusations of fraudulent practices in the International Cotton Association, and by having the Beninese army commandeer ships importing cotton to the port at Cotonou.<sup>80,81</sup> An attempt in August to resolve their disputes was unsuccessful.

Talon denies the allegation that he is behind the attempt on Yayi's life, telling his interviewer that this is not the first accusation leveled against him. Since the falling out, Talon has been the subject of many allegations of embezzlement, attempts to destabilize the government, and *coup d'etat*. No longer feeling safe, Talon left Benin last month after receiving a warning that he was going to be arrested. He is living in Europe and plans to respond to the charges by taking "the legal precautions within my reach ... without putting my life in danger."<sup>82</sup>

The Beninese people want answers. Was it a real attempt on President Yayi's life, or is President Yayi unreasonably worried that Talon will retaliate against his regime for interfering with his businesses?



## DRC: The Resumption of Violence and the Evolution of the M23

**Researcher:** Ms. Ivana Djak

### The Violence Resumes

The nominal, UN-requested ceasefire that has been in place in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) between the March 23 Movement (M23) and the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (*Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC)) since August 2012 has ended. A series of attacks took place in Goma on September 27, leaving 12 people dead and dozens injured. Provincial governor Ernest Kyavior, whose deputy was attacked during the clashes, said the M23 successfully infiltrated the city and is behind the attacks.<sup>83</sup> On October 21, reports emerged that the M23 clashed again with FARDC in Sake, a town near Goma. FARDC Col. Olivier Hamuli said the army pushed the rebels back into Virunga National Park, but fighting could resume.<sup>84</sup> Goma remains tense as residents report continued threats by M23 militants to march on the city.<sup>85</sup>

North of Goma, M23 rebels took control of various villages near Rutshuru on October 1. The rebels aimed to capture Ishasha, a Ugandan border town, near their other stronghold of Bunagana.<sup>86</sup> Civil society bodies said the M23 took over the villages of Kisharo, Buramba, Nyamilima, and Ishasha, wresting the territory away from the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (*Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR)) and Mai Mai groups.<sup>87</sup> Some media reports claim Mai Mai groups resisted the takeover, while a civil-society spokesman in Nord-Kivu Province, Omar Kavota, claimed the FDLR and the Mai Mai gave up their positions willingly. Other civil society organizations accused Rwandan troops of disguising themselves as FDLR and Mai Mai militants.<sup>88</sup> An M23 spokesman, Col. Vianney Kazarama, said the M23 went into Ishasha and surrounding villages to defend locals from the FDLR, and are forging alliances with Mai Mai groups to fight the FDLR.<sup>89</sup>

### Complicated Web of Alliances Develops

There have been conflicting reports on the M23's relationships with other groups. On October 17, FARDC spokesman Col. Hamuli said the M23 has allied itself with the FDLR in order to gain territory in the region.<sup>90</sup> The M23 denied these claims, accusing FARDC of collaborating with the FDLR to prepare for a final assault on the M23.<sup>91</sup> The M23 also appears to have extended its recruitment efforts from local militias to neighboring nations, since six people in Brazzaville were arrested on October 31 for attempting to join the M23. Allegedly, the M23 is recruiting militants from the former Zairian Armed Forces (FAZ) and elements of the Presidential Special



<http://www.ezilon.com/maps/africa/d-r-of-congo-maps.html>

Division (*Division Spéciale Présidentielle* (DSP)), an elite military force created by late President Mobutu.<sup>92</sup>

FARDC and the United Nations Mission for Stabilization in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) are also entangled in a complex web of rebel alliances. In August, the media reported that MONUSCO and the DRC government were seeking support of Mai Mai militias to fight the M23. A Mai Mai leader, Janvier Karairi, said that a MONUSCO official, a Congolese parliamentarian, and an army official met with him to discuss fighting the M23 in North Kivu.<sup>93</sup> Then, in late September, MONUSCO spokesman Lt. Col. Felix Prosper Basse said another rebel group, the People's Defense Force (*Force de Populaire Défense* (FPD)), appeared in Rutshuru to fight on MONUSCO's side against the M23.<sup>94</sup>

### **Violence to Intensify Without Negotiations**

At an October 20 press conference held by the M23 in Bunagana, the M23 president, Bishop Jean-Marie Runiga, threatened that his group has the strength to wage full-scale war and could "take Goma at any moment." Runiga warned that if FARDC launches a major assault on M23 positions, the rebels would defend themselves.<sup>95</sup> The M23 leadership continues to call for negotiations with the government. Runiga denies allegations that his group is receiving Ugandan and Rwandan support, arguing that President Kabila is using the UN to deflect attention from internal problems.<sup>96</sup> Runiga said the rebels would already have marched on Goma and Bukavu if it had not been for Ugandan President Museveni's calls for talks with the government. Runiga argued that Kinshasa "does not want to negotiate or to try to find a solution."<sup>97</sup>

Runiga also announced that M23 had changed its name to the Congolese Revolutionary Army (*Armée Révolutionnaire Congolaise* (ARC)) and promoted its leader, Colonel Sultan Makenga, to the rank of general, because of the growing number of forces under his control.<sup>98</sup> This renaming comes after the group established a *de facto* administration in the eastern DRC and began to tax the local population in September 2012.<sup>99</sup> The *de facto* administration, headed by President Runiga and General Makenga, includes departments such as external relations, finance, agriculture, tourism, environment, and justice.<sup>100</sup> Fears of the balkanization of the DRC are growing as the alternative M23-run governing structure emerges.

## Mozambique – Political Tensions Rise

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On October 19, 2012, it was reported that Afonso Dhlakama, the leader of the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) opposition party, had decamped along with 800 former guerillas to a remote area in Gorongosa that formerly served as the rebel movement’s headquarters during the civil war with the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).<sup>101</sup> RENAMO demanded that President Armando Guebuza come to Dhlakama’s new residence within a month to discuss various grievances and negotiate a “transitional government.”<sup>102</sup> RENAMO has intimated they will resort to other means if their demands are ignored. RENAMO MP Ivone Soares declared: “We want a new political order in Mozambique. We have already tried dialogue with FRELIMO but they don’t take it seriously.” The chief of the RENAMO Defence Department, Ossufo Mamud, declared that FRELIMO “knows what our capacities are to bring pressure ... We love peace, but we do not fear war.”<sup>103</sup>



Source: <http://gorongosa.net/en/page/maps/maps>

- Dhlakama's demands include increased integration of former fighters into the armed forces and electoral law amendments that would grant RENAMO veto power in the National Elections Commission (CNE).<sup>104</sup>
- Of the 800 former rebel fighters accompanying Dhlakama, 300 are believed to be armed.
- Claiming irregularities in the 2009 election, RENAMO has repeatedly declared its intention to stage widespread protests, but to date there have been none. Dhlakama reiterated such warnings on October 4, also threatening to boycott upcoming municipal elections in 2013 and general elections in 2014.<sup>105</sup>
- As reported by *The Africa Watch* in March 2012, a confrontation between RENAMO war veterans and the Mozambique police ended with one police officer dead and more than 30 ex-combatants arrested.<sup>106</sup>

Despite remaining Mozambique's second largest party, RENAMO's political clout and capacity to mobilize have decreased significantly over the past two decades. While Dhlakama's most recent saber rattling could lead to limited violence as seen in March and should not be dismissed outright, the reversion to such tactics is an indicator of the party's sinking political fortunes and desperation to remain relevant. Boycotting upcoming elections will only further isolate RENAMO from the political process, which would be a boon to the Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM), a rising alternative opposition party.

## Social Media in Africa – Growth Amid Controversy

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

Newly released statistics show that increasing numbers of Africans are using social media despite recent controversies over these tools and threats of state clampdown. Data on Facebook use on the continent allow for several insights into this trend.

Africa remains the continent with the lowest overall Facebook penetration rate, at 5.4 percent. Yet, seven of the ten countries with the fastest-growing Facebook populations worldwide over the past three months were in sub-Saharan Africa (See Table 1).<sup>107</sup>

**Table 1. Fastest-Growing African Facebook Populations, August-October 2012**

Country	Number of Facebook Users	Growth in Facebook Users	Growth Ranking, Africa	Growth Ranking, Worldwide	Facebook Penetration Rate
Swaziland	104,940	59.9%	1	1	7.8%
Lesotho	51,780	42.6%	2	5	2.7%
Seychelles	29,460	40.3%	3	6	33.4%
Chad	42,000	38.5%	4	7	0.4%
Malawi	209,300	37.8%	5	8	1.4%
Mozambique	366,620	37.3%	6	9	1.7%
Ethiopia	846,980	37.0%	7	10	1.0%
Niger	68,920	36.9%	8	11	0.4%
Nigeria	6,712,700	33.2%	9	14	4.4%
Namibia	231,720	32.2%	10	15	10.9%
Kenya	1,974,080	31.5%	11	17	4.9%
Zambia	320,280	31.1%	12	18	2.7%
Angola	597,460	29.5%	13	21	4.6%
Sierra Leone	73,680	27.9%	14	24	1.4%
South Africa	6,548,940	27.6%	15	25	13.3%

Source: Data from SocialBakers.com

Sub-Saharan Africa's largest Facebook populations have held relatively steady for some time. Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and Ghana (in that order) boast the greatest number of users – and the only user populations numbering more than 1 million.

Facebook penetration rates, however, tell a more unexpected story – one in which the top-ranked country is the Seychelles, boasting a Facebook penetration rate of 33.4 percent – 2.5 times that of South Africa and more than 7.5 times that of Nigeria (See Table 2). Additionally, continental technology heavyweight Kenya ranks beneath both Gabon and The Gambia on this measure.

### Implications

The Ugandan police's recently announced plans to increase scrutiny of social media traffic to limit the impact of "dangerous information"<sup>108</sup> comes at a time when Ugandans are increasingly turning to these tools; 94,560 of Uganda's 532,920 Facebook users joined in the past three months. Despite this 21.6 percent growth in the number of Ugandans on Facebook, they still comprise only 1.6 percent of the Ugandan population. Though those who use these tools might often be of greater interest to state security forces than their less wired counterparts, the police could find their efforts stymied by the tools' limited penetration.

**Table 2. Facebook Penetration in Sub-Saharan Africa as of October 31, 2012<sup>109</sup>**

Country	Number of Facebook Users	Facebook Penetration Rate
Seychelles	29,460	33.4%
Mauritius	355,320	27.5%
Cape Verde	103,960	20.4%
Botswana	286,740	14.1%
South Africa	6,548,940	13.3%
Namibia	231,720	10.9%
Gabon	121,260	7.9%
Swaziland	104,940	7.8%
Ghana	1,674,040	6.9%
Djibouti	46,240	6.2%
The Gambia	95,920	5.3%
Kenya	1,974,080	4.9%
Senegal	678,420	4.8%
Equatorial Guinea	28,860	4.4%
Nigeria	6,712,700	4.4%

Source: Data from SocialBakers.com

Social media have also been under the spotlight in the context of the upcoming Kenyan elections. Kenya boasts a vibrant social media ecosystem, including nearly 2 million Facebook users and a penetration rate of 4.9 percent – low by global standards, but 3 times that of neighboring Uganda. And social media use in the country continues to increase: 467,040 of Kenyan Facebook users joined in the past three months, growth of slightly more than 31 percent. Combined with Kenya's booming tech culture and the proliferation of mobile crowdsourcing platforms like Ushahidi, the continued expansion of social media here will encourage transparency and the free spread of information in 2013. Some caution, however, is in order, since many of the greatest benefits of these platforms – chief among them, new ways to organize and communicate – can be marshaled with equal effectiveness for diverse ends.

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>15</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *West Africa 2012 ATS Situation Report*.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.
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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

NOVEMBER 21, 2012

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## TO THE READER

IDA's team of Africa researchers welcomes your comments, questions, and feedback on the contents of *The Africa Watch*. If you would like to discuss an article in this issue or provide suggestions for future research, please contact me at (703) 845-4394.

With best regards,

***George Ward***

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

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## ANALYSES

### Untangling Kenya's Political Webs

**Researcher:** Dr. Dorina A. Bekoe

#### Summary

- The Kenyan newspapers carry daily reports of political alliances forming and dissolving as politicians and political parties chart strategies for competing in the March 2013 general elections. Kenya's Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) set December 4 as the deadline for all political coalitions to be submitted to the Registrar of Political Parties.
- The trial at the International Criminal Court also looms large: the leading opposition candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta, charged with playing a role in the 2007/2008 post-election violence, is eager to win in the first round of the elections, since a second round will take place *on the same day* the ICC proceedings are to commence. This potential has the politicians trying to find the most likely formula for exceeding 50 percent in the first round.
- The pairing between politicians and political parties reflects a combination of an ethnic and regional strategy, as well as the reality that the incumbent enjoys support that cuts across many of the traditional cleavages.
- The political pairings also provide an indication of where the battlegrounds lie – indicating locations of potential electoral violence.

#### Political Machinations

Uhuru Kenyatta, the deputy prime minister, who garnered 30 percent support in the most recent public opinion poll, is in a race to construct the most effective coalition to beat Prime Minister Raila Odinga, who has 36 percent support.<sup>1</sup> Kenyatta will be the presidential candidate under The National Alliance (TNA) party. The G7 Alliance will serve as a way for smaller parties to support his candidacy, in a bid to beat Odinga. The G7 Alliance's membership, however, is yet to be settled. The IEBC has set December 4 as the deadline for any political coalitions to be submitted to the Registrar of Political Parties.

#### The G7 Alliance

In early 2011, Kenyatta led the formation of the G7 Alliance, which, at the time, included the following:

- William Ruto: the parliamentary representative for El Doret (Rift Valley province), representing the United Republican Party (URP)
- Najib Balala: the minister for Tourism (until his sacking in March 2012) and the MP for Mvita (Coast province) representing the Orange Democratic Movement
- Eugene Wamalwa: Justice Minister and parliamentary representative for Saboti (Rift Valley), representing the Party of National Unity

- Aden Duale: MP for Dujis (North Eastern province)
- Kalonzo Musyoka: Vice President and MP for Mwingi North (Eastern province), representing the Wiper Democratic Movement
- Omingo Margara: Former assistant trade minister and MP for South Mugirango (Nyanza province) with the People’s Democratic Party.

Since then, the G7 Alliance membership has varied. While Ruto, Wamalwa, and Kenyatta have remained core members, the remaining spots have fluctuated with politicians being courted or marginalized as the strategy has changed. Most recently, Charity Ngilu, Water Minister and MP for Kitui Central (Eastern Province) and Kiema Kilonzo, MP Mutito (Eastern province) have joined the G7; Najib Balala is back in, after seeming to break with the G7 (although his nomination has embittered the Coast’s Mujikendi ethnic group’s elders);<sup>2</sup> Musyoka has left the alliance (but there may be a chance of his return); Deputy Prime Minister Musalia Mudavadi, MP Sabatia (Western province) is also being considered to join.<sup>3</sup> The table below characterizes the potential new makeup of the G7 Alliance. There are rivalries between Kilonzo and Musyoka and Mudavadi and Wamalwa – which seem to be holding up the finalization of the alliance.<sup>4</sup>

**The G7 Alliance**

	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Province</b>
<b>“Core” Members</b>		
Uhuru Kenyatta (TNA)	Kikuyu	Central
William Ruto (URP)	Kalenjin	Rift Valley
Eugene Wamalwa (PNU)	Luhya	Western
<b>Recent joiners</b>		
Charity Ngilu (NARC)	Kamba	Eastern
Najib Balala (ODM)	Arab	Coast
Kiema Kilonzo (ODM-Kenya)	Kamba	Eastern
<b>Possible joiners</b>		
Kalonzo Musyoka (WDM)	Kamba	Eastern
Musalia Mudavadi (UDF)	Luhya	Western

*Political Parties*

TNA: The National Alliances

ODM: Orange Democratic Movement

UDF: United Democratic Forum

URP: United Republican Party

RCP: Republican Congress Party

NARC: National Rainbow Coalition

PNU: Party of National Unity

WDM: Wiper Democratic

Movement

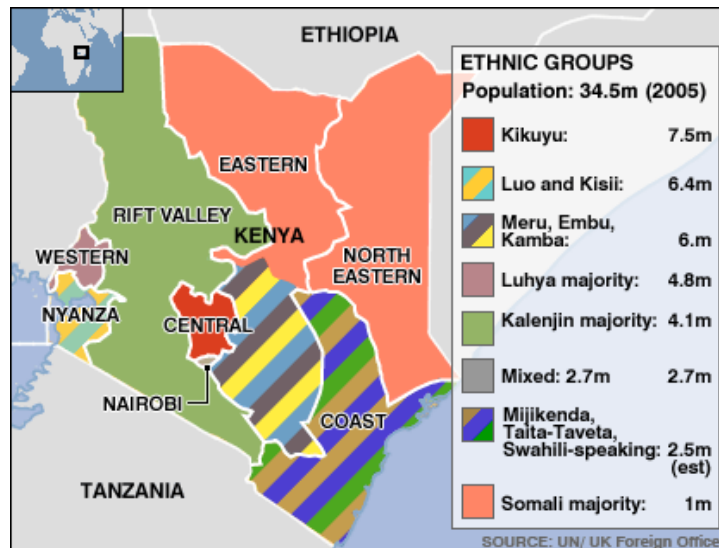
The G7 Alliance is needed to defeat Odinga because the lack of a dominant ethnic group in Kenya means that coalitions will be necessary to win 50 percent + 1 of the vote, in order to avoid a run-off. Avoiding a run-off is especially significant because of Kenyatta’s indictment by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for having played a role in the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. The ICC trial is scheduled to start on April 11, 2013;<sup>5</sup> a run-off, if one is needed, would be held on the same day. Kenyatta would not be able to run or prepare for a second round if he were attending his trial.<sup>6</sup> To beat Odinga, reports most often speculate that Kenyatta will choose Ruto as his running mate.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, since recent polling suggests that Odinga has 36 percent of the vote,<sup>8</sup> he will also have to be strategic with his choice of vice president and political backing. To that end, reports indicate that Odinga and others in ODM are working to persuade Mudavadi and

Musyoka to provide their support.<sup>9</sup> In fact, there is also speculation about a possible alliance between Mudavadi and Musyoka.<sup>10</sup>

### Kenya's Ethnic Groups and Their Political Support

What does the G7 Alliance suggest for ethnic group support? In this regard, the focus is on Kenya's five main ethnic groups: Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, and Kamba. The table below shows the proportion of the population comprising each of the ethnic groups; the presidential hopefuls who hail from those groups; and the support those candidates have in the latest round of public opinion polling, if known. The data indicate that both Kenyatta and Odinga are drawing support beyond their ethnic groups, while the Luhya, Kalenjin, and Kamba votes are split.<sup>11</sup> There are no readily available figures for Balala, but as noted above, his nomination to the G7 Alliance is contested in Coast province.



**Kenya's Five Largest Ethnic Groups and Main Presidential Hopeful**

Group	Percent	Presidential Hopefuls (Party)	Support (as of October 2012)
Kikuyu	22 %	Uhuru Kenyatta (TNA)	30%
Luo	13 %	Raila Odinga (ODM)	36%
Luhya	14 %	Musalia Mudavadi (UDF)	7%
		Eugene Wamalwa (New Ford Kenya)	1%
Kalenjin	12 %	Willam Ruto (URP)	6%
Kamba	11 %	Kalonzo Musyoka (ODM-Kenya/Wiper)	5%
		Charity Ngilu (NARC)	NA
		Kiema Kilonzo (ODM-Kenya)	NA
Arab/Muslim	7%	Najib Balala (RCP)	NA

NA = not available; Ethnic group data: BBC, "Kenya's humanitarian crisis grows," January 4, 2008 (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7172103.stm>) and US State Department, "Kenya," *International Religious Freedom Report 2005*, (<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2005/51478.htm>); Political party support: Ipsos Synovate, "Political Party Support – Presidential" October 2, 2012, p. 1 (<http://www.synovate.co.ke/spr/index.php/reports/?page=polls>).

The split in the Luhya, Kalenjin, and Kamba votes is even more pronounced when the support for the co-ethnic politician is measured:

- The Luhya, based in Western province, do not show overwhelming support for either Mudavadi or Wamalwa. In fact, polling for Mudavadi shows that he only has 28 percent support in his home province of Western region. Data are not available for Wamalwa.
- Ruto is the most prominent Kalenjin in the presidential race. He, however, is holding only 18 percent of the vote in Rift Valley province.
- Musyoka, a Kamba, is supported by 23 percent of those in Eastern province. Data for Ngilu and Kilonzo support are not yet available, but are likely to indicate a similarly split electorate.
- In Coast province, Odinga is favored by 59 percent. Data for Balala's support are not available.
- In contrast, Odinga is supported by 66 percent in Nyanza (where 6.4 million Luo and Kisii live) and Kenyatta is supported by 65 percent in Central province (home to Kikuyu).<sup>12</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The battlegrounds seem clear: Rift Valley, Eastern, Western, and Coast provinces. The running mates that both Kenyatta and Odinga select might be the keys to the outcome, since the most effective coalition will have an advantage. The sharp political divisions in the key provinces, however, also portend a tough fight and possible violence.

## Kenya's Engagement with Somalia – An Assessment

**Researcher:** Amb. (ret.) George Ward

### Summary

The long-awaited seizure in late September by the Kenya Defense Force (KDF) of the port of Kismayo on Somalia's southern coast marked the end of one phase of Kenya's involvement in Somalia and the beginning of another. In the months to come, Kenya will face three sorts of challenges with regard to Somalia:

- Maintaining its military position in Somalia as part of an African Union (AU) effort supported by the United Nations (UN) while continuing to deal effectively with the military challenge of al-Shabaab, the militant Islamist group.
- Managing the significant financial cost of its military effort in Somalia.
- Dealing with the internal security and social consequences of a large Somali refugee population in Kenya.

Mismanagement of any of these three aspects of Kenya's engagement with Somalia could increase the risk of internal instability in the run-up to the national elections scheduled for March 2013. The third challenge – internal security and the refugees – is likely to be the most difficult one.

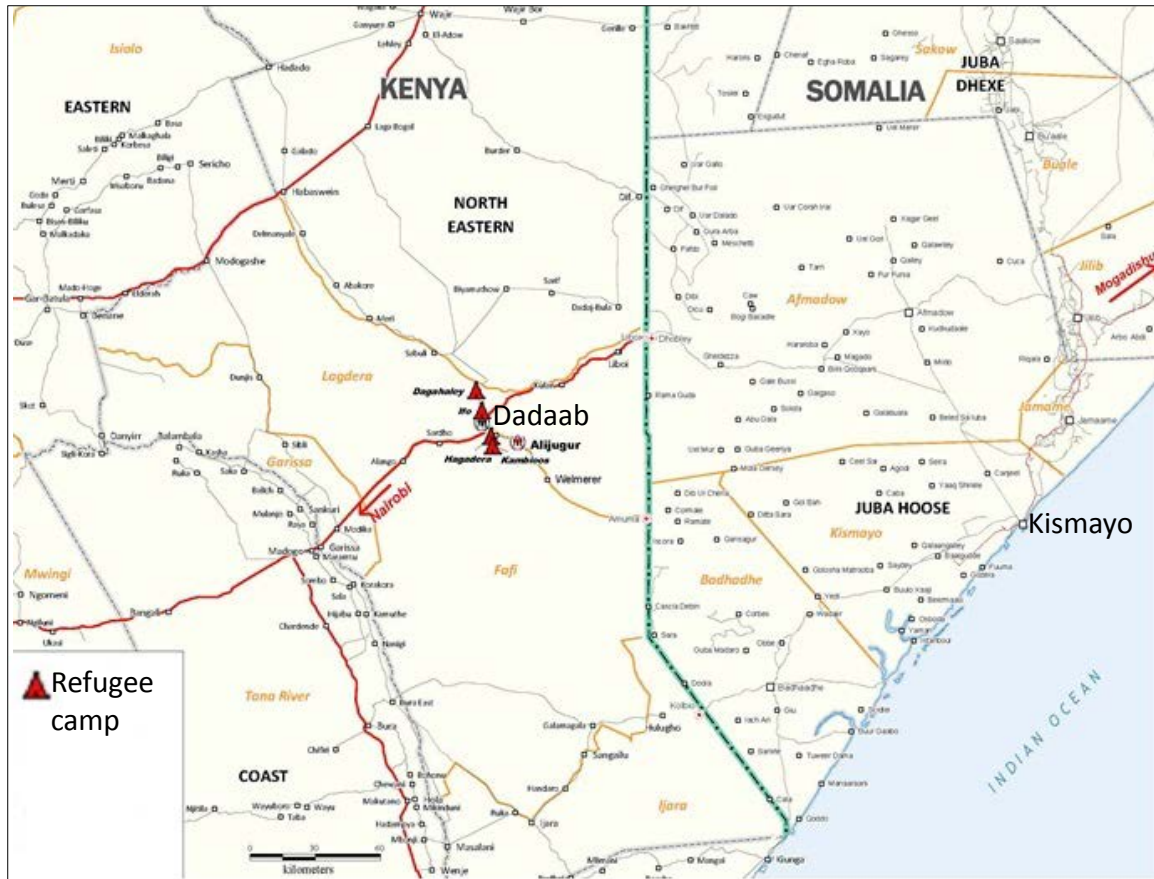
### The KDF Reaches Kismayo

It took just a couple of weeks short of one year, but, in the final days of September, the KDF occupied Kismayo, the key port in southern Somalia and al-Shabaab's last stronghold in that area of the country. Having achieved that goal, Kenya now has three concerns in the sizable area of southern Somalia that it now occupies:

- Continuing the fight against al-Shabaab and its guerrilla-style, hit-and-run mode of warfare
- Managing its fractious Somali clan-based allies
- Dealing with the new Somali government and its African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) allies on matters related to the key port of Kismayo.

The first challenge is perhaps the easiest to overcome. Al-Shabaab is unlikely in the near term to be in a position to challenge seriously AMISOM's control of population centers. With the capture of Kismayo, the KDF will be able to use its port and will be less reliant on overland supply lines to provision its forces in Somalia. Nevertheless, the threat posed by al-Shabaab and the demands of occupying Kismayo will make any significant reduction in the KDF's deployment in Somalia unlikely unless other nations can be enticed into contributing troops to AMISOM.

During its campaign in southern Somalia, the KDF has relied on the support of indigenous militias, primarily the Ras Kamboni Brigade, led by Sheik Ahmed Mohamed Islaan 'Madobe.' Mohamed Abdi Mohamed 'Gandhi,' the "President" of "Azania," a proxy state in the Juba Valley created under Kenyan tutelage, has also been allied with the KDF.<sup>13</sup> Both of these figures expect to play roles in running Kismayo and other occupied areas. Other clans are likely to oppose any such arrangements. Inter-clan strife could provide al-Shabaab with an opening for a comeback in the area.



Source: Geographic Information Systems and Mapping Unit, UNHCR Regional Support Hub in Nairobi

Other political rivalries are beginning to surface over Kismayo. The new Somali President, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, would like to extend his authority to Kismayo. At issue is the proposed export of millions of dollars' worth of charcoal stockpiled in the port. This export has been banned by the UN Security Council and opposed by Hassan Sheikh Mohamud both because of environmental considerations and because it could profit al-Shabaab. At the same time, at least one KDF leader has advocated allowing the export. In this matter, the KDF could be responding to pressure from prominent Kenyan Somali politicians, including Defense Minister Mohamed Yusuf Haji and Farah Maalim Mohamed, the Deputy Speaker of Parliament. According to some reports, the KDF and Ras Kamboni forces have already been permitting the charcoal to be exported in defiance of Hassan.<sup>14</sup>

### The Cost of War – Contained for Now

The government of Kenya has not released information on either the size of KDF forces deployed in Somalia or the cost of the effort. In April 2012, the Kenyan Finance Minister submitted supplementary budget data to the parliament that indicated the war in Somalia had created extra costs to the Ministry of Defense and the KDF amounting to 12 billion Kenyan shillings (approximately \$136 million) for the first seven months of the effort.<sup>15</sup> Extrapolating from that number, it appears that the war in Somalia is costing Kenya approximately \$240 million annually. This figure represents about a 40 percent increase in Kenya's defense budget, which amounted in 2012 to approximately \$594 million.<sup>16</sup> Even without the war costs, Kenya was already the biggest spender on defense in the East Africa region, with outlays approximating 2 percent of national income.

For now, these costs are probably not a great worry to the Kenyan government, as the bulk of the bill is being paid by the United Nations through that organization's support of AMISOM. On November 7, 2012, the UN Security Council reauthorized AMISOM for a period of four months.<sup>17</sup> The government of Somalia had hoped for a longer extension of the mission, as short-term extensions make forward planning more difficult. That is certainly the case for Kenya as it moves into the 2013 election season. In all likelihood, UN support will be extended further, but that is not a certainty.

### **Refugees and Internal Stability – The Real Challenge**

As of October 31, 2012, Kenya was host to 532,660 Somali refugees, more than half of the total number of refugees in the region.<sup>18</sup> These refugees are concentrated in the otherwise sparsely populated northeast of the country, mostly in the sprawling Dadaab camp, the world's largest. The refugee population in Kenya's northeast is more than three times larger than the indigenous population. The Dadaab complex includes almost 90 percent of Kenya's Somali refugees, but sizable numbers live in the northeast outside the camp and in the Eastleigh neighborhood of Nairobi.

The Kenyan authorities view the refugee populations outside the camps in the northeast as contributing to the general environment of insecurity in that region. Armed Somalis, including elements of al-Shabaab, frequently cross the border and have been responsible for terrorist attacks and banditry. According to the UN, the general state of insecurity has hampered humanitarian operations.<sup>19</sup>

Kenyan authorities have attempted to address this problem in two ways. First, a senior official in Kenya's North Eastern Province issued an order that required all refugees and unregistered migrants from Somalia to move to the Dadaab complex by October 20.<sup>20</sup> The UN and humanitarian NGOs reacted to this announcement with consternation, concerned that adding to the numbers in the already overburdened Dadaab complex would increase the high level of violence there. The local chamber of commerce also reacted negatively, pointing out that Somalis are both valued employees and customers of businesses in the region.

Second, the Kenyan government has from time to time indicated its intention to return the refugees to Somalia. In March 2012, Kenya's Foreign and Interior Ministers told parliament that the refugees posed "security, economic, and political" threats to the area and should be sent back to Somalia.<sup>21</sup> Reiteration of these intentions by the government since the liberation of Kismayo provoked a negative reaction by the influential international NGO *Médicins Sans Frontières* (MSF) [Doctors without Borders], which pointed out that Somali authorities, who are unable to adequately care for the existing population of more than a million internally displaced persons, would be overwhelmed by new arrivals. MSF also underlined Kenya's responsibility under international law to care for refugees and to ensure their safety.<sup>22</sup>

Dealing with the refugee population and related security issues could be the Kenyan government's most difficult Somalia-related challenge in the months ahead. As al-Shabaab turns to guerrilla-style warfare, it is likely to launch more frequent terrorist attacks within Kenya. The refugee population provides, following Mao's dictum, the sea in which the guerrillas need to swim. Unless the internal situation in Somalia improves more rapidly than anticipated, the return of the refugees is likely to be blocked by both the practicalities of the situation and international opposition. Absent a fundamental solution, Kenya's task will be to manage a large law enforcement and public order problem.

## Madagascar – Unstable Civil-Military Relations Persist

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

### Summary

- Despite gains made by the transitional unity government in Madagascar since the signing of the “Roadmap for Ending the Crisis” in September 2011, the security environment remains fragile, with myriad divides, competing interests, and rivalries.
- While the security sector has a history of politicization dating back to the onset of militarized rule in the early 1970s, certain factions loyal to President Andry Rajoelina have increased their political influence since the 2009 political crisis. This trend is indicated by the inclusion of top security chiefs in Rajoelina’s recent negotiations with the South African Development Community (SADC) mediation team tasked with resolving outstanding issues of the crisis.
- Regardless of how the current political impasse plays out, without substantial reforms, security officials will continue to be major drivers of political instability, both in the short and medium term.

### Tense History of Civil-Military Relations

Madagascar’s security sector – consisting of the military, gendarmerie, and police – has a long history of involvement in the political process, dating back to the onset of militarized rule in 1972.<sup>23</sup> After a transition to civilian rule in 1992, in which a group of military generals played a prominent role, few changes were made to security governance.<sup>24</sup> Businessman Marc Ravalomanana came to power in 2002 after a six-month electoral crisis that precipitated a split of the armed forces into two factions – President Didier Ratsiraka’s *loyalistes* and Ravalomanana’s *legitimistes*. Once Ravalomanana prevailed, his promises to reform the security forces were restrained by his allegiance to the military faction that brought him to power, stalling reform efforts.<sup>25</sup>

Divisions in the armed forces continued under Ravalomanana, culminating in the political crisis of early 2009, when the mayor of Antananarivo, Andre Rajoelina – with backing from segments of the military – took power. After a two-month standoff between Ravalomanana and Rajoelina, in March 2009 a group of officers and soldiers, who allegedly received sums of up to \$10,000 from supporters of Rajoelina,<sup>26</sup> led a mutiny that quickly spread and, facing no resistance from the rest of the armed forces, eventually occupied the presidential palace. On March 17, Ravalomanana resigned and fled to South Africa, with the military and high court subsequently recognizing Rajoelina as president of the High Transitional Authority (HAT).<sup>27</sup>

### Divisions within Security Sector Continue after 2009

Several attempts to implement a SADC-sponsored a power-sharing deal signed in August 2009 were stymied by Rajoelina. Finally, in September 2011, a “Roadmap for Ending the Crisis” was signed, leading to the formation of a transitional coalition government. The unity government included 10 of 11 major political formations and nine other smaller ones. Despite some gains since the signing of the “Roadmap,” – including the appointment of a neutral prime minister, the standing up of a 35-member cabinet, and the formation of a legislature and electoral commission<sup>28</sup> – the security situation remains fragile, with persistent divides, grievances, and rivalries within the military. The military remains particularly divided on whether Ravalomanana should return and stand for reelection.<sup>29</sup> The formation of a new security grouping in 2009, the



Special Intervention Forces (FIS), comprising military and gendarmerie officers loyal to Rajoelina, further complicates the already complex security environment.

Coup rumors and attempts have been rife in Madagascar since the political crisis in 2009, with three major mutinies in the last three years.<sup>30</sup> After hearing whispers of a possible coup, Rajoelina sacked the minister of the armed forces in April 2010. A month later, a mutiny staged by elements within the gendarmerie was put down by security forces loyal to Rajoelina.<sup>31</sup> In November 2010, Colonel Charles Andrianasoavina, the architect of the March 2009 mutiny that brought Rajoelina to power, launched an attempted coup with 20 other officers, demanding the disestablishment of all transitional institutions and the return of leaders in exile, including Ravalomanana.<sup>32</sup> Although the mutiny was suppressed four days later, this extraordinary reversal reveals the tenuous and shifting nature of political allegiances within the military.

#### **July 2012 Mutiny – Attempt to Disrupt SADC Talks?**

Most recently, as outlined in the August 1, 2012 edition of *The Africa Watch*, a mutiny led by army Corporal Koto Mainty on July 22, 2012 was put down by the security forces and paramilitary police just outside of Antananarivo. Mainty is believed to have been a former bodyguard of a previous defense minister.<sup>33</sup> Although the demands of the mutineers remain unclear, there was speculation that the coup attempt was intended to disrupt SADC talks between Ravalomanana and Rajoelina on the former president's return to the island. This line of reasoning argues that associates close to Rajoelina feared losing access to informal illicit networks through which they accrue wealth if Ravalomanana were allowed to return.<sup>34</sup> Reports have alleged that elements of the security services are involved in such illegal networks, including trafficking in drugs and natural resources, such as rosewood logging.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the mutiny attempts, junior officers within the army have expressed dissatisfaction with pay issues by taking to the streets, with more than 800 soldiers staging protests over payroll taxation grievances in March 2012.<sup>36</sup> While coup attempts and demonstrations since the 2009 crisis have been quelled and resolved quickly, they expose the deep rifts, grievances, and fragile political allegiances within the military.

#### **Faction of Security Chiefs Increasing Political Influence**

Despite losing the support of Colonel Andrianasoavina and others who played critical roles in bringing him to power, it appears Rajoelina has retained the backing of high-ranking security officials by promoting them and granting them an elevated degree of influence in the political sphere. This development is evidenced by the inclusion of three top security leaders in Rajoelina's official SADC delegations. Ranto Rabarisoa, head of the National Committee for the National Defence, Gal Randrianazary, state secretary for the National Gendarmerie, and Richard Ravalomanana, chief of the regional security forces for Antananarivo Province, all participated in the August 2012 negotiations on Madagascar held at the SADC heads of state summit in Maputo, Mozambique. Earlier in the month, the security officials also met with SADC mediators in Antananarivo in an extended closed-door session.<sup>37</sup> Signaling the growing political power of certain elements of the security sector, Gal Désiré Ramakavelo, a former defense minister, argued that the military is the most important factor in Madagascar's crisis: "The crisis resolution will come from neither President Rajoelina nor his predecessor Marc Ravalomanana, but from the army."<sup>38</sup>

#### **Outlook**

Despite some recent progress made by Madagascar's transitional unity government in terms of political and economic stability, the country's security environment remains extremely fragile.

There are deep fissures and competing political allegiances within the security sector, as witnessed by recurring mutinies and reports that Ravalomanana retains support among some military groupings. Additionally, there are increasing levels of political influence among certain factions within the security sector that pledge fealty to Rajoelina, as indicated by the inclusion of security officials in Rajoelina's SADC delegations. Without significant security reforms aimed at depoliticizing the military and establishing nonpartisan civilian oversight over the control of violence, the island's troubled civil-military relations are highly likely to lead to further instability both in the short term during the lead up to elections in May 2013 and in the medium term after the expiration of the transitional unity government.

Depending on how the political impasse between Ravalomanana and Rajoelina plays out, two scenarios are likely to unfold in the short term. If ongoing talks between Ravalomanana and Rajoelina lead to an agreement on the return of the former president, the same security factions and associates close to Rajoelina that sparked the March 2009 mutiny and were allegedly behind the July 2012 attempt are likely to foment unrest in an effort to keep the status quo and maintain access to illegal informal networks. If negotiations remain deadlocked, however, and Ravalomanana is not allowed to return or is barred from participating in the May 2013 elections, security factions and groups with residual allegiance to Ravalomanana are likely to protest and cause disturbances. In both scenarios, Rajoelina would be able to use the disorder as an opportunity to harshly suppress Ravalomanana supporters and others opposed to his rule.

## Regional Entanglements in the DRC – The Case of Angola

Researcher: Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

### Summary

- Angola has involved itself more than once in military conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Its motivations were connected to Angolan internal conflicts and natural resource considerations.
- With one of the largest militaries in sub-Saharan Africa and a history of military intervention in the DRC, Angola would make a logical military partner for the government in Kinshasa in dealing with the current conflict in the east.
- Reports from as early as July suggested that Angola was preparing troops to help the Congolese government deal with the M23 rebel movement.
- For the moment, Angola appears likely to allow time for a political settlement. Without a settlement, however, the likelihood of Angolan military involvement in the conflict in the DRC could depend on what concessions the DRC might be willing to make in regard to rights to oil reserves and/or diamonds near its shared border with Angola.

### DRC's Historic Relationship to Angola



Source: Magellan Geographix

Angola was directly involved in both Congolese Wars. In the First Congolese War (1996-1997), Angola supported Rwandan and Ugandan forces against Congolese President Mobutu Sese Seko. In the Second Congolese War (1998-2003), Angola broke away from Rwanda and Uganda and supported newly installed Congolese President Laurent Desire Kabila.

Angola's intervention in the first war was essentially an act of retaliation against Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, who had supported the *Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola* (FNLA) and the *Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola* (UNITA) against the ruling *Movimento Popular de Libertaco de Angola* (MPLA) in Angola's own civil war. Zaire had contributed troops and even launched attacks into northern Angola.<sup>39</sup>

Laurent Desire Kabila, who sought to oust Mobutu was, on the other hand a long-time supporter of the MPLA beginning in the 1960s. Even in the midst of his own civil war, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angolan president and leader of the MPLA, contributed logistical help and elite troops to support Kabila and his Rwandan and Ugandan allies in 1996 as part of the First Congolese War.<sup>40</sup>

When relations between Rwanda and the DRC deteriorated shortly after the end of the First Congolese War in 1997, it was assumed that Angola would again support Rwanda and Uganda. After lobbying by Zimbabwe, however, Angola decided to side with Kabila against Rwanda and Uganda in the Second Congolese War. Part of the reason was that Rwanda launched attacks near the Angola/Congo border in 1998 without first informing Angola, creating an atmosphere

of mistrust between Rwanda and Angola.<sup>41</sup> Dos Santos's decision to contribute troops as part of a Zimbabwe/SADC-led defense of Kabila's government was also based on the belief that other options were less desirable.<sup>42</sup> In August 1998, Angolan troops marched across the border into the DRC and the Angolan air force bombed the Rwandan military in the southern DRC. After the death of Laurent Kabila in 2001, Angola continued to support the DRC and Kabila's son and successor, Joseph.<sup>43</sup> Angolan troops finally withdrew from the DRC in 2002.

#### **Shared Border/Shared Resources?**

Angola and the DRC share a border more than 1,500 miles long, including the disputed territory of Cabinda, which is geographically separated from Angola by the DRC. Cabinda produces a significant portion (upwards of 60 percent) of Angola's estimated 2 million barrels of oil per day.<sup>44</sup> In July 2009, the DRC filed a claim with the United Nations disputing the maritime boundary between Angola and the DRC. Change in the boundary would affect Angola's ownership of off-shore oil deposits near Cabinda.<sup>45</sup> The two countries are scheduled to go to arbitration in 2014.<sup>46</sup>

Angola and the DRC also share a border in the northeast of Angola (Lunda Norte province), which holds substantial diamond resources. In what some interpreted as a political marriage, Isabel dos Santos, eldest daughter of President Dos Santos, married Congolese art collector and businessman Sindika Dokolo in 2003. Dokolo's father established the Bank of Kinshasa, which reportedly bilked the Zairian state out of millions of dollars until its seizure by the government in 1986.<sup>47</sup> It is believed that Sindika Dokolo has benefited handsomely from his father's illicit activities.<sup>48</sup> Dokolo also has considerable business holdings in the DRC.<sup>49</sup> Both Isabel Dos Santos, one of Africa's richest women, and her husband hold diamond concessions in Lunda Norte.<sup>50</sup>

#### **Future Relations between Angola and Congo**

The Angolan armed forces are one of the largest and most capable in Central and Southern Africa.<sup>51</sup> Both Kabila and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni have visited Luanda in recent months in attempts to win Angola's support. Kabila visited Luanda in July reportedly to ask the Angolans for assistance in dealing with its conflict in Eastern DRC.<sup>52</sup> Museveni visited Luanda in August before the Great Lakes summit reportedly to "beg" Dos Santos not to send troops to Eastern DRC.<sup>53</sup> According to reports, Dos Santos had already assembled an "elite team" that could be airlifted to Eastern DRC to deal militarily with the M23 leadership, but decided to delay moving in order to provide time for a political settlement.<sup>54</sup> During a visit in early November by an IDA team to Angola, no Angolan interlocutors evinced specific knowledge of preparations for military intervention in the DRC, but several said that they would not be surprised by such a move.

The DRC has significant bargaining chips at its disposal in endeavoring to secure Angolan military support, including its potential claims to off-shore oil currently controlled by Angola. If a political solution in the Eastern DRC fails to materialize, Angola's decision on military intervention in the DRC could depend on what concessions the DRC might be willing to make in regard to rights to oil reserves and/or diamonds. Illegal diamond mining in Northeastern Angola – much of it done by Congolese migrants – is responsible for a series of reciprocal expulsions between Angola and the DRC that led to a serious "cooling" of relations between the two countries for much of the 2000s.<sup>55</sup> In late October, Angolan ministers visited Kinshasa specifically to discuss the security situation in the Eastern DRC and the issue of expulsions.<sup>56</sup> DRC foreign minister Raymond Tshibanda stated that both countries planned to meet again very soon.<sup>57</sup>

## ALERTS

### Côte d'Ivoire – President Ouattara Dissolves Cabinet

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

President Alassane Ouattara dissolved his cabinet on November 14 due to a disagreement over a new marriage law entitling women to be joint heads of household.<sup>58</sup> The unexpected move highlights divisions within the ruling party coalition, *Rassemblement des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix* (RHDP), as well as continued political fragility following the 2010 post-election crisis. At present, the dissolution of the government has not resulted in any significant backlash. It does not appear that a major political crisis is on the horizon. The move nevertheless could play into anti-Ouattara (and Gbagbo-loyalist) rhetoric if not handled properly.

Disagreement over this bill started when the *Rassemblement des Républicains* (RDR)-backed marriage law (supported by the President) faced strong opposition from members of the *Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire* (PDCI). Debate over the law itself is not the sole cause of the cabinet's dissolution. In essence, Ouattara feels that the PDCI, which backed him in the November 2010 election in exchange for naming a PDCI party member as prime minister, no longer supports him.<sup>59</sup> Following the announcement, the RDR called for greater solidarity. A spokesman said that any dissension within the RHDP alliance weakens the government, and any party that does not support the government bill should feel free to resign from the alliance.<sup>60</sup>

Based on local news reporting, there are mixed opinions on the decision.<sup>61</sup> Some allege that President Ouattara has rejected the principle of separation of powers.<sup>62</sup> According to a front-page headline in *L'Inter*, former president (and PDCI party leader) Henri Konan Bédié is “angry” after the dissolution of the government, a decision the paper sees as “a setback for democracy.”<sup>63</sup> Another source claims that Ouattara and Bédié will meet in coming days to defuse the “crisis” undermining the coalition.<sup>64</sup> Others argue that Ouattara seeks to “revitalize” and “build a more inclusive government” – a challenge he has faced since assuming the presidency in May 2011.<sup>65</sup> *Fraternité Matin* quotes a PDCI representative saying, “The President of the Republic has a right to [dissolve the cabinet].”<sup>66</sup> Finally, *L'Intelligent d'Abidjan* insinuated that the dissolution marks the beginning of the battle for 2015 presidential elections and compared the action to Laurent Gbagbo's dissolution of the government in February 2010.<sup>67</sup>

At this point, it is unclear what this change means for Côte d'Ivoire. There is no current timeline for the naming of a new cabinet. The dissolution could signal the end of the unity government, and introduce a more politically competitive period. On the other hand, official statements suggest that efforts are being made to engage with leaders of each RHDP member party on the formation of a new government. The former ruling party, *Front Populaire Ivoirien/La Majorité Présidentielle* (FPI/LMP), has not yet made a public statement on the matter, and it is not known whether they will be included in these deliberations.

## Liberia: Coup Plot Posters Highlight Tensions in Oil Sector

Researcher: Ms. Ashton Callahan



Posters alleging that District 6 Representative, Edwin Snowe, is leading a coup plot with the help of an ex-Liberian army general currently resident in Burkina Faso have been appearing around Monrovia.<sup>68</sup> The Liberian government has yet to make an official statement on the matter. Local reporting suggests there is little truth behind the plot, but rather the propaganda is related to controversy within Liberia's oil sector.

Over the past year, the management of Liberia's oil and gas sector by the National Oil Company of Liberia (NOCAL) has been harshly criticized and the organization has promised reforms.<sup>69</sup> In February 2012, President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf appointed her son, Robert, as the Chairman of NOCAL on a pro-bono basis. The appointment was condemned by the ruling Unity Party (UP), Congress for Democratic Change (CDC), and President Johnson Sirleaf's former ally, Edwin Snowe.

There has been ongoing tension between the Executive and Legislative branches regarding the sale of rights to Oil Block 13.<sup>70</sup> In October 2012, local media reported that Snowe accepted a \$5 million bribe (in 2011) from Gazprom, a Russian oil company, to facilitate access to Oil Block 13.<sup>71</sup> Snowe felt that he should have been part of the negotiations with Gazprom (given his role in bringing them to the table), and this appears to be the source of the falling out with President Johnson Sirleaf. Robert Sirleaf also insisted that Block 13 be awarded to Chevron, which owns the rights to blocks 12 and 14 on either side. The rights have yet to be assigned.

In October 2012, local media also reported that House Speaker Alex Tyler and three other representatives (including Snowe) had threatened to blackmail (with financial documentation exposing corruption within NOCAL) both Ellen and Robert Sirleaf if the two did not place two oil blocks at the disposal of the representatives.<sup>72</sup> Following this report, Snowe accused Robert Sirleaf of corrupt practices and called for his resignation as Chairman of NOCAL.<sup>73</sup>

Based on Snowe's recent outspokenness regarding Robert Sirleaf, one of the theories circulating is that the coup poster campaign is a NOCAL-led initiative to discredit Snowe.<sup>74</sup> It has been suggested that civil society organizations were paid off by NOCAL to participate in a character assassination campaign, but there is no evidence to substantiate this claim.<sup>75</sup> While details surrounding the alleged coup plot remain murky, the important takeaway is that deep mistrust remains between the players involved in the oil and gas sector. Ongoing disputes between government branches could derail progress in Liberia's oil sector and deter potential investors. President Johnson Sirleaf has long maintained a positive image, but continued accusations of nepotism (and incidents like these) do not bode well for the future.

## Zambia: Poll Violence Escalates Political Tensions

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On November 8, 2012, a youth supporter of the ruling Patriotic Front (PF) party was killed and two others injured during an alleged confrontation with opposition supporters during local by-elections in Rufunsa, Zambia. Although details of the incident remain unclear, President Michael Sata quickly implicated two opposition parties – the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) and the United Party for National Development (UPND). Sata stated: “These murderous acts are unacceptable and the people responsible must face the full wrath of the law....It’s tragic that the political violence by the opposition UPND and MMD, which we have been preaching against, has resulted in a loss of an innocent life.”<sup>76</sup> Police have detained seven opposition members for questioning, including the UPND Lusaka province chairperson Adrian Bauleni.<sup>77</sup>

- Initial local reports present conflicting accounts of the incident, with one report alleging that the violence arose out of an internal PF dispute over pay,<sup>78</sup> with another asserting that the death was caused by the victim falling from a moving vehicle.<sup>79</sup>
- The MMD has denied any involvement in the incident and has said the party is “saddened” by Sata’s accusations.<sup>80</sup>
- The Coalition for the Defense of Democratic Rights (CDDR) condemned Sata for premature allegations against the opposition and for attempting to score political points. The group stated: “For the president to accuse any political party prior to the completion of a full investigation represents an abuse of power and a risk of further destabilization.”<sup>81</sup>

As details of the death and the police investigation continue to unfold, the incident and the surrounding political fallout could further aggravate political tensions between PF and the MMD and UPND, particularly if Sata uses the violence as a pretext to further clamp down on the opposition.



## Cameroon: Paul Biya Marks 30-Year Rule While Opposition and Police Clash

**Researcher:** Ms. Ivana Djak

The November 6, 2012 celebration of Cameroon President Paul Biya's 30 years in office was marked with calm across the country, except for in the economic hub of Douala, where police and protesters clashed.

Cameroon's 79-year-old President Paul Biya was named prime minister in 1975 and succeeded Cameroon's first president, Ahmadou Ahidjo, in 1982. He has ruled Cameroon since, surviving several coup attempts and surges of popular discontent. In 1990, Biya reluctantly introduced reforms, allowing multi-party politics and greater freedom of the press. In 1992, he won Cameroon's first multi-party elections, but the country plunged into months of protests as the opposition and the West contested the results. After term limits were removed from the constitution in 2008, Biya secured a sixth term in 2011 with a reported majority of 78 percent.<sup>82</sup>

To protest 30 years of Biya "tyranny," the main opposition party, the Social Democratic Front (SDF), planned a peaceful march in Douala on November 6, but ruling Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (Rassemblement démocratique du Peuple Camerounais (RDPC/CPDM)) officials banned the march, arguing it would lead to violence between regime and opposition supporters. The SDF contested the ban, claiming there is no law that gives administrators the authority to prohibit a demonstration.<sup>83</sup>

About a thousand opposition supporters gathered at a thoroughfare in Douala in defiance of the ban, and clashes with the police ensued. Police charged at the crowd with teargas, water cannons, and other weapons. Observers and journalists attending the gathering were allegedly also beaten. The police not only dispersed the crowd, but also confiscated phones, cameras, and other personal belongings.<sup>84</sup> This protest comes after a wave of workers' strikes throughout October 2012. On October 28, for example, 218 workers shut down two construction sites of the Lom Pangar Hydroelectric Dam Project in eastern Cameroon. This was the project's second worker strike.<sup>85</sup>



<http://geology.com/world/cameroon-satellite-image.shtml>



These protests and labor scuffles are only the most recent events in a long history of unrest that periodically spirals into country-wide violent clashes. In February 2008, for example, after Biya led Parliament to abolish term limits, several violent protests broke out across the country, and were particularly severe in Younde and Douala. In February 2011, in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, protestors and opposition leaders organized a protest in Douala, but were again ruthlessly suppressed by the Special Intervention Brigade (BIR), which used truncheons and water cannons.<sup>86</sup>

In Cameroon, the question appears to be when the next national wave of unrest is coming, and whether the regime will have the capacity to crush it. Observers warn that in the event of Biya's sudden death, Cameroon would plunge into a protracted power scramble, as constitutional provisions for succession are not clear. A Cameroonian financial expert, Nfor Susungi, warns that the military would probably take over if such chaos ensued. Instability would be worst if Biya's demise were to come during a national wave of protest. In that event, a spike in violence could transition into a protracted struggle.<sup>87</sup>

For now, Biya continues to show ruthlessness toward to opponents. A former interior minister has just started a 25-year jail sentence for alleged corruption.<sup>88</sup> In September, a Cameroonian court sentenced Marafa Hamidou Yaya to jail on embezzlement charges related to the botched purchase of a presidential plane in 2004. His arrest has been controversial as the opposition claims he is being persecuted for harboring presidential ambitions.<sup>89</sup> The notoriously private Biya, who does not give interviews and is rarely seen in public,<sup>90</sup> was notably absent on November 6, giving no speeches and making no appearances to mark his 30 years in power.<sup>91</sup>

## **Nigeria: Re-Declaring the Republic of Biafra**

**Researcher:** Ms. Betty Boswell

More than ten years ago, a group known as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) was formed in Nigeria. Its leader, Chief Ralph Uwazurike, claims to have sent a “Biafra Bill of Rights” to the United Nations (UN), after which the UN allegedly granted Biafra “observer status.” Since then, MASSOB has been promoting the rights and sovereignty of Biafra. Recently, it has clashed with the newly-formed Biafra Zionist Movement (BZM), a splinter group that claims it re-declared the independence of the Republic of Biafra on November 5, 2012.<sup>92</sup>

Both groups proclaim the same objective: acceptance of Biafra as an independent republic that would free the Igbo people of southeast Nigeria from oppression and marginalization.<sup>93</sup> Both claim to be the inheritors of the movement that began in 1967 with the secession of Biafra from Nigeria. The subsequent “Biafran War” ended in 1970 after the loss of more than a million lives.<sup>94</sup>

At a recent conference of Igbo Youth Organizations, Benjamin Onwuka, the National President of BZM, noted that the Biafran struggle for independence had failed to advance in the years since MASSOB took up the cause. Onwuka asserted that his group would therefore take control of the march for independence.<sup>95</sup> He asserted that his group was ready to respond to any challenge coming from the federal government. The government responded by arresting 500 or so BZM members while they were marching in a peaceful procession in Enugu State following the declaration ceremony on November 5 – charging them with treason.<sup>96</sup>

The extent of popular support for the secession movement in Igbo-speaking southeastern Nigeria is unclear, but it does constitute yet another challenge for the Nigerian national government, and it adds to the threat of political instability.<sup>97</sup>

## Leadership Profile: Kenyan Senate Candidate David Kuria Mbote

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### Introduction

Despite Kenya's reputation as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning (LGBTQ)-friendly relative to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa,<sup>98</sup> homophobia in the country is pervasive and entrenched<sup>99</sup> and "homosexual activity" remains illegal.<sup>100</sup> David Kuria Mbote, a longtime activist for poverty reduction, development, and LGBTQ rights and Kenya's first openly gay candidate for political office, is challenging these biases and institutional obstacles.

Mbote is running for Senate in Kiambu, a conservative county north of Nairobi; He is optimistic regarding his chances for success, though independent information about voter intentions is unavailable. In the midst of a highly-fraught political environment, Mbote's campaign has met with a unique brand of diverse opposition from individuals and groups inside and well beyond his district, though he has also received support domestically and from many in the international community. Mbote's candidacy may be an important bellwether for the continent, which currently boasts a single openly gay parliamentarian – South Africa's Mike Waters.<sup>101</sup>

### Mbote's Background<sup>102</sup>

Mbote was born in 1974 in Thika, Kenya to a devout Catholic family. In his twenties, revelations about his sexual orientation forced him out of a training program to become a Jesuit priest.<sup>103</sup> Since then, Mbote has devoted himself to progressive activism and obtaining multiple advanced degrees.

- Education:
  - Theology and philosophy undergraduate degrees
  - Masters of Business Administration (MBA), University of Nairobi
  - Professional qualifications in Accounting and Finance
  - MSc in Commerce, University of Nairobi (in progress)
- Work Experience:
  - Associate Lecturer, Tangaza College, Catholic University of Eastern Africa
  - Business Development Officer, Social Ministry Research Network Centre
  - General Manager and then Executive Director, Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK)
  - Founder, Kuria Foundation for Social Enterprise (KFSE)

### The Campaign

During his campaign, Mbote has stressed repeatedly that he is 'not just the gay candidate'-being open about his sexual orientation while focusing his campaign on the needs of the people in his county, drawing largely on his years of experience fighting poverty, which is widespread in Kiambu.<sup>104</sup> He has also made HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment a key focus of his campaign.<sup>105</sup> Mbote refuses to accept the idea that an LGBTQ candidate should not run and could not win election in present-day Kenya, stating:

There are many people in my country, and perhaps elsewhere ... [who] say that I should not be allowed to stand for an elective post... In my case I am an outsider

to the political establishment, and maybe that's what our politics needs if it is to start serving the people of Kenya and not just the politicians themselves ... my experience also enables me to stand hand in hand with others who have the same or similar feelings of exclusion. By declaring myself a candidate I am standing up for those rights, not just for myself but also for everybody that the self-appointed mainstream would deny a voice.<sup>106</sup>

Youth mobilization has been a key focus of the Mbote campaign, and the candidate has highlighted his own relative youth and outsider status in his appeals to constituents. Mbote's chief opponents in the race are career politicians Nginyo Kariuki and Kuria Kanyingi.<sup>107</sup>

Social media has played a key role in the campaign, and the candidate has maintained an active presence on Twitter and Facebook.<sup>108</sup> Mbote, like many in Kenya, believes that social media is a powerful tool for political communications, get-out-the-vote efforts, and reporting of irregularities on the day of the election.<sup>109</sup>

### **Controversy**

Societal pushback against Mbote's campaign has come from across the panoply of anti-gay Kenyans. Homophobia in Kenya is not only widespread, but based in deeply held beliefs including and transcending the religious or traditional, tapping into core ideas about what constitutes 'legitimate' African and Kenyan identity. For these reasons, advocates of progressive reforms and greater inclusion for LGBTQ individuals may find their efforts continually stymied.

Christians and Muslims, urban and rural dwellers, and citizens young and old have expressed their disgust and disbelief not only at the idea of a gay political candidate, but also at the increasing visibility of LGBTQ individuals in their country.<sup>110</sup> Over the past five years, more than 90 percent of Kenyan respondents have reported to pollsters that "homosexuality went against their beliefs."<sup>111</sup>

In an indication of the continuing social acceptability of anti-gay rhetoric in Kenya, Prime Minister and 2013 presidential candidate Raila Odinga has made a slew of public statements about gays ranging from ignorance to what Western cultures would identify as clear hate speech, advocating in November 2010, for example, the widespread arrest of LGBTQ Kenyans, even absent violation of the country's anti-gay laws.<sup>112</sup> Mbote has stated that even within the relatively progressive Nairobi NGO community many people refused to interact with him – declining to even stand with him in an elevator – if they recognized him or his status as an LGBTQ rights activist was revealed.<sup>113</sup>

Tensions related to increasing openness on the part of LGBTQ Africans are not limited to Kenya; nor are these individuals alone in their challenging of the social order. Recent events in countries including Uganda, Nigeria, and Liberia point to an escalation in anti-gay sentiment and actions on the continent.<sup>114</sup> These issues – among others, notably the upending of traditional conceptions of the role of women and changing beliefs regarding proper behavior in heterosexual relationships – should be monitored for their potential to serve as flashpoints for violence as African societies continue to become increasingly open and diverse.

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>10</sup> *Daily Nation*, "Mudavadi, Kalonzo begin alliance talks," November 7, 2012 (<http://www.nation.co.ke/News/politics/Mudavadi+Kalonzo+begin+alliance+talks/-/1064/1612950/-/item/1/-/gjlgcw/-/index.html>).
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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

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## TO THE READER

IDA's team of Africa researchers welcomes your comments, questions, and feedback on the contents of *The Africa Watch*. If you would like to discuss an article in this issue or provide suggestions for future research, please contact me at (703) 845-4394.

With best regards,

***George Ward***

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

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## ANALYSES

### Mozambique – RENAMO Threatens Return to Bloodshed

**Researchers:** Mr. Alexander Noyes and Dr. Janette Yarwood

#### Summary

- On November 12, 2012, Afonso Dhlakama, the leader of the Mozambique National Resistance opposition party (RENAMO), threatened to “destroy” and “divide” Mozambique if his demands are not met by the ruling party, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).
- Although RENAMO remains the second largest political grouping in Mozambique, its political fortunes have declined since the country’s first post-civil war elections in 1994.
- While Dhlakama’s recent escalation could lead to localized outbreaks of violence, a return to civil war is unlikely, since his bombastic rhetoric appears to be an attempt to remain politically relevant amid slumping political support.
- RENAMO’s militant stance and threats to boycott future elections are likely to further alienate the party and could drive the party’s waning popular support base into the camp of the Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM), a new opposition party that has won support in 2009 and 2011 elections.

#### Threats to Destroy and Divide Mozambique Worry Region

In late October, Dhlakama decamped with 800 ex-combatants, 300 of whom are reported to be armed, to RENAMO’s former military base in rural Gorongosa. RENAMO demanded that President Armando Guebuza address the party’s grievances – which include increasing the integration of RENAMO veterans into the armed forces and revising electoral laws – and agree to a “transitional government.”<sup>1</sup> RENAMO also reiterated its promises to launch widespread demonstrations and boycott upcoming municipal elections in 2013 and general elections in 2014.<sup>2</sup> If RENAMO’s demands go unmet, Ossufo Mamud, the head of RENAMO’s Defence Department, warned on October 24: “We love peace, but we do not fear war.”<sup>3</sup> On November 19, RENAMO escalated their charged rhetoric, with Dhlakama stating: “I am training my men and, if we need to, we will leave here and destroy Mozambique... We are thinking of asking for the country to be divided. FRELIMO will have the south and we will have the center and north. If they delay, they will be held responsible for the consequences.”<sup>4</sup>

Such rhetoric has raised alarm in the region, with politicians on both sides of the political spectrum in Zimbabwe voicing concern about a possible return to war in Mozambique and the potential ramifications for regional stability. The Zimbabwean Movement for Democratic Change party has urged the African Union and the Southern African Development Community to deal with the situation.<sup>5</sup> The Mozambican government, however, has reassured regional and international officials that the threats are overblown. Mozambique’s ambassador to Zimbabwe said that the situation is calm,<sup>6</sup> and Murade Murargy, the Mozambican representative to the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, stated that Dhlakama “has been saying that he will attack tomorrow for the last 20 years.”<sup>7</sup> Despite publicly playing down the risk of instability,

FRELIMO has deployed a 60-man Rapid Response Force police unit to monitor activities at the Gorongosa camp.<sup>8</sup>

### **Failure of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Efforts?**

Although Mozambique's disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) program for ex-combatants is often cited by scholars and international institutions as a successful post-conflict model,<sup>9</sup> the current standoff and other violent incidents involving RENAMO veterans illustrate substantial shortcomings of the DDR process. Chief among them is the failure to demobilize RENAMO's so-called "presidential guard." As highlighted by *The Africa Watch*, on March 8, 2012, RENAMO war veterans clashed with the Mozambique police, resulting in one police death and the detention of more than 30 RENAMO ex-combatants.<sup>10</sup> Involved in the shootout was the "presidential guard" – a group of bodyguards who have been protecting Dhlakama since the end of the 1992 war. RENAMO has justified maintaining this force by citing a clause in the peace agreement allowing RENAMO to provide security to its "top leaders." The clause was only intended, however, to apply in the transitional phase, and therefore should have become inactive after the 1994 elections.<sup>11</sup>

Former RENAMO soldiers have also been implicated in other periodic outbreaks of violence. In 2000, in the worst violence since the end of the war, RENAMO men killed ten people in Montepuez, with significant tensions recurring in the same region in 2003 elections.<sup>12</sup> Currently, RENAMO claims it can mobilize up to 5,000 troops and boasts of access to significant firepower hidden in arms caches after the war, including AK-47 rifles, rockets, and mortars.<sup>13</sup> Armindo Milaco, an ex-fighter training under Dhlakama's direction in Gorongosa, asserts that RENAMO veterans can easily access the hidden weaponry: "As soon as the shooting starts, everyone knows where to grab them."<sup>14</sup> These various incidents and ostensible access to arms could indicate serious deficiencies in the DDR process in Mozambique.

### **Sinking Political Support for RENAMO**

Although RENAMO remains the second largest political grouping in Mozambique, its political power has dissipated in every election since the country's first post-civil war poll in 1994, with a precipitous decline since the late 1990s. The party's highest level of support was in 1994, when it won 112 out of 250 seats in parliament and Dhlakama won 33 percent of the presidential vote. RENAMO hit a low point during the 2009 polls, when the party won just 51 seats and Dhlakama gained only 16 percent in the presidential contest.<sup>15</sup> This nadir of support for RENAMO occurred amid the rise of the MDM, a new alternative opposition party.

The MDM was formed in 2009 by Daviz Simango, a former RENAMO member. While the MDM won only 8 seats during the 2009 polls, this level of support was quite an achievement since elections were held just six months after the formation of the party. Furthermore, the MDM likely enjoys significantly more support than reflected in the final tally, since the party was barred from running in 9 of 13 constituencies due to alleged "inadequate paperwork."<sup>16</sup> During 2011 local by-elections, which were boycotted by RENAMO, an MDM candidate won with 62 percent of the vote in Quelimane, the fourth largest city in the country. This loss of the municipality came as a surprise to FRELIMO, and is an indicator of the new party's rising strength.<sup>17</sup> The MDM is thought to appeal primarily to the young population, who had not lived through the civil war, with a focus on issues of employment, housing, urban and rural poverty, and crime.<sup>18</sup>

## **Outlook**

RENAMO's brinksmanship and threats to return Mozambique to war have escalated regional and domestic political tensions and could lead to localized outbreaks of violence, as seen in the March incident. Widespread violence and a return to civil war are, however, unlikely, as Dhlakama's bombastic rhetoric appears to be an attempt to remain politically relevant amid slumping political support. Discussing sinking support for RENAMO, an IDA contact in Mozambique suggested that recently the party simply wants to project an image of force in an effort to exact concessions from the government.<sup>19</sup> In addition to waning popular support, several other factors militate against widespread civil conflict, including the advanced age of most of Dhlakama's men, lack of regional support for RENAMO, a population with no thirst for a return to war, and high economic growth rates with increasing international investment.

On November 23, the FRELIMO government announced it would agree to hold exploratory talks with RENAMO to address the party's grievances. International concern voiced by regional leaders and investors raises the profile and platform of Dhlakama, and could embolden his demands and recalcitrance going into talks. While RENAMO might gain some minor concessions in such negotiations, FRELIMO is firmly in the driver's seat and is unlikely to acquiesce to RENAMO's major demands. RENAMO's increasingly militant stance and threats to boycott future elections could further diminish the party's support. If carried out, election boycotts could be particularly costly, as they would be likely to drive swaths of the party's eroding popular support base into the rising MDM camp.

## Guinea's Sagas Continue

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

### Summary

- In December 2010, Guinea's President Alpha Condé came to power promising he would tackle endemic corruption in the world's top exporter of bauxite. Although he has made some dubious progress on this front, he has also continually demonstrated his willingness to impose harsh and oppressive tactics to maintain his control over state power and protect the interests of the Malinke ethnic group.
- Condé has had to contend with two ongoing sagas that have plagued Guinea for several years.
  - First, the continual postponement of legislative elections since 2002 has angered citizens who want to elect their representatives in parliament.
  - Second, the saga surrounding mining rights to Guinea's Mount Simandou has drawn widespread international attention and has exposed high level corruption in Guinea.
- In response, Condé has launched an official review of the mining sector code and an investigation into mining contracts awarded under the previous military junta. Nevertheless, the motivation behind these actions is questionable. Some prominent international actors have praised his commitment to punishing corrupt officials and businessmen, while others view it as an attempt to extort more money from mining companies.

### Saga #1: Legislative Elections

Guinea's last legislative elections were held in 2002 under the Conté regime. The National Transition Council that was established following the military coup in 2008 is now acting as the country's parliament. Legislative elections were originally scheduled to occur in June 2007 but, for a multitude of reasons, have been postponed time and again.

- In 2007, they were postponed until December of that year due to a general strike that resulted in the appointment of a new government and Prime Minister.
- Elections were then scheduled for March 2008 but were again postponed until December due to delays in establishing the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) and revised electoral lists.
- Difficulties with biometric voter registration, security concerns, lack of organization and other administrative details have all been provided as reasons to further delay elections.
- Legislative elections should then have been held six months after the inauguration of President Condé in 2010, but were not scheduled until December 2011 and were then canceled.
- In March 2012, the date was pushed to July, but in April, the date was further postponed due to "technical" problems.
- Although President Condé has most recently stated they will take place in 2013, this date is also looking unlikely.

Besides supposed technical impediments, additional problems have included disagreement over the leadership and composition of the CENI. With regard to leadership, opposition parties have persistently called for the resignation of Louceny Camara as president of the commission. In September 2012, he obliged. The opposition has also called for equal representation in the CENI, and, following lengthy negotiations, all parties agreed on the following composition: ten members from the ruling party, ten from the opposition, three from civil society, and two from the public service.

The opposition, however, is not completely satisfied with the new commission. In particular, the Union for Democratic Forces in Guinea (UFDG) claims that only nine of the opposition representatives are legitimate. Its prospective tenth member, Thierno Saidou Bayo, was taken off the list because he reportedly failed to resign as president of the Socialist Party and had a bad relationship with Louceny Camara. His replacement, Jacques Bonimi, is closely allied with Jean-Marie Doré (former prime minister of transitional government prior to the 2010 presidential elections), who the opposition claims is actually closer to the ruling party.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, the opposition attended the swearing-in ceremony, but has submitted an appeal to the Supreme Court regarding their tenth seat, stating that if the court does not hear their appeal, they will protest.<sup>21</sup> The status of this appeal is currently unknown.

In addition to the problems with CENI, there is also some disagreement over the manner in which the electoral lists are being revised and the private firm selected to oversee this process. The opposition argues that the South African company, Waymark, was handpicked by Condé and that the resulting list will create a larger voting base in his favor.<sup>22</sup>

These perpetual delays have not only negatively impacted parliamentary governance in Guinea, but the resulting (numerous) protests have also brought Conakry to a standstill on many occasions. At an anti-government protest in May 2012, security forces ignored orders from defense staff and fired guns and tear gas at protesters, resulting in dozens of injuries. More recently, on August 27, a rally organized by the opposition that attracted a large number of supporters in Conakry was blocked by security forces on the order of the President. A government spokesman said the police were ordered to stop the protest in order to avoid mass chaos, but the police purportedly threw tear gas canisters at the residence of an opposition leader earlier in the day. Such actions, among others, perpetuate the perception that the security forces have been co-opted by the Condé regime.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, there is a growing ethnic component of this political conflict, with many Guineans believing that Condé's postponement of legislative elections is his way of promoting the interests of his own ethnic group (Malinke) over the Peulh community.<sup>24</sup>

This ethnic conflict has also played out in Guinea's mining sector, where a protest on August 3 quickly turned violent. Locals in the town of Zogota (where the Brazilian mining giant Vale has a large operation) were vandalizing the company's facilities to protest its recruitment of outside workers, at the expense of the local Guerzes and Tomas ethnic groups. Security forces opened fire on the group, killing five. Since the country's security forces are drawn largely from the same ethnic group as President Condé, this further reinforces the perception of ethnically motivated violence and tribal politics.

### **Saga #2: Mining Rights at Simandou**

The ongoing saga over mining rights to the world's highest quality iron ore deposit in Guinea continues, and the official corruption associated with these contracts (among others in the mining sector) does not appear to be declining.

The Anglo-Australian firm Rio Tinto was awarded exploration and mining rights in the Mount Simandou area in the 1990s by President Conté. In 2008, just days before Conté died, Rio Tinto was stripped of two of the four mining blocks, with officials stating the company had missed the deadline to start mining. The Conté regime quickly transferred the rights to the Beny Steinmetz Group Resources (BSGR) run by Israeli diamond tycoon Beny Steinmetz. BSGR's claim to Simandou was reaffirmed under the military junta led by Captain Moussa Dadis Camara that seized power following Conté's death.

BSGR's next move generated much controversy in Guinea. There had been no exchange of cash when BSGR was awarded mining rights to one half of Simandou. In April 2010 (during the Camara regime), BSGR announced it was selling 51 percent of its stake in Simandou to Vale for \$2.5 billion (\$500 million of which would be paid immediately). Considering it paid nothing for its original mining rights and had invested only \$160 million on preliminary exploratory work, this represented a massive return on its investment for BSGR.<sup>25</sup>

This suspicious deal, among several others negotiated since 2008,<sup>26</sup> appears to have prompted the Condé government to overhaul the country's mining code and implement an official review of all mining contracts awarded during the time of the military junta. This was part of a larger investigation of official corruption under previous regimes, for which Condé appointed Aissatou Boiro, treasury director, as leader. As part of this review, the government is now demanding to know how BSGR secured rights to the Simandou blocks in 2008. Condé has established an official government committee backed by the former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and billionaire philanthropist George Soros to review these contracts and identify where corruption might have played a role.

The government committee reviewing these contracts has alleged that BSGR's fortuitous "win" of Simandou mining rights was the result of bribes paid to the Conté regime and the subsequent military junta. For example, one report indicates that BSGR gave a diamond-encrusted gold miniature Formula One racecar to a minister as well as \$2.5 million to Conté's fourth wife to secure the mining rights. BSGR denies these claims, stating the car was a gift to the Mining Ministry, not an individual, and worth only \$2,000 at the most.<sup>27</sup>

In any event, BSGR and Vale now have 60 days to respond to these allegations or face the possible cancellation of their rights to Simandou. This investigation comes at an interesting time, since Vale announced in October 2012 that it was postponing plans to mine Simandou, citing falling iron ore prices and higher-priority operations. The continual delay of operations in Simandou causes speculation over whether companies are more concerned with blocking access of their competitors rather than with actually mining the land.

### **Promotion of Transparency or Opportunity for Corruption?**

There is broad international support for Condé's tough stance on corruption within the mining sector. The fact that George Soros, Tony Blair, and Paul Collier all support the President's actions would seem to lend credibility to his stated objectives of punishing companies attempting to bribe Guinean officials or those proven to have employed bribery in the past.<sup>28</sup> There are some rumors, however, that Soros might have a personal vendetta against the Steinmetz family, stemming from a contentious Russian telecommunications privatization in 1997, which Soros won at Beny Steinmetz's expense.<sup>29</sup>

The assumption by many observers, however, is that the government's allegations and investigation are simply attempts to extract bribes. By seizing BSGR's assets, the company claims the Guinean government can then demand payment to return those rights or transfer them to

third parties (most likely parties with whom the regime has connections or business interests). This claim is supported by the fact that in April 2011 Rio Tinto paid the Guinean government \$700 million for “the resolution of all outstanding issues” pertaining to the two blocks of Simandou that Rio still holds. Rio states that the agreement “exempts Rio Tinto from any further changes under the current review of the mining code or any future review.”<sup>30</sup> One could surmise that if BSGR or Vale paid a similar amount to the government, this issue would go away completely.

Finally, the November 9 assassination of Aissatou Boiro, the treasury director and lead investigator, raises concern that those with financial interests in Guinea’s lucrative mining sector will go to any extent to protect them. Boiro, a strong advocate for transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption, had recently foiled a plot by several high-level government officials from the Treasury Ministry and the Central Bank to embezzle around \$1.9 million. Her assassination underscores the severity of the situation and unfortunately might serve as a deterrent to other anti-corruption crusaders.

### **Conclusion**

Condé is presiding over an unwieldy and fragile situation in Guinea, with a population growing increasingly exasperated by the delay of legislative elections, oppression at the hands of the security forces, a restive army, and the continued use of divisive ethnic rhetoric. Condé’s mishandling of the mining sector has the potential to intensify these existing grievances, particularly if he is implicated or perceived to be involved in any scandals. Furthermore, the perception that the president and his administration are failing to develop the country’s mining sector for the economic benefit of the population could well be enough to provoke more public outcry and further protests. At the same time, Condé realizes there are many businessmen and members of the political elite in Guinea with large stakes in the mining sector whom he must also placate.

Guinea seems to be growing in importance to foreign investors, as evidenced by the arrival of numerous new mining sector actors. Even a UK-Australian law firm has established an office in Conakry to serve the mining community.<sup>31</sup> The question is whether these foreign investors will engage in shady business deals with the political elite of the country, potentially exacerbating corruption and contributing to an already fragile socio-economic environment.

## Nigeria: Is There a Country?

**Researcher:** Dr. Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

### Summary

- The October publication of Chinua Achebe's memoir of Biafra, *There Was a Country*, has tapped into lingering Igbo-Yoruba resentments and triggered a fierce debate over the nature and legacies of the Nigerian civil war and its implications for the nation's future unity.
- Achebe's critics focus particularly on his characterization of the actions of Chief Obafemi Awolowo – widely venerated as one of Nigeria's "founding fathers" – as "driven by an overriding ambition for power, for himself in particular and for the advancement of his Yoruba people in general ... his ambition drove him into a frenzy to go to every length to achieve his dreams. In the Biafran case, it meant hatching up a diabolical policy to reduce the numbers of his enemies significantly through starvation – eliminating over two million people, mainly members of future generations."<sup>32</sup> Such overheated rhetoric, the book's critics charge, foments ethnic hatred and "could jeopardize on-going efforts to unify the people of the South."<sup>33</sup>
- Achebe's defenders counter that his book provides a necessary catharsis of the scars and resentments that linger on both sides of the East-West divide in Nigeria. "The past must speak to the present to safeguard the future," one commentator writes. "This book is a wake-up call ... [to] spur our leaders in particular to rise above the current depths of sheer stupidity and mendacity to new heights of selflessness and integrity so that the past does not repeat itself on a vaster, possibly irredeemable, scale."<sup>34</sup>

### ***There Was a Country***

*There Was a Country* is, at its core, Chinua Achebe's lament for Nigeria's lost promise: "Nigeria was once a land of great hope and progress, a nation with immense resources at its disposal – natural resources, yes, but even more so human resources. But the Biafran war changed the course of Nigeria. In my view it was a cataclysmic experience that changed the history of Africa."<sup>35</sup> For Achebe, the "pogrom" against Igbo following the 1966 military coup, led by Igbo General Aguiyi-Ironsi, marked the point at which the ideal of a unified Nigeria gave way to a nation deeply divided along ethnic and regional lines. Aguiyi-Ironsi was killed in a counter coup led by Northern Army officers after attempting to end Nigeria's divisive regionalism by abolishing Nigeria's three regions and declaring a Unitary Republic. The anti-Igbo violence, which started in late May, led to a mass migration of Igbo people to the east and started the chain of events leading to the declaration of Biafran independence and the onset of civil war in May 1967. Achebe, author of *Things Fall Apart*, had already established a global reputation as a novelist and poet when he was tapped to serve as an ambassador for the Republic of Biafra. He played a key role in drawing Western attention to the famine resulting from Nigeria's blockade of the breakaway Republic.

The failure of Nigeria's government and people to squarely face the legacies of the civil war is, in Achebe's view, an insuperable barrier to the nation's progress. "For over half a century," he writes, "the federal government has turned a blind eye to wave of ferocious and savage massacres of its citizens ... Nigeria has been doomed to witness endless cycles of inter-ethnic violence because the Nigerian government has failed woefully to enforce laws protecting its citizens from wanton violence, particularly attacks against non-indigenes living in disparate parts



of the country.”<sup>36</sup> He concludes by renewing the January 2012 call he made, along with fellow Nigerian literary icons Wole Soyinka and J. P. Clark, for “the convening of a national conference to debate just how the nation should proceed in reinforcing civil and political life, and decide, in full freedom, the terms of her integrated existence.”<sup>37</sup> Only through such a national consultative process can the Nigerian people bring about the “dismantling of the present corrupt political system and banishment of the cult of mediocrity that runs it” and pave the way for new leaders “humbled by the trust put upon [them]” and “willing to use the power given to [them] for the good of the people.”<sup>38</sup>

### **Igbo Jingoism**

Achebe’s critics fall into two broad groups. The first takes issue with what one critic characterized as “hard ethnic nationalism” bordering on jingoism, particularly in Achebe’s assertions that the civil war was the product of resentment of the Igbos’ superior accomplishments in the military, politics, academia, and business and the fear of Igbo domination.<sup>39</sup> The Igbo, these critics counter, were hardly innocent of playing ethnic politics themselves. As one critic put it, “it seems to me the great writer has failed his own test of challenging stereotypes and myths about, and images of, the various nationalities that make up our country. Instead, he seems to emerge at the end of the book as an Igbo supremacist at worst, or its apologist, at best.”<sup>40</sup> Femi Okunnu, a member of the wartime military administration, went so far as to denounce the book as a work of “intellectual dishonesty by an individual who does not subscribe to the idea of a Nigerian nation.”<sup>41</sup>

A second group, which includes some of Achebe’s fellow Igbo, questions the book’s release at a time when Nigeria faces severe economic and security challenges. A former Governor of Anambra State, Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju, summed up these concerns in a public forum in early October:

The three southern geo-political zones of South-East, South-West and South-South have just resolved to come into a new political alignment for the future. And it is now that the devil is creeping in to dislodge the political programme of the South. The implication is that our friends and brothers in the South-West may now begin to develop cold feet and go into opposition again just because of one book by Chinua Achebe. Since I wouldn’t want anything that would jeopardize this new spirit of cooperation in the South, I pray to God that all groups or persons who feel aggrieved by Achebe’s new book should have a change of heart to avert this brewing misunderstanding in order to enable Nigeria move forward. This is necessary in order to prevent another rift that may snowball into a fresh round of crisis of confidence.<sup>42</sup>

Even among those who concur with Achebe’s premise that ethnic loyalties undermine the emergence of true Nigerian patriotism, many do not see his book as a positive contribution. Instead, it plays into “separatist idealist conspiracies” used to “whip up sentiments against effective national unity ... and genuine bridge-building.”<sup>43</sup> The result could be a dangerous increase in anti-Igbo sentiments.<sup>44</sup> The danger, as they see it, is that *There Was a Country* has made it difficult to convince non-Igbo Nigerians that if any member of the ethnic nationality is given a chance to rule this country, he/she would not pervert his/her mandate and allegiance to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in preference for revenge and vengeance over the unfortunate civil war.<sup>45</sup>

### **Toward Reconciliation**

Achebe's defenders counter that Nigeria cannot make a real, conscious effort to create a nation until it faces the difficult truths about its past, starting with the Civil War. As Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Adichie writes, "[some] responses to Achebe have dismissed the war as something that happened 'long ago.' But some of the people who played major roles are alive today. We must confront our history, if only to begin to understand how we came to be where we are today."<sup>46</sup> Achebe's defenders take issue with the contention, common among his critics, that to stir up this history serves no useful purpose at a time when Nigerians must unite to face their shared challenges.

While the emphasis among those calling for real reconciliation has been on the marginalization of the Igbo in the East, the problem of ethnic resentment goes much deeper and is a principal obstacle to the evolution of a true Nigerian national identity. "Ethnicity and tribalism," one writes, "are words guarded with envy yet we deceive ourselves that nothing of such exists. So many countrymen have suffered one form of discrimination or another simply because he or she is from a certain part of the country ... Every ethnic group seeks to protect their people. There is acrimony and seeming hatred ... The greatest loser is the nation – Nigeria."<sup>47</sup>

## Water and Conflict in Africa

**Researcher:** Amb. (ret.) George F. Ward

### Summary

According to a number of recent studies, “tensions and disputes over water resources rarely lead to open armed conflicts.”<sup>48</sup> This conclusion has not always applied in Africa, where issues related to water have from time to time resulted in violence, albeit at relatively low levels.

- There are pending in Africa today a relatively large number of potential conflicts over water-related issues.
- Two of the most difficult disputes involve Ethiopia.
- Largely because the states involved in both disputes are engaged with each other in seeking peaceful settlements, the probability of violent inter-state conflict is small in the near term. In one case, however, continuing inter-ethnic violence is probable.

### A History of Violence

In many parts of Africa, colonial boundaries were drawn along the courses of rivers and through lakes. These boundaries, which persist today, not only divided ethnic groups artificially, but also often separated farmers, herders, and fishermen from the sources of their livelihoods. A number of studies have argued that tensions and disputes over water resources rarely lead to open armed conflicts. This does not mean that small-scale “water wars” have not occurred in Africa. When drought caused the Senegal River to recede in the 1970s and 1980s, clashes between Senegalese farmers and Mauritanian herders caused the deployment of armies and the exchange of artillery fire. Hundreds of civilians were killed in incidents related to these disputes.<sup>49</sup> Today, the shrinkage of Lake Turkana on the border between Ethiopia and Kenya has brought the Dassanech people of Ethiopia into direct conflict with the Turkana of Kenya. Mutual cross-border raids have resulted in the deaths of many people, the loss of livestock, and the destruction of habitations.<sup>50</sup>

### Potential Conflicts Abound

There is no shortage of potential conflicts over water in contemporary Africa. At an IDA-sponsored conference involving senior military and political leaders from East Africa and the Horn in October 2012, participants repeatedly referred to dangers of conflict arising from tensions involving the Great Lakes. These included the dispute between Kenya and Uganda over Mgingo Island in Lake Victoria (over fishing) and the disagreement between Tanzania and Malawi on demarcation of the international border on Lake Nyasa/Malawi (over potential hydrocarbon rights). Both of these disputes have involved saber-rattling by the contending states, but there is no imminent prospect of violence. (For background on the Tanzania-Malawi dispute, see the August 15, 2012 issue of *The Africa Watch*.) Similar risks exist in West Africa, where 17 countries share 25 trans-boundary watercourses. With rainfall in West Africa having declined by 15 to 30 percent since 1968-1972, the flow of rivers has fallen up to 60 percent.<sup>51</sup> Risks of conflicts over water are increasing, but none are currently at a critical stage.

### Ethiopia – Pushing the Envelope

The most controversial water-related issues both involve Ethiopia. The principal tributary of the Nile River, the Blue Nile, originates in Ethiopia. It is one of several water resources that Ethiopia is seeking to tap for hydro-power. Another is the Omo River, which flows south through Ethiopia into Lake Turkana in Kenya. Ethiopia’s late Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, initiated several

hydroelectric dam projects that, if completed, would transform Ethiopia into a significant net exporter of electric power. The Gibe III dam on the Omo River (see Figure 1), scheduled to go on line in 2013, would have a capacity of 1,870 megawatts, doubling Ethiopia's installed generating capacity.<sup>52</sup> Even more significant is the Grand Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile, situated only 40 kilometers from the border with Sudan (see Figure 2). When completed in 2018, this project would have the capacity of 6,000 megawatts, doubling once again the country's capacity.<sup>53</sup>

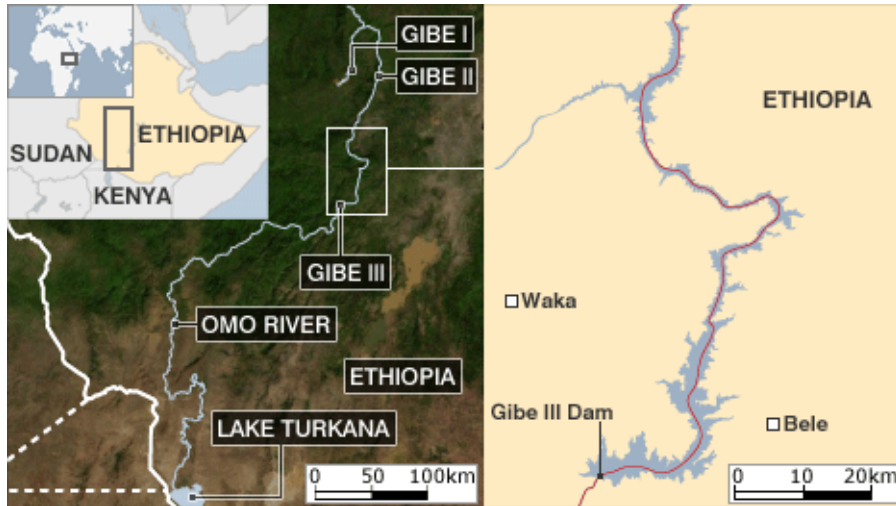


Figure 1

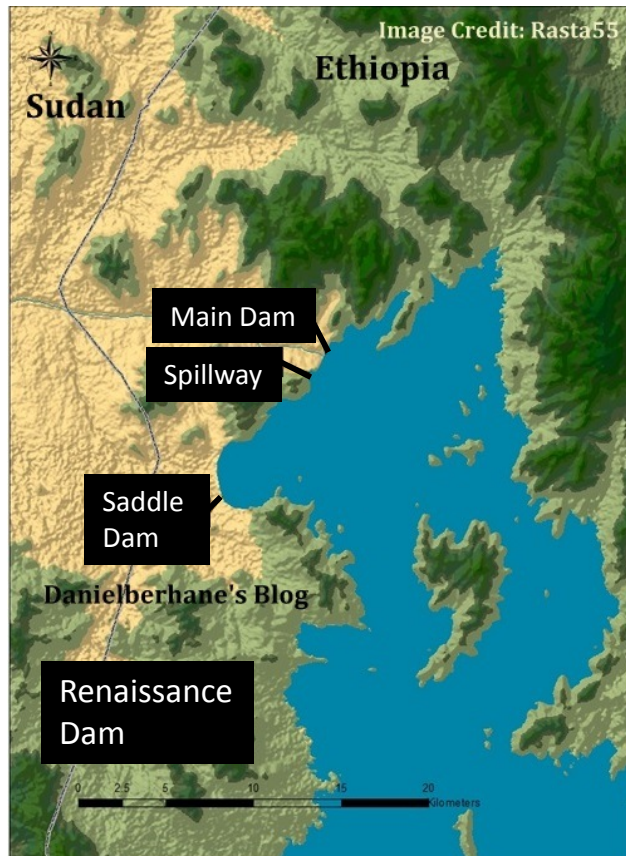


Figure 2

### **Gibe III Dam – Impact on Indigenous Population**

The Gibe III dam project poses no present threat of inter-state conflict, but it has aroused the opposition of representatives of the indigenous residents of the Lower Omo Valley and of a variety of international humanitarian, environmental, and human rights organizations.<sup>54</sup> The electrical power produced by the dam will be a valuable export for Ethiopia and will ease power shortages in Kenya and other regional countries. On that basis, the World Bank approved on July 12, 2012 a \$684 million loan for a 1,000-kilometer-long power transmission line to Kenya. This represented a reversal of sorts for the bank, which in 2010 had refused to finance the dam itself in the absence of concrete measures to protect the indigenous peoples.<sup>55</sup>

Opponents of the dam believe that it will devastate the agricultural and pastoral activities of the indigenous people by eliminating the annual flooding along the Omo River on which they depend. Loss of these activities could prompt migration of Ethiopian pastoralists southward into the Turkana area of Kenya. As noted above, armed clashes have already occurred in that area. On August 10, 2011, the Kenyan parliament passed a motion demanding a halt to the construction of the Gibe III dam pending environmental and social impact assessments and appropriate measures.<sup>56</sup> Since passage of the motion, the Kenyan government has not seriously pursued the environmental or social issues with the government of Ethiopia. Unless these issues are addressed, the current localized conflicts between Kenyan indigenes and Ethiopian migrants in the Turkana region could increase in intensity and might eventually cause inter-state tensions.

### **The Grand Renaissance Dam – A More Serious Challenge**

Under agreements concluded in 1929 and 1959, Egypt, the UK, and Sudan apportioned the flow of the Nile River exclusively to Egypt (75 percent) and Sudan (25 percent). Additionally, the agreements stated that no works or measures to reduce the flow of the Nile could be undertaken without Egyptian consent. At the time, except for Ethiopia the other Nile riparian states had not yet gained independence and had no effective voice.<sup>57</sup> Ethiopia, where more than 80 percent of the Nile water originates, has never accepted the 1929 and 1959 agreements.<sup>58</sup>

The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) began in 1999 as an effort of all riparian states to work out a new method for regulating the waters. The Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) signed in 2010, however, included neither Egypt nor Sudan. With the signature of Burundi in 2011, the CFA now includes six upstream states (Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania).<sup>59</sup> The signatory states assert their right to undertake projects that do not “significantly” affect the water flow.<sup>60</sup> Egypt disputes this interpretation, and efforts to extend the CFA to Egypt and Sudan have failed.

In the absence of agreement, Ethiopia has moved forward with its plans to build dams. The response by Egypt and Sudan to the Ethiopian plan for the largest of these, the Grand Renaissance Dam, has been remarkably muted considering its potential effect on the flow of the river. Reports of questionable reliability that cited consultations between Egypt and Sudan during the regime of President Mubarak on possible military strikes against Ethiopian dam projects<sup>61</sup> have not been corroborated. More recently, Egypt and Sudan have taken a diplomatic approach, agreeing in October 2012 to work with Ethiopia on sustainable management, utilization, and development of the Nile waters.<sup>62</sup>

On October 27, the Egyptian Minister of Irrigation and Water Resources downplayed the urgency of the situation, saying that work on the Grand Renaissance Dam was “still exploratory.”<sup>63</sup> For its part, the Ethiopian government is publicly resolved to move forward, and claims that construction is 13 percent complete.<sup>64</sup> The website of the dam’s Italian general

contractor, *Gruppo Salini Costruttori*, does not report substantial progress on the dam, and details on financing for the huge project remain sketchy. On balance, a peaceful resolution to this potential dispute appears more likely than a violent one, but skillful diplomacy and self-restraint on both sides will be required.

## ALERTS

### South Africa: Political Wrangling Ahead of Mangaung Conference

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

South African President Jacob Zuma seems to have successfully fended off a campaign to oust him as leader of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) at the party's conference to be held from December 16 to 21, 2012 in Mangaung. While it appears Zuma will remain head of the ANC, virtually ensuring he will retain the South African presidency in 2014 national elections, there is a growing battle over the party's deputy position. Although regional nomination contests are still ongoing, Zuma has gained support from five of nine provinces, including his home of KwaZulu-Natal, which holds the largest bloc of delegates at the Mangaung conference.<sup>65</sup>

Although the current deputy president of South Africa and of the ANC, Kgalema Motlanthe, has not publicly declared his intention to challenge Zuma for the ANC presidency, he reportedly already has backing from two provinces to become leader of the party.<sup>66</sup> Motlanthe's reluctance to formally declare fealty to Zuma and run as his deputy – with the implicit agreement that Motlanthe would be the favored candidate for party leader in 2017 – has frustrated the Zuma camp and opened the door for businessman Cyril Ramaphosa to emerge as an unexpected contender at the Mangaung conference for the number two position.

- Delegates representing the KwaZulu-Natal province of the ANC and the Zuma camp were campaigning for a no-contest vote at Mangaung, with Zuma and Motlanthe remaining in their current positions. Opposition from Gauteng province and Motlanthe's continued unaligned stance made that idea unworkable.<sup>67</sup>
- The ANC Youth League (ANCYL), which is currently involved in its own leadership spat, has declared its support for Motlanthe.<sup>68</sup>
- Motlanthe's current posture is predicated on his insistence that he is not beholden to any faction in the party and will stand for any position that he is formally nominated for. This ostensibly neutral approach is risky and could leave him in the political wilderness after Mangaung.<sup>69</sup>
- With the Zuma camp searching for possible replacements for Motlanthe, the Ramaphosa candidacy has quickly gained significant support, with four provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal, reportedly supporting his nomination.<sup>70</sup> There are doubts, however, that Ramaphosa wants to leave the business world and return to politics.

While Zuma's expected win at Mangaung would be a continuation of the status quo in South African politics, there are significant splits in the ANC's tripartite alliance regarding the prospect of Ramaphosa as deputy president, with consternation expressed by both the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.<sup>71</sup> Additionally, Motlanthe's ability to gain significant support without openly campaigning reveals divides in the ANC that will have to be repaired post-Mangaung.

## **Mali: Will the Real Ansar Dine Please Stand Up?**

**Researcher:** Ms. Betty Boswell

Ansar Dine, Defenders of the Faith, claims it is ready to help rid northern Mali of terrorism and foreign groups. Ansar Dine's members are predominantly Malian Tuaregs, and have been linked with both Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) in the current Malian crisis. A group spokesman, Mohamed Ag Aharib, told a delegation of mediators in Burkina Faso recently that if his group were to negotiate with Malian authorities, the result could be the end of terrorism, drug trafficking, and activities by foreign groups in northern Mali. He also said imposing sharia law across all of Mali is no longer a goal; it is sufficient to impose this hardline religious law only in the Kidal area, the group's stronghold, and to allow people from other cities to observe Muslim practices in their own ways.<sup>72</sup>

This change of stance seems improbable, as Ansar Dine, along with AQIM and MUJAO, have been brutalizing the population of northern Mali since spring, punishing any perceived "forbidden" behavior harshly, destroying historical shrines deemed blasphemous, restricting citizens' movements, and causing hundreds of thousands to become refugees in Niger or Mauritania. Many Malians have welcomed the new, relaxed attitude, hopeful that their lives will return to more familiar circumstances, hopeful that a return to peace is possible.<sup>73</sup>

The separatist Tuareg group National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA), whose rebellion in northern Mali began in January, lost control of the uprising to the Islamists after a few months. They have continued to be a presence in northern Mali, but have not held any strong positions since the Islamists came into the fight. MNLA representatives hope to hold negotiations with Ansar Dine so that the Tuareg voice of the Azawad can be heard in any talks that might occur on resolving the Mali crisis.<sup>74</sup> Ansar Dine in turn has sent representatives to Burkina Faso and Algeria in an effort to negotiate an end to the crisis. This shift toward diplomacy in early November is no doubt a response to the increasing demand and obvious build-up to the international military force being readied to restore unity and governance to Mali.

A different story began to unfold in late November, as Ansar Dine reverted to its ties to terrorism by backing up MUJAO fighters in the confrontation with the MNLA in Gao. In direct contradiction to its promises to break ties with extremists, Ansar Dine showed in no uncertain terms its support for jihadist groups by threatening MNLA forces, then taking over two strategically positioned towns that divide southern and northern Mali. In order for a military force to retake northern Mali, it would have to go through the cities just taken by Ansar Dine and several others that have been in AQIM control. This move was an AQIM reinforcement of defenses in advance of a Malian military attempt to retake the northern cities, and it was fully supported by Ansar Dine.<sup>75</sup>

Will the real Ansar Dine please stand up?



## Sao Tome and Principe: Government in Peril as Political Tensions Escalate

**Researcher:** Ms. Ivana Djak

### Parliament Dissolved After Physical Altercations

On November 21, 2012, the opposition in the National Assembly of Sao Tome and Principe brought to the floor a no-confidence vote against the incumbent government of the Independent Democratic Action (*Acção Democrática Independente* (ADI)) party of Prime Minister (PM) Patrice Trovoada. The motion was signed by Members of Parliament (MPs) from the three main opposition parties, namely the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (*Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe/Partido Social Democrata* (MLSTP-PSD)), the Democratic Convergence Party (*Partido da Convergência Democrática* (PCD)), and the Democratic Movement Force for Change/Liberal Party (*Movimento Democrático das Forças da Mudança-Partido Liberal* (MDFM/PL)). Opposition MPs accused the government of corruption in dealings with foreign private companies and of bypassing relevant ministers and institutional mechanisms in approving foreign deals.<sup>76</sup> On November 23, the National Assembly's plenary session devolved into chaos when the no-confidence motion was brought up for discussion; government and opposition MPs began punching each other and physical violence spread across the floor.<sup>77</sup>

In the aftermath of the altercation, the chairman of the National Assembly, ADI member Evaristo de Carvalho, dissolved parliament and announced his resignation. Chairman Carvalho blamed the discord on the behavior of opposition MPs who have decided to block cooperation, thereby putting the country "through one of the most difficult times in its existence as an independent and democratic State."<sup>78</sup> Levy Nazare, ADI secretary general, said the incident demonstrated how hungry for a return to power opposition parties MPs are, since they are willing to use any means, even physical attacks, to retake it.<sup>79</sup> Nazare called for early elections, stating that the ADI is ready to be subjected to the people's verdict at the ballot box. He argued only early elections can reestablish order.<sup>80</sup> President Manuel Pinto da Costa said of the discord that it is "unprecedented in our country in 22 years of democracy and a multiparty system."<sup>81</sup>

### No-Confidence Motion Approved in Absence of ADI MPs

On November 28, the National Assembly, in the absence of the 26 governing party MPs, unanimously approved a no-confidence motion against the government.<sup>82</sup> The ADI MPs did not take part in the session on orders of PM Trovoada.<sup>83</sup> The latter called what happened in parliament "illegal and invalid," and urged the Constitutional Court to annul the act, arguing the country would descend into chaos if it did not.<sup>84</sup> Under the Sao Tome constitution, the passage of a no-confidence motion requires the head of state to summon the ruling party to form a new government. If the ruling party refuses, it falls to the largest opposition party, currently the MLSTP-PSD, to form a new government. If no government can be formed, early general elections must be held.<sup>85</sup> Since PM Trovoada has called for the annulment of the motion, and party leader Levy Nazare has called for early elections, it is unclear what will happen next.

### Protest to Save Democracy

These recent disputes in parliament come on the heels of months of discord and a large protest organized by the opposition. On October 19, the Sao Tomean opposition and numerous civil society organizations held the "Let's Save our Democracy" demonstration against the actions of the government. Political persecution of the opposition, lack of transparency, manipulation of state media, refusal of the government to cooperate with sovereign institutions, and remoteness of PM Trovoada were among the main complaints.<sup>86</sup>

The protest was sparked by the presence of ships docked in the port of Sao Tome for weeks in September and October. No explanation was given to citizens or relevant governing bodies. The MLSTP-PSD claimed the ships were carrying out secret operations in coordination with Prime Minister Patrice Trovoada, without the permission of relevant authorities. The MLSTP-PSD warned that as a small island Sao Tome and Principe is vulnerable to piracy and trafficking, and cannot sympathize with government actions that in any way facilitate the upsurge of crime.<sup>87</sup>

After the protest, journalists claimed they were punished by the government. On October 23, Genisvaldo Nascimento, a reporter on TVS [Sao Tomean Television]), was stripped of his reporting privileges for refusing to report that the October 19 protest was a failure.<sup>88</sup> On October 26, Jose Bouças, presenter of the *Telejornal* newscast, was summoned to the Palace of Government, where he claims he was threatened.<sup>89</sup> At the time of the protests, observers were concerned the opposition would unite to dissolve the government, by legal or illegal means, but most believed it was unlikely. It seems the worst-case scenario has come to fruition.<sup>90</sup>

### **Cause for Concern**

Miguel Trovoada, current president of the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC), former President of Sao Tome and Principe, and father of the current Sao Tome prime minister, stated in early November 2012 that while the prevailing impression in diplomatic circles and international institutions is that Sao Tome and Principe is stable, he sees “signs of unrest that could mean serious instability in the interior of the country.” Political division and gridlock have reached unprecedented levels.<sup>91</sup>

Internal division threatens to make Sao Tome and Principe more vulnerable to piracy and trafficking, and adversely affects measures by the GGC to fight those evils in the Gulf of Guinea. In September at the UN General Assembly, PM Trovoada expressed great concern over the growing risk of piracy and the trafficking of arms and drugs around Sao Tome and Principe.<sup>92</sup> The GGC held a conference on peace and security in the region during the week of November 25, and again piracy and trafficking topped the list of concerns. The commission consists of Angola, Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Congo, and the DRC. Sao Tome and Principe is an integral member of the GGC, and until now has been one of the more stable nations in the region.<sup>93</sup>

## Sierra Leone People's Party Boycotts Election Results

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

Sierra Leone held presidential and parliamentary elections on November 17. Ernest Bai Koroma of the All People's Congress (APC) was reelected for a second presidential term.<sup>94</sup> The APC also maintained a majority in parliament – winning 67 of the 112 seats. Despite the ECOWAS Observer Mission's reporting of free and fair elections, the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) declared the election results fraudulent and advised its state and local government party members to boycott official proceedings.<sup>95</sup> The following is a summary of the SLPP position:

- Opposition candidate Julius Maada Bio said the SLPP had evidence of "rampant ballot stuffing." APC called the claims "fabricated and baseless."<sup>96</sup> The National Election Commission (NEC) quarantined 10 percent of results, but found no evidence of over-voting.<sup>97</sup>
- SLPP also accused the NEC of instructing people to vote for the ruling party, saying it has video evidence of the commission "directing voters to vote for specific candidates."<sup>98</sup>
- SLPP circulated a pamphlet citing the above accusations and declaring the party was "only willing to accept results from an election that is considered credible."<sup>99</sup>
- SLPP asked its 42 deputies in parliament to boycott proceedings in protest.<sup>100</sup> Mayors and councilors in local government were also directed to abstain from their duties until an independent international assessment of the electoral process can take place.<sup>101</sup>

The international community and civil society representatives have called on the SLPP to cease its boycott. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has urged all parties to accept the results of elections. Sierra Leone's Youth Coalition also encouraged members and supporters of the SLPP to accept the results.<sup>102</sup> In addition, the Political Parties Registration Commission (PPRC) released a statement expressing concern over the SLPP's directives and encouraged the party to "use available legal forums to address their grievances, if any."<sup>103</sup>

While the SLPP response is not surprising, it would be prudent to monitor the situation given Maada Bio's sordid history in two military coups and alleged war crimes during Sierra Leone's civil war. There is no concrete indication of political violence on the horizon, but police have invoked an unconditional and indefinite curfew in Bo district [an SLPP stronghold] in response to intelligence indicating that youths are planning to stage a demonstration.<sup>104</sup> Meanwhile, the APC has said it will not wait for the SLPP to accept defeat before moving forward.<sup>105</sup>

## **Azerbaijan and Sudan Expanding Bilateral Ties Despite Significant Blowback Potential**

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### **Introduction**

Azerbaijan and Sudan will celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their establishment of bilateral relations in 2013. Over the past year, efforts on both sides to enhance cooperation have accelerated – and the two countries recently announced several new joint initiatives to be implemented in the coming months. For reasons that remain somewhat unclear, this unlikely pair has chosen to double down on its “friendly and fraternal”<sup>106</sup> relationship despite the potential minefield of consequences that awaits both countries for doing so.

### **Scope of Engagement**

Thus far, the two countries have chiefly supported each other in valuable though intangible ways. For example, Sudan was one of the first countries to recognize Azerbaijan’s independence and has spoken out on multiple occasions in support of controversial Azerbaijani positions in international forums – including the state’s position on Nagorno-Karabakh.<sup>107</sup>

Though an odd pairing on its surface, collaboration between Baku and Khartoum has an inherent rationality in light of the countries’ reputations in the international community and pressing economic needs on both sides; neither country is currently overwhelmed by international suitors. At least five memorandums of understanding have been signed between the two countries on various topics in recent years.<sup>108</sup> Key industries targeted for cooperation include energy – renewables and alternative energy as well as oil and gas – and information and communications technology (ICT).<sup>109</sup> Basic facts of the Sudanese economy and the involvement of Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev’s family in his country’s ICT industry likely played driving roles in bringing about cooperation in these specific sectors.<sup>110</sup>

In 2012, multiple series of high-level bilateral meetings were held between the two parties in Baku. In May, President Aliyev met with a Sudanese delegation headed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Ahmed Karti.<sup>111</sup> While in Baku, Karti also met separately with his Azerbaijani counterpart.<sup>112</sup> Details on the topics discussed during these meetings are scarce, and available reporting cites only the two countries’ mutual desire to expand their ties.

More information is publicly available about the second set of 2012 meetings. In November, a Sudanese delegation led by Nafie Ali Nafie, special assistant to President Omar Bashir, held talks alongside the 7<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the International Conference of Asian Political Parties. Khartoum’s ruling National Congress Party was the only African actor represented at this meeting.<sup>113</sup> While in Baku, the Sudanese delegation met with Azerbaijani Prime Minister Artur Rasizade, Foreign Minister Elmar Mohammad Yarov, Chairman of Parliament Oqtay Asadov, Communication and IT Minister Ali Abbasov, and the heads of Azerbaijan’s most popular political parties.<sup>114</sup>

### **Future Plans**

Out of these meetings came pledges from the two countries to:

- Develop a greater relationship between the two countries’ parliaments, sharing lessons learned and best practices.<sup>115</sup>
- Upgrade diplomatic relations to resident embassies in each capital.<sup>116</sup>

- Hold the first in a series of Azerbaijan-Sudan business forums during the first six months of 2013.<sup>117</sup>
- Facilitate the involvement of Azerbaijani companies in the privatization of the Sudanese ICT sector.<sup>118</sup>
- Pursue other projects of mutual interest, “particularly in economic, technical, and cultural fields.”<sup>119</sup>
- Continue to support each other in international organizations.<sup>120</sup>

### **Issues to Watch**

The fallout that could result from these two states expanding their bilateral relationship is significant and the path to greater cooperation laden with obstacles. Key issues to watch include:

- The Israel and Iran questions: Following the late October 2012 bombing of a Sudanese arms-manufacturing facility, allegedly by Israel, Khartoum has escalated its anti-Israeli rhetoric and publicly doubled down on its relationship with Tehran. Deployments of Iranian warships to Sudan followed the bombing, and a return visit has been scheduled for December 30.<sup>121</sup> In this context, Sudan’s enhancing ties with Azerbaijan – an Israeli partner whose perennially poor relationship with neighbor Iran has deteriorated significantly in recent months due to a series of slights and scandals – raises a slew of questions. Whether Khartoum will be able to manage a motley portfolio of partners – including not only Iran and Azerbaijan but also Gulf Arab countries well – remains to be seen.
- Baku’s interactions with Juba: On October 29, 2012, Azerbaijan established diplomatic relations with South Sudan<sup>122</sup> – an event unlikely to have been greeted warmly in Khartoum. Considering the paucity of Baku’s diplomatic relationships in Africa, its longstanding and growing ties to Sudan, and rising tensions between Khartoum and Juba, the rationale behind Baku’s actions is unclear. An economic motivation is likely, however, and it is possible that Khartoum lacks the leverage necessary to influence Azerbaijani action.

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

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## TO THE READER

IDA's team of Africa researchers welcomes your comments, questions, and feedback on the contents of *The Africa Watch*. If you would like to discuss an article in this issue or provide suggestions for future research, please contact me at (703) 845-4394.

With best regards,

***George Ward***

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

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## ANALYSES

### Nigeria – Illegal Oil Bunkering

**Researchers:** Ms. Betty Boswell and Dr. Caroline Ziemke-Dickens

#### Summary

- International oil companies (IOCs) – including Total, Royal Dutch Shell, and Conoco-Phillips – are divesting from Nigeria and moving their resources into other African countries, especially Ghana and Angola, where the business environment is more predictable.
- The costs of illegal oil bunkering (i.e., theft of crude oil) go beyond the estimated \$5 billion to \$7 billion a year in lost revenue:
  - The rise of criminal gangs and environmental degradation have wiped out fishing and farming in the Niger delta region.
  - Poorly refined petroleum products are to blame for a range of problems including fires and explosions and widespread damage to private and commercial vehicles.
  - The proceeds of bunkering fund the proliferation of increasingly sophisticated weapons in the already unstable region.
- As oil production and its revenues have increased, so have the politics and struggles surrounding the industry. The real and perceived inequities in the distribution of oil revenues, both between the Delta region and other regions, competition among various stakeholders, and deep and widespread corruption are increasingly undermining Nigerian national unity.
- The authorities do not have enough resources to police the Niger Delta area, a region of swamps and creeks offering many escape routes, thereby making it impossible to eliminate the thievery. To make matters worse, some political and military figures are connected to the theft, causing the establishment working for reforms to be in conflict with these corrupt establishment figures. Political bickering and insurgency in the Delta are holding up much needed reforms in the oil sector, and this uncertainty could affect Nigeria's market share as other West African countries join the oil business.<sup>1</sup>

#### Too Many Vested Interests

In the last few weeks of 2012, several multinational oil companies – including Total, Royal Dutch Shell, and Conoco-Phillips – have announced they are selling off assets in Nigeria and reinvesting in oil sectors elsewhere in Africa. Because of the combined effects of corruption, poor governance, theft, and recent floods in the Niger Delta, several multinational corporations are failing to break even on their Nigerian operations. Total had, by early December, divested to the tune of \$7.5 billion. Most multinational companies insist this is just “strategic asset repositioning” in response to the continuing uncertainty surrounding Nigeria's Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB). Implementation of the PIB, which was designed in large part to bring greater order and transparency to Nigeria's notoriously corrupt oil sector, has faced resistance from a

wide range of stakeholders – both licit and illicit (including, in some cases, the oil companies) – who have a material interest in maintaining the status quo.<sup>2</sup> There is increasing concern that Nigeria’s oil sector might not be fixable, leading the multinationals to the conclusion that there are too many vested interests in the oil and gas sector that are “diverse and conflicting.” They have found that “divesting from Nigeria to countries like Angola and Ghana ... now makes more economic sense.”<sup>3</sup>

### **Bunkering and Regional Instability**

The Niger Delta, a populous and fractious region with more than 7 million people and 20 minority ethnic groups, is home to most of the country’s onshore and off-shore oil fields. As oil production and its revenues have increased, the politics and the insurgency surrounding the industry have intensified. The real and perceived inequities in the distribution of oil revenues, both between the Delta region and other regions (especially the North), along with competition among various stakeholders (federal government, state governments, local leaders, military, police, and the informal criminal networks that run the bunkering enterprise) are increasingly undermining Nigerian national unity. The industry has spawned corruption, patronage networks, and power struggles among those in power, and theft, pillage and smuggling among those seeking some economic benefit from Nigeria’s natural wealth.<sup>4</sup>

In the early years of the Nigerian oil industry, the principal stakeholders were the ruling Hausa/Fulani and Igbo majorities and the minority tribes in the Delta region. The federal government nationalized the oil industry beginning in the early 1970s, creating a series of joint ventures between the IOCs and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Ostensibly, the move was designed to “share the wealth” by redistributing oil revenues evenly across all of Nigeria’s states. It also, however, was a move – in the aftermath of the Nigerian civil war – to quash separatist aspirations in the oil producing regions. In effect, the Delta area became marginalized and neglected by the federal government, and despite producing all of Nigeria’s oil revenues, the Delta states were among the poorest in the nation and suffered devastating environmental degradation. Beginning in the 1970s, and escalating through the 1980s and 1990s, the inequities and environmental effects radicalized civil society in the region, which became increasingly strident in voicing their demands through community activism, youth mobilization, confrontation, and sabotage aimed at the multinational corporations. Thus began a series of hijackings, production stoppage, and kidnappings undertaken by community activists whose objective was much like that of a willful child – *if I can’t have any, neither can you*.

The region spiraled into a cycle of destructive, vicious conflict – inter-ethnic, inter-community, and inter-family. The Ijaws, who are the indigenes of the area, spearheaded much of the violence in the 1990s. The conflict between government, the oil companies, and individual villages gave rise to the insurgent Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). This militant group has had a major impact on the oil industry.<sup>5</sup> (MEND is actually an umbrella organization for several armed factions in the Delta region that share similar aims.)<sup>6</sup> The group kidnapped oil workers for ransom and sabotaged oil refineries and pipelines in an effort to bring international attention to the situation in the delta region. Their activities had an effect, causing a 25 percent drop in oil production that contributed to periodic hikes in global oil prices.<sup>7</sup>

In 2003, bunkered oil was selling for \$7 per barrel when the market price was \$26 per barrel. In 2004, oil brought \$15 per barrel to the thieves. Attacks on the oil refineries during 2008 and 2009 caused oil exports to drop from 2.6 million barrels a day to 1.6 million, costing Nigeria billions of dollars in revenue. More than an economic impact was felt from the violence; there was also a human toll. More than a thousand people were killed in 2008.<sup>8</sup>

In 2009, in an effort to put a stop to the violence and loss of life, President Yar'Adua offered amnesty to the Delta militants, promising a presidential pardon, cash, and job training in exchange for surrendering their weapons, renouncing violence, and participating in rehabilitation. More than 20,000 people took advantage of the amnesty, including a majority of the group's senior commanders. With the amnesty in place, oil production was restored to previous levels, and violence and protests were contained.<sup>9</sup>

Sporadic attacks continued in 2010 and 2011, purportedly by MEND militants who did not accept the amnesty. And indications of renewed insurgency in the oil-rich states emerged earlier this year. Jomo Gbomo, calling himself a spokesman for MEND, claimed responsibility for a series of attacks in January and February 2012, complaining that "rather than address serious issues facing the nation and its citizens, Goodluck Jonathan squanders public funds on tribalistic sycophants and thugs calling themselves ex-militants."<sup>10</sup> While the re-emergence of violence in the Delta is unsettling, it is not the top priority of the federal government at this time. What this activity signals, however, is a reminder that the government has not addressed the region's original concerns: they are still poor; they are dissatisfied; the region is still unstable.<sup>11</sup>

### **Capability Gaps**

What started as a symptom of regional and ethnic conflict in the Delta had, by the early 2000s, become a virtual parallel economy sustained by the deep corruption at all levels of Nigeria's government and military. At the local level, criminal gangs break into the oil companies' pipelines and transfer the crude to backyard refineries, where it is boiled down into kerosene and gasoline for the local market, diesel (which is transported by barge to offshore ships), and bitumen, which is sold to road construction companies.<sup>12</sup> But there are also much more sophisticated schemes that siphon off oil at the export terminals. These operations, which take place on a massive scale, would present a formidable challenge even to a security establishment determined to counter them. Nigeria's security establishment, however, labors under two additional burdens: a severe capability gap, and a general lack of political will to solve the problem.

Nigeria's navy patrols 84,000 square nautical miles of territorial waters with a fleet that its Chief of Staff has described as "tired old war horses that are dilapidated beyond economic repairs." The newest vessel in the Nigerian fleet is 43 years old.<sup>13</sup> Nigeria's 6,000 miles of oil pipelines are patrolled primarily by the private security services of the oil companies – which have no authority to arrest thieves and vandals – and Nigerian police and army task forces that are, more often than not, on the payroll of the bunkerers.

A second serious deficiency is in the monitoring of Nigerian oil production. The federal government and other Nigerian stakeholders have stubbornly resisted requiring the installation of metering systems at flow stations and terminals so oil could be tagged (with a chemical "fingerprint") and tracked from the point of production to the point of export. None of the stakeholders, however, have an interest in seeing this happen. The oil companies currently shrug at oil theft as part of the cost of doing business, and since they are taxed only on the oil that actually gets exported, their losses are opaque. In fact, the oil companies do not have any reliable figures on the extent of losses to bunkering. It's just oil that, as far as their books are concerned, never existed. Rigorous metering at the point of production, however, could enable the Nigerian government to tax production. Suddenly, stolen oil could become a real loss, for which shareholders might hold companies accountable.<sup>14</sup>

### **Lack of Political Will**

Ultimately, however, the problem is deeper and more intractable than aging naval fleets or inadequate monitoring. And it goes to the real reason that the multinational oil companies are beginning to consider divesting: corruption. Officials at every level of government in Nigeria, from the president's inner circle down to local chiefs, profit financially from looking the other way. Army and Navy officers and enlisted personnel actually pay for the opportunity to serve in Delta region – reportedly as much as \$30,000 – because the profits from protecting, or even facilitating, oil bunkering are so high. No one in a position to do something about the problem has sufficient will to act, either because they are part of the lucrative system or because the personal and political risks of challenging it are simply too high.<sup>15</sup>

The lack of political will at the federal level is echoed at the local level, where participation in the oil theft “industry” is often the only alternative to abject poverty in a region where traditional industries like fishing and agriculture have been devastated by regional unrest and environmental degradation. At the bottom of the chain, the local people who operate the small-scale backyard refineries do not, for the most part, have any other options. They pay a high price. As one man told a BBC reporter, “Many of our brothers have died and are injured. We also get diseases and get rashes on the body. ... It is so dangerous but there is nothing else we can do in order to make a living.” The fact is: bunkering is more lucrative than government promises or financial incentives.<sup>16</sup>

## The Balkanization of the Democratic Republic of Congo?

**Researcher:** Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard and Ms. Ivana Djak

### Summary

- Some argue that, in order to solve the persistent crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), it might be necessary to allow the country to break apart. With the exception of a few separatist movements, however, there has been no domestic clamor for disintegration. In fact, groups are calling for the international community and rebel groups alike to respect the integrity of the country's borders.
- While the government of the DRC has been historically ineffective and unable to penetrate the entire expanse of the country, it has also never been free from the meddling of its neighbors.

### “Too Big to Succeed?”

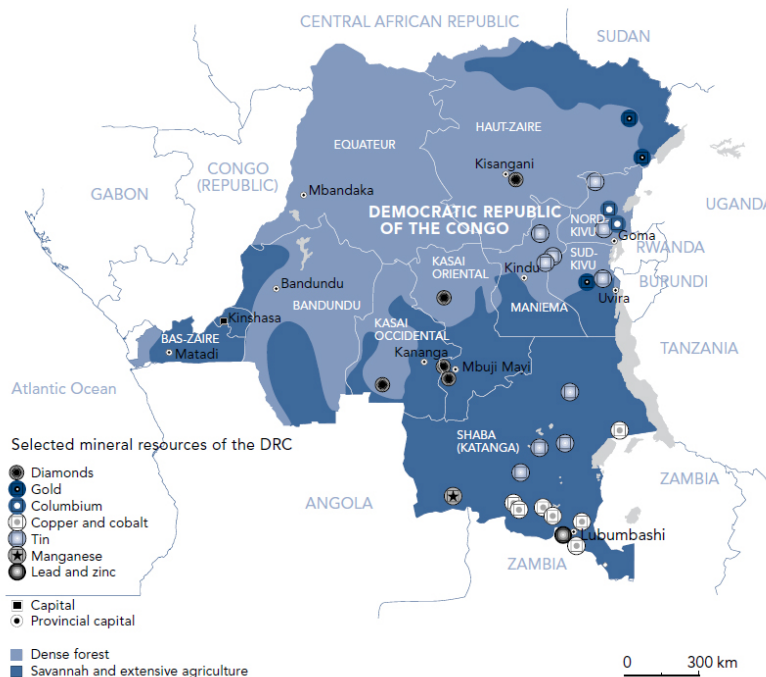
Given the seeming intractability of the conflict in the Eastern region of the DRC that has raged in some form or another since the mid-1990s, some have asked whether the DRC is “too big to succeed” and whether its best option for peace and stability is to break apart.<sup>17</sup> The DRC, approximately 1.5 million square miles in size, is the second largest country in Africa (the largest is Algeria). The capital, Kinshasa, is almost 1,000 miles from Goma, capital of North Kivu province, which M23 (March 23<sup>rd</sup> Movement) rebels recently captured and occupied for a short time. Representatives from M23 have agreed in principle to negotiate with the government of Joseph Kabila, but little progress has been made.

This thought experiment about the feasibility of “Balkanizing” the DRC is not a new line of inquiry. This same question has been posed countless times, including in 2009<sup>18</sup> and in 2001.<sup>19</sup> Over the years, there have been a few separatist movements that have made claims for autonomy in provinces such as Katanga – which briefly declared independence in the early 1960s – and Bas-Congo. It must be noted, however, that there have been no widespread domestic demands for disbandment of the DRC. In fact, there have been repeated demands by civil society to avoid the Balkanization of the DRC.<sup>20</sup>

The Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Episcopal Conference of the Congo, two of the most prominent voices for human rights and peace in the DRC, have urged strongly against the disintegration of the DRC, warning of the dire humanitarian consequences of a break-up. The Congolese Catholic Church, in particular, has issued a statement reaffirming the “permanence of [the DRC’s] borders,” and the need for continued national unity.<sup>21</sup> Even the main opposition leader, Etienne Tshisekedi, continues to warn against the Balkanization of the DRC.<sup>22</sup> What Tshisekedi and the rest of the DRC have complained against is not the size of the DRC, but the poor governance of existing institutions and leaders; they are demanding a change in governance, not in territorial integrity. There are not thousands people in the streets of Kinshasa demanding Katanga or Kivu independence. The Congolese are demanding effective governance, not the complete disbanding thereof.

Furthermore, it is unclear exactly what cleavage or basis could be used to break apart the DRC and form the boundaries of new state(s). Among the DRC’s 74.5 million people, there are 200 plus ethnic groups spread across 10 provinces. One could envision smaller more “manageable” territories (although there is no proof that smaller territorial units would be more manageable – look at the actual Balkans for proof) and, at worst, another humanitarian disaster, in which the region dives head first into another regional conflict in its attempt to end the instability in the

DRC. The map shows the distribution of likely mineral deposits in the DRC. Interestingly, the locations of major deposits (namely, the Kivus and Katanga Province) coincide with the regions that have experienced the most instability and conflict.



### Mineral Deposits, DRC

Source: New Security Beat, Wilson Center

### Regional Disentanglement?

There is no consensus on how its neighbors perceive (and would benefit from) the breaking apart of the DRC. On December 11, Steve Hege, former Coordinator of the United Nations Groups of Experts, testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. According to him, Rwanda has masterminded the M23 rebellion with the primary goal of forcing autonomy for the Kivus and creating an independent state in the east that would have closer economic ties with Rwanda.<sup>23</sup> Hege accuses Uganda of supporting Rwanda in this bid to break apart the DRC.<sup>24</sup> Angola and Zimbabwe, on the other hand, seem to prefer the status quo of conflict and ungoverned spaces across the DRC, which allows them to act with impunity to pilfer natural resources. This same argument, however, can be applied to the motivations and end game desires of Rwanda and Uganda. All have benefited handsomely from the lack of accountability, transparency, and effective governance in the DRC.

There is no denying that the national government has been ineffective and, it could be argued, largely absent in eastern Congo. While the government of the DRC has been historically ineffective and unable to penetrate the entire expanse of the country, it has also never been free from the meddling of its neighbors. Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Sudan, and Angola have all participated in military conflicts in the DRC. Non-neighbors Namibia and Zimbabwe have also contributed to the instability in the DRC. Those arguing for the “Balkanization” claim the DRC is ungovernable without acknowledging that much of the disaster and lack of governance in the DRC exist because the nation’s sovereignty and territorial integrity have repeatedly been violated by most of its neighbors.

## Taiwan's Uphill Fight to Maintain Influence in Africa

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

### Summary

- Currently, Taiwan has official diplomatic relations with four African countries: Swaziland, the Gambia, Burkina Faso, and São Tomé and Príncipe. These are significantly fewer than in 1997, when it also enjoyed diplomatic relations with Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Senegal, Lesotho, Chad, the Central African Republic (CAR), Niger, Malawi, and South Africa. Since that time, the latter countries have switched their allegiances to the People's Republic of China (hereafter referred to as China).
- The massive investment and trade opportunities presented by China have compelled many African nations to abandon their recognition of Taiwan in favor of China, which demands complete adherence to its "One China Policy." Despite Taiwan's efforts to differentiate itself from China through its commitment to democracy, peace, security, human rights, and ethical business practices, the "carrots" offered by China continue to attract Taiwan's allies, leaving it with very little leverage on the continent.

### Background

Since 1949, both China and Taiwan have been competing for international diplomatic recognition. Taiwan has faced an uphill struggle to achieve this, particularly since the UN and the U.S. withdrew recognition of it in 1971 and 1979, respectively. China has emerged as the preferred partner for the vast majority of African countries with the exception of Swaziland, the Gambia, Burkina Faso, and São Tomé and Príncipe. These four countries still engage in some bilateral trade with China, but have to date resisted official diplomatic recognition of China since that would require complete adherence to the "One China Policy" and therefore a cessation of all diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

In 1997, at the height of its influence in Africa, Taiwan enjoyed diplomatic relations with the following countries: Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Senegal, Lesotho, Chad, CAR, Niger, South Africa, Malawi, Swaziland, the Gambia, Burkina Faso, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Since then it lost South Africa, Guinea-Bissau, and CAR in 1998; Liberia in 2003; Senegal in 2005; Chad in 2006; and Malawi in 2008 – all of which switched their allegiances to China.<sup>25</sup>

The most significant of these losses was indisputably South Africa, which Taiwan viewed as its most strategic partner on the African continent due to its influence in the UN.<sup>26</sup> Another major loss was Chad, which had vast natural resources from which Taiwan had hoped to benefit. President Debi of Chad, under pressure from Khartoum (who was benefiting from extensive Chinese assistance and investment in return for diplomatic recognition), shifted his allegiance from Taiwan to China.<sup>27</sup> On the surface, this appeared to have been motivated by Debi's fear of the civil unrest created by the Sudanese-backed rebels, but given China's subsequent large-scale oil operations in Chad, one can deduce that this shift was economically motivated. The same can be said of Taiwan's remaining losses – all viewed China as having more economic incentives to offer than the relatively modest assistance provided by Taiwan.

### Taiwan in Africa Since 2007

The first Taiwan-Africa Summit took place in September 2007 in Taipei, convening Taiwan's five diplomatic allies in Africa at that time: Malawi, Swaziland, the Gambia, Burkina Faso, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Whereas Taiwan's traditional focus had been on agriculture and medicine, this summit emphasized capacity-building through vocational training and sustainable

development. To that end, the summit's main themes were "Information and Growing Africa" and "Sustainable Health and a Peaceful Africa."<sup>28</sup> At that time, there was no documented discussion regarding Taiwan's bid to join the UN, which many have speculated is one of its motives in cultivating these relationships with African countries.<sup>29</sup>

In 2010, there were some noteworthy reports that Taiwan was seeking to use Africa as a back door for carbon credits. By establishing solar and biomass companies in Africa, Taiwan claimed its diplomatic allies would receive credits through the UN Clean Development Mechanism and transfer them to Taiwan.<sup>30</sup> Participating in the international carbon trade could further boost Taiwan's position and support the argument for its admittance into the UN.

### **Taiwan's Remaining Friends**

In April 2012, the Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou visited his remaining African allies to reaffirm Taipei's diplomatic links to the continent in the face of Beijing's increasing influence. He visited only Burkina Faso, the Gambia, and Swaziland, however. His visit to São Tomé and Príncipe was called off by officials in that country, citing a scheduling conflict.

#### ***São Tomé and Príncipe***

According to some reports, São Tomé and Príncipe officials had recently attended the "Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and Lusophone Countries" and might have been conflicted about hosting President Ma in light of an action that could have been construed as a betrayal.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, São Tomé and Príncipe has also engaged in some notable economic negotiations with China, such as the 2009 oil exploration deal between the Nigeria-São Tomé and Príncipe Joint Development Zone and the China Petrochemical and Chemical Corporation (Sinopec).<sup>32</sup> These actions might reflect their preference for China and explain why they declined to meet with President Ma earlier this year. In what seems to be a response to salvage what remaining capital they have with São Tomé and Príncipe, Taiwanese officials stated that they don't necessarily object to their African allies conducting commercial activities with China, but do object to any official recognition of China.<sup>33</sup> In any event, this development prompted many to question whether the loss of São Tomé and Príncipe might be next, and whether this could signal the end of Taiwan's influence in Africa.

#### ***The Gambia***

President Ma stated during his visit to the Gambia in April 2012 that it is Taiwan's most important African partner. In October 2012, at remarks made during a reception to celebrate Taiwan's 101<sup>st</sup> National Day in Banjul, Taipei's ambassador underscored the importance of this relationship for multiple reasons. Among them are the dedication both countries have to peace and democracy, but also the "outstanding leadership of President Jammeh and his commitment to the Gambia's national development."<sup>34</sup> He highlighted the assistance that Taiwan has provided to the Gambia, most notably efforts to build its naval capacity through the provision of gunboats to protect the country's territorial waters from poachers, traffickers, and pirates.<sup>35</sup> He also underscored the importance of hosting hundreds of Gambian students at various Taiwanese technical institutions<sup>36</sup> and the expansion of the Gambia's upland rice projects to address food insecurity.<sup>37</sup> In return for such technical assistance,<sup>37</sup> the Gambia stated it will continue to support Taiwan's bid for international recognition and admittance into the UN.<sup>38</sup>

#### ***Burkina Faso***

Taiwan has historically provided around 8 percent of Burkina Faso's Official Development Assistance and has been its top trade partner.<sup>39</sup> Burkina Faso, however, has begun to import more Chinese goods, reducing the importance of Taiwanese goods. Given that Burkina Faso is a



major exporter of cotton and China is the world's largest cotton importer, it will be important to monitor how this increasingly important economic relationship will affect the diplomatic tie between Burkina Faso and Taiwan.

### ***Swaziland***

Taiwan's relationship with Swaziland is similar to its other relationships in that it is premised on considerable financial support from Taiwan in exchange for diplomatic recognition. Taiwan's most recent push in Swaziland has featured sewing classes for women.<sup>40</sup> While this is a valuable program insofar as it advances Taiwan's goal of developing sustainable growth in Africa, the economic value it represents pales in comparison to the type of assistance offered by China in neighboring countries.

### **Conclusion**

#### ***From Taiwan's Perspective***

Taiwan seeks to cultivate relationships with amenable African partners who have not already committed themselves to an alternative (and antagonistic) partner, in this case China. This is an uphill battle for Taiwan, who must compete with the vast financial resources offered by China, who is slowly succeeding in poaching many of Taiwan's most valuable allies.

Taiwan claims to be motivated by its dedication to democratic principles and, more specifically, "the principle of economic reciprocity, cultural exchange, technological cooperation and humanitarian efforts."<sup>41</sup> In fact, Taiwan has sought to correct any impression that it doles out "dollar diplomacy" to corrupt leaders by delivering its food aid through reputable third-party agencies.<sup>42</sup> Then why is Taiwan embracing the Gambia – a country that clearly has little respect for human rights or democracy?

It is undeniable that Taiwan is using its relationships in Africa as leverage in the UN. The timing of James Huang Chih-fang's (Taiwan's Foreign Affairs Minister) African tour in July 2007, immediately before its bid to join the UN, is a clear attempt to secure dwindling African support. The bid failed, suggesting that any leverage Taiwan thinks it has through these few African partnerships is overrated. Nonetheless, it seems clear Taiwan's bottom line is diplomatic recognition, which is becoming increasingly important, yet increasingly difficult to attain given China's massive footprint in Africa.

#### ***From Africa's Perspective***

As evidenced by their track records, African countries are motivated less by political, diplomatic, or human rights considerations, and more by economic interests. This does not bode well for Taiwan, who has positioned itself as an ardent supporter of democratization in the developing world.

Even in the African countries where politicians have openly criticized the presence of the Chinese and the role of China in their countries, such as in Zambia where President Michael Sata ran on an anti-China platform and even referred to Taiwan as a sovereign state at one point,<sup>43</sup> these harsh words always fade once reality hits and politicians are reminded of the resources and opportunities China provides. Whereas there was once a host of countries still "playing" China and Taiwan against each other to see what concessions they could secure from each, China's uncompromising position demanding complete adherence to its "One China Policy" has caused many African countries to cease such games. At this point, China has successfully "crowded out" Taiwan from the continent's most important (and even many unimportant) countries, leaving it with just four relatively insignificant allies. With such little influence on the

continent and the danger of losing even more, the strength of Taiwan's diplomatic standing in Africa will continue to diminish.

## **Leadership Profile: Uganda's Major General (ret.) Gregory Mugisha Muntu, President of the Forum for Democratic Change**

**Researcher:** Dr. Dorina A. Bekoe

### **Summary**

- Uganda's main opposition political party, the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), elected Major General (ret.) Gregory Mugisha Muntu as its president on November 22, 2012. Muntu replaces Dr. Kizza Besigye, who has been a formidable figure in Uganda's opposition politics.
- Muntu, a former Army commander and Museveni loyalist, is considered a principled leader and less volatile personality than Dr. Besigye. While some argue that his relatively moderate tone could succeed in drawing in disaffected but undecided voters, others worry that the FDC base might feel alienated with a president who is less fiery and charismatic than Dr. Besigye.
- Lingering challenges to his election by his main opponent for FDC president, however, are infusing uncertainty in the opposition's unity.

### **The Forum for Democratic Change Elects a New President**

On November 22, the FDC, Uganda's most prominent opposition political party, elected Major General Gregory Mugisha Muntu as its president. Of 776 votes cast, Muntu received 393 (50.6 percent), narrowly beating Nathan Nandala-Mafabi, who received 360 votes (46.4 percent).<sup>44</sup> Muntu, only the second president of the FDC, replaced Dr. Kizza Besigye, who had led the party since its inception in 2004. Besigye stepped down two years before his term expired (2014), in order to focus on political activism.<sup>45</sup> Muntu will challenge President Yoweri Museveni in 2016 (if Museveni decides to run).



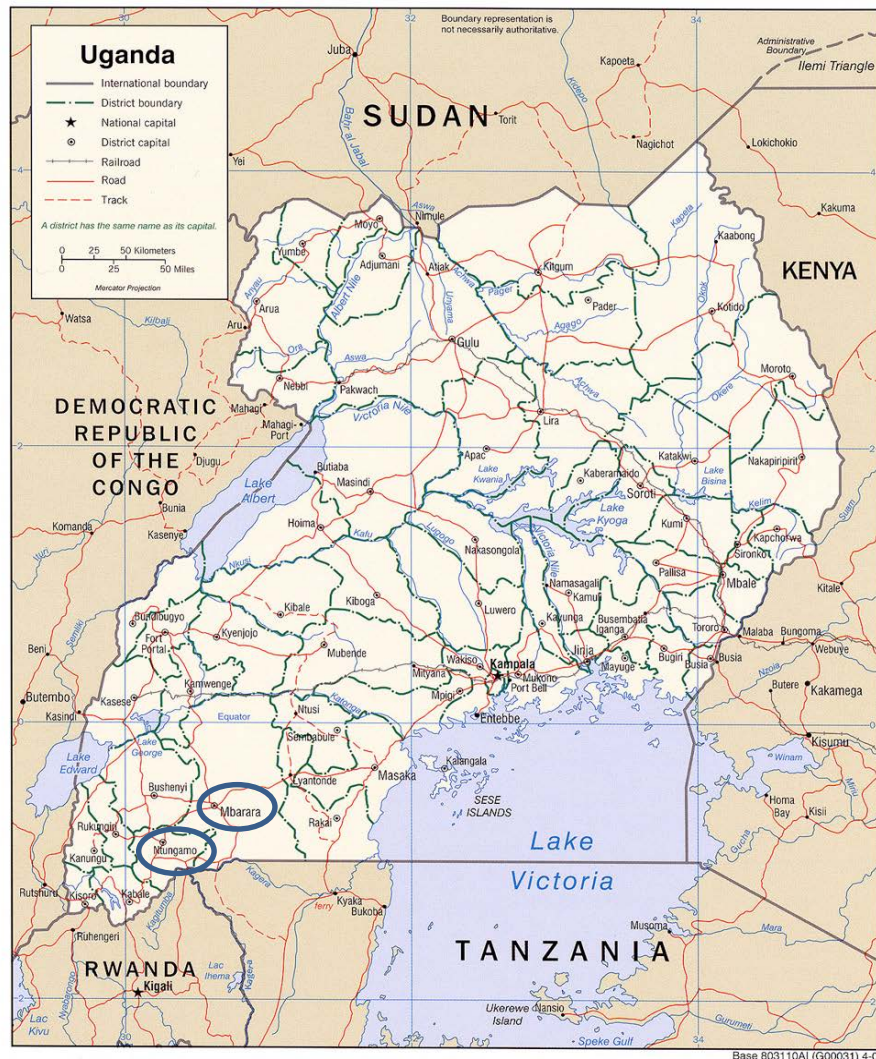
**Major General Muntu**

Source: WalktoWorkKampala (<http://walktoworkkampala.blogspot.com/2012/10/fdc-polls-muntu-could-be-nrms-most.html>).

This profile of Muntu offers insights to his military career and decision-making processes, and what this means for Uganda's opposition.

## A Commendable Military Career

Muntu, born in 1958 in Kitunga (Ntungamo District, Western Uganda), spent his childhood in Mbarara. His father, Enoch Muntuyera, served as minister of education in the Ankole Kingdom government.<sup>46</sup> Muntu seems to have little connection to Kitunga. His house remains uncompleted (it was begun in 1998) and is unkempt; his father's house also appears abandoned; and since his mother, Aidah, passed away in 2007, he has not been a regular visitor to the town.<sup>47</sup>



Source: Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection

([http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/uganda\\_pol\\_2005.pdf](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/uganda_pol_2005.pdf))

Muntu had a well-respected career in the National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M), which was renamed the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) in 1995.<sup>48</sup> His decision to join the NRA/M, was seen by the political elite of the day as somewhat surprising, given his father's high position in the ruling Uganda People's Congress and close relationship with President Milton Obote. It has been cited as evidence of Muntu's ability to stand by unpopular decisions and of his firmness.<sup>49</sup>

Muntu served as an intelligence officer in the NRA, where future Rwandan president Paul Kagame was under his command.<sup>50</sup> Muntu also served as a division commander in northern Uganda, before being promoted to Major General.<sup>51</sup> In 1989, Muntu was appointed to serve as Army Commander of the NRA/UPDF. He served until 1998, the longest tenure in Uganda's history.<sup>52</sup> Under his command, from 1992 to 1994,<sup>53</sup> the NRA underwent significant demobilization program, in a bid to transform itself from a guerrilla fighting force to a more modern army.<sup>54</sup> At the time of his command, the army was at its largest, with at least 100,000 personnel.<sup>55</sup> Still, according to his critics, he did not sufficiently improve the army.<sup>56</sup>

### **Muntu's Election: What It Might Mean for the FDC and the Ugandan Opposition**

Muntu is not known for his interpersonal skills. Various sources paint a picture of a reserved man, with few friends.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, he has been described as being "too quiet" to lead the FDC, especially in contrast to Besigye and his opponent, Mafabi.<sup>58</sup> In other instances, Muntu's "quietness" has also been attributed to his moderate tone.<sup>59</sup> In this regard, Muntu could improve the fortunes of the FDC as he might be able to draw in the small number of voters who are undecided, or wanting an alternative to the NRM, but found Besigye's confrontational style too alienating. One blogger noted, "[Muntu] makes one believe change is possible without raising tantrums."<sup>60</sup> The blogger commented that Muntu's strategy seemed to be to court the police, rather than confront them, during the "Walk to Work" protests against the high cost of living. In some instances, the police even saluted him.<sup>61</sup>

Others, however, have argued that his moderation could alienate the FDC base, who might prefer Besigye's fiery style.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, the continuing tension with Mafabi (also seen as more confrontational) might be exposing this rift, in a standoff that started with Mafabi's refusal to accept the results of the election.<sup>63</sup> Mafabi insisted on a recount, complaining that there had been fraud in the administration of the election.<sup>64</sup> While Mafabi eventually offered a concession speech, tension has returned in recent days. Indeed, Mafabi refused to attend a reconciliation meeting organized by Muntu, contending that the electoral concerns had not been resolved.<sup>65</sup> The future will determine whether such a rift can be healed or whether it signals the beginning of a split in the political opposition, which, if unresolved, could further weaken their prospects for the 2016 presidential elections.

## ALERTS

### Central African Republic: Nascent Rebellion

Researcher: Ms. Ivana Djak

#### Rebels Seize Strategic Towns

On December 10, 2012, a rebel group, the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (*Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Rassemblement* (UFDR)), seized the towns of Sam Ouandja, Ouadda, and Ndele in northern Central African Republic (CAR), and captured dozens of prisoners from the retreating CAR army. Ndele, a market town and the capital of Bamingui-Bangoran prefecture, is a strategic city on the major route that links CAR to Cameroon, Chad and Sudan.<sup>66</sup> On December 12, the CAR Ministry of Defense confirmed rebels had taken three towns and announced that the army is sending two contingents of soldiers to take them back.<sup>67</sup>



<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/africa/central-african-republic/>

The rebels had captured the towns in surprise attacks. Ndele was poorly defended when one detachment of army troops was leaving to be relieved by another.<sup>68</sup> The only elements protecting the city were a few remaining soldiers and the Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP), a rebel group that signed a peace agreement with the government in August 2012.<sup>69</sup> The captured towns had experienced heavy fighting in the previous conflict before the signing of a 2007 agreement to integrate UFDR into the national army.<sup>70</sup>

#### The UFDR

UFDR spokesman Col. Narkoyo said in interviews with the media that the government has failed to uphold the agreement it signed with the rebels on April 13, 2007, leaving them to their

“miserable” lives in the north. The group’s newest attack is meant to force the government to review and uphold the agreement.<sup>71</sup>

The UFDR was part of the CAR Bush War, which lasted roughly from 2004 until 2007, involved various rebel groups, and saw the seizure of strategic northern towns. The violence was particularly intense between October and November 2006, forcing thousands of residents to flee deep into the bush. The violence led to a massive protest in November 2006 to demand the government take action against the rebels and to the eventual French military intervention on behalf of CAR in December 2006.<sup>72,73</sup> Michael Ndjotodia, the founder of the UFDR, who went into exile in Benin after the 2007 agreement, is rumored to be back in CAR planning another rebellion as of October 2012.<sup>74</sup>

The UFDR grew out of the marginalization of northeastern CAR, which is underdeveloped and cut off from the rest of the country. One component of the rebellion consisted of military-trained anti-poaching units, made up mostly of the marginalized Gula ethnic group. The other component was made up of President François Bozize’s former colleagues, who helped him overthrow President Ange-Felix Patasse in 2003. Both elements accused Bozize of failing to compensate them.<sup>75</sup>

### **Warning Signs**

On November 26, the UFDR called Ndele authorities, threatening to attack the town. Thousands of residents fled in light of the threats, only to return a few days after the attack did not materialize.<sup>76</sup> The threats on Ndele came days after clashes in another northern city, Kabo, left two soldiers and eight rebels dead.<sup>77</sup> The attackers in the November 26 attack belonged to the Democratic Front for the Central African People (*Front Démocratique pour le Peuple Centrafricain* (FDPC)), which is led by Abdoulaye Miskine and includes rogue members of a group formerly led by Chad’s Abel Kadder Baba Ladde, the Popular Front for Recovery (*Front Populaire Pour le Redressement* (FPR)).<sup>78</sup> The increasing presence of rebels and frequency of attacks have led observers to fear a nascent rebellion is forming in northern CAR.

### **Concerns Moving Forward**

International and regional bodies condemned the attacks and warned widespread instability could ensue in the face of more violence. The head of the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the CAR (BINUCA), Margaret Vogt,<sup>79</sup> and the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, expressed disapproval at the violation of the Libreville Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), by the various rebel groups carrying out attacks. The agreement was signed by the government and rebel groups in 2008 to end all rebellions in CAR.<sup>80</sup> Given the persistent ethnic tensions in the north, armed incursions by rebel elements from neighboring countries, presence of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), and rising political tensions over the opposition’s fears that President Bozize is seeking to modify the constitution to allow him to run for a third term, continued attacks in the north have the potential to wreak havoc in an already fragile state.<sup>81</sup>



## Zimbabwe Sends Troops to Border with Mozambique

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On December 3, 2012, it was reported that Zimbabwe had deployed Zimbabwe National Army troops to its border with Mozambique in Manicaland over fears of political instability spilling over into Zimbabwe.<sup>82</sup> As reported in the December 5 edition of *The Africa Watch*, the Mozambique National Resistance opposition party has recently threatened a return to civil war if its demands are not met by the ruling party, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).<sup>83</sup> Local reports suggest that the Zimbabwean government is worried that renewed conflict in Mozambique could negatively impact Zimbabwe's interests in the Beira-Feruka oil pipeline, which is located along the Beira corridor stretching from Harare, Zimbabwe to Beira, Mozambique, as well as the controversial Marange diamond and other mining operations located close to the border with Mozambique.<sup>84</sup> The alleged movement of troops has become an internal political issue in the run-up to elections in Zimbabwe.

- President Robert Mugabe's party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), has not publicly confirmed the deployment.
- Morgan Tsvangirai's former opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T), which is part of the current power-sharing government, has expressed concern that troops will be used to harass MDC supporters ahead of a referendum and national elections scheduled for the first half of 2013.<sup>85</sup>
- In a statement released on December 3, MDC-T asserted: "Whilst it's crucial for the government of Zimbabwe to deploy army personnel at our borders with Mozambique in case the RENAMO bandits cause any instability ... the desperate army bosses who are an extension of ZANU-PF must not take any advantage of the situation and send partisan soldiers to campaign for ZANU-PF and harass innocent civilians perceived to be MDC supporters."<sup>86</sup>

Given their shared history as liberation movements, ZANU-PF has close ties with Mozambique's FRELIMO. As such, the reported Zimbabwean troop deployment could be, in part, a show of solidarity with FRELIMO. The threat of regional instability, however, has presented Mugabe and ZANU-PF with a convenient pretext to deploy defense forces – which have played a critical and deleterious role in electoral violence over the past decade – ahead of the coming polls.



## Guinea Bissau Makes Acting Navy Chief Official

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

Transitional President Serifo Nhamadjo officially appointed General Sanha Clussé as Guinea Bissau's Navy Chief of Staff on November 29.<sup>87</sup> Clussé had been acting in this capacity since the dismissal of Rear Admiral José Americo Bubo Na Tchuto (Bubo) in December 2011 when Bubo was purportedly involved in a failed coup against former President Malam Bacai Sanha. Clussé is among six individuals in Guinea Bissau who were sanctioned by the UN in July 2012. Nhamadjo also appointed Frigate Captain Carlos Mandungal as Deputy Navy Chief of Staff and Colonel Biague Nantan as Deputy Army Chief of General Staff. Bubo and General Antonio Indjai, the Chief of the Armed Forces, have historically enjoyed a good relationship, so the appointment of Clussé rather than the reinstatement of Bubo raises several questions. Here are two plausible explanations.

First, Bubo's reappointment would have been a slap in the face of ECOWAS, which recently provided \$63 million in aid to Guinea Bissau for security sector reform (SSR). Instead, keeping Clussé on as Navy Chief could be the government's way of demonstrating its commitment to SSR, which Nhamadjo claimed was an urgent need. Both the European Union and Angola have previously failed at implementing reform, and whether the armed forces are willing to do so now is highly doubtful. Regardless of their intentions, with no other foreign aid providers in the picture, the transitional government and/or armed forces would be foolish not to keep up appearances for ECOWAS.

The second possibility is that Bubo has not been able to reestablish his alliance with Indjai, despite appearances to the contrary. Bubo was released from jail in June 2012, reportedly on the orders of Indjai.<sup>88</sup> In mid-October 2012, according to a Portuguese news source, the civilian government and military leaders met with Bubo. Defense Minister Celestino de Carvalho described the group as "old comrades in arms."<sup>89</sup> In late October 2012, Bubo also stood alongside Indjai and other senior officials during a news conference on the October 21 coup attempt by Captain Pansau N'Tchama.<sup>90</sup> These instances seemed to signal that relations between Bubo and Indjai were improving; however, not reinstating Bubo as Navy Chief might suggest that Indjai perceives Bubo as a threat to his power.

Whatever the reasons for not reinstating Bubo as Navy Chief, it is likely that he and Indjai have come to some agreement regarding Bubo's standing in the military and also his role in the Bissauan drug trade. If not, Bubo can be expected to continue the politically disruptive behavior that has characterized his actions in the past, most notably the 2008, 2010, and possibly 2011 coup plots. His ability to mobilize loyal followers should not be underestimated. Moreover, his relationship with the new Navy Chief Clussé should be closely monitored for signs of competition over control of the drug trade.

## Senegal: Macky Sall Targets Corruption and Karim Wade

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

Since Macky Sall assumed the Senegalese presidency in April 2012, he has made significant strides to improve democratic governance, reduce government spending, and right the wrongs committed during Abdoulaye Wade's rule.<sup>91</sup> In terms of the last, Sall has vowed to increase accountability and crack down on corruption. For example, he began by reinstating the Court for Repression of Illicit Enrichment, which was suspended during Wade's administration. The anti-corruption court has subsequently targeted seven former (prominent) government officials who had served under Wade's regime – including former “super minister” and Wade's son, Karim.

Karim has been questioned four times since the audit of state departments began – twice in July and twice in November.<sup>92</sup> As minister of several departments (International Cooperation, Regional Development, Air Transport, and Infrastructure), Karim controlled one-third of the state budget from May 2009 to April 2012. Prior to this, he served as president of the National Agency for the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It was in this capacity that his financial activities were first called into question by Sall, then President of the National Assembly.<sup>93</sup>

In mid-November, the Senegalese government issued a travel ban against Karim and several former ministers pending results of the corruption investigation.<sup>94</sup> Sall also appealed to France, the United States, and Great Britain for help in recovering millions of dollars in state assets. Specifically, Karim reportedly has \$15 million in local and regional bank accounts and is suspected to have invested stolen funds in France.<sup>95</sup> In December, the Paris prosecutor's office initiated an inquiry into Karim after the Senegalese government filed a complaint on November 30 citing “the possession of stolen goods, embezzlement of public funds, misappropriated of corporate assets, and corruption.”<sup>96</sup>

In response, members and supporters of the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais* (PDS, Wade's party) claim that Sall is engaging in a “political witch hunt” to eliminate the opposition. During a recent vigil held in support of Karim, PDS partisans had a run-in with Sall supporters, but no significant violence occurred.<sup>97</sup> Karim has limited support among the rest of the population, but, given the likelihood of a long, drawn-out investigation, interaction between the two groups will become more frequent and possibly more intense.

## Guinea's Troubles Continue – Highlights of Recent Events

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

### Electoral Commission Woes

The newly elected president of the *Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante* (CENI) president, Bakary Fofana, publicly announced May 12, 2013 as the date for legislative elections. But ten opposition members within CENI have accused Fofana of acting unilaterally: "None of our representatives were consulted before this announcement."<sup>98</sup> The opposition leader, Cellou Dalein Diallo, has reportedly called for Bakary's departure.<sup>99</sup> The disagreement is one of many over the past year regarding the logistics of Guinea's legislative elections. As stated in the December 5 edition of *The Africa Watch*, IDA assesses it unlikely that legislative elections will occur in 2013 and sporadic violent protests are bound to continue.

### Violence in Gueckedou

On December 11 and 12, three were killed and 100 were injured during protests calling for the resignation of the town Prefect, Boukary Keita. The incident was first reported as violent clashes between pro-government (Malinké) and opposition (Kissi) supporters,<sup>100</sup> but recent reporting suggests the Guinean Army played a large role in the violence and casualty count.

The demonstrations stem from the firing of Agricultural Minister Jean-Marc Telliano (a Kissi) by President Alpha Condé (a Malinké) in October 2012.<sup>101</sup> In November, Telliano joined the opposition and said he would return to Gueckedou to help defeat Condé's party, *Rassemblement du Peuple du Guinée* (RPG), in the legislative elections. In December, Kissi demanded the resignation of Prefect Keita (a Malinké) after he canceled the traditional New Year's celebration.<sup>102</sup> Keita was also accused of forcing civil servants to join the RPG.

Malinkés are the minority in the region, but serious tensions between the ethnic groups have not occurred since the 1990s.<sup>103</sup> It seems the violence was more politically motivated (against Keita and RPG) rather than ethnically based. Witnesses also claim that the Guinean soldiers "brought terror to our town" – firing live rounds at the protesters, looting homes, and raping women. Minister of Defense, Abdoul Kabele Camara, has denied the allegations. Given the Army's previous track record with protests (i.e., the September 2009 Stadium Massacre), the former account is certainly plausible and will only result in deeper mistrust of Guinean security forces. In addition, demands are expected to increase for President Condé to hold soldiers accountable for past, present, and future crimes.

### Soldiers Arrested in Connection with July 2011 Coup Plot

According to a local news sources, nine soldiers were arrested in early December 2012 for their alleged involvement in the July 2011 coup attempt. Thirty-seven soldiers were previously detained, and two have died in custody.<sup>104</sup> There has been no official comment on the arrests.

## **Libya and Uganda Spar over “Gigantic Qadhafi Mosque”**

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

Conflict over a Kampala mosque originally commissioned by Moammar Qadhafi has ensnared the Government of Libya, the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council (UMSC), and the Islamic Call Society (ICS). At the insistence of the UMSC, the mosque had been named after Qadhafi and decorated with a series of wall hangings bearing his image.<sup>105</sup>

The Libyan government’s attempts to rename and redecorate the mosque, which it continues to support financially through the ICS, have been rebuffed. In response to Libya’s request, a UMSC spokesperson told a local newspaper that “the name will not change; that issue will not be debated upon” because the group named the mosque, as well as a nearby road, after Qadhafi as “tributes” to the Libyan leader.<sup>106</sup>

Whether the Libyan government will continue to support the mosque if the UMSC holds its ground is unclear.

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<b>14. ABSTRACT</b> The Africa Watch is a twice-monthly report on trends and developments that might contribute to discontinuous change and instability in Sub-Saharan Africa. The first October 2012 issue includes the following articles, among others: The Ogaden: Will the Current Peace Talks Lead to an End to Conflict; African Economies and the Global Slowdown: Buffered But Not Immune. The second October 2012 issue includes the following articles, among others: Mali: The MNLA No Longer Wants Independence; Tanzania: Zanzibar VP Calls for Full Autonomy from Mainland. The first November 2012 issue includes the following articles, among others: Mozambique: Political Tensions Rise; Social Media in Africa: Growth and Controversy. The second November 2012 issue includes the following articles, among others: Untangling Kenya's Political Webs; Kenya's Engagement with Somalia: An Assessment. The first December 2012 issue includes the following articles, among others: Mozambique: RENAMO Threatens Return to Bloodshed; Sierra Leone People's Party Boycotts Election Results; Azerbaijan and Sudan Expanding Bilateral Ties Despite Significant Blowback Potential. The second December 2012 issue includes the following articles, among others: Nigeria: Illegal Oil Bunkering; The Balkanization of the Democratic Republic of Congo.				
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