

CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN TANZANIA—PART ONE

By Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

Tanzania is currently operating under the 1977 [constitution](#), which was written during the height of Chama cha Mapinduzi's (CCM) single-party rule. Since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Tanzania in the early 1990s (as the result of a constitutional amendment), opposition parties and civil society groups have been clamoring for a new constitution, one more suitable for an emerging democracy. At the end of 2010, President Jakaya Kikwete [announced](#) that the country would begin the process of drafting a new constitution. It was initially hoped that the process would conclude before the 2015 elections, but a protracted and highly politicized process has made this impossible. [more...](#)



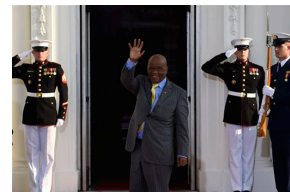
President Jakaya Kikwete addresses the UN general assembly on September 25, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Frank Franklin II.)

Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard is a Research Staff Member in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

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By Alexander Noyes

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Motsoahae Thomas Thabane, Prime Minister of Lesotho, arrives for a dinner hosted by President Barack Obama for the U.S. Africa Leaders Summit, Tuesday, Aug. 5, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Susan Walsh.)

Alexander Noyes is an Adjunct Research Associate in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

About IDA

The Institute for Defense Analyses is a non-profit corporation operating in the public interest.

IDA's three federally-funded research and development centers provide objective analyses of national security issues and related national challenges, particularly those requiring scientific and technical expertise.

IDA's Africa team focuses on issues related to political, economic, and social stability and security on the continent.

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President Jakaya Kikwete addresses the UN general assembly on September 25, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Frank Franklin II.)

Background

The [current constitution](#), Tanzania's fourth, enshrined the supremacy of CCM, which had been in power since independence in 1962, and established Tanzania (composed of the mainland Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar) as a single-party state. In the early 1990s, under pressure from civil society and international donors to consider liberalizing, CCM formed the [Nyalali Commission](#) to examine whether Tanzania should abandon the single-party framework. The commission made numerous suggestions about how Tanzania could transition to multiparty rule, including drafting a new constitution, but the government opted to keep the existing constitution and amend it to allow for multiparty elections.

Since the return to multiparty politics in 1992, there have been demands from the opposition and civil society groups to revise the constitution to provide for a more level playing field for electoral competition, but nothing substantial has yet materialized. The opposition has long held that the 1977 constitution [favored a highly centralized presidency](#) and has helped CCM maintain its political dominance—CCM won majorities in the 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010 elections.

Kikwete's Legacy

After the 2010 elections, in which Jakaya Kikwete was re-elected to his second term as president, he announced that Tanzania would begin in earnest the process of drafting a new constitution. There are different views as to why Kikwete chose his second term to recommit Tanzania to this process. To some, it is a function of the success of the opposition party CHADEMA (Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo) in the 2010 elections. CHADEMA campaigned on a platform of [constitutional reform](#) that seemed to resonate with some of the population. CHADEMA's presidential candidate Willibrod Slaa received 27 percent of the vote to Kikwete's 63 percent—the most an opposition candidate has received since the country's inaugural multiparty election in 1995. Others view it as an attempt by Kikwete to secure his legacy after two terms in office. The fact that there was significant [opposition within CCM](#) to drafting a new constitution gives this interpretation some credence, as Kikwete seemingly bypassed party wishes when he made his announcement.

Regardless of the motivation, the process was put in motion in April 2012 when Kikwete [appointed](#) a 30-member constitutional review commission. The new commission was immediately [embraced](#) by opposition parties, including CHADEMA. According to [Muhammad Yussuf](#), one of the commission members, the commission received input from nearly 1.5 million Tanzanians in a year-long consultation process (personal communication to the author).

Drafts and Deliberations

The commission's [first draft](#) was presented on June 3, 2013. One of its [key provisions](#) was the establishment of a three-tier system of government (separate structures for mainland Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and a union governmental body) to replace the existing two-tier system that currently only represents Zanzibar and a union government. This provision was [highly contentious](#) for many reasons, not least that a [power-sharing agreement](#) had been signed in 2009 between CCM and the main opposition party in Zanzibar, CUF [Civic United Front]. Zanzibar, formerly under control of the Sultanate of Oman until it became a British protectorate in the late 1800s, opted to merge with mainland Tanganyika in 1964. The status of the union has been a frequent problem for the federal government, with intermittent demands for [secession](#) emanating from Zanzibaris who feel marginalized by a federal structure.

As part of the government-initiated process, constitutional councils at the district level were tasked with reviewing the first draft and providing feedback to the commission. Based on this feedback, the commission then released a [second draft](#) of the constitution at the end of 2013. This draft again called for a three-tier system of government.

The final stage of the process—debate and deliberations—began in March 2014 when the Constituent Assembly, comprising 629 delegates from political parties and civil society, convened. Almost immediately, the debates turned acrimonious. CCM party members and their supporters have a [majority of delegates](#) in the Constituent Assembly and have dominated this stage of the process. They have removed the three-tier provision and reinstated the two-tier system of government. In April, Ukawa (a coalition of opposition party members and supporters including partisans from CHADEMA and CUF) [walked out](#) of the proceedings in protest.

And Yet the Band Played On

Despite the boycott, the mandate of the Constituent Assembly was extended, and a second round of debates on the new constitution took place in August. After much criticism about the lopsided nature of the debates, Kikwete was forced to [mediate](#) the dispute over the new constitution in late August. Ukawa and Kikwete [reportedly came to agreement](#) in September: due to the unexpected length of the process and current impasse over the content of the constitution, the reform process would be suspended and resumed only after the October 2015 elections. Even after the details of this agreement were released, the Constituent Assembly continued to meet (and collect stipends), drawing the ire of many and [calls from the opposition](#) and civil society to shut down proceedings immediately. The Constituent Assembly seems [poised to vote](#) on a draft of the constitution soon.

Implications for 2015

It is unclear what will happen next in the process. Nonetheless, there are a few important ways in which this constitutional review process will likely affect the 2015 elections. First, the consultative process provided much needed civic education to many Tanzanians, some of whom had never before seen the 1977 constitution (personal communication to the author). More Tanzanians are invested and engaged in politics than ever before. Perhaps this will translate into higher voter turnout in 2015—at 40 percent, voter turnout in 2010 was the [lowest the country](#) has experienced since the return to multipartism. Second, the question of the nature of the union between the mainland and Zanzibar has been raised again and will likely continue to be debated around the country. It is almost certain this issue will be featured in the 2015 elections. Interestingly, CHADEMA and CUF were able to find common ground on this matter as both parties now support a three-tier system. If this ad-hoc coalition—formed solely for the purposes of advocating for their vision of the new constitution—were to persist, the opposition could pose a serious challenge to CCM hegemony in 2015. It appears that the stakes for the next election will be substantially higher than ever before, making the 2015 Tanzanian election one to watch.

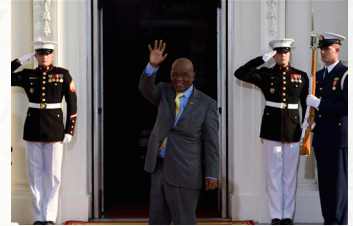
This is the first of a series of articles based on field research on the political outlook in Tanzania.

Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard is a Research Staff Member in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

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Motsoahae Thomas Thabane, Prime Minister of Lesotho, arrives for a dinner hosted by President Barack Obama for the U.S. Africa Leaders Summit, Tuesday, Aug. 5, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Susan Walsh.)

The events of August 30 were the latest episode in a broader political stalemate between the partners of Lesotho's coalition government, which was formed after 2012 elections. The troubled coalition consists of three main parties—Thabane's All Basotho Convention (ABC), Deputy Prime Minister Mothetjoa Metsing's Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), and the Basotho National Party (BNP). As [highlighted](#) in the July 10, 2014, edition of *Africa Watch*, political disagreements among the coalition partners—namely, over whether Thabane was acting unilaterally—came to a head on June 10, when Thabane [suspended](#) parliament to circumvent the holding of a planned no-confidence vote. The LCD subsequently announced it was pulling out of the coalition, and rumors of an impending coup by the LDF drew [warnings](#) from South Africa.

In the ensuing weeks, SADC mediated a deal between the parties to remain in the fragile coalition, and Thabane [agreed](#) to reopen parliament on August 14. But when parliament remained closed after the deadline, Metsing called for a protest march on September 1 against Thabane and in support of reopening parliament: "If you join us and support this march in your numbers, I'm sure when the prime minister sees that many Basotho are against the prorogation [suspension], it will become relatively easy for him to lift it," [said](#) Metsing. The police, seen as [loyal](#) to Thabane, did not grant permission for the protest march, warning that it would turn violent. Conversely, the LDF, seen as allied with Metsing, claimed that the government-backed UTTA was planning violence. In addition, the night before the August 30 clashes Lieutenant-General Kamoli—who had a history of [disagreements](#) with Thabane—allegedly heard that Thabane was [planning](#) to fire him and replace with him Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao. These political, civil-military, and inter-service tensions set the stage for the August 30 incidents.

In the wake of the August 30 violence, in which one policeman was [killed](#) and nine others were injured, SADC, led by South African President Jacob Zuma, brokered another deal with the coalition parties. The deal allowed Thabane and his freshly appointed military commander, Mahao, to return to Lesotho under the protection of South African police. Under the terms of the deal, Thabane also [agreed](#) to reopen parliament by September 19. Thabane, however, once again reneged on that promise, citing the current instability. In addition, Kamoli has [refused](#) to step down as commander of the LDF.

On September 30, the SADC mediation mission, now led by South Africa's Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, again [returned](#) to Lesotho in an effort to negotiate a way out of the crisis. Ramaphosa announced on October 2 a [further agreement](#) that provides for reopening parliament on October 17 and holding new elections in the latter part

of February 2015. Parliament will be limited to decisions on budget and election matters and will be dissolved in December to prepare for elections.

South Africa and SADC have [historically](#) played dominant and influential roles in Lesotho's domestic politics, and South Africa has significant strategic [water](#) interests in Lesotho. It appears that memories of South Africa and SADC's heavy-handed 1998 [incursion](#) into Maseru and the large number of actors with contradictory motives have made this conflict particularly difficult to resolve. Although the new agreement brings new hope, it does not address the status of Kamoli and the security situation, with ongoing [treason](#) investigations further heightening an already tense political environment. Moreover, as noted above, Thabane has reneged on commitments to reopen parliament twice since July. For these reasons, the crisis is likely to persist, at least in the near term. Earlier in the week, on September 30, two police officers were injured in further [violence](#) between the police and military.

New polls do appear to be the most likely path out of the crisis. However, the largest opposition party, the Democratic Congress (DC), sees the call for new elections as a delaying tactic to allow Thabane to remain in power. On September 17, DC Secretary General Ralechate 'Mokose [asserted](#), "It was said that registration of voters should be done from scratch and they are holding these things for later use as a leeway to prolong their time in governance."

The August 30 events again highlight Lesotho's troubled civil-military relations and the need to further depoliticize the LDF and the country's security sector to prevent further bouts of instability. As suggested [previously](#), good starting points would be providing parliament with increased oversight responsibilities, especially regarding appointments, and enforcing the 1995 defense [policy](#), which outlines the LDF's political impartiality.

Alexander Noyes is an Adjunct Research Associate in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN TANZANIA: PART THREE

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Unlike many of its neighbors in East Africa, Tanzania has no history of ethnic conflict, military takeovers, or coups d'état. Although the country is extremely diverse—it comprises more than 120 different ethnic groups and has sizable Muslim and Christian populations—neither ethnicity nor religion have translated into significant social conflict in the post-independence period. Part of the reason may lie with the [skillful policies](#) of former president Julius Nyerere, who established Swahili as the national language in the early post-colonial period and worked hard to unify Tanzania under his rule. Thus, the emergence of a radical Islamist group in Tanzania in 2011 has come as a shock to many. One of the most high-profile groups is UAMSHO (“awakening” in Swahili), which is believed to have been responsible for as many as 20 attacks targeting Christians, moderate Muslims, and tourists in Zanzibar since 2011.

The group's last suspected attacks took place earlier this year in June when a bomb was detonated in [Zanzibar](#). The group's demand: an independent Zanzibar, which it vociferously [advocated](#) for during the constitution-making process. [more...](#)



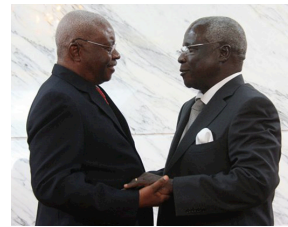
Tanzania President Jakaya Kikwete, left, accompanied with the Medical Director of Aga Khan Hospital-Dar es Salaam, Jaffer Dharsee, right, leave the hospital after visiting the two British women being treated from wounds received when assailants had thrown acid on them in Stone Town in Zanzibar. (Source: AP Photo/Khalifan Said.)

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On October 15, 2014, Mozambique held its [fifth](#) democratic election since the end of its decades-long civil war in 1992. The election pitted the ruling FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) candidate, former defense minister Filipe Nyusi, against Afonso Dhlakama of RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana), the main opposition party, and Daviz Simango, head of an [alternative](#) opposition party, the MDM (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique). On October 24, the National Elections Commission (CNE) [announced](#) provisional results, with Nyusi capturing 57 percent of the vote, Dhlakama 36 percent, and Simango nearly 7 percent. Both opposition groups [contested](#) the results, alleging fraud. FRELIMO also won parliamentary polls, but did [lose](#) its two-thirds majority. While FRELIMO's win was expected, RENAMO's and Dhlakama's [surprisingly](#) large share of the votes firmly reestablishes RENAMO as the primary opposition party. [more...](#)



Mozambique President Armando Guebuza, left, and former RENAMO rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama, right, shake hands after signing a peace accord in Maputo, Mozambique. Dhlakama returned to the capital after a two-year absence to take part in elections on Wednesday, Oct. 15, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Ferhat Momade-FILE.)

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Tanzania President Jakaya Kikwete, left, accompanied with the Medical Director of Aga Khan Hospital-Dar es Salaam, Jaffer Dharsee, right, leave the hospital after visiting the two British women being treated from wounds received when assailants had thrown acid on them in Stone Town in Zanzibar. (Source: AP Photo/Khalfan Said.)

Emergence of UAMSHO

The estimates of the Muslim population of Tanzania range from [30 percent to 50 percent](#). In Zanzibar, however, there is little debate about the religious affiliation of its residents. It is believed that [well over 95 percent](#) of the islands’ more than 1 million residents are Muslim.

UAMSHO, or the Association for Islamic Mobilization and Propagation, began as a Zanzibari Islamic charity in the 1960s. It officially registered as a nongovernmental organization in 2001 and radicalized in recent years. UAMSHO advocates Zanzibari independence and espouses [support for Wahhabism](#). It has called for a public code of conduct for tourists that includes modest dress and abstention from alcohol.

Ironically, [some believe](#) the power-sharing agreement reached between the government and opposition before the 2010 election has contributed to increased attacks in Zanzibar. The perceived co-optation of the opposition by the ruling party may have facilitated the radicalization process, as some claim that UAMSHO emerged to fill the political vacuum left by the opposition when it joined the ruling party. Because of the so-called [government of national unity](#) (GNU) in which the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and opposition Civic United Front (CUF) share power—regardless of who wins elections—there is no party left to advocate for Zanzibar’s interests. The union between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania has long been [tense](#), with Zanzibaris often feeling marginalized by the dominance of mainland politics. CUF, although a national party, enjoyed the vast majority of its support from voters in Zanzibar. There are rumors in Zanzibar that politicians, [particularly those from CUF](#), are operating indirectly through UAMSHO because they can no longer officially oppose government policy.

The [constitutional review process](#), which began after the 2010 election and the GNU, seems to have galvanized UAMSHO. In 2011, UAMSHO began holding rallies and frequent [anti-government protests](#), advocating for dissolution of the union. These sentiments for more autonomy are widely shared among Zanzibaris. Based on data from an [Afrobarometer](#) survey conducted in 2012 in Tanzania, roughly 44 percent of mainlanders said there was no need to substantially alter the structure of the union with Zanzibar, whereas almost 90 percent of Zanzibaris wanted a change in the status, with 23 percent wanting a complete dissolution of the union.

Violent Attacks

In addition to the protests and riots associated with UAMSHO, the group is believed to be responsible for a series of [unsophisticated attacks](#) against religious leaders and tourists. [Three](#) Catholic priests were attacked in incidents occurring in 2012 and 2013. Two British [tourists](#) were attacked with acid in 2013. In January 2014, a bomb was thrown from a car at followers leaving a mosque where a moderate Muslim cleric had just finished giving a sermon on peace in the face of jihad. In February 2014, three separate attacks on churches in Zanzibar took place. The group has assassinated priests and moderate Muslim clerics, using guns, knives, hand grenades, and acid. Attacks have taken place largely in Zanzibar, but there have been reports of activity on the mainland in cities such as Arusha and Dar es Salaam and in rural areas surrounding Tanga and Mtwara. It is not clear if UAMSHO or followers of the radical cleric [Issa Ponda Issa](#) are responsible for the mainland attacks. Ponda, however, does have [ties to Zanzibar](#), so coordination between the groups is not out of the question.

Note that not all of these attacks can definitively be linked to a specific group. The government and media remain relatively tight-lipped when it comes to reporting on UAMSHO's activities, and it has been alleged that the Tanzanian government instituted [a ban on reporting](#) on UAMSHO. Most news coverage simply refers to such incidents as acts of terrorism.

Government Response

The government response has been swift. Police operations have resulted in several mass arrests, with at least [60 people arrested](#) in connection with terrorist attacks over the past two years. Sheikh Farid Hadi Ahmed and Sheikh Msellem Ali, both from UAMSHO, are currently [in police custody awaiting trial](#). Farid, believed to be UAMSHO's leader, was detained briefly before. He went missing in October 2012 and in response his supporters [rioted for two days](#). He was released shortly thereafter. According to Farid, he was kidnapped by the police, but the police have denied this accusation. He was [arrested](#) in late December 2012 and is being held in detention on the mainland.

Conclusions

It remains to be seen if UAMSHO, which is believed to enjoy substantial popular support in Zanzibar, is merely a temporary problem or whether it poses more of a long-term challenge for Tanzania. One of the many questions regarding UAMSHO's true motivation: is it a religious or political movement? Most of its attacks have been targeted at religious figures, but its stated demands are for political autonomy. This, coupled with the speculation that some Zanzibari politicians are tacitly supporting UAMSHO, suggests that it may be more of a political vehicle than an ideological movement. UAMSHO was active during the majority of the constitutional review process but has been silent since July. Although UAMSHO has said it will [not directly participate](#) in elections, it would not be surprising to see the group reemerge prior to the proposed constitutional referendum and upcoming elections in 2015 in an attempt to influence those processes.

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On October 15, 2014, Mozambique held its [fifth](#) democratic election since the end of its decades-long civil war in 1992. The election pitted the ruling FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) candidate, former defense minister Filipe Nyusi, against Afonso Dhlakama of RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana), the main opposition party, and Daviz Simango, head of an [alternative](#) opposition party, the MDM (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique). On October 24, the National Elections Commission (CNE) [announced](#) provisional results, with Nyusi capturing 57 percent of the vote, Dhlakama 36 percent, and Simango nearly 7 percent. Both opposition groups [contested](#) the results, alleging fraud. FRELIMO also won parliamentary polls, but did [lose](#) its two-thirds majority. While FRELIMO's win was expected, RENAMO's and Dhlakama's [surprisingly](#) large share of the votes firmly reestablishes RENAMO as the primary opposition party.

As discussed in the July 23, 2014, [edition](#) of *Africa Watch*, a peace agreement was inked between RENAMO and FRELIMO just [weeks](#) before this year's elections. The deal put an end to the low-level insurgency launched by RENAMO over the past two years, which left up to [54 dead](#), [alarmed](#) foreign investors in Mozambique's high-growth economy, and [threatened](#) to return the country to civil war. The deal secured [amnesty](#) for Dhlakama's fighters, called for further integration of RENAMO rebels into the armed forces, and marked Dhlakama's and the party's reentrance into electoral politics (RENAMO had boycotted local elections in 2013).

Despite more than [doubling](#) his vote percentage from the 2009 election (where he captured only 16 percent), Dhlakama and RENAMO rejected the provisional results of the October 15 election, alleging fraud. These claims echo allegations the party has [made](#) after all other elections since 1992. RENAMO [maintained](#) that irregularities occurred in four out of 10 provinces. RENAMO's spokesman, Antonio Muchanga, [asserted](#) after the vote: "We don't accept the results ... the results should be annulled and new elections held." Dhlakama, sensing his newfound popularity, [called](#) for a negotiated unity government. "This cannot be treated technically. We must negotiate an outcome," he said.

Although the MDM did not fare well on the presidential ballot (in 2009, MDM won 9 percent), the party increased its parliamentary seats, moving from eight in 2009 to 19. Despite these gains, the MDM also alleged fraud, with Simango [asserting](#): "No conscious citizen in the world can state that the Mozambican elections were free and fair." MDM representative Lutero Simango echoed Simango's assertion: "FRELIMO is not prepared to lose. We reject the results." Despite claims of fraud and ballot-box stuffing, the European Union, Southern African Development Community (SADC), and other international observers [endorsed](#) the results, noting that irregularities were not widespread or egregious enough to delegitimize the vote. The provisional results are not final until the constitutional court ratifies the count. Paulo Cuinica, the CNE spokesman, said that all election complaints would be investigated, [maintaining](#), "We don't want any doubts to remain."

Assuming the October results are ratified, Nyusi will be the first president of Mozambique who was [not part](#) of the liberation movement. Dhlakama's resurgent popularity and Simango's poor showing in the presidential contest may dash hopes that this election could have helped move Mozambique into a new era beyond the ossified FRELIMO–RENAMO divide. That said, the opposition's combined strong showing in parliament, ending FRELIMO's powerful two-thirds majority, will help check FRELIMO's long-held grip on power. As Simon Allison [argues](#), "Now FRELIMO has to listen." While this is a positive development for Mozambique's democracy, Dhlakama's resurgence also sets a troubling precedent: violence [works](#).



Mozambique President Armando Guebuza, left, and former RENAMO rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama, right, shake hands after signing a peace accord in Maputo, Mozambique. Dhlakama returned to the capital after a two-year absence to take part in elections on Wednesday, Oct. 15, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Ferhat Momade-FILE.)

A slumping Dhlakama had become increasingly irrelevant before he launched renewed attacks on the government. Now he is confident enough to demand a negotiated power-sharing government that may include a post of [vice president](#) for him. Dhlakama is again using the implicit [threat](#) of renewed violence to strengthen his negotiating position. The risk of violence during this period remains high, but it would likely be low level and limited, given RENAMO's recent gains at the ballot and the negotiating table. Post-election power-sharing accords may have some [utility](#) in deeply flawed, violent, and too-close-to-call elections. But given FRELIMO's sizable margin of victory and the seemingly limited degree of irregularities, Dhlakama's demands for a unity government do not seem credible.

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ZIMBABWE—THE FIRST LADY MAKES WAVES

By George F. Ward

As the National People's Congress of Zimbabwe's ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), nears, in-fighting within the party has increased. The President's wife, Grace Mugabe, has been stirring the pot of party controversy. Speculation about her motives abounds, but one fact is clear—as always in Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe remains the decisive voice. [more...](#)

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward is editor of Africa Watch and a Research Staff Member at the Institute for Defense Analyses. He is a former U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Namibia.



Zimbabwe's first lady, Grace Mugabe, addresses a rally in Chinhoyi, about 120 kilometers west of Harare, Thursday, Oct. 2, 2014. In her speech Mugabe castigated factionalism in the ruling ZANU-PF party, as she embarked on her maiden political rally since having been nominated to head the ZANU-PF ruling party women's league in July. The rally held in the small farming town of Chinhoyi marked the vivacious 49-year-old's first steps to shore up her political credentials outside President Robert Mugabe's shadow. (Source: AP Photo/Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi.)

90 DAYS OF GUY SCOTT: ONE WEEK INTO A TRANSITIONING ZAMBIAN PRESIDENCY

By Dr. Eliza Johannes

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Dr. Eliza Johannes is a Research Staff Member in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.



Guy Scott greets defense and security chiefs shortly after taking over as acting president of Zambia, following the death in London of President Michael Sata. (Source: AP Photo.)

THE UNCERTAIN DURABILITY OF LONGSTANDING RULERS AND “STABLE” REGIMES IN AFRICA

By Dr. Ashley Neese Bybee

The military's recent toppling of a longstanding autocrat in Burkina Faso is significant for several reasons. It may signal that the era of West Africa's strongmen may be coming to a close. It demonstrates the population's preference for democratic development over political stability. It suggests that constitutional tinkering may become increasingly frowned upon in the future. It also shows that the armed forces continue to be a highly influential institution in Burkina Faso and quick to intervene in politics, despite public protest. Last, the instability in Burkina Faso raises the specter of similar surprises in countries traditionally viewed as stable. [more...](#)

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Burkina Faso Lt. Col. Isaac Yacouba Zida pauses as he makes an announcement to the media in the city of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, Saturday, Nov. 1, 2014. Burkina Faso's former president fled to neighboring Ivory Coast with his family after violent protests drove him from power after 27 years in office, Ivory Coast said Saturday, as Zida, a largely unknown military colonel, said he had taken the helm. (Source: AP Photo/Theo Renault.)

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IDA's Africa team focuses on issues related to political, economic, and social stability and security on the continent.

ZIMBABWE—THE FIRST LADY MAKES WAVES

By George F. Ward

As the National People's Congress of Zimbabwe's ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), nears, in-fighting within the party has increased. The President's wife, Grace Mugabe, has been stirring the pot of party controversy. Speculation about her motives abounds, but one fact is clear—as always in Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe remains the decisive voice.

Grace on the Hustings

As reported in the [September 5, 2014, edition of IDA's Africa Watch](#), Grace Mugabe assumed a larger political role, including a likely place in the ZANU-PF politburo, when she was selected in August 2014 by the party's women's league as its national secretary. Soon after her election, Grace Mugabe embarked on a round of "[Thank You Rallies](#)" and other events that took her to several provinces. Typically, Mrs. Mugabe sweeps into a provincial town with a retinue of government ministers, other officials, and party notables, gives a speech, and then departs for another destination. These events seem to have had three purposes.



Zimbabwe's first lady, Grace Mugabe, addresses a rally in Chinhoi, about 120 kilometers west of Harare, Thursday, Oct. 2, 2014. In her speech Mugabe castigated factionalism in the ruling ZANU-PF party, as she embarked on her maiden political rally since having been nominated to head the ZANU-PF ruling party women's league in July. The rally held in the small farming town of Chinhoi marked the vivacious 49-year-old's first steps to shore up her political credentials outside President Robert Mugabe's shadow. (Source: AP Photo/Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi.)

Attacking the Vice President

During her provincial campaigns, Grace Mugabe has taken every opportunity to attack Zimbabwe's vice president, Joice Mujuru, who is widely seen as a possible successor to her husband. Mujuru, a military veteran of the liberation struggle, reportedly has the support of the majority of the ZANU-PF provincial party organizations. Mugabe's attacks against Mujuru—and Mujuru's allies—have been personal and vitriolic. She has accused Mujuru of "factionalism," a cardinal sin in the ZANU-PF, and demanded that the [vice president apologize](#) to President Mugabe. She has also accused Mujuru of fostering the creation of the Movement for Democratic Change (the main opposition party), of being corrupt, of maintaining contacts with representatives of the West, including the American ambassador, and even of [coup plotting](#). She has denigrated Mujuru's war record, and she publicly [refused to shake](#) the vice president's hand at an airport welcoming ceremony in Harare on October 21, 2014.

The Good Wife

Grace Mugabe's second purpose in her provincial outings has been to underline her husband's wisdom and authority and to stress her loyalty to him. In Grace Mugabe's apparent view, Robert Mugabe is not just state president. He is the state. She believes that her husband was [anointed](#) by God to lead Zimbabwe. Thus, when she [accuses Joice Mujuru of corruption](#), she does not urge legal action against her; instead, she demands that Mujuru approach President Mugabe, apologize, and ask for forgiveness. According to his wife, Robert Mugabe—and no one else—will chart the party's course for the future at the December congress.

Profiling Herself as Possible Successor

Third, there are indications that Grace Mugabe also sees herself as playing a more important role in the country's future—perhaps even as her husband's successor. In a speech at Mozowe, 40 kilometers north of the capital, on October 23, 2014, Mrs. Mugabe repeated her denunciations of Mujuru, calling on the latter to resign. She then went a step beyond

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her standard rhetoric and is [reported](#) to have said, “They say I want to be president. Why not? Am I not a Zimbabwean?” This statement was characterized by some local press as an announcement of her candidacy. That is one possible interpretation, although it could also be read as something less. Mrs. Mugabe has not generally been viewed as possessing significant political or leadership qualifications apart from her relationship with her husband. Whichever interpretation is correct, it seems certain that Grace Mugabe’s third purpose in her campaign was to raise her own political profile, whether as leader in her own right or as a kingmaker.

The Leader Steps In

Grace Mugabe’s words and actions have added to tensions within the party that would have been rising anyway during the run-up to the congress. A number of violent clashes between opposing party factions have been [reported](#). The two putative successors to Mugabe, Mujuru and Justice Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, appear to be attempting to solidify their own bases of support. In some cases, they have managed to oust each other’s supporters from party offices at the provincial and local levels.

With tensions rising, President Mugabe broke his silence with a [speech](#) to parliament that was delivered on October 28 and broadcast on national television the next day. Mugabe said, “Some war is going on in my party. People want positions. They even want to push senior people out.” He went on to add, “Some are saying ‘Mr. Mugabe is old so he should step down.’ Me, who brought the party to where it is now, who experienced colonial rule, jail and was in the bush beside the freedom fighters? Then along comes a mere child. No! When my time comes I will tell you.”

Who is this “mere child”? From the point of view of the 90-year old Mugabe, it could be his 49-year-old wife. More likely, it might be the 59-year-old Mujuru, who has been positioning herself as successor, perhaps too publicly, for years. Mugabe’s real point was to demand a stop to the intra-party strife. He did so with his usual masterful timing, and for the moment, public tensions have subsided. Days later, Mugabe announced that he would set up a [party commission](#) to look into the allegations that factionalism was threatening to divide the ZANU-PF in the run-up to the congress. This move is likely to have little practical effect, but may further inhibit public party in-fighting.

Why Did Grace Do It?

The question remains why Grace Mugabe undertook her high-profile campaign. Three explanations have been advanced, and there may be elements of truth in all three. First, Mrs. Mugabe intended to damage the prospects of Joice Mujuru. In that connection, some allege that Grace Mugabe has struck a deal with Emmerson Mnangagwa aimed at protecting her family’s interests after the demise of her husband. Second, Mrs. Mugabe might have acted to support her husband and preserve his space for maneuver at the upcoming party congress. Third, Mrs. Mugabe may well indulge herself in thoughts of a significant future political role, whether as president or as vice president under a successor chosen by her husband. Whatever her motivations, more action and fireworks are likely on tap for ZANU-PF and Zimbabwe in the coming weeks.

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Scott is the [first](#) white head of state of a sub-Saharan African country since 1994, when Nelson Mandela marked the end of [apartheid](#) by being elected South Africa's president, replacing F. W. de Klerk. Some argue that it is [inaccurate](#) to assign Scott the label of "first," noting that Paul Berenger, of French descent, stepped in as [premier](#) of Mauritius in 2000. Mauritius is [predominantly](#) Indo-Mauritian (68 percent) by ethnicity with a plurality of citizens observing the Hindu faith (48.5 percent)—hardly the profile of a typical, sub-Saharan African country.

Even though he ascended legally to the presidency according to constitutional [rules](#) for succession, Scott's tenure is unlikely to exceed the 90-day interim period before [elections](#) must take place. Because his parents were not Zambian, Scott is ineligible to run under the [current](#) and [revised](#) (still subject to approval) constitutions. In these circumstances, Scott was not expected to create the sort of drama that had surrounded Michael Sata, who earned the moniker "[King Cobra](#)" by being acerbic, outspoken, and controversial. Yet in his first week as interim president, Scott has demonstrated the contrary. He appears determined not to be an idle, lame duck.

On November 3, Scott unexpectedly relieved Edgar Lungu from the post of secretary general of the ruling Patriotic Front (PF) party. The move brought to the fore politicking and jockeying for the presidency that had previously been in the [background](#). The Youth Sports Minister, Chishimba Kambwili, allegedly joined with other cabinet members to [warn](#) Scott against the removal, citing the possibility of violence among Lungu's supporters. For his part, Lungu, after first [deferring](#) comment on the matter until after Sata's funeral, later took a stronger stance by charging that Scott acted [illegally](#). [Riots](#) pitting student protesters and other Lungu supporters against police in Lusaka raised the question of whether Kambwili's call was a warning or a threat. Amid [reports](#) of police allegedly intimidating Lungu at his home, a show of force and threatened turmoil by Lungu's supporters (some purportedly carrying [weapons](#)) apparently compelled Scott to acquiesce and [reinstate](#) him as secretary general.

Some have [alleged](#) that in dismissing Lungu, Scott was not acting on his own behest but instead on that of Fred M'membe, editor of the *Zambian Post*. As evidence that M'membe is orchestrating developments in Zambian politics from behind the scenes, detractors point to an [editorial](#) in M'membe's newspaper that underscored the legality of Scott's actions as acting president of the PF: "This [Article 54(1) of the PF's constitution] means that whatever the deceased president could do or undo, the vice-president, who has now taken over, can also do or undo. This means that all the powers that president Sata had as party president can now be fully exercised by Dr. Scott in a similar way."

Since Scott cannot run for president under the current or proposed constitutions and does not appear to have plans to challenge this constitutional constraint, what did he hope to gain by removing Lungu? [Speculation](#) abounds that the plan was to clear the way for Wynter Kabimba, who was the PF Secretary-General until last September. Although Sata officially sacked Kabimba with no explanation and little fanfare, [allegations](#) and purportedly substantiating evidence that have surfaced in the media point to Kabimba's involvement in a scandal. Questionable conduct aside, his ouster removed him from the cabinet



Guy Scott greets defense and security chiefs shortly after taking over as acting president of Zambia, following the death in London of President Michael Sata. (Source: AP Photo.)

but did not exile him from politics. [Entries](#) on Kabimba's official Facebook page paint the portrait of a man aspiring to be a presidential candidate who can identify with workers in the country's sizable [agricultural](#) sector (about 20 percent of GDP), but smaller than the industrial sector (about 40 percent of GDP). Despite its smaller size, the agricultural sector has experienced relatively consistent [growth](#) at the same time that fortunes of the industrial sector have varied according to fluctuations in commodity prices. Farming is one potentially strong linkage between Kabimba and Scott, who as [Agriculture Minister](#) during the 1990s received wide acclaim for rescuing Zambia from a food crisis induced by drought. A more direct connection between the two can be found a little over a year ago, as they stood opposed to PF party members they charged with being corrupt. Lungu, in his role as justice minister, asserted he would be happy to investigate the charges if the two could produce [evidence](#). They did not, and it is apparent that internal PF relations further fractured from there.

Scott faces a formidable task in his little more than 80 remaining days as Zambia's acting president. While acting within his power to support allies (he recently ordered military [protection](#) for Kabimba and M'membe), he must also be perceived as being fair if he is to stave off further conflict and peacefully guide Zambians through this presidential transition.

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The military’s recent toppling of a longstanding autocrat in Burkina Faso is significant for several reasons. It may signal that the era of West Africa’s strongmen may be coming to a close. It demonstrates the population’s preference for democratic development over political stability. It suggests that constitutional tinkering may become increasingly frowned upon in the future. It also shows that the armed forces continue to be a highly influential institution in Burkina Faso and quick to intervene in politics, despite public protest. Last, the instability in Burkina Faso raises the specter of similar surprises in countries traditionally viewed as stable.



Burkina Faso Lt. Col. Isaac Yacouba Zida pauses as he makes an announcement to the media in the city of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, Saturday, Nov. 1, 2014. Burkina Faso’s former president fled to neighboring Ivory Coast with his family after violent protests drove him from power after 27 years in office, Ivory Coast said Saturday, as Zida, a largely unknown military colonel, said he had taken the helm. (Source: AP Photo/Theo Renault.)

Background

On October 30, 2014, Burkinabé protestors stormed Parliament in Ouagadougou in reaction against a constitutional amendment proposed by President Blaise Compaoré that would have allowed him to run for a fifth five-year term in elections scheduled for 2015. The vote was canceled, but continued unrest forced Compaoré to resign and flee the country. Despite a [constitutional provision](#) that designates the head of parliament as interim president in such a scenario, the army immediately seized control of the government and named Gen. Nabéré Honoré Traoré as the transitional leader. Traoré had been a [close ally](#) of Compaoré and was therefore also highly unpopular. Protests that resumed under the slogan “[soldiers have stolen our revolution](#)” this time demanded a “[democratic and civilian transition](#).” Capitalizing on this public frustration, Lt. Col. Isaac Zida, Commander of the elite Presidential Guard, announced himself as head of the transitional authority, revealing some [deep internal divisions](#) within the Burkinabé army.

International Interests in Burkina Faso

Under Compaoré, Burkina Faso was a [relatively stable](#) country in West Africa for decades. Compaoré had been a [key ally](#) of the United States and Burkina Faso a strategic partner in an otherwise turbulent region. Nestled between the operational zones of two major violent extremist organizations in the region— al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in Mali to the north and Boko Haram in Nigeria to the east—Burkina Faso occupies an important location for American and French counterterrorism operations in the Sahel.

Since 2009, Burkina Faso has permitted the U.S. Air Force to base a number of [PC-12 turboprop](#) surveillance aircraft in the military section of the Ouagadougou international airport. These aircraft conduct surveillance missions throughout the Sahelian region, looking for AQIM and affiliated operatives. Burkina Faso is also an important contributor of personnel to United Nations and African Union peacekeeping missions, with [2,000 Burkinabé](#) personnel currently serving in Côte d’Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Mali, South Sudan, and Sudan, and units are in training to deploy to the Central African Republic.

France also has a sizable special operations detachment stationed at a base close to Ouagadougou, from which it launches operations against violent extremist organizations in the region under Operation Barkhane. Compaoré himself had been a reliable, dependable partner in the region, considered by France to be its “[point man](#)” in West Africa. He played the role of an

effective statesman in [mediating numerous conflicts in the region](#), such as brokering a peaceful solution to political crises in the Ivory Coast, facilitating discussions between the Nigerien government and Tuareg rebel groups, and hosting talks between the Malian government and Tuareg rebels in 2013. Burkina Faso's intelligence services were [credited](#) with providing information that resulted in the release of European hostages in Mauritania in 2012.

Considering the Future

Despite this major political upheaval in Ouagadougou, there is no reason to believe that the U.S. military interests and assets in Burkina Faso are in danger or that the change of leadership will affect Burkina Faso's posture towards the U.S. military within its borders. But this turn of events ought to remind us that many of Africa's seemingly strong political institutions are in fact fragile. While some [experts](#) have been expecting Compaoré's eventual demise, citing opponents who have become increasingly assertive in recent years, most believed that he was firmly in control of the country.

Leaders in the DRC, Rwanda, Uganda, Chad and Burundi have either [changed](#) their countries' constitutions to abolish term limits in order to remain in office or have hinted that they may do so. Goodluck Jonathan will seek a second full term as Nigeria's president, in spite of a 2011 gentlemen's agreement to seek just one. We should not be surprised, therefore, if popular protests arise in these countries. If Burkina Faso can teach us anything, it is not to overestimate the durability of other longstanding rulers and "stable" regimes in Africa.

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CAN THERE BE A GOOD COUP?

By Alexander Noyes

On October 31, 2014, Blaise Compaoré, president of Burkina Faso since 1987, [resigned](#) after widespread protests over his attempt to extend his time in office. In the ensuing power vacuum, the military took over. Lt. Col. Isaac Zida pledged to return the country to civilian rule and [agreed](#) in principle to a transitional plan on November 9, but an interim leader has not yet been named. Although there is [disagreement](#) on whether the situation in Burkina Faso fits the strict definition of a military coup, these events, along with the [coup](#) in Niger in 2010, have prompted debates over whether some coups can be “good.” That is, can coups, which are inherently undemocratic, in fact help foster transitions toward democracy in authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes? [more...](#)



A car burns outside the parliament building in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, on October 30, 2014, as people protest against longtime President Blaise Compaoré, who seeks another term. Protesters dragged furniture and computers onto the street and set the main chamber ablaze, in the most significant challenge to the president's rule during his 27 years in power. (Source: AP Photo/Theo Renault.)

Alexander Noyes is an Adjunct Research Associate in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

ARE MEDICAL RESEARCH FACILITIES IN AFRICA SECURE ENOUGH?

By Dr. Ashley Neese Bybee

The Ebola pandemic that is currently devastating three countries in West Africa raises a question that some [experts](#) have been asking for years: Are Africa's medical research facilities adequately secured? When then-U.S. Senator Richard Lugar, co-sponsor of legislation that created the threat-reduction program in 1991 (aimed at eliminating the threat from nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons in the former Soviet Union), visited several medical research facilities in East Africa in 2010, he characterized the security situation as a “[potentially disastrous predicament](#).” Moreover, the presence of active terrorist groups that may have educated operatives capable of infiltrating government facilities underscores the importance of securing deadly pathogens in research facilities. [more...](#)



Unidentified technicians at Kenya Medical Research Institute at Kenyatta National Hospital testing samples of powder found in suspicious mail for the bacteria that causes anthrax. (Source: AP Photo/Khalil Senosi.)

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Recent academic research on the topic departs from conventional understanding of coups as always bad. In a 2014 [study](#) published in the journal *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Clayton Thyne and Jonathan Powell argue that while coups are always harmful to democracies, only 16.9 percent of all coups and coup attempts from 1950 through 2008 occurred under democratic rule. According to Thyne and Powell, the rest occurred under semi-authoritarian or deeply authoritarian regimes, and, contrary to conventional wisdom, coups often actually lead to democratic transitions in authoritarian states. They [assert](#), “Successful coups should promote democratization because leaders have incentives to democratize quickly in order to establish political legitimacy and economic growth.”

In addition, Thyne and Powell [argue](#) that coups sometimes provide a necessary “shock” to push authoritarian states toward democracy: “though history is unfortunately replete with examples of coup leaders who chose to consolidate their power and continue authoritarianism following a successful coup, many others have chosen to enact meaningful reforms toward democratization—reforms that would have been wholly unlikely in the absence of a successful coup.” They offer the coups in Mali in 1991 and Portugal in 1974 as examples of “good” coups. The authors also posit, perhaps overoptimistically, that even failed coup attempts can help foster democratic transitions under authoritarianism, although through a different process: “we view failed coups as credible signals that leaders must enact meaningful reforms to remain in power.”

In another recent study published in the *British Journal of Political Science* in 2013, Nikolay Marinov and Hein Goemans make similar claims, [finding](#) that the majority of successful coups since the end of the Cold War have led to competitive elections, not consolidated military regimes. This finding leads the authors to conclude that “the new generation of coups has been far less harmful for democracy than their historical predecessors.” Marinov and Goemans argue that leverage from international actors—specifically, aid conditionality—has been highly influential in bringing about such outcomes: “outside incentives have profoundly altered the calculus of rulers who formerly took power in order to maintain it. Somewhat paradoxically, it may be precisely those rulers (coup makers) who are most vulnerable to outside pressure; conditionality has the best chance in those cases.”

The article by Thyne and Powell suffers from a lack of discussion of detailed causal mechanisms, which would help further explain and test how their theory works on the micro level. With a focus on coups and democratization, the article also does not investigate whether coups may lead to a deepening of authoritarian rule. That said, both studies offer compelling evidence that the conventional wisdom on coups and democracy needs to be rethought, particularly regarding authoritarian regimes. Both studies thankfully do not celebrate coups, but argue that post-coup moments offer windows of opportunity for democratic opening.



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The outcome of Burkina Faso's leadership transition remains highly uncertain. The studies highlighted above, however, suggest that not only is a return to civilian rule and the staging of competitive elections possible, but that the international community holds a significant amount of leverage—aid conditionality in particular—that could help bring about a more robust democratic transition in the country.

Given the highly uncertain nature and potentially costly unintended consequences of coups, international actors would be wise to continue to condemn them unequivocally. Many Western governments (including the [United States](#)) and international organizations bar assistance and membership to coup leaders, but as noted by Thyne and Powell, such policies often only apply to the overthrow of leaders in democracies (U.S. [law](#), for instance, applies to the overthrow of “duly elected” heads of government). Because the above research suggests that coups in authoritarian states may lead to democratization and the international community has leverage in such moments, once coups occur, policymakers may therefore want to consider new ways to wield such leverage on coup leaders in authoritarian regimes, as opposed to universally isolating them. Potential tools of influence could include engagement, including discussions of future conditional assistance.

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Unidentified technicians at Kenya Medical Research Institute at Kenyatta National Hospital testing samples of powder found in suspicious mail for the bacteria that causes anthrax. (Source: AP Photo/Khalil Senosi.)

Background

There are several government laboratories in Africa that house deadly infectious diseases. For example, the Uganda Virus Research Institute and the Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI), two of the continent's most advanced labs, are [reported](#) to contain samples of Ebola, Marburg virus, Rift Valley fever, plague, and anthrax. Unfortunately, these are not small, numbered samples. Because of their antiquated equipment, African scientists need to use [large samples](#) for their research, thus potentially increasing opportunities for accidents or theft. In 2010, the Director of KEMRI admitted that security at his lab was "[average](#)." One U.S. Government official accompanying former Senator Lugar lamented that security would be too weak to prevent unauthorized access by [terrorists](#).

Weaponizing a Pathogen

The potential threat posed by unsecured and/or unaccounted-for deadly pathogens is therefore [significant](#). In addition to accidents due to neglect or lax security protocols, the possibility exists for the production of a bioweapon by extremist individuals or groups. A bioweapon might come in the form of an inanimate object that disperses a deadly pathogen or an individual who deliberately infects himself (or another person) with the intent to spread a disease. The former requires some significant scientific and technical expertise, but the latter only requires someone to steal a pathogen, infect himself or another, then seek to transmit the disease to others. Although weaponizing a pathogen is not easy, in an age where some terrorists are [highly educated](#), including in the sciences and engineering, it is not implausible that somebody might attempt to do so.

Security: Access Control and the Insider Threat

Physical-access control is just one aspect of security; there is also the need to protect against insider threats in labs that house deadly pathogens. Without adequate vetting and extensive background checks, highly skilled terrorist operatives could plausibly establish themselves in a lab's organizational structure and use the knowledge, equipment, and materials at their disposal to produce a bioweapon.

Looking Ahead

Africans have not yet experienced a biological terrorist attack or a major man-made biological disaster, notwithstanding conspiracy [theories](#) that the current Ebola pandemic is the result of negligent handling of pathogens that were housed in the region. Nonetheless, securing deadly pathogens seems like commonsense protection against such possibilities. The United States and other developed nations might consider contributing to threat-reduction activities in Africa, working alongside African partners to assess and address these biological vulnerabilities.

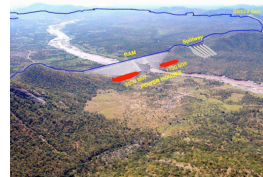
On a related note, some [experts](#) assert that progress toward creating an Ebola vaccine might be further along had the international community been studying how terrorists might weaponize Ebola. Producing a vaccine for a rare disease originating in the developing world unsurprisingly has not passed the market test for commercial development. The question now is: What can and should be done to offset this market reality and to hedge against the future use of Ebola as a terrorist instrument?

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NILE WATERS DISPUTE TIPS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SOLUTION

By George F. Ward

Since the 2011 start of the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), a 6,000 megawatt hydropower project located on the Blue Nile, Ethiopia and Egypt have been at odds. Egypt claims the right under colonial-era treaties to the Nile's waters and fears that the GERD might reduce that supply. Ethiopia, which was not a party to the treaties, asserts its right to develop its renewable-energy resources and denies that the GERD will deprive Egypt of water. The dispute has oscillated between hostile threats and attempts at amicable resolution. This year, which began with the [breakdown of tripartite talks](#) among Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan, is ending with hopes for a peaceful settlement. Sudan has moved toward the Ethiopian position, and the new leadership in Cairo has taken a conciliatory stand. If current efforts bear fruit, the dispute over the GERD will add to the historical evidence that water is [rarely the single cause of conflict](#). *more...*



Rendering of GERD. (Source: International Rivers, "The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam Fact Sheet," January 24, 2014, <http://www.internationalrivers.org/resources/the-grand-ethiopian-renaissance-dam-fact-sheet-8213>.)

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CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN TANZANIA: PRECURSOR TO VIOLENCE IN 2015?

By Stephanie M. Burchard

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A voter waits to cast her ballot at a polling station in Dar es Salaam during the 2010 election. (Source: AP.)

Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard is a Research Staff Member in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

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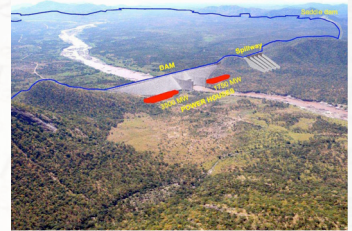
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NILE WATERS DISPUTE TIPS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SOLUTION

By George F. Ward

Since the 2011 start of the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), a 6,000 megawatt hydropower project located on the Blue Nile, Ethiopia and Egypt have been at odds. Egypt claims the right under colonial-era treaties to the Nile's waters and fears that the GERD might reduce that supply. Ethiopia, which was not a party to the treaties, asserts its right to develop its renewable-energy resources and denies that the GERD will deprive Egypt of water. The dispute has oscillated between hostile threats and attempts at amicable resolution. This year, which began with the [breakdown of tripartite talks](#) among Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan, is ending with hopes for a peaceful settlement. Sudan has moved toward the Ethiopian position, and the new leadership in Cairo has taken a conciliatory stand. If current efforts bear fruit, the dispute over the GERD will add to the historical evidence that water is [rarely the single cause of conflict](#).



Rendering of GERD. (Source: International Rivers, "The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam Fact Sheet," January 24, 2014, <http://www.internationalrivers.org/resources/the-grand-ethiopian-renaissance-dam-fact-sheet-8213>.)

The "Water Wars" that Never Arrive

Some have claimed that conflicts over water will occur more frequently in the future. In 1995, [former World Bank Vice President Ismail Serageldin](#) proclaimed that "the wars of the next century will be about water." [International river basins](#) cover around 45 percent of Earth's land surface, host about 40 percent of the world's population, and account for about 60 percent of the flow of the world's rivers. These facts would seem to support the notion that tensions and conflicts between nations over water issues are likely to arise frequently. And in fact, disputes over issues related to water have been numerous throughout history. Water supplies and infrastructure have been targeted during conflicts. As reported by the United Nations Economic, Cultural, and Social Organization (UNESCO), however, no states have actually gone to war specifically over water resources [since 2500 BC](#). Instead, a UNESCO publication reports that over 3,600 treaties on water issues were signed between 805 and 1984. More than 300 treaties and agreements related to water resources have been signed in the last 50 years.

As Cameron Harrington has pointed out, debate over the possibility of armed conflict over water diverts attention from the real problem, which is pervasive [water insecurity](#). According to this researcher, 15 percent of the world's freshwater withdrawal is used for energy production. This fact highlights the basis of the conflict over the GERD—Ethiopia wishes to use the waters of the Blue Nile for production of hydroelectric energy, while Egypt needs those waters to sustain agriculture and basic human needs. Sudan, which has both agricultural and power production interests, occupies a middle position, and that is important.

Sudan Shifts to the Ethiopian Side

Egypt withdrew from tripartite negotiations on the GERD in January 2014, accusing Ethiopia of refusing to recognize its rights to the waters of the Nile. A pause in diplomatic action on the dispute ensued. The key development during this period was an apparent move of the position of the government of Sudan toward the Ethiopian side. One indication of this shift was a statement in February by [Sudanese Foreign Minister Ali Karti](#) that criticized Egypt for inflaming the dispute through critical comments to the media. Karti made his remarks after accompanying Sudanese President Omer Hassan al-Bashir to Addis Ababa, where they held talks on bilateral cooperation with Ethiopian Prime Minister Haile-Mariam Desalegn and other officials.

Sudan's shift is significant, since it enjoys rights under the colonial-era treaties to a share of the Nile's waters, and since at the outset of the dispute, it was generally regarded as favoring the Egyptian position. With the end of the government

in Egypt dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood, Sudan's ties with Cairo may have weakened. Currently, Sudan may be motivated by three factors: (1) the advantages of regulating the upstream flow of the Blue Nile for purposes of irrigating croplands in Sudan; (2) its need for electric power that could be alleviated by the GERD; and (3) prospects of increased trade and commerce with Ethiopia.

Breakthrough in Malabo Leads to Further Progress

The capital of Equatorial Guinea in June 2014 was the unlikely scene of a key development in the dispute over the GERD. During the African Union summit in Malabo, the leaders of Egypt and Ethiopia engaged in bilateral talks, and they [agreed to resume the tripartite negotiations](#) on the GERD. Significantly, this agreement was one of the first diplomatic moves by Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who had been inaugurated only days previously.

Tripartite negotiations took place [in Khartoum](#) during the week of August 24. The major result was to agree to create a committee, composed of nationals of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan, to initiate two studies: a hydrology simulation model and a trans-boundary social, economic, and environmental impact assessment. The committee would be assisted by an international consulting firm. The [May 2013 report](#) of an international panel of experts had recommended such studies, so the agreement in Khartoum represents resumption of the procedural track that was being followed before the January 2014 breakdown. The water ministers of the three nations subsequently [met in Addis Ababa](#) in late September to sign the agreement forming the committee.

The Clock Favors Ethiopia

The GERD is an immensely complex project and, when completed, would be the eighth largest dam in the world. Reports on construction progress vary, but experts seem to agree that the project is [around 40 percent complete](#). It appears likely that some [electrical generating capacity](#) could be attained during 2015, when an initial water storage capacity of [14 billion cubic meters](#) (out of a planned 63 billion) will be reached.

In the meantime, relations between Egypt and Ethiopia remain on a positive path. A sizable Egyptian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry visited Addis Ababa during the first week in November. The result was a signed [Memorandum of Understanding](#) for cooperation in several areas, including education, trade, and health. The next tripartite meeting is scheduled for December. That meeting is to select a [consulting firm](#) to carry out the studies agreed to at the August tripartite meeting.

Conclusion

While the final chapter in the long-running saga of the GERD still has to be written, it is clear that the range of possible outcomes has been narrowed. Egyptian military action, once thought possible, seems out of the question. Negotiations are no longer about whether there will be a dam, but about the size, environmental and hydrological impact, and fill rate of the structure that will be completed. Egypt's negotiating stance and public posture have moderated since the inauguration of President al-Sisi, but the country will still need to defend its bottom line—unimpeded access to the water that sustains lives and livelihoods. A positive political atmosphere having been established, it will be up to experts from the three countries and from outside to establish the outlines of a win-win solution.

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward is editor of Africa Watch and a Research Staff Member at the Institute for Defense Analyses. He is a former U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Namibia.

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A voter waits to cast her ballot at a polling station in Dar es Salaam during the 2010 election. (Source: AP.)

Draft Controversy

While the drafting of a new constitution had been talked about since the 1990s, the process only began in earnest in late 2010. There have been several drafts and permutations of the new constitution. The first and second drafts enjoyed wide support among much of civil society and the opposition. The ruling party, which reportedly was reluctant to make changes to the existing constitution, took issue with several provisions of those drafts. When the second draft of the new constitution made its way to the Constituent Assembly, one of the final steps in the years-long process, it was [significantly altered to reflect the wishes of the ruling party](#). Specific provisions proposed by the opposition regarding the structure of the union and reducing the powers of the presidency were removed. When it became clear to the opposition that the ruling party was taking over the constitution-making process, several parties came together in a coalition, called [Ukawa](#), and staged a boycott of the remainder of the proceedings. [Despite the boycott](#) and questions about whether the Constituent Assembly would be able to convene the quorum necessary to complete the proceedings, a new draft was passed in October.

In early November, the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation held a forum to discuss the new constitution. During a speech by one of the new constitution's most vocal critics, Joseph Warioba, several youths began chanting "CCM," short for Chama cha Mapinuzi, the name of the ruling party. Some believe that the ruling party [deliberately instructed](#) members of its youth wing to disrupt the proceedings. Warioba, who had been prime minister of Tanzania from 1985 to 1990, served as chairman of the Constitutional Review Commission that authored the first draft. He has repeatedly come out in opposition to the changes made by the ruling party.

As things stand, Ukawa has promised it will [campaign against the new constitution](#). Although the typical campaign period for general elections is 60 days, the government has decided to limit the campaign period for the new constitution to 30 days, which may limit the effect of the coalition's protest.

Implications for 2015 Elections

The constitution-making process that has unfolded in Tanzania has heightened tensions between the opposition and the ruling party. It raised several [long-simmering issues](#) within the union of Tanzania, such as the relationship between the mainland and the islands of Zanzibar, but has provided no resolution. The process has resulted in a more unified opposition, however, which has promised to coordinate to [field a single candidate for the presidency](#) to run against the ruling party.

[Twaweza](#), a civil society organization established to promote change in East Africa, conducted a survey of Tanzanians in September 2014. It reported that Tanzanians are [very dissatisfied](#) with politicians at all levels and of all parties. Almost half the Tanzanians surveyed (47 percent) said that they would vote their current MP out of office. Only a slight majority (51 percent) said that, if the election were held today, they would vote for the CCM candidate for president, a decline of 10 percent from a 2012 survey. These results suggest that the next election will be close, perhaps closer than any election in Tanzanian history.

Previous elections have been problematic. The 2010 election, although hailed as free and fair by most observers, was not without flaw. According to the [EU observers report](#), the secrecy of the vote was compromised in up to 32 percent of polling places; electoral bodies on the mainland and Zanzibar may not have been impartial; parts of the tallying process were not transparent; and constituent boundaries seemed gerrymandered. In addition, the quality of the voter registration list was called into question—it was released just two weeks before the elections, which did not leave sufficient time for it to be inspected. Domestic observer reports also raised several red flags. According to the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) [report on the 2010 elections](#), several by-elections held prior to 2010 elections had been marred by violence. In the weeks leading up to the 2010 election, violence broke out in several instances between CCM and opposition supporters. Deaths were reported in Maswa, Dodoma, and Dar es Salaam.

Elections in Zanzibar have often been violent. [Irregularities and vote rigging](#) were alleged in the 1995 elections, which led to riots, the resignation of the leadership of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission, detention of opposition members on charges of treason, and several fatalities. There were at least [20 deaths after the 2000 elections](#). There were riots in 2005 on the day of voting in Zanzibar in response to reports that the ruling party was [busing in voters](#) from other constituencies. After several iterations of peace negotiations, [the 2010 elections were peaceful](#), but it is unclear if the peace will hold in 2015.

The current situation in Tanzania is in some ways reminiscent of the [Kenyan 2005 constitutional impasse](#). The constitution-making process in Kenya was also long and drawn out, and the draft that was presented to voters little resembled the document the party in power and the opposition had agreed to previously. A vigorous “no” campaign was waged by the opposition, and the proposed constitution was rejected by 58 percent of Kenyan voters. The subsequent general election held in 2007 saw the same pro-constitution and anti-constitution coalitions form. The animosity between the parties was so deep and hardened after the constitutional referendum that it contributed to a wave of [post-election violence](#) that gripped the country and threatened to bring Kenya to the brink of civil war. Although Kenya and Tanzania are different in many ways, the lesson from Kenya’s recent experience should not be forgotten: the constitution-making process can have long-reaching and unanticipated effects, especially when the process is perceived as unfair and one-sided.

Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard is a Research Staff Member in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN AFRICA: AN UPSIDE OF CONFLICT?

By Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

Since the 1990s, women across sub-Saharan Africa have made significant advances in the political realm. Whereas in the 1980s it was virtually unheard of for a woman to run for public office, now women occupy on average [22.5 percent of legislative seats](#) across the continent. This figure is only marginally lower than the averages for the Americas (25.2 percent) and Europe (23.5 percent), and it is higher than the averages for Asia and the Middle East. Sixty-four percent of Rwanda's parliament is composed of women legislators—the highest proportion of women legislators in the world. There are currently two women heads of state in Africa: President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia and Interim President Catherine Samba-Panza of Central African Republic. Joyce Banda, president of Malawi from 2012 to 2014, just recently lost her bid for a second term in office. Women also occupy such other high-ranking positions as [vice president](#) of Zimbabwe, [attorney general](#) of Botswana, [finance minister](#) of Nigeria, and [chair](#) of the African Union Commission. What accounts for the rapid ascension of women to positions of power in Africa, and what, if anything, does it signify? [more...](#)



Liberia President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, right, speaks with U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Samantha Power during a news conference in the city of Monrovia, Liberia, Tuesday, Oct. 28, 2014. (Source: AP Photo/Abbas Dulleh.)

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IN THE MIDST OF PROTESTS, WILL TOGO FOLLOW BURKINA FASO?

By Alexander Noyes

On November 21, 2014, thousands of opposition [protesters](#) marched through the streets of Lome, the Togolese capital, to demand presidential term limits that would bar President Faure Gnassingbé from running for a third term in elections scheduled for March 2015. When protesters deviated from the approved march route and headed toward parliament, the police used [tear gas](#) to disperse the demonstrators, who threw stones at the police. Two opposition supporters were injured in the clashes. Earlier in the day, Union for the Republic (UNIR, Union pour la République), the ruling party, had staged a pro-government rally, estimated to be larger than the opposition's. The following week, on November 28, another smaller [opposition](#) rally was held without incident. These protests have fueled [speculation](#) that Togo may follow the path of [Burkina Faso](#), where long-ruling President Blaise Compaoré was recently forced to step down after widespread demonstrations against his attempts to overturn presidential term limits. [more...](#)



Togo troops in riot gear approach protesters in the capital city of Lome, Togo, on November 21, during clashes with protesters calling for the president to withdraw from a presidential vote in March 2015. (Source: AP Photo/Erick Kaglan.)

Alexander Noyes is an Adjunct Research Associate in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

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Conflict and Gender Quotas

There are two prominent explanations for the significant increase in women's political representation in Africa. First, the number and nature of conflicts in the post-colonial period have led to several important sociopolitical changes. For example, revolutionary movements, such as those found in South Africa and Zimbabwe, demanded equality and the protection of human rights. By explicitly incorporating women into their ranks, these movements helped to shatter myths about the role of women in politics and society. Similarly, women-led peace movements in Uganda and Liberia demonstrated the ability of women to mobilize and to effect change. Members of movements such as these were often invited to participate in post-conflict nation-building dialogues. In Rwanda, because the 1994 genocide decimated the adult male population—the immediate post-genocide population of Rwanda was approximately [70 percent female](#)—it was necessary to include women in the post-conflict political sphere.

Second, changing international political norms have also exerted an influence on women's political representation in Africa. A few high-profile [international conferences on women](#) held in the 1980s and 1990s strongly advocated for the increased participation of women in politics. Specifically, the 1985 [Third World Conference on Women](#) held in Nairobi, Kenya, was a major turning point for improving women's representation because it explicitly called for countries to adopt constitutional and legal measures to ensure that women were no longer politically marginalized. As several countries in Africa began revising their constitutions in the 1990s, either after conflict or as a result of pressures to liberalize, they were influenced by calls from [domestic and international women's groups](#) to adopt gender-based quotas. Although there are several different types of [gender-based quotas](#), the goal is ultimately the same: to create a specific legal requirement for women's representation in legislative bodies. Currently, [at least half](#) the countries in sub-Saharan Africa have mandatory quotas in place, and several have voluntary quotas in place at the political party level. Further, there appears to be a link between women's presence in the legislature and their [increasing presence in executive cabinets](#) in Africa, suggesting that their holding seats in one political institution may have a spillover effect on others.

Meaningful Representation?

Although women's political representation at the elite level has increased over the past two decades, the full impact of this increase is still unknown. The surge in the number of women legislators in Africa can be linked to an increase in the

number of [women engaging in various political behaviors](#) such as talking about politics, participating in demonstrations, and contacting their politicians. In countries where women occupy between 25 and 35 percent of legislative seats, the [gender gap between men's and women's political participation \(except for voting\) all but disappears](#).

The act of voting, however, seems to remain unaffected. Some have suggested that when citizens are made aware of the importance of their vote, women tend to vote less frequently than men. The reasons differ based on the specific electoral context. For example, in [Uganda](#), a get-out-the-vote campaign undertaken in the suburbs of Kampala had the unintended consequence of decreasing women's turnout. The researchers behind the campaign theorized that in elections where the potential for violence is high, voter mobilization strategies may remind women how much is at stake and encourage them to stay home out of fear. In [Mali](#), where women are "traditionally unwelcome actors in the public sphere," a civic education program meant to increase political participation of both men and women resulted in decreased levels of voter turnout among women. It turns out that although the program helped to "close the gender gap in civic and political knowledge," it increased the social costs for females who wanted to vote: many reported "explicit threats of sanctions from male relatives and village elders."

Conclusion

Women have increased political participation across Africa; however, these gains are not uniform, and there are context-specific barriers to the participation of women in certain political arenas. In particular, the act of voting seems to remain unaffected, which may reflect the poor conduct of some elections, societal reluctance to fully embrace women's participation, or some other unmeasured factor that broadly discourages women from voting. Interestingly, [autocratic countries](#) report higher levels of women's elite political participation than their more democratic counterparts, suggesting that progress can be compelled to some extent. It may also be that many of the countries that lag in women's participation (e.g., Botswana, Mali, and Swaziland) have not experienced the type of conflict that results in a reordered society. Countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe all experienced devastating conflicts that radically transformed their societies and provided openings for women to enter into politics.

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Togo troops in riot gear approach protestors in the capital city of Lome, Togo, on November 21, during clashes with protestors calling for the president to withdraw from a presidential vote in March 2015. (Source: AP Photo/Erick Kaglan.)

Gnassingbé was installed by the military in 2005 after his father, Gnassingbé Eyadéma, in power since 1967, died in office. Later that same year, after he'd stepped down due to regional and international pressure, the younger Gnassingbé won a disputed election marked by violence. It resulted in a [power-sharing](#) agreement with the opposition that was facilitated by the European Union and the Economic Community of West African States. The unity government launched a number of inclusive institutions and reforms, with peaceful legislative elections held in 2007. In the lead-up to the 2010 presidential elections, several opposition parties withdrew from the inclusive accord over disagreements on the composition of the electoral commission. After Gnassingbé again won the poll, the opposition protested, decrying the result as fraudulent.

Over the past several years, political tensions have remained high as the opposition has staged intermittent demonstrations for political reform, with a [spike](#) in protests and political violence in the lead-up to long-delayed legislative elections held in July 2013. As highlighted in the July 17, 2013 [edition](#) of *Africa Watch*, an agreement was signed between Gnassingbé and the opposition just before the legislative elections. The agreement, which contained a number of government concessions—including increased opposition representation in the electoral commission—helped to ease tensions before the poll. UNIR overwhelmingly [won](#) the elections, consolidating its majority in parliament and decreasing the likelihood of far-reaching reforms.

The 2013 agreement did not go far enough for the often-divided opposition in Togo, as evidenced by the most recent protests. The opposition groups involved included the eight-party Combat for Political Alternative in 2015 (CAP2015), the broader Let's Save Togo Collective (CST, Collectif Sauvons le Togo), and the Rainbow Coalition (CAEC, Coalition Arc-en-Ciel). During the protests, opposition protesters held signs [saying](#), "Without reforms, no elections" and "50 years for the father and the son is enough." Gnassingbé has [ruled out](#) any changes to the existing constitution, which does not contain term limits. At the pro-government rally, UNIR supporters held signs that [read](#), "Don't touch my constitution."

Codjo Delava, the Secretary General of the National Alliance for Change (ANC), the main opposition party, [commented](#) on the chances of Togo following the path of Burkina Faso: "I'm not hoping it can happen. But there is a chance it can happen. This is not our hope, but if Faure Gnassingbé continues to refuse to implement political reforms so that elections can be free and fair, so that [the] presidential mandate can [be] limited, maybe it will happen."

Although Gnassingbé has not yet [declared](#) his candidacy for the 2015 elections, several factors militate against the Burkina Faso scenario occurring in Togo or term limits being introduced. These include the factionalized nature of the

opposition, UNIR's large majority in parliament, and the reality that pushing for rapid constitutional reform and term limits is much more difficult than simply vetoing them. As Gilles Yabi [argued](#), "It's a lot easier to block a revision of the constitution, which was the case in Ouagadougou [capital of Burkina Faso], than to force reform of the constitution." Constitutional reform would need to be passed by parliament, which, given UNIR's commanding majority and refusal to pass a reform bill on [June 30](#) earlier this year, looks unlikely.

That said, a piecemeal agreement that makes some concessions along the lines of the July 2013 accord does appear likely. [Discussions](#) between Gnassingbé and the opposition candidate, Jean-Pierre Fabre, are already under way. But until Gnassingbé makes at least token concessions, opposition protests will likely continue, with an attendant risk of low-level violence.

Alexander Noyes is an Adjunct Research Associate in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

AFRICAN MILITARIES—ON A SPENDING SPREE?

By George F. Ward

Two recent articles on the role of African militaries are worth noting. In its November 22, 2014 issue, *The Economist* asserted that African militaries are embarking on “[a spending spree](#).” Military expenditures in Africa are reported to have risen 8.3 percent from 2012 to 2013, reaching an estimated total of \$44.9 billion. The periodical pointed out that some African countries have used their increased defense budgets to acquire relatively sophisticated and expensive military systems. In an essay titled “The Return of Africa’s Strongmen,” published on December 6, 2014, in *The Wall Street Journal*, Drew Hinshaw and Patrick McGroarty noted the increased financial resources that are available to African defense establishments, contending that “[militaries are resurgent](#).” Even allowing for the uncertain validity of African statistics, there is little doubt that African military spending is increasing. It is important, however, to look carefully at the numbers and also to look behind them, considering whether African military spending is excessive in comparison to the security challenges on the continent. [more...](#)



A Nigerian tank is hidden in a small thicket of trees in Marte, Nigeria, on Wednesday, June 5, 2013. Nigeria’s military took journalists on a tour Wednesday of one of the areas where it fought Islamic extremists as part of a new offensive targeting radicals. (Source: AP Photo/Jon Gambrell.)

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POLITICAL PERKS IN AFRICA: ENTITLED CLASSES, IMPOVERISHED MASSES

By Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

Politicians in Africa tend to be very well compensated—some might say overly so—especially in relation to the average income of their constituents. Nigerian legislators, for example, are the highest paid in the world, with an average salary of [\\$189,500](#). In contrast, the annual GDP per capita in Nigeria is [\\$2,689](#), or less than 1/70 the average legislative salary. Nigeria is not alone in its generous compensation of politicians. Legislators in Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, and Zimbabwe are also among the highest paid in the world. What accounts for such high salaries and what effects might these high levels of remuneration have on development across the continent? [more...](#)



Kenyan demonstrators protest against salary demands made by members of parliament outside the parliament building in Nairobi, Kenya, June 11, 2013. (Source: AP Photo/Sayid Azim.)

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A Nigerian tank is hidden in a small thicket of trees in Marte, Nigeria, on Wednesday, June 5, 2013. Nigeria’s military took journalists on a tour Wednesday of one of the areas where it fought Islamic extremists as part of a new offensive targeting radicals. (Source: AP Photo/Jon Gambrell.)

African Defense by the Numbers

The [Military Expenditure Database](#) maintained by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) is authoritative in this field. In its analysis, *The Economist* cited data [published by SIPRI](#) in April 2014. At that time, SIPRI noted that the year-to-year rise in military spending in all of Africa from 2012 to 2013 had been the largest of any world region. Restricting the field to the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, the increase was somewhat less imposing. Total military expenditures in 2013 in sub-Saharan Africa were \$26.2 billion, or 58 percent of the continent’s total, an increase of 7.3 percent from the previous year. SIPRI also reported some particularly striking examples of increased military spending: Ghana more than doubled its expenditures in 2013, and Angola became the largest military spender in sub-Saharan Africa, surpassing South Africa.

A deeper look into SIPRI’s database helps put the single-year rise reported by *The Economist* into context. Data on annual military spending for all of the six years from 2008 through 2013 were available to SIPRI for only 24 sub-Saharan countries. Looking at military expenditures as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP), the mean for those 24 countries for the 2008–2013 period was 1.6 percent. Compared with other regions, military spending as percentage of GDP in sub-Saharan Africa was in line with that of South America, lower than in North Africa and the Middle East, and higher than in Central America and the Caribbean.

Looking Behind the Numbers

Interpreting African military spending numbers inevitably involves the question, “How much is enough?” The answer to that question is, of course, “It depends.” Defense budgets in Africa, as elsewhere, are driven by a multitude of factors, including perceived threats; the size of the military force; the extent of corruption; and the availability of outside resources, such as from donor countries or the United Nations. What is enough for a country at peace with itself and its neighbors will be manifestly too little for a country at war or facing a serious internal threat. There has been no accepted international standard for defense spending since Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank from 1968 to 1981, posited the idea of [a ceiling of 2 percent of GDP for security](#).

Even recognizing the absence of a standard, it is interesting to look at the six-year numbers from 2008 to 2013. As stated above, the arithmetic mean is 1.6 percent. The median, however, is even lower, at 1.35 percent, because the mean is skewed higher by spending in only six countries. Surprisingly, five of these six are located in Southern Africa—Angola,

Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, and Swaziland. All five of these countries spent an average of at least 2.4 percent of GDP on their defense forces from 2008 to 2013. Angola was in the lead with 4.0 percent. The only other country that spent 2 percent or more of GDP on the military was Uganda, at 2.9 percent. The concentration of high military spending in Southern Africa is particularly striking given the absence of a threat. Southern Africa is generally recognized as the most peaceful subregion on the continent. Additional research would be necessary to determine whether these countries are simply attempting to keep up with each other or whether other factors are at play.

What Does the Money Buy?

In some cases, increased military expenditures do seem to be related to force readiness and operational tempo. Kenya, for example, has maintained a moderate level of defense spending, amounting to an average of 1.9 percent of GDP in the 2008–2013 period. Military spending increases in Kenya in 2013 were required to [procure helicopters and other equipment](#) needed in the fight against al-Shabaab in Somalia and in Kenya itself. In other cases, spending increases seem less clearly related to urgent military requirements. For example, [Angola's defense budget](#) reached \$6.8 billion in 2014 and is expected to increase to \$13 billion by 2019, a compound annual growth rate of almost 12 percent. Among other things, Angola's increased defense budget will be used to pay a \$1 billion bill for 12 advanced fighter aircraft and other equipment ordered from Russia. Angola faces no apparent military threat that would require the employment of such aircraft. In Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan won parliamentary support for a [loan of \\$1 billion](#) to support operations against Boko Haram. Shortly afterward, reports surfaced that the Nigerian air force had recommended the purchase of [25–40 advanced jet fighters](#) from Pakistan. In a situation in which Nigerian army forces sometimes find themselves outgunned and short of ammunition in encounters with Boko Haram forces, such an expenditure would seem unwise.

Misplaced Priorities

Perhaps even more telling than the waste of military expenditures on questionable equipment are instances in which modest financial resources are diverted to purposes that contribute little to military capabilities. South Africa, arguably the key element in the African security equation, spent only 1.2 percent of GDP on its defense in 2008–2013. [Around 52 percent](#) of its military budget is spent on personnel costs, even though wide publicity has been given to the operational plight of the [army](#), [navy](#), and [air force](#). Some of the strains on the budget are related to the costs of maintaining on active duty a significant number of aging veterans of the liberation struggle. In parliament, the opposition party accused the government of allowing the South African National Defense Force to become "[an armed welfare service](#)." Even though President Zuma has endorsed the need for additional resources, the [finance ministry has failed](#) to follow through.

Conclusion

In summary, reports of a generalized military spending spree in sub-Saharan Africa are somewhat overdrawn. The real problem is the combination of wasteful spending on unnecessary equipment and underspending on purposes more directly related to military readiness and needed capabilities. For more than a decade, the African Union has pursued the goal of a regional standby force that could be deployed rapidly to address security problems on the continent. That force was to reach [full operational capacity](#) by 2015. Although that deadline is approaching, it will not be met in a meaningful fashion. The failure of African countries to spend their increasingly large defense budgets more wisely is one of the reasons it will not be met.

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward is editor of Africa Watch and a Research Staff Member at IDA. He is a former U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Namibia.

POLITICAL PERKS IN AFRICA: ENTITLED CLASSES, IMPOVERISHED MASSES

By Dr. Stephanie M. Burchard

Politicians in Africa tend to be very well compensated—some might say overly so—especially in relation to the average income of their constituents. Nigerian legislators, for example, are the highest paid in the world, with an average salary of [\\$189,500](#). In contrast, the annual GDP per capita in Nigeria is [\\$2,689](#), or less than 1/70 the average legislative salary. Nigeria is not alone in its generous compensation of politicians. Legislators in Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, and Zimbabwe are also among the highest paid in the world. What accounts for such high salaries and what effects might these high levels of remuneration have on development across the continent?

Continent-Wide Trend?

In Kenya, salaries for elected officials have increased significantly in recent years. According to a United Nations Development Program Report, in 2009 Kenyan parliamentarians earned [20 times](#) what they made in 2002 as a result of three consecutive raises. While a parliamentarian's base salary is currently \$70,000, each also receives various allowances and sitting fees. Taken as a whole, Kenya parliamentarians receive the second-highest rate of compensation in the world when [compared to their constituents' average](#) yearly incomes—ranked only below Nigeria. GDP per capita in Kenya is [\\$1,136](#).

National-level parliamentarians are not the only elected officials who have demanded, and received, higher salaries in Kenya. As the result of a new constitution passed in 2010 that devolved power to 47 municipal county assemblies, demands for increased political pay have emerged from the local level. County-level politicians have demanded perks on par with those that parliamentarians receive. These demands began [roughly a month after general elections](#) in March 2013—the first election for the newly created assembly positions.

When Ugandan parliamentarians demanded a raise in April, it came to light that they make around \$70,000 per year. Their monthly stipend is approximately [60 times](#) the salary of the average civil servant in Uganda. [Malawi](#) approved a raise in early December for its politicians. It was a much more modest raise than the [600 percent pay hike](#) cabinet ministers requested in August. Cabinet ministers received a 168 percent pay raise while the president and vice president received an 80 percent pay raise. After pressure from the public and civil society, however, the president announced that he and his vice president would be [deferring](#) their raises for 2015.

South African politicians also receive compensation beyond their salaries alone. The 400 members of the National Assembly earn approximately [\\$80,000](#) per year, but [Cabinet members, who earn](#) a base salary of \$181,000, receive a stipend for two cars for public use, accommodation, domestic workers, a travel stipend worth 30 single business-class flights per year for the minister and his or her spouse, among other benefits. [Despite recommendations](#) to the contrary from the remunerations commission, President Jacob Zuma gave parliamentarians and ministers a 5 percent raise in 2014.

Not all countries in Africa pay their politicians such high salaries. For example, legislators in [Benin, Liberia, Angola, and Mozambique](#) all earn salaries well below their high-earning continental counterparts. But because of the lack of systematic data on politician salaries across Africa, it is difficult to ascertain what the norm is and in what direction the trend may be moving. Many countries have no disclosure or reporting requirements for elected official salaries.



Kenyan demonstrators protest against salary demands made by members of parliament outside the parliament building in Nairobi, Kenya, June 11, 2013. (Source: AP Photo/Sayyid Azim.)

Causes and Effects

Part of the reason why many politicians in African countries receive such high salaries, especially compared with what their constituents earn, has to do with how countries decide politician compensation. A 2013 [study from REPOA](#), a nonprofit research organization from Tanzania, found that salaries and remuneration decisions in Africa are generally made with little input from the public and sometimes with little awareness by the public about these decisions. In Kenya and Ghana, for example, parliamentarians essentially set their own salaries. In South Africa, the president determines legislator salaries, and the National Assembly sets the president's salary. Although there is an independent body that makes recommendations regarding salaries, these recommendations are not binding. In Nigeria, legislators have gotten around formal [disclosure rules](#) by accumulating different perks and benefits to supplement their salaries.

Disproportionately high salaries, combined with limited economic options, contribute to a [do-or-die](#) approach to elections in many of these countries. Campaign financing in [Kenya](#) and [Nigeria](#), where there are few limits on spending, has exponentially increased in recent years. Election violence seems to be a persistent problem in developing countries in which both the costs of political campaigns and the benefits of office are high. The relationship between high compensation, campaign spending, and election violence seems to be self-perpetuating.

Excessive politician salaries also amount to a significant budgetary expenditure, often to the detriment of spending in other areas. In September 2013, the government of Zimbabwe reportedly splurged on new luxury vehicles for some 39 ministers and 24 deputies, estimated to cost the government roughly [\\$20 million](#). In November, just two months later, the Zimbabwean treasury forecasted it would end the year with a [\\$100 million](#) budget deficit. Spending decisions such as these reflect a political class that is out of touch with public needs and priorities.

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CHINA IN SOMALIA—REOPENING ITS EMBASSY AND BUILDING TRUST

By Dr. Ashley Neese Bybee

In October 2014, China reopened its embassy in Mogadishu 23 years after it closed when the Somali civil war broke out. Although China never ceased its development assistance during that tumultuous time, the official reopening of its embassy is significant for several reasons. First, it is a [symbol](#) of the importance that the Chinese government attaches to its bilateral relations with Somalia. Second, it is located in downtown Mogadishu as opposed to inside the United Nations (UN) compound or in neighboring Nairobi, where most other countries have based their diplomatic representatives to Somalia. This decision reflects China's [commitment](#) to its presence. Last, the new ambassador has strong personal ties to Somalia. [more...](#)

Dr. Ashley Neese Bybee is a Research Staff Member in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

SECURITY CHANGES IN KENYA PROMPT COUNTERTERRORISM DEBATE

By Alexander Noyes

On December 2, 2014, 36 quarry workers were [killed](#) by al-Shabaab militants in Mandera County in northern Kenya, near the border with Somalia. Mirroring tactics used in a previous attack in Mandera on November 22, in which 28 were killed, the extremists [specifically](#) targeted non-Muslims. In the wake of the December 2 attack, President Uhuru Kenyatta [announced](#) a shakeup of security personnel, sacking Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph ole Lenku and accepting the early retirement of David Kimaiyo, Inspector General of the police. In an effort to strengthen counterterrorism efforts, Kenyatta also proposed and fast-tracked sweeping [changes](#) to Kenya's security laws, sparking debate and strong pushback from the opposition and human rights groups. It appears such criticism has pushed Kenyatta to [soften](#) his stance and seek a more inclusive policy-making process. [more...](#)



Soldiers of Kenya Defence Forces look over the bodies of Kenyans at a quarry in Mandera, Kenya, Tuesday, Dec. 2, 2014. Kenya police say that at least 36 quarry workers were killed in an attack in northern Kenya by suspected Islamic extremists from Somalia. Kenyan police chief David Kimaiyo confirmed the workers were killed early Tuesday in Mandera County. (Source: AP Photo.)

Alexander Noyes is an Adjunct Research Associate in the Africa Program at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

About IDA

The Institute for Defense Analyses is a non-profit corporation operating in the public interest.

IDA's three federally-funded research and development centers provide objective analyses of national security issues and related national challenges, particularly those requiring scientific and technical expertise.

IDA's Africa team focuses on issues related to political, economic, and social stability and security on the continent.

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Background

Somalia and China established diplomatic ties in [1960](#), and since then they have maintained a strong bilateral relationship. Somalia was the first East African nation to [grant China diplomatic recognition](#) and lobbied for the People's Republic of China (PRC) to replace the Republic of China as the only lawful representative of China to the UN.

China's foreign policy [principle of non-interference](#) in the domestic politics of partner countries is well documented. Its complementary [foreign-policy principle of equal treatment](#) for all countries—regardless of their level of stability or amount of capacity—is less frequently cited. Thus, even when China closed its Somali embassy in 1991 in the midst of a security crisis that threatened the lives of Chinese diplomats, it [never ceased assistance](#) to Somalia, [continuing to provide](#) reconstruction assistance, debt relief, and humanitarian supplies.

The Embassy and the Ambassador

The ceremony reopening the Chinese embassy in October was attended by a number of high-level officials, including Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, China's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Zhang Ming, United Nations envoy to Somalia Nicholas Kay, and the new Chinese Ambassador to Somalia, Wei Hongtian. Almost immediately, the embassy staff donated [\\$20,000](#) to assist the 1 million Somali people living in the South who are facing a humanitarian crisis potentially as severe as the famine in 2011. This gesture seems to have been intended to endear embassy staff, and by extension the Chinese people, to the Somali people.

The embassy itself is one of only a very few located outside the UN compound near the airport. President Mohamud has applauded the Chinese decision to locate its embassy in the city of Mogadishu, [stating](#) that it represents China's serious commitment to Somalia and is a vote of confidence in Somalia's future. It also sends a signal to the local population that China is willing to immerse itself in the country despite the risk to the security of the embassy staff and facilities posed by the local terrorist threat, al-Shabaab.

The selection of Ambassador Hongtian reinforces the ties that unite the two countries. Ambassador Hongtian [attended university](#) in Mogadishu, speaks Somali, and is very familiar with the country, culture, and its challenges. In one of Ambassador Hongtian's [first public statements](#), he underscored the importance of the bilateral relationship and dismissed claims that China's latest interest in Somalia is part of a plan to secure natural resources.

Conclusion

Across the African continent, foreign actors—often from developing or transitional countries themselves, such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, Turkey, South Korea, and Iran—are strengthening their diplomatic and economic footprints. In terms of geopolitics, they bring new ideas, institutions, and approaches to engagement. China's long history of engagement

in Africa has recently been mainly economic in nature. But in Somalia, it appears that China is testing a new approach, one focused on taking great risks to build trust in a country suffering from a severe trust deficit. It will be important for regional analysts to track and assess the effectiveness of this approach, as it may be an appropriate model for the growing number of countries looking to make inroads in Africa.

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Repeated Attacks and Response

Kenya has faced continual attacks by al-Shabaab since the country's military incursion into Somalia in 2011. The Westgate mall attack in September 2013 was the most publicized and devastating. As highlighted in the [October 10](#) and [April 17](#) editions of *Africa Watch*, Kenya has responded to such attacks in an often harsh and heavy-handed manner, as exemplified by mass arrests and deportations of Kenya's ethnic Somali community in April 2014. There have been allegations of human rights abuses by the security forces during such sweeps. On December 9, 2014, Al Jazeera [reported](#) on the existence of police "death squads" that carried out extrajudicial killings of Muslim radicals. The government denied these allegations. On December 16, the government [announced](#) that over 500 NGOs had been "deregistered," with 15 NGOs allegedly linked to terror groups.

Sweeping Legislative Amendments

Kenyatta's proposed changes to the country's existing security statutes appear to be a continuation of such hard-line counterterror strategies. Drafted by the Parliamentary Committee on National Security and Administration, the changes, named the Security Laws (Amendments) Bill 2014, aim to amend 21 statutes. The changes would drastically [expand](#) the power of the security services to detain suspects and clamp down on journalists' ability to report on security operations, with jail terms of up to three years for media reports that "undermine investigations or security operations relating to terrorism." The bill would also [reduce](#) the number of asylum seekers and refugees in Kenya from the current 607,000 to 150,000.

[According](#) to Human Rights Watch, other proposed amendments include the following:

- Article 18, to enable police to extend pre-charge detention for up to 90 days with court authorization, well beyond the 24-hour limit that Kenyan law currently allows.
- Article 19, to allow prosecutors to not disclose evidence to the accused if "the evidence is sensitive and not in the public interest to disclose."
- Article 66, to enable NIS [National Intelligence Service] officers to carry out "covert operations," broadly defined as "measures aimed at neutralizing threats against national security."

Criticism of Amendments

The proposed changes have generated vigorous debate and condemnation from the opposition and civil society. Minority Leader Moses Wetang'ula, of the Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) party, [asserted](#), "The Bill, on the face of it, is derogation on the Bills of Rights which are guaranteed in the Constitution. Any attempt to undermine the Bill of Rights will be resisted, including in the courts." *The Daily Nation* [noted](#) in an editorial: "The very real and present dangers must not be used as an excuse to roll back the gains of a free and democratic society."

The government's own Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC) has also [found](#) fault with several of the amendments, contending that they are in conflict with the new constitution passed in 2010. International groups have also joined the chorus, with Leslie Lefkow of Human Rights Watch [arguing](#), "The hastily offered security bill infringes on many basic rights and freedoms protected in Kenya's constitution and international human rights law."

Conclusion

In the face of strong opposition to the bill, it appears that Kenyatta has decided on a more inclusive strategy, with [reports](#) indicating that he will consult with CORD and other groups before the parliamentary debate on the bill scheduled for December 18. This would be a welcome move, if genuine. While the threat from al-Shabaab is real and should not be underestimated, Kenyatta's hard-line counterterrorism responses have failed to prevent attacks and have proven counterproductive by actually intensifying radicalization. As noted in the October 10 [edition](#) of *Africa Watch*, research by Anneli Botha of the Institute for Security Studies revealed that Kenya's counterterrorism strategy of "collective punishment" has been the most important [driver](#) of al-Shabaab recruitment in Kenya. It is estimated that more than [25 percent](#) of al-Shabaab's current members are native Kenyans.

Unfortunately, Kenyatta's legislative proposals appear to double down on this strategy, while also [watering down](#) imperfect but significant institutional police reforms achieved during the power-sharing government in office from 2008 to 2013. With Kenyatta ostensibly making concessions toward a more inclusive counterterrorism policy-making process, international actors would be wise to help steer the Kenyatta administration in this more moderate direction.

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