



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

**The Africa Watch  
July – September 2012**

George F. Ward  
Dorina A. Bekoe  
Mary E. Boswell  
Stephanie M. Burchard  
Ashley N. Bybee  
Ashton M. Callahan  
Ivana Djak  
Brittany T. Gregerson  
Eliza M. Johannes  
John A. Kringen  
Alexander H. Noyes  
Janette Yarwood  
Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES  
4850 Mark Center Drive  
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

The first July 2012 issue contains the following articles – Senegal: Y'en a Marre Moves to Consolidate Change; What an Extended European Financial Crisis Might Mean for South Africa's Political Future; Developmental Authoritarianism and Ethiopia's ICT Sector; ECOWAS: Tolerance for Unconstitutionality Prevails in Mali and Guinea Bissau; Kenya-Ethiopia Border Conflict in Focus After Turkana Oil Discovery; Angola: Vicente Primed to Succeed Dos Santos; Eritrean Anti-Regime Robocall Campaign Targets Thousands; Uganda: Increasing Terror Threat as More Militants Cross Border; Student Protests in Mauritania; and DRC: FDLR Intensifies as M23 Mutiny Rages On.

The second July 2012 issue contains the following articles – ECOWAS's Intervention in Mali: Disturbing Warning Signs; Zimbabwe: ZANU-PF Succession Battle Shifts; Abdoulaye Wade's Attempts to Maintain Political Influence Do Not Resonate with Senegalese; African-Arab Migration; Former Combatants Threaten to Block Upcoming Vote in Angola, and Second Meeting of the China-Africa People's Forum for Future Engagement.

The first August 2012 issue contains the following articles – Liberia: Robert Sirleaf's New Job; The African Standby Force: An Update; Ethiopia's EPRDF without Meles: Signs of Resilience or Trouble; Kenya's Election: March 4, 2013; Ebola in Uganda: Underplayed; Army Mutiny in Madagascar Suppressed Ahead of SADC Talks; Updates on Guinea-Bissau; Clashes on the DRC-Zambia Border; and French Foreign Minister Visits West Africa to Discuss Mali.

The second August 2012 issue contains the following articles – The Mali Coup and Civil Society in West Africa; Illicit Wildlife Trafficking and Instability in Central Africa; Kenya's ICC Process: Implications for the Presidential Race and Post-Election Governance; Election Watch: Angola 2012; Tanzania-Malawi Border Dispute; After Chinese Death, Zambia Moves to Preserve China-Zambia Relations; Guinea: Mining Industry Woes Continue; Tension in Nigerian Bakassi Peninsula Ahead of Cessation to Cameroon; and Leadership Profile: David Yau Yau, South Sudanese Military Commander.

The first September 2012 issue contains the following articles – Un Nouveau Type d'Africaine? A Generational Shift in Civil Society; Mine Violence in South Africa Reveals Political and Societal Fissures; Ghana Elections 2012: Meet the NDC Ticket; Africa's Continuing Information and Communications Technology Revolution: The Thing Edge of the Chinese Wedge; Low Professionalism Undermines Benefits of Press Freedom in West Africa; Guinea: Alleged Attack on Prominent Opposition Leaders; Unrest in Gabon: Andrew Mba Obame and the National Union Party; Nigeria: Centralized vs. State-Level Police Forces; Senegal: Locals Reject Biofuels Project; and New Militia in the DRC: The Movement for Claiming the Truth of the Ballot Box.

The second September 2012 issue contains the following articles – Political Shift in Zimbabwe Increases Risk of Electoral Violence; Kenya's Tana River County Clashes: The Political Manipulation of Orma and Pokomo Grievances; DRC Regional Entanglements: Rwanda; Election Developments in Sierra Leone; Playing at the Margins: Iran's Engagement with African Leaders at the Non-Aligned Movement Summit; Zambia-Zimbabwe: Sata Increasingly Close with Mugabe; Burundi: New Rebellion and Growing Tensions; and Mobilizing for Violence in Ghana's Elections?





INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

# THE AFRICA WATCH

JULY 3, 2012



## TO THE READER

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

With best regards,

*George*

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ANALYSES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Senegal: <i>Y'en a marre</i> Moves to Consolidate Change.....	1
What an Extended European Financial Crisis Might Mean for South Africa's Political Future.....	4
Developmental Authoritarianism and Ethiopia's ICT Sector.....	7
ECOWAS: Tolerance for Unconstitutionality Prevails in Mali and Guinea-Bissau.....	9
Kenya-Ethiopia Border Conflict in Focus after Turkana Oil Discovery .....	12
<b>ALERTS .....</b>	<b>15</b>
Angola : Vicente Primed to Succeed Dos Santos.....	15
Eritrean Anti-Regime Robocall Campaign Targets Thousands.....	16
Uganda: Increasing Terror Threat as More Militants Cross Border .....	17
Student Protests in Mauritania .....	18
DRC: FDLR Intensifies Violence as M23 Mutiny Rages On .....	19
<b>ENDNOTES .....</b>	<b>21</b>



## ANALYSES

### Senegal: *Y'en a marre* Moves to Consolidate Change

Researcher: Caroline F. Ziemke-Dickens

#### Summary

- Senegal's *Y'en a marre* ("We're fed up") movement seeks to build on its success in rallying opposition to former President Abdoulaye Wade's attempt to win an unconstitutional third term in office by establishing itself as a patriotic but apolitical movement to transform Senegal into a "Republic of citizens."
- On May 20, 2012, founding members of *Y'en a marre*, as part of an IDA-sponsored conference "Civil Societies in Africa: Promoting Civic Awareness and Tolerance," discussed their plans to avoid the historical pattern of grassroots political movements in Africa that disintegrate after they achieve their short-term goals. *Y'en a marre* is working to create a "new type of civil society organization" that will not be co-opted by regimes and political parties and will replace traditional popular fatalism with a mindset of positive resistance.<sup>1</sup>
- The *Y'en a marre* leaders pushed back against suggestions from other African conference participants that they must enter government and party politics in order to consolidate change, arguing that "if we join the government, we will become disconnected from the realities of the people we are representing, and our voices and the voices of the people may not be heard."

#### *Y'en a marre* since the Defeat of Wade

Three months after the electoral defeat of Abdoulaye Wade, the young men in t-shirts bearing slogans like "*Je suis un NTS: un Nouveau Type de Sénégalaise*" ("I'm an NTS – a New Type of Senegalese") are determined to defy the odds by replacing the traditional fatalism of the Senegalese electorate with a new civic mindset of positive change and rallying a generation of young people prepared to take risks to "serve and change their country."<sup>2</sup> According to Dr. Ousmane Sene of the West Africa Research Center (WARC), the group is changing the image of youth in Senegal to show that some are committed to making Senegal work rather than emigrating or giving in to hopelessness, crime, violence, and drugs. But, as numerous African participants in a recent IDA-sponsored civil society conference pointed out, the *Y'en a marre* movement faces daunting challenges in maintaining interest and support now that President Wade, the common enemy that forged it, has been removed from the political stage.

*Y'en a marre* was born in a dark apartment during a 20-hour power outage in January 2011. Two well-known hip-hop artists from the Kaolack region of Senegal – Fou Malade (Malal Almamy Talla) and Thiat (Cheikh Oumar Cyrille Touré) – were venting their frustration over days of power cuts, poverty, and government incompetence and corruption with a third friend, journalist Fadel Barro. Barro issued a challenge to the rappers, saying: "Guys, everyone knows you. But you're not doing anything to change the country." The rappers rose to the challenge and went about building a collective movement to mobilize the interest of young Senegalese in politics.<sup>3</sup> On March 19, the group organized the first in a series of peaceful protests. Hundreds of

supporters turned up at the Place de l'Obélisque and expressed their frustration, even in the face of a sizeable security force presence, in response to the *Y'en a marre* call to action: "The time has passed for moaning in your living room or futile complaining about the power cuts. We refuse to accept the systematic rationing imposed in our home to supply electricity. We're sick and tired of it. Enough is enough."<sup>4</sup>

The *Y'en a marre* movement gained momentum later in 2011 when President Abdoulaye Wade announced his intention to defy the Constitution and seek a third term. He also pressed the National Assembly to pass a series of "reforms" that would enable him to claim electoral victory with just a 25 percent plurality (instead of the constitutionally required 50 percent plus one) and effectively allow Wade to establish a family dynasty by naming his son, Karim, as his Vice President – an office that did not previously exist in Senegal. Wade dismissed "the rappers of *Y'en a marre*" as representing only themselves and having "nothing to do with the youth in the interior of the country."<sup>5</sup> On June 23, thousands of protestors gathered outside the National Assembly chanting "*Ne touche pas ma constitution!*" ("Don't Touch My Constitution!"), "*Non à la monarchie!*" ("Down with Monarchy") and "*Y'en a marre.*" In the face of similar demonstrations in cities and towns across Senegal (Kaolack, Rufisque, Cassamance, Thiès, and Pikene), delegates to the National Assembly turned against Wade's "reforms," which were withdrawn later that day.<sup>6</sup> Widespread protests broke out again, in January 2012, when the Constitutional Council approved Wade's candidacy for a third term, spurred on by the president's statements that he had every right to run since "After all, I wrote the constitution. It was me alone. If I wanted, I could even run again in 2019."

While the protests and heavy-handed security response to them gained international attention in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, *Y'en a marre* believed their most effective tool for forcing change was awakening the civic awareness of Senegal's youth. In a country in which fewer than 12 percent of 18- to 22-year-olds had voting cards, tens of thousands of young Senegalese registered to vote for the first time, answering Thiat's call: "The alarm bell rings. My voting card is my weapon. It will be the solution to my suffering." The government banned the *Y'en a marre* rappers from performing in public, effectively robbing them of their livelihood, and in an effort to delegitimize them spread rumors that they were funded by the Freemasons. Thiat was briefly arrested in July for publicly disrespecting the President, when he said, "An old man of 90 who lies has no role in the country." But the group continued to use what Barro calls its "urban guerilla poetry" to instill in the movement an ethic of non-violence and send the clear message that "failing to vote is running away from responsibility."<sup>7</sup>

With the landslide victory of Macky Sall over Wade on March 28, 2012, *Y'en a marre* had achieved its short-term objective. Barro and other movement leaders were invited to join the government. Believing that there was still much to do in raising the civic awareness of the Senegalese people, however, the young founders of *Y'en a marre* have chosen to "stay on the outside with the people" and serve their country as "sentinels and watchdogs."<sup>8</sup> *Y'en a marre* has been less visible since the election, but they have remained active, turning their attention to making their organization more robust while continuing to promote their non-violent philosophy of the "*Nouveau type de Sénégalais*" with an awareness of their duties as well as their rights – citizens who "instead of throwing stones, give blood and plant trees; instead of burning tires, collect trash and clean the streets." As Thiat put it, "if the people of Africa unite, they can force real change in the quality of their leadership. . . [and] create a new country."

### **Whither *Y'en a marre*?**

In discussion, many of the African participants in the IDA-WARC civil society conference – most of whom were, themselves, civil society leaders and activists from across Africa – took issue with *Y'en a marre*'s determination to stay outside of government. Only by working from the inside, some argued, could movements like *Y'en a marre* implement real change. Only by creating a formal organizational and financial structure could it expand its influence and sustain itself. In their response, however, the founders of *Y'en a marre* demonstrated their thoughtfulness, idealism, and political maturity.

“There was a proposal to have our own list of candidates,” Barro explained, but “we wanted to get the maximum number of Senegalese involved and interested in politics. We want to earn the trust of those who are still suspicious of politics, and we don't believe the way to do that is to get involved in politics. There are good and bad political parties and politicians, but the truth is that there are still relatively few worthy of the trust of the people. The reason that African leaders can get away with so much is that there is not [an] engaged public opinion that can take action. We want to be promoters of change as citizens. If we joined the government, we would become disconnected from the realities of the people we are representing and our voices, and the voices of the people, may not be heard.” Thiat added: “Even structured civil society organizations are too often co-opted by the interests of the regime. We no longer need an umbilical cord. We can bring change by staying outside with the people.”

*Y'en a marre* is aware of the need to create an organization capable of meeting its goals of expanding the movement across Senegal and, eventually, across Africa. The cadre of musicians, artists, and journalists who founded the movement remain at its center, but the real backbone of the organization is “*L'esprit Y'en a marre*,” (“The spirit of we're fed up”) a network of local volunteers organized by region, profession, or issue area into small cells of no more than 25 people. Of those, at least ten must be women. Each cell is free to execute their own plans of action around local issues as long as they do so in keeping with the non-violent philosophy of the *Nouveau type de Sénégalaise*. This network structure is designed, in part, to enable the movement to quickly get the word out about abuses as well as to address issues beyond politics – brush fires, coastal erosion, albino health, HIV/AIDS and public health, to name a few – and instill a broader understanding of civic responsibility to serve the broader public good, not just demand services or claim individual rights. All the movement's literature is published in French and Wolof in order to reach the broadest possible audience. The movement is also deeply committed to voluntarism and has, so far, eschewed outside grants and funding. The movement depends solely on small donations and the proceeds from the sale of t-shirts and *Y'en a marre* music CDs for its funding.

The leaders of *Y'en a marre* are also dedicated to sharing what they have learned about civic activism by reaching out to activists in other countries, including Mauritania, Mali, and Ghana.

## **What an Extended European Financial Crisis Might Mean for South Africa's Political Future**

### **Summary**

- The European Union (EU) financial crisis could have a significant impact on South Africa during the run-up to its national election in mid-2014.
- Another economic downturn, following so quickly after the 2008-2009 crisis, could call into serious question the ANC's economic policies.
- Nationalization and other interventions in the economy could result.

### **Economic Leaders Already Voicing Concern**

South Africa's economic leaders have been at the forefront within Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in calling attention to the potentially serious consequences for Africa of the ongoing financial crisis in the EU. This concern reflects a number of factors: the importance of Europe to South Africa's economy; the impact on South Africa of the 2008 financial crisis; and the significant effects that another downturn in its economy could have on its future political direction.

### **Europe's Importance to South Africa's Economy**

In April 2012, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) assessed that SSA was relatively insulated from financial spillovers emanating from the Euro area because its financial linkages to Europe were limited. At the same time, it highlighted that South Africa was a notable exception – observing that “it is more exposed to weaknesses in the world economy – particularly to Europe, which remains a major market for its high-valued added exports.”<sup>9</sup>

South Africa is vulnerable to changes in Europe's economy at several levels. According to Eurostat, South Africa in 2009 exported almost \$14 billion in goods to EU countries, was the top EU partner in Africa for trade in services in 2008, and was the largest SSA recipient of Foreign Direct Investment from EU countries in 2008.<sup>10</sup>

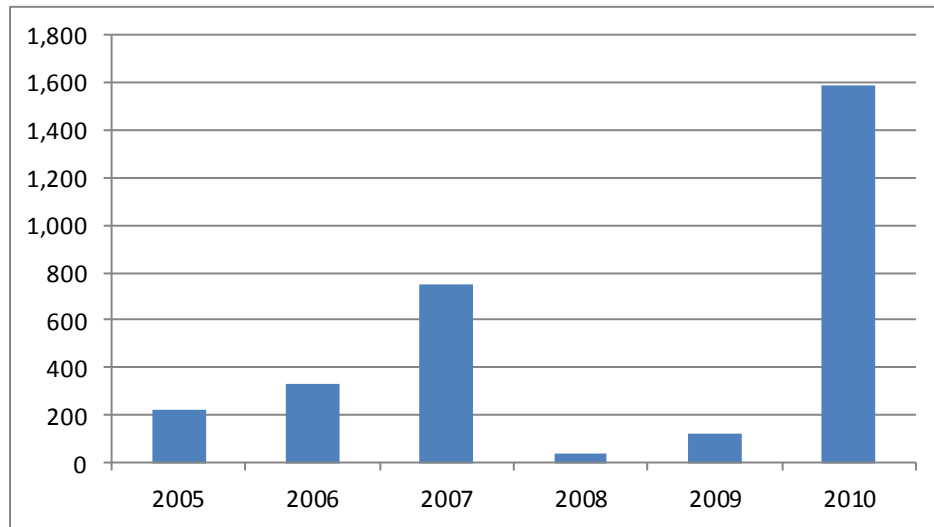
There is some evidence to indicate that Europe's economic problems are already having an impact on South Africa's economy:

- In recent months both the IMF and Standard & Poor's estimated that South Africa's economy would slow to 2.7 percent in 2012 from 3.1 percent in 2011.
- A survey of business confidence in May registered its lowest level since November 2002.
- In June, South Africa's Reserve Bank reported that the value of exports had contracted 2.4 percent in the most recent quarter.

Indeed, some private sector economists have begun to suggest that, should the EU be unable to find solutions to support its cohesion, the impact on Africa, and South Africa in particular, will worsen. While declines in energy prices as a consequence of a global economic slowdown should provide some counter-balance in South Africa to possibly significant declines in exports to and investment from Europe, these economists raise the possibility of lagged effects on South African economic activity and employment. Beyond questions regarding the depth and duration of a recession in Europe, a critical factor could be the impact of the European crisis on the health of the South African banking sector. Fortunately, Moody's and the Reserve Bank of South Africa assess that local banks are not likely to be subject to significant financial stress.

### Impact of the 2008 Financial Crisis

If one dates the 2008 financial crisis from the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September of that year, there was roughly a nine-month lag to its full impact on the South African economy. South Africa's economy had a record decline of 2.7 percent in June 2009, and the economy lost nearly a million jobs in that year. Paradoxically, perhaps because of these job losses, the severity of strike action by organized labor (see figure below) actually declined in 2008-2009 before increasing significantly in 2010, when the economy grew by 2.9 percent.



#### Working days lost per 1,000 employees due to strikes, 2005-2010

Source: Republic of South Africa Department of Labor's Annual Industrial Action Reports (2009, 2010)

Beyond the economic impact, there were significant political effects as well. According to an academic assessment,<sup>11</sup> the financial crisis has increased pressure on the government to review policies that have had a negligible effect on South Africa's significant income disparities and its high unemployment rate among the working age population. According to this assessment, divisions between labor and business, labor and government, and the left and right wings of the ruling ANC increased significantly as a consequence of the crisis – raising questions about the government's ability to develop and deliver an economic strategy that addresses the country's most significant economic challenges. In the absence of such progress, a significant potential exists in a future economic downturn for increases in social disorder such as that evident in the anti-foreign violence that occurred in May 2008 and the recurring bouts of vigilantism that still continue.

#### Could There Be a Hugo Chavez or Evo Morales in South Africa's Political Future?

The possibility that Europe's ongoing economic crisis could have lagged effects on the South African economy is important within the context of South Africa's electoral calendar. The next general election must be held between April and July 2014. A significant downturn in South Africa's economy that begins in late 2012 or early 2013 and lasts longer than the decline that occurred in 2009 could be an important factor in the run-up to the 2014 election. The good news is that the significant trade financing disruptions that occurred in 2009 do not appear likely at this point given the time that governments and financial institutions around the world have had to prepare for the fall-out of a Euro-zone implosion. The bad news is that it appears unlikely that the EU countries are going to be able to overcome their significant policy differences in a

timely way, suggesting that the European financial crisis could take a significantly longer time to resolve.

Within an environment of a second economic crisis occurring so quickly after that of 2008-2009, it is virtually certain that the primary issue driving political debate in the run-up to the election will be the failure of South Africa's economic policy to make progress in addressing either joblessness or inequality.

- Given the African National Congress's (ANC) dominant electoral position, it is unlikely that – even in dire economic circumstances – the ANC will lose control of the government.
- This suggests that this debate will be played out within the party with a renewed push by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and others for more state intervention in the economy.

While the “safe bet” is that the ANC will continue to try to balance pro-growth and social welfare policies, its inability to create the sort of economic growth that reduces unemployment suggests that this strategy might not be viable in the face of another economic downturn. Ongoing demands for nationalization stand a better chance of getting a favorable reception in a distressed economic environment. While strike activities were limited during the 2009 downturn and coincident national election, it is by no means guaranteed that such would be the case in 2014 if organized labor thought its economic message was still being ignored.

Who might lead an insurgent charge against the ANC leadership is unclear. With the ANC's November 2011 suspension of Julius Malema, the pool of potential opponents to President Zuma – such as Deputy President Motlanthe and Human Settlements Minister Sexwale – seems supportive of current ANC economic policy. That said, in Latin America where reversals of economic liberalization have occurred, leaders such as Hugo Chavez of Venezuela and Evo Morales of Bolivia have come from well outside the existing ruling circles.



## Developmental Authoritarianism and Ethiopia's ICT Sector

**Researchers:** Dr. Stephanie Burchard and Ms. Brittany Gregerson

- Despite a booming economy, Ethiopia lags behind its continental counterparts in terms of internet usage and availability.
- Two factors are driving this situation:
  - Deliberate government strategy to preempt and suppress opposition to its policies.
  - Heavy regulation of the information and communications technology sector (ICT), ostensibly to protect the country's nascent ICT sector from competition in order to secure its future viability.
- The result is a heavily censored society in which regime opponents have been targeted through various draconian restrictions on communication.

### Ethiopia's Developmental Authoritarianism

Internet penetration in Ethiopia is the second-lowest in sub-Saharan Africa,<sup>12</sup> highly unusual considering the country's strong and growing economy, rapid urbanization, and burgeoning middle class – factors closely linked with increasing rates of internet access.<sup>13</sup> The state has long prohibited the privatization of the telecommunications market, leaving fully owned and operated Ethiopian Telecommunications Corporation (ETC) and Ethio Telecom the only internet and phone providers, respectively, in the country.<sup>14</sup> At the recent World Economic Forum on Africa in Addis Ababa in May 2012, Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi reaffirmed his country's commitment to leaving the telecom sector in state hands for the foreseeable future.<sup>15</sup>

This approach to ICT in Ethiopia is consistent with the Meles regime's larger approach to economic development – what some have termed “developmental authoritarianism,”<sup>16</sup> in which the state directly oversees economic development and, consequently, is able to reward its supporters with basic services and assistance while punishing detractors.<sup>17</sup> This approach could be inspired by the economic successes of the East Asian Tigers and China, but it is also reminiscent of early post-colonial African leaders who argued that democracy would undermine economic development.<sup>18</sup> While this model has been successful in Ethiopia in terms of economic growth (the IMF expects Ethiopia to register 7 percent growth in 2012-13<sup>19</sup>), it has also been associated with severe restrictions on political and social freedoms.<sup>20</sup> Government critics are routinely convicted of treason, terrorism, and other such charges. Comparisons to the modern Chinese and Russian states come easily.

### ICT Crackdown in Ethiopia

As internet access has spread across Ethiopia's major cities and quality has improved, a vibrant blogging and social media scene has developed – often featuring voices critical of the ruling party.<sup>21</sup> The state has blocked many of the most prominent blogging and forum platforms for years, including globally popular Blogspot and the Ethiopia-centric site Nazret.com.<sup>22</sup> Site blocking and filtering have not been limited to blogs; in a 2006 test, a nonprofit internet openness group found that the state was attempting to prevent access to the websites of opposition parties, ethnic minorities, news organizations, and human rights groups, among others, with varying levels of success.<sup>23</sup>

The recent crackdown has been enabled by the combination of a sympathetic and malleable legal and regulatory system with an ICT infrastructure built to facilitate monitoring and filtering

of users.<sup>24</sup> Two laws are key to the crackdown – one already in effect and another proposed: the 2009 anti-terrorism law and a proposed Telecom Fraud Offences law. Many civil society groups and international observers charge that the 2009 anti-terrorism law was explicitly designed to raise the costs of opposing the regime and provide the government a broad justification to arrest anyone it found threatening.<sup>25</sup> Freedom House reports that in 2011, the law was used to target “scores” of activists and reporters, as well as the ruling party’s political rivals.<sup>26</sup> More recently, a former employee of the United Nations was sent to prison for more than 7 years under this law for “passing information” to the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF).<sup>27</sup> The Ethiopian government claims that the proposed Telecom Fraud Offences law is designed to prevent criminal activities conducted via phone or internet and to protect the revenues of state-owned Ethio Telecom – and that it would not ban the use of Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) services or social media by citizens, as initially reported.<sup>28</sup> The proposal has been widely criticized, however, by the country’s technological elite and international observers for its broad nature, stiff penalties, and other similarities with the country’s controversial 2009 anti-terrorism law.<sup>29</sup> Under some interpretations, the law would ban all audio and video transmitted over social media networks and broaden the state’s authority to inspect all ICT-related imports.<sup>30</sup>

Further evidence of the government’s manipulation of its ICT sector emerged in May, when Ethio Telecom began using Deep Packet Inspection (DPI) – a relatively sophisticated form of web filtering – to prevent access to the Tor network, which allows users to access the internet anonymously.<sup>31</sup> This obvious move to target elite domestic power-users of the internet (who typically use Tor) has been met with a mix of horror and resignation by Ethiopian voices on social media platforms.<sup>32</sup> Some technological experts and open internet advocates are concerned that DPI is “a first step” in the installation of a new system that will allow the state to monitor and “intercept emails, messages posted on social networks and Internet voice conversations using VoIP software such as Skype.”<sup>33</sup> Although the new protocol’s provenance is uncertain, China and Iran both also use DPI to censor the internet<sup>34</sup> and both countries have worked to improve their ties with Ethiopia in recent years.<sup>35</sup> Al Jazeera reported that in early June, the Chinese Communist Party organized a “media workshop” in Addis Ababa focused on “internet management.”<sup>36</sup>

Some have posited that the recent crackdown is a direct reaction by the state to the Arab Spring.<sup>37</sup> At the end of June, prominent Ethiopian journalist and activist Eskinder Nega was convicted of terrorism and sentenced to life in prison. Amongst other crimes, Eskinder was accused of invoking the Arab Spring to incite protests against the government.<sup>38</sup> The proposed new legislation may provide the government with another tool in its regulatory arsenal to prevent its own version of an Arab Spring.

## **ECOWAS: Tolerance for Unconstitutionality Prevails in Mali and Guinea-Bissau**

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

### **Executive Summary**

- After recent military coups in Guinea-Bissau and Mali, the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) initially demanded the reinstatement of constitutional authorities, but in both cases has accepted transitional governments that are largely under the influence of coup leaders.
- In Guinea-Bissau, ECOWAS has allowed a transitional government that deliberately excludes participation of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), which was the party of the legitimate government and the majority in parliament. It has also agreed to new elections in one year, even though the recent round had been deemed free and fair by external observers.
- In Mali, ECOWAS has similarly agreed to a transitional government that is heavily influenced by the military junta. In the north, it is currently considering a military intervention, even though a deployment is highly unlikely given lack of funding and support from the UN Security Council.

### **Guinea-Bissau**

In April 2012, soldiers in Bissau toppled the government of interim President Raimundo Pereira, just weeks ahead of a Presidential election that former Prime Minister (PM) Carlos Gomes Junior was expected to win. The junta that seized power immediately came under immense pressure from the international community, including ECOWAS, to reinstate the legitimate government and conclude the electoral process. While most international organizations (the UN, in particular) have remained firm in their commitment to a zero-tolerance policy on unconstitutional seizures of power, ECOWAS has taken a decidedly less resolute position. Even though ECOWAS imposed limited sanctions against the coup leaders, it ultimately accepted a deal in which the junta transferred power to a transitional government that included two army officers (one of whom is a coup participant) and deliberately excluded the PAIGC.

ECOWAS claims that it assumed this position based on its assessment that anything more (i.e., the immediate reinstatement of legitimate authorities and the conclusion of the electoral process, as insisted on by the UN, European Union, and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries) would result in civil war. To demonstrate some semblance of concern, however, ECOWAS negotiated with the military command to send the ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB), comprising some 600 troops, to replace the outgoing Angolan Military Mission in Guinea-Bissau (MISSANG).<sup>39</sup> This “negotiation” demonstrated unequivocally that the junta enjoys unimpeded control over activities in Bissau. One ECOWAS representative present during these discussions noted: “The junta delegation was repeatedly calling Indjai [the suspected coup leader] during the talks to get guidance on what to do... It was very frustrating, but (it) made clear who was in charge.”<sup>40</sup>

***Assessment: ECOWAS’s presence in Guinea-Bissau is mutually beneficial for itself and the junta because it removes Angola from the region***

Based on the well-documented omnipotence of the military in Guinea-Bissau and its blatant disregard for the rule of law, it is safe to say that the military does *not* make decisions or

implement changes that do not directly serve its interests. Thus, from the junta's perspective, ejecting Angolan troops – whose mission was to downsize the military – was a top priority. This aversion to the Angolan presence may also account for the initial removal of Gomes, who has close ties to the Angolan state oil company Sonangol and whose continued leadership likely would have consolidated Angolan and military and economic inroads to Guinea-Bissau.<sup>41</sup> More immediately, MISSANG's security sector reform program was seen as a direct impediment to the military's continued involvement in the transnational drug trade. Angola could not be "bought," whereas ECOMIB – whose mission is to ensure peace and stability, *not* security sector reform – is seen as significantly less capable and perhaps somewhat more willing to turn a blind eye to certain illegal activities.

From ECOWAS's perspective, it was quite willing to intervene in Guinea-Bissau, where Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, and other regional hegemony objected to Angolan influence in *their* region. This turf war could even affect the outcome of the election for the AU Chair, if part of ECOWAS's motivation for ousting Angola was to influence Guinea-Bissau to support Jean Ping, the Gabonese incumbent and its preferred candidate. Otherwise, one can assume Guinea-Bissau would have voted in line with Angola, which would be a vote for Mrs. Dlamini-Zuma from South Africa.

## **Mali**

In March 2012, renegade soldiers led by Captain Amadou Sanogo ousted President Amadou Toumani Touré one month before his term was to end, accusing him of not doing enough to combat a Tuareg-led rebellion in northern Mali. The instability of the coup allowed the Tuareg rebellion to gain ground and eventually control all of northern Mali. The ensuing instability brought into question the role ECOWAS should play both in the constitutional crisis in Bamako and in the rebellion in the north.

ECOWAS initially demanded the soldiers return power to the constitutional authorities and imposed sanctions when they failed to comply. Yet ECOWAS ultimately negotiated the departure from Mali of President Touré and agreed to a transitional government led by National Assembly Speaker Dioncounda Traoré, who would oversee *new* elections within 12 months, negating the elections that had been set to occur in April. As part of the deal, amnesty was granted to the soldiers who participated in the coup and gave Captain Sanogo an important role in the appointment of individuals to key posts in the transitional government.<sup>42</sup> Subsequently, a new civilian government was announced on April 25, which included military leaders in three key positions – Ministers for Defense, International Security, and the Interior. Members of the previous government were excluded from heading any of the remaining 21 ministries. Moreover, Sanogo stated that the junta would "continue to play a supervisory role until new elections are held."<sup>43</sup> A subsequent agreement provided Sanogo with all the privileges accorded to Mali's former heads of state.

In the north, where the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) had taken advantage of the confusion in Bamako to unilaterally declare an independent state, ECOWAS's mediator and Burkina Faso President Blaise Compaoré has stated that, if rebels do not relinquish control of certain key cities (Gao, Timbuktu, Kidal), then ECOWAS would resort to force to regain control.<sup>44</sup> He has stated that Mali's territorial integrity is not up for negotiation and has placed peacekeeping troops on standby, hinting at possible military intervention. ECOWAS secured troop commitments from Nigeria, Niger, and Senegal to provide a 3,270-strong force to initially bolster Mali's fragmented army and stabilize political institutions, and then to tackle the rebel-held north if talks fail. ECOWAS, however, is currently seeking backing from the UN Security

Council, which would provide political cover for a military intervention in Mali. The UN Security Council isn't yet convinced that the force has a clear strategy, including the necessary troop levels, credible objectives, and sufficient funding, for resolving the crisis on two fronts (in the capital and in the north).<sup>45</sup>

***Assessment: ECOWAS is reluctant to intervene militarily and will do so only if all diplomatic overtures fail.***

As for the political crisis in Bamako, ECOWAS has demonstrated that its "zero tolerance" policy toward the unconstitutional seizures of power is in fact quite flexible. This is evident from its readiness to negotiate a deal with the coup perpetrators that seems to favor the junta more than the democratic process.

Regarding the deployment of a military force, ECOWAS recognizes that it is currently ill-prepared and lacks funding (estimated to be \$200 million). By all accounts, a military intervention is not a realistic option for ECOWAS, and explains why it felt compelled to seek support from the UNSC.<sup>46</sup> The Security Council's support would not be required for ECOWAS to launch a military intervention, but it would offer the political cover that it so desperately needs for such a difficult mission – especially after its mixed performances in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Another possibility is that the appeal to the UNSC might be a stalling tactic while ECOWAS waits for diplomatic overtures to play out, such as President Compaoré's talks with Ansar Dine and MNLA rebels or the Malian government's bilateral discussions with Mauritania, Algeria, and France.

## Kenya-Ethiopia Border Conflict in Focus after Turkana Oil Discovery

**Researchers:** Dr. Eliza Johannes and Ms. Ivana Djak

### Summary

Recent clashes between ethnic groups along the traditionally disputed border between Kenya and Ethiopia have left dozens dead, tens of thousands displaced, and the region on edge in the wake of oil discoveries in the Turkana region and ahead of Kenyan elections.

- Based on conversations with former pastoralists from the region, IDA researchers are concerned that the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments' recent attempts to mitigate clashes by increasing police and military presence in the region could lead to further ethnic conflict.
- Land laws contradicting traditional land sharing practices could also exacerbate conflict between ethnic groups.

### Border Clashes

Like many boundaries in Eastern Africa, the border between Kenya and Ethiopia is historically disputed because of colonial-era demarcation errors and deficient land laws. The border area between Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia, known as Elemi Triangle, is among the most porous in the region and an insurgency breeding ground; the border between Kenya and Ethiopia is the most disputed and conflict-prone around the Lake Turkana region.<sup>47</sup>

#### *The Gabra and Borana Communities Clash*

Clashes between the Gabra and Borana communities around Moyale district in Kenya and across the border into Ethiopia have been intensifying since November 2011. In November and December 2011, clashes between Gabra and Borana left at least 15 dead, thousands displaced, and the local transportation systems destroyed.<sup>48</sup> Following the clashes, dozens of Ethiopians entered Kenya to receive care at the Moyale District hospital. Controversy ensued over whether the wounded were given proper care, and anger from the Kenyan side emerged over doctors helping those who killed Kenyans in the clashes.

The resentment following the clashes spilled over quickly from pastoralist communities to the general populations.<sup>49</sup> More than 30 people died in January 2012 when Gabra and Borana youths disrupted a peace meeting held in Marsabit County, Kenya. Shootouts followed. For the first time in years, both sides were heavily armed, using rifles and mortars – some from Ethiopia. About 60,000 people were displaced by the violence, with Kenyans and Ethiopians shifting across the border in both directions. Schools and businesses were closed within a ten-mile radius of the peace conference center and hundreds of houses were burned during reprisal attacks.<sup>50</sup>

#### *The Turkana and Merille*

Todonyang, a town in Turkana North, has also recently seen a resurgence of violence between Ethiopian Merille and Kenyan Turkana communities. The May 2011 attack of Ethiopian Merille on Turkana villagers resulted in more than 30 deaths, fueled outrage on the Kenyan side, and led to a brief diplomatic scuffle between Ethiopia and Kenya.<sup>51</sup> An April 2012 attack by Merille militia killed two Kenyan police officers at the Administration Police Rapid Deployment Unit in Turkana and has led local militants to start planning a reprisal attack against the Merille; further clashes could be imminent.<sup>52</sup>

### Conflict in the Omo Valley

In April 2012, the small agro-pastoralist Dassenech community of southwest Ethiopia clashed again with its traditional Turkana foe. The two communities have been in occasional conflict as they have sought to maintain their pastoral lifestyles. Recent clashes have escalated due to small-arms proliferation and the Dassenech community's aggressive push into Turkana territory. May and August 2011 saw several Dassenech attacks on Turkana fishermen and pastoralists, and April 2012 reports suggest the group may be planning its next major attack.<sup>53</sup>

An additional factor destabilizing Ethiopia's Lower Omo Valley and the Kenya-Ethiopia border is a government-sponsored Sugar Plantation project along the Omo River. The Ethiopian government is forcibly displacing indigenous pastoral communities to clear land. Access to the Omo River is critical for food security in the region and to the way of life of the local pastoralists. The full implementation of plantation plans would impact 200,000 Ethiopians in the Omo valley and 300,000 Kenyans living around Lake Turkana. Lake Turkana derives 90 percent of its water from Omo River. As of June 2012, irrigation canals had been dug and sugar production had started along the east bank of river.<sup>54</sup> The several conflict-prone areas around Lake Turkana could erupt into violence because Kenya heads into election season.

### Joint Attempts at Peace

Kenya and Ethiopia recently intensified efforts to resolve border conflict with mixed results. After a May 2012 agreement between the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments, the Ethiopian government opened five new security camps on the border with Kenya to improve security in Turkana County. Kenya, in response, deployed 800 reservists to the area most affected by cattle rustling.<sup>55</sup> The second week of June 2012 marked the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on cross-border security by the two nations after Kenya established an army base along border in Todonyang to curb rebel activity and asked Ethiopia to do the same on its side.<sup>56</sup>



<http://www.wordtravels.com/Travelguide/Countries/Ethiopia/Map>



<http://www.wordtravels.com/Travelguide/Countries/Kenya/Map>

IDA researchers are concerned that a greater police and military presence in the area might not ensure peace and could lead to more conflict. During a May 2012 IDA conference in Nairobi, Kenya, former cattle rustlers explained to IDA researchers that police sent to the region are usually corruptible and easy sources from which to acquire arms.

The level of tension in the area is illustrated by the failure of recent efforts to demarcate the border. In March 2012, an international boundary review team visited Todonyang in Turkana North District because beacons demarcating the border had been uprooted during conflicts last year, and the pastoralists and fisherman in the region were in dispute over land claims.<sup>57</sup> By April 2012, however, the survey was suspended due to increased tension in Turkana North, as more than a thousand Ethiopian herders crossed into Turkana in search of pasture and water.<sup>58</sup>

### **Land Laws Fueling Conflict**

The border conflicts between groups in Kenya and Ethiopia could be influenced by two factors: (1) implementation of power-sharing arrangements under the new Kenyan constitution that provide additional authority to local administrations, and (2) updating of land-tenure laws in the region. The vast open plain on the border between Ethiopia and Kenya has for centuries provided ranges for the livestock of local pastoralists. Groups traditionally shared the space. Over the past few decades, national and local administrations introduced forms of land ownership and tenure that clashed with traditional forms. Administrators pressed pastoralists to replace customary practices with these new norms.<sup>59</sup>

Wafula Ukumu, a scholar of the Great Lakes region, argues that interstate disputes in eastern Africa have historically occurred frequently, and are likely to occur in the future, as resources are discovered on disputed borderlands.<sup>60</sup> As Ethiopian groups attempt to lay claim to Kenyan land on which oil has been discovered, and as the Ethiopian state-funded sugar plantations and dam construction projects around Lake Turkana begin to impact Kenyan citizens, tensions between Kenya and Ethiopia may rise. Although state conflict is unlikely, it is not out of the realm of possibility.



## ALERTS

### Angola : Vicente Primed to Succeed Dos Santos

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On June 13, 2012, Angola's ruling party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), nominated Manual Vicente, the former head of Sonangol, the state oil company, as the party's vice presidential candidate for upcoming elections in Angola.<sup>61</sup> This development raises expectations that Vicente will eventually succeed President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who has ruled for more than 30 years, and signals an increasingly close relationship between the Dos Santos regime and Sonangol.

- The MPLA and Dos Santos are widely expected to win the August 31 vote.
- A local report in September 2011 sparked speculation that Vicente, then still at Sonangol, was being groomed for the presidency by Dos Santos. Vicente's appointment as Minister for Economic Coordination in January 2012 heightened these expectations.<sup>62</sup>
- In his 12 years at Sonangol, Vicente earned a good reputation in international business circles, but Sonangol was also accused of endemic corruption and opacity during his tenure. An International Monetary Fund report found that \$32 billion was unaccounted for in Angola's coffers from 2007 to 2010, a portion of which was believed to be linked to Sonangol.<sup>63</sup>
- Vicente's business background, lack of military experience, and quick ascent to the top of the party have rankled some in the MPLA, particularly Vice President Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos, or "Nandó."<sup>64</sup>

Vicente's nomination is likely to further blur the lines between the state, Dos Santos's inner circle, and Sonangol. While Vicente is younger and more business savvy than Dos Santos, his nomination and expected succession signal that the status quo will not be fundamentally altered by a change in leadership in Angola, as Dos Santos's hand-picked successor will safeguard the regime's interests.

## Eritrean Anti-Regime Robocall Campaign Targets Thousands

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

A leading Eritrean diaspora group recently launched a robocall campaign targeting 5,000 mobile and landline phones in Eritrea on the anniversary of Remembrance Day – also known as Martyrs’ Day – a national holiday commemorating those who have died fighting for the country’s independence. The calls expressed messages of “solidarity and support” with the dead and pleaded for Eritreans to “also remember those heroes that continue to die in prison cells and in exile protesting the lack of freedom and justice in the country.”<sup>65</sup> The messages also explicitly criticized the ruling People’s Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) party for “driving many young people to flee their country” and cutting off access to views and information beyond those expressed in the state-owned media.<sup>66</sup>

The group, Eritrean Youth Solidarity for Change (EYSC), has made more than 22,000 such calls since February 2012 and used Facebook, satellite radio, and exile-run websites to organize the Remembrance Day effort.<sup>67</sup> In a press release, EYSC stated: “We really believe that it is only a question of time before people inside the county rise against this regime ... we are not going to relent, but we will enhance our campaign aimed at effecting democratic changes in Eritrea and continue to build momentum until we see justice.”<sup>68</sup>

Celebrations of the holiday were widespread across Eritrea as well as throughout diaspora communities worldwide – especially in the U.S. and Europe – though for obvious reasons, domestic celebrations seem to have avoided palpable criticism of the ruling party or regime.<sup>69</sup> Celebrants across the globe, including some who took part in events within Eritrea, uploaded blog accounts, photos, and videos of the festivities.<sup>70</sup>

## Uganda: Increasing Terror Threat as More Militants Cross Border

**Researchers:** Dr. Eliza Johannes and Ms. Ivana Djak

The recent rise in the number of suspected terrorists entering Uganda raises concerns that militants may be refocusing on the country that is the largest troop contributor to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and thereby a key target for al-Shabaab.

On June 15, 2012, five Pakistani nationals and a Congolese man who helped them cross into Uganda from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were arrested in Ntoroko district, Uganda.<sup>71</sup> The suspects did not have proper documentation and claimed to be Islamic preachers traveling the region.<sup>72</sup> The Pakistanis are part of the fundamentalist Muslim Tabliq sect, to which the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), a Ugandan rebel group, also adhere.<sup>73</sup> The incident has gained local media attention because it conjures memories of the July 11, 2010 attack in Kampala that killed 76 people gathered to watch the soccer World Cup Final.<sup>74</sup> Several of the suspects arrested for the July 2010 attack were Pakistanis.<sup>75</sup>



<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/africa/uganda/>

In the past several months, there have been numerous reports of militants illegally entering Uganda. On May 31, 2012, reports surfaced that a suspected al-Shabaab terrorist entered Uganda on a public bus from Kenya. He allegedly received help from drivers and conductors, raising concerns that public transportation officials were cooperating with terrorists.<sup>76</sup> Also at the end of May, separate reports emerged that three top al-Shabaab terror suspects – Martin Muller, alias Ahmed Khaled Andreas; Emrah Erdogan, alias Imraan al-Kurdy; and another unnamed terrorist – had entered the country.<sup>77</sup> Emrah Erdogan, a German national of Turkish origin, was arrested in Tanzania on June 16, 2012. Other suspects remain at large.<sup>78</sup> The apparent multinational cooperation among militants and their success in crossing borders increase the likelihood of successful attacks by al-Shabaab outside Somalia.

The fact that numerous top-level al-Shabaab officials were arrested in Uganda in recent months offers some reassurance. A man, identified as “Hussein” and believed to be the chief Ugandan recruiter and coordinator for al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda, was arrested during the first week of June 2012.<sup>79</sup> In March 2012, Jibril Ahmed Diiriye, a senior al-Shabaab intelligence officer, was arrested by Ugandan officials with the help of Somali refugees.<sup>80</sup> These arrests have increased the confidence of Ugandan security officials, but the success of foreign militants in infiltrating Uganda suggests the need for heightened caution.<sup>81</sup>

## Student Protests in Mauritania

**Researchers:** Dorina Bekoe and Betty Boswell

University students have played prominent roles in the protests over social, economic, and political conditions in Mauritania over the last year. Led primarily by the National Student Union of Mauritania (UNEM), the university students have organized over the basic right to education, the “militarization” of the campuses, and quality of life issues. In their protests, the students have boycotted classes and staged sit-ins at the University of Nouakchott. University teachers have also gone on strike. Below is a summary of some of the major student protests in the last year:

- In late 2011, students began protests and sit-ins at High Institute of Islamic Studies and Research (ISERI) in Nouakchott after hearing rumors of its possible closing. In January, 2012, students began demonstrations outside the principal’s office, prompting the police to use force and tear gas to disperse them. The students eventually attained their goal of keeping ISERI open.<sup>82,83</sup>
- Student protests continued throughout the spring, culminating in a “Day of Rage” on April 25. The students held a massive walk-out and gathered in the quad, “chanting against the militarization of the university.”<sup>84</sup> Police responded with tear gas and violence.
- In early May, students staged a lock-in at Nouakchott University, which was met again by police using force – attacking with batons – and arresting several students. Students accused the dean of the arts faculty of monitoring their phone calls with the help of the security services.<sup>85</sup>
- On June 18, the student union rallied again, this time on behalf of the medical school at the university. The police had raided the university the previous week, arresting several students. The union claimed to be ready to press charges against the dean of the medical school for “violent repression and abuse of students.” They also wanted reinstatement of those students who had been expelled.<sup>86</sup>

Following nearly a year of upheaval, protest, and clashes between security forces and students, the government responded by dispatching President Aziz’s chief of staff, Isselkou Ould Izidbih, a former president of the University of Nouakchott, to offer financial support to the spokesperson for the student union, and scholarships and financial support to other activists. After students had assured Izidbih privately that they would accept, the offers were rebuffed in a televised press conference.<sup>87</sup>

The old tactics of police brutality, political and financial co-optation, and repression are not succeeding in quelling the protest movements in Mauritania. In fact, protests have been occurring with greater frequency for the past 12 months, with the political opposition continuing to arrange increasingly larger demonstrations to call for the removal of President Aziz.

## DRC: FDLR Intensifies Violence as M23 Mutiny Rages On

Researchers: Dr. Eliza Johannes and Ms. Ivana Djak

### Summary

While national and international attention has been focused on the recent military mutiny by the March 23 Movement (M23) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (*Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR)), which took advantage of the security vacuum created by the mutiny to massacre civilians. IDA is concerned that recent and upcoming International Criminal Court (ICC) action on the FDLR could trigger further attacks. An Analysis in the February 15, 2012 issue of *The Africa Watch* warned of “military fragmentation” and “revolts.” Now that the mutiny has occurred, IDA continues to monitor developments relating to the unrest.

### In the Shadow of M23

The M23 military mutiny, named after the 2009 peace agreement to re-integrate the National Congress for the Defense of the People (*Congrès National Pour la Défense du Peuple* (CNDP)) rebels into the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (*Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC)), received media attention as claims emerged the group seized territory in North Kivu and is supported by the Rwandan military.<sup>88</sup> National and international media have largely ignored the fact that the M23, a primarily Congolese Tutsi group, is mutinying in part to demand a government response to the atrocities committed by the FDLR, a primarily Rwandan Hutu group.<sup>89</sup>



[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Logo\\_of\\_the\\_FDLR.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Logo_of_the_FDLR.jpg)

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) blames the FDLR for a majority of casualties suffered in the eastern DRC over the past few months, deeming it the main source of instability.<sup>90</sup> The FDLR comprises participants of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, displaced Rwandan Hutus, and former Rwandan army members. The group has been active in the DRC to varying degrees since the Rwandan genocide.<sup>91</sup>

The FDLR aims to overthrow Rwandan President Paul Kagame’s government. Those who claim the Rwandan military supports M23 point to the group’s Tutsi composition and its opposition to the FDLR, a long-standing Rwandan enemy.<sup>92</sup> Ethnic alliances and Rwandan involvement are complicated by reports that demobilized FDLR combatants are now joining the M23.<sup>93</sup>

### Escalating Violence and Ethnic Cleansing

The FDLR has taken advantage of the security vacuum created by the diversion of FARDC soldiers to deal with the M23 mutiny.<sup>94</sup> Since the M23 rebellion began in March 2012, regions in North and South Kivu abandoned by the FARDC have been occupied by the FDLR.<sup>95</sup> Attacks have been most severe in Kalehe territory, South Kivu, and Masisi territory, North Kivu, where FDLR fighters massacred dozens of civilians.<sup>96</sup>



<http://forum.theppk.com/viewtopic.php?f=9&t=10998>

Violence is escalating as Mai Mai groups, local youth defense and vigilante organizations formed to deter the FDLR, carry out reprisal attacks against FDLR families and allies. From May 17-22, 120 people, primarily women and children, were killed in 12 massacres carried out by two Mai Mai groups, the Raia Mutomboki and the Mai Mai Kifuafua, who targeted speakers of Kinyarwanda, the language of Rwanda. Experts warn attacks are expanding from targeting FDLR allies to all Rwandaphone communities in the DRC, indicating ethnic cleansing.<sup>97</sup>

These attacks' brutality and high casualty count make the FDLR's recent rampages notable even in the context of generalized violence in the DRC. The group recently decapitated local chiefs, butchered pregnant women, and burned children alive.<sup>98</sup> The FDLR also increased its activity in refugee camps, namely Nakivale, Kiryandongo, Kyangwari and Kyaka camps in Western Uganda, and Oruchinga in the South. FDLR and other militias operate in Rwandan refugee camps in Uganda to mobilize funds, recruit members, and secure supplies. Those who attempt to oppose militia activity are harassed and killed.<sup>99</sup> Oxfam policy adviser Samuel Dixon warns "The situation is the worst it's been for several years."<sup>100</sup>

Crimes committed by the FDLR and Mai Mai militias are difficult to track due to shifting alliances. The Mai Mai and FDLR reportedly worked together in some areas to weaken the FARDC position.<sup>101</sup> In other regions Mai Mai groups receive support in their fight against the FDLR from former CNDP forces, including the M23.<sup>102</sup>

### **Leadership on Trial and International Involvement**

Recent action by the ICC concerning FDLR leaders could have an impact. After the ICC dismissed an initial request on May 31, prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo submitted on June 13 an amended application for an arrest warrant for Sylvester Madacumura, chief military commander of the FDLR since 2003.<sup>103</sup> The court was criticized for the rejection because of its potential to signal impunity to rebels.<sup>104</sup> The rejection came a few months after Calixte Mbarushimana, the executive secretary of the FDLR, was released from ICC custody.<sup>105</sup> Those who oppose ICC involvement predict a Madacumura arrest warrant would push the FDLR to increase activity.<sup>106</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> This analysis is drawn largely from the proceedings of a three-day conference entitled “Civil Societies in Africa: Promoting Civic Awareness and Tolerance,” co-hosted by the Institute for Defense Analyses and the West Africa Research Center (WARC) in Dakar, Senegal on May 18-20, 2012. Unless otherwise noted, all *Y’en a marre* quotes are drawn from the proceedings of that meeting.
- <sup>2</sup> Fadel Barro, address to IDA-WARC conference.
- <sup>3</sup> Adam Nossiter, “In Blunt and Sometimes Crude Rap, a Strong Political Voice Emerges,” *New York Times*, 18 September 2011, [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/19/world/africa/senegal-rappers-emerge-as-political-force.html?\\_r=1&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/19/world/africa/senegal-rappers-emerge-as-political-force.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all).
- <sup>4</sup> James Genova, “‘Y’en A Marre!’ (We’re Fed Up!): Senegal in the Season of Discontent,” *Origins* (vol. 5, no. 6), <http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/origins/article.cfm?articleid=66>.
- <sup>5</sup> Nossiter, opt cit.
- <sup>6</sup> Genova, op cit.
- <sup>7</sup> Fou Malade, comments to IDA-WARC conference.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>9</sup> International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook: Growth Resuming, Dangers Remain* (April 2012), p. 74.
- <sup>10</sup> Eurostat, “Africa-EU: economic indicators, trade, and investment,” Number 59/2010.
- <sup>11</sup> Nico Steytler and Derek Powell, “The impact of the Global Financial Crisis on Decentralized Government in South Africa,” Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape, Local Government Working Paper Series No 1, November 2010.
- <sup>12</sup> OpenNet, “Research Profiles: Ethiopia,” <http://opennet.net/research/profiles/ethiopia>
- <sup>13</sup> Max Fisher, “Why Does Ethiopia Want to Give People 15 Years in Jail for Using Skype?” *The Atlantic* 15 June 2012 <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/06/why-does-ethiopia-want-to-give-people-15-years-in-jail-for-using-skype/258558/> Accessed June 2012.
- <sup>14</sup> OpenNet Research Profile, op cit
- <sup>15</sup> Ethiotube Video, “PM Meles Zenawi responds to questions about fully privatizing telecoms and banks – World Economic Forum 2012,” May 2012 <http://www.ethiotube.net/video/19728/PM-Meles-Zenawi-responds-to-questions-about-fully-privatizing-telecom-and-banks--World-Economic-Forum-2012>
- <sup>16</sup> “Development over Democracy,” *Ethiopian Review*, 11 May 2012 <http://www.ethiopianreview.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=38417> Accessed June 2012.
- <sup>17</sup> Dowden, Richard. “How Meles Rules Ethiopia,” *African Arguments* 21 May 2012. <http://africanarguments.org/2012/05/21/how-meles-rules-ethiopia-by-richard-dowden/> Accessed June 2012.
- <sup>18</sup> Examples include Julius Nyerere in Tanzania and Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana.
- <sup>19</sup> “IMF Raises Ethiopia Growth Forecast,” *Reuters* 14 June 2012. <http://www.iol.co.za/business/international/imf-raises-ethiopia-growth-forecast-1.1319328> Accessed June 2012.
- <sup>20</sup> This approach is attractive to some business leaders. At an IDA-sponsored conference of East African business leaders in Nairobi on November 11-12, 2011, several participants cited Ethiopia as a model for creating a business-friendly setting, even at the expense of civil liberties.
- <sup>21</sup> For examples, see Endalk’s Blog: New Media, Democracy and Ethiopia, <https://endalk.wordpress.com/>; De Birhan: News and Analysis Media Horn of Afrique, <http://www.debirhan.com/>; Addis Ethiopia Weblog: Ethiopia’s World,

- <http://addisabram.wordpress.com/>; Hubesha: Habesha Community Hub Ethiopia and Eritrea Blogs Aggregator, <http://www.hubesha.com/blogs/index.php>; and the Wordpress.com “Ethiopia” tag page, <http://en.wordpress.com/tag/ethiopia/>
- 22 Craig Wilson, “Ethiopia criminalises Skype,” TechCentral, June 14 2012 <http://www.techcentral.co.za/ethiopia-criminalises-skype/32723/>
- 23 OpenNet Research Profile, op cit
- 24 See TechCrunch, “Ethiopian Government Bans Skype, Google Talk And All Other VoIP Services,” June 14 2012 <http://techcrunch.com/2012/06/14/ethiopian-government-bans-skype-google-talk-and-all-other-voip-services/>
- 25 See “Ethiopia court jails UN staffer for seven years,” AFP via Yahoo!News, June 22 2012 <http://news.yahoo.com/ethiopia-court-jails-un-staffer-seven-years-110342853.html>; Freedom House, “Freedom in the World Report 2012: Ethiopia” <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2012/ethiopia>
- 26 Freedom in the World: Ethiopia, op cit
- 27 Ethiopia court jails UN staffer, op cit
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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

# THE AFRICA WATCH

JULY 18, 2012



## TO THE READER

With this issue, IDA closes the first year of publishing *The Africa Watch*. IDA's team of researchers thanks our readers for support and feedback on the content of *The Africa Watch*. If you would like to discuss an article in this issue or provide suggestions for future research, please contact me at (703) 845-4394. We look forward to serving you in the coming year.

With best regards,

*George Ward*

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ANALYSES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
ECOWAS’s Intervention in Mali: Disturbing Warning Signs .....	1
Zimbabwe: ZANU-PF Succession Battle Shifts .....	3
Abdoulaye Wade’s Attempts to Maintain Political Influence Do Not Resonate with Senegalese .....	5
African-Arab Migration.....	7
<b>ALERTS .....</b>	<b>9</b>
Former Combatants Threaten to Block Upcoming Vote in Angola.....	9
Second Meeting of the China-Africa People’s Forum Raises Questions for Future Engagement.....	10
<b>ENDNOTES .....</b>	<b>11</b>





## ANALYSES

### ECOWAS's Intervention in Mali: Disturbing Warning Signs

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

#### Summary

- On July 7, 2012, ECOWAS convened the second meeting of the Contact Group for Mali and relevant Malian stakeholders to discuss the resolution of the crisis.
- The meeting concluded with ECOWAS urging the formation of a government of national unity by the end of July to help address the conflict more robustly and reduce the influence of spoilers.
- Significant political and social divisions within Mali not only may preclude the formation of a government of national unity, but may impede the resolution of the insurgency in northern Mali.
- Without a legitimate and credible government in Bamako, the political and security crises in northern Mali will only become more entrenched and, thus, more difficult to resolve.

#### The New ECOWAS Proposal

Gathering in Ouagadougou on July 7, ECOWAS brought together five members of the Contact Group for Mali<sup>1</sup> – the presidents of Benin, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger, and Liberia; some members of Mali's civil society; and some political party representatives to discuss how to resolve the ongoing political crisis. The main recommendation issued from the meeting, popularly dubbed Ouagadougou 2, was the creation of a Government of National Unity in Bamako by the end of July – something ECOWAS had been demanding for some time. Without such a structure, ECOWAS would cease to recognize the government of Mali and move to suspend it from the sub-regional body. The ECOWAS meeting also urged the International Criminal Court to launch an investigation into war crimes in northern Mali.<sup>2</sup> Concurrently, ECOWAS is preparing to intervene militarily. According to ECOWAS, it has secured commitments from Niger, Senegal, and Nigeria to provide the bulk of the 3,300 troops to deploy to Northern Mali.<sup>3</sup> ECOWAS stated that the peacekeeping troops are ready to deploy.<sup>4</sup>

Previous analysis by IDA suggested that ECOWAS did not seem fully committed to a military intervention unless it received UN support.<sup>5</sup> There are, however, a number of new worrying signs that even if ECOWAS secures the diplomatic cover it seeks, military intervention might be premature and counterproductive. IDA believes that additional diplomatic work is needed to ensure ECOWAS's success in mending the political chasms in Bamako.

#### Division within Mali's Civil Society

Mali's civil society is largely divided into two camps: the pro-coup Coordination of Parties and Associations of Mali (*Coordination des Partis et Associations du Mali* (COPAM)) and the anti-coup United Front for Safeguarding Democracy in the Republic of Mali (*Front Uni pour la Sauvegarde de la Démocratie et de la République du Mali* (FDR)).<sup>6</sup> On the day of the Ouagadougou 2 meeting, there were demonstrations in Bamako against ECOWAS interventions,

with COPAM leading the anti-ECOWAS contingent. Representatives of COPAM and others believe that the crisis in Mali must be solved by Malians. Their opposition to ECOWAS stems from a mixture of national pride, continued support for the coup, dissatisfaction with Mali's political class, and general lack of faith in ECOWAS's ability to resolve the conflict.<sup>7</sup> Another indicator of ECOWAS's unpopularity was the walkout by the representatives from the north just before the Ouagadougou 2 meeting.<sup>8</sup>

These developments expose an important problem for ECOWAS: if the sub-regional body does not have support on the ground, the troops that it deploys risk becoming party to the conflict. This was the case in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s: forced into a peace enforcement position and faced with adversarial conditions, ECOWAS lost its neutrality and expanded the conflict.

### **Tepid Support by the President, the Prime Minister, and the Coup Leader**

Neither Transitional President Dioncounda Traoré nor Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra were present at Ouagadougou 2, each deciding not to attend at the last minute. President Traoré cited his continued ill health resulting from an assault that took place in May. Similarly, Diarra was expected to attend, but then pulled out because of continued tension with ECOWAS. Diarra sent Madame Traoré Rokiatou Guikiné, minister for African Integration and Malians in the Diaspora, in his place. His message to ECOWAS: let Malians resolve this crisis themselves. Some analysts argue that ECOWAS has responded to Mali's leaders in kind: seeing ECOWAS's call to form a more inclusive government by July 31 as a move to oust Diarra.<sup>9</sup>

In the past few days, Diarra and Traoré have said that they will form a government of national unity,<sup>10</sup> but this does not hide the fact that they do not see eye-to-eye with ECOWAS. Past experience shows that when top leaders are not present at important negotiations, there is little hope for progress. In fact, it is a sign of continued impasse. This was the case in Angola (1994), when Jonas Savimbi refused to take part in negotiations brokered by the United Nations; in Liberia throughout the early 1990s, when relevant political actors were excluded from peace talks; and in Juba (2007), when Joseph Kony refused to attend the negotiations leading to the Juba Agreement. These cases and others underscore the importance of obtaining the commitment of political leadership in negotiating an end to conflict. So far, ECOWAS and the political leaders in Mali do not agree on how to resolve the conflict and, more fundamentally, whether ECOWAS should be an integral part of the solution.

### **Conclusion**

The political elite do not agree on how to resolve Bamako's political crisis, and subsequently, the instability in the north. And yet, resolving the instability in the north depends on a cohesive political and military strategy; political and military divisions exacerbated the instability in the north in the first place.<sup>11</sup> ECOWAS' member states, understandably, are eager to intervene, fearing the spillover of Mali's instability. Past interventions, however, show that ECOWAS cannot succeed in environments in which the political elites are divided over its very presence and purpose. More work must be done to develop a cohesive political strategy acceptable to Mali's political class and the region's leaders and to ensure the successful resolution of the crisis. The longer the political situation in Bamako remains unresolved, the more entrenched the separatists will become in Northern Mali.

## Zimbabwe: ZANU-PF Succession Battle Shifts

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

### Summary

- The recent decision by the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) to reorganize party structures signals a shift in the succession battle between Vice President Joice Mujuru and Defense Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa.
- The decision demonstrates that President Robert Mugabe remains firmly in control of the party and the succession issue.
- While Mnangagwa was previously seen as having the upper hand, the latest development suggests that Mujuru has reasserted her authority within the party and may have the backing of Mugabe, a shift that has implications for the future trajectory of ZANU-PF and Zimbabwe.

### Introduction

On June 29, 2012, the ZANU-PF politburo, the supreme decision-making body of the party, decided to reorganize party structures by disbanding the District Coordinating Committees (DCCs).<sup>12</sup> In May 2012, the DCCs had held controversial local elections where candidates aligned with Mnangagwa supporters prevailed in many districts. Election results in several districts were subsequently nullified by ZANU-PF, allegedly due to irregularities in the voting process and intra-party violence.<sup>13</sup> On the restructuring of the party, Mugabe noted, “We are afraid that the DCCs have become a weapon that is dividing the party.”<sup>14</sup> While Mujuru and her supporters reportedly played a crucial role in the move to dissolve the DCCs, the decision was made while Mnangagwa was out of the country in China, signaling that Mugabe is seeking to lessen the influence of Mnangagwa and may be favoring Mujuru.

### Mujuru vs. Mnangagwa

As outlined in the April 18, 2012 edition of *The Africa Watch*, the two major players in the intra-party battle to succeed Mugabe are Mujuru – widow of the late military leader Solomon Mujuru – and Mnangagwa, a hardliner who orchestrated the 2008 election violence. Although viewed as the likely frontrunner until last year, Mujuru’s chances of succeeding Mugabe dimmed after her husband, who enjoyed support from the so-called “securocrats,” died in August 2011 in a fire outside of Harare.

Reports emerged in April 2012 of a 2008 “gentlemen’s agreement” to the effect that if Mnangagwa, Mugabe’s campaign manager, used every means at his disposal to ensure the election of Mugabe in the second round of elections that year, Mugabe would choose him as the eventual successor to the presidency.<sup>15</sup> Mnangagwa’s stock within the party, however, has sunk as of late, with senior ZANU-PF members accusing the Mnangagwa faction of divisiveness and vote-buying during the May 2012 DCC elections. Although he did not mention Mnangagwa by name, ZANU-PF spokesperson Rugare Gumbo, in a comment made on July 8, 2012, revealed that the disbanding of the DCCs was meant to cool the fierce succession debate within the party and lessen Mnangagwa’s influence: “The district coordinating committees were being used by some ambitious people within the party who wanted to rise to the top. There was a lot of vote buying. It was divisive.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Views from the Ground**

During an IDA visit to Harare at the end of June 2012, several individuals interviewed noted that Mnangagwa was seen as having an advantage over Mujuru in succeeding Mugabe because he has been assertive in stating his desire to be president and people fear him. Interviewees also revealed, however, that Mujuru is seen as more moderate, appeals to a broader swath of the electorate, and therefore is the better placed candidate to challenge Prime Minister and opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai at the polls. One interviewee noted that currently ZANU-PF is attempting to show that it “listens to the people” as well as that it will “remain relevant once Mugabe no longer holds the party together.”<sup>17</sup> In this regard, Mnangagwa is clearly the lesser candidate to succeed Mugabe because he lacks widespread popular support, exemplified by his loss to a relatively unknown Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party member in a recent MP election.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Military Factor**

Despite reports claiming that some within the Joint Operations Command (JOC), the supreme security organ, are supportive of Mujuru,<sup>19</sup> interviewees on the ground in Harare maintained that, overall, the military and the securocrats firmly back Mnangagwa. The death of Mujuru’s husband, Solomon Mujuru, was a blow to the vice president on this front, as many military leaders switched their allegiance to Mnangagwa in the vacuum created by her husband’s death. A senior official in the office of Prime Minister Tsvangirai noted that Mujuru was “not assertive in the wake of Solomon’s death,” which was seen as a sign of weakness by the generals.<sup>20</sup>

Another interviewee stressed that the hardliners will not support Mujuru until she projects power and leadership within the party, reiterating that these characteristics are needed to build support in a liberation ethos party such as ZANU-PF. Contrary to this view, members of civil society and business leaders argued that the influence of the securocrats will likely diminish after Mugabe’s exit from the political scene and that ZANU-PF must find a way to restructure and redefine itself if the party is to remain relevant.<sup>21</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Mujuru’s role in the dissolution of the DCCs, Mugabe’s choice to make the decision when Mnangagwa was out of the country, and reports that Mujuru has been reasserting her authority within the party since the decision was made indicate that Mujuru is regaining momentum in the succession struggle. While the battle is far from over – Mugabe may well change his mind or die in office – for the moment this development pushes ZANU-PF in a more moderate direction, a necessary shift if the party is to regain popular support once Mugabe leaves the political landscape. The hardline faction led by Mnangagwa, however, should not be underestimated, particularly if Mugabe’s health falters or if upcoming elections are close and violence is used by ZANU-PF to ensure a favorable outcome or another negotiated power-sharing arrangement. In the latter scenario, Mugabe would almost certainly again call on Mnangagwa to assert political control.

# Abdoulaye Wade's Attempts to Maintain Political Influence Do Not Resonate with Senegalese

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

## Executive Summary

Despite some residual political support among members of the Mouride Brotherhood, a large Sufi Islamic order, and his determination to maintain a high political profile, it is unlikely that former Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade will be able to maintain an influential role in that country's politics in the long term.

## Background

Even after his overwhelming electoral defeat in March 2012, Wade continues to maintain a high profile in national politics, publicly stating: "There is no political retirement for me. As long as I am on earth and able to have ideas I will express them."<sup>22</sup> He engages frequently with the media, calling regular press conferences in which he harshly criticizes the new administration led by President Macky Sall. Wade's most common complaint is that the country is beset by a slew of public shortcomings, including frequent power cuts, poor roads, weak social services, and an average income of around \$3 a day.<sup>23</sup> These condemnations would seem by most accounts to be unfounded, however, given that President Sall has only been in power for three months and his political coalition only recently won sufficient seats in the National Assembly to advance his national agenda.

In one of his first moves as President, Sall convened a special court to investigate allegations of fraud, corruption, and ill-gotten gains by the Wade government. As part of this investigation, the government seized approximately 400 government cars that Wade had distributed to loyal village chiefs and religious leaders (*marabouts*), as well as other items purportedly owned by the state. Wade's spokesman justified the initial distribution stating that "the village chiefs are agents of the state. They work for the state."<sup>24</sup> Calling the investigation a "witch hunt," Wade has denied accusations of theft, claiming the goods were personal property. The investigation has also targeted members of Wade's former regime, including his Ministers of Interior and Energy, the former Chairman of the Senate, and the former head of the state power company. Most notably, Wade's son, Karim, is being monitored closely by the Sall administration, which fears he might attempt to flee the country.<sup>25</sup> Police have interrogated Karim at length, but do not appear to have confiscated his passport.<sup>26</sup>

## Wade's Hope for Remaining in a Political Figure

Despite Sall's widespread support, one should not dismiss the support that Wade enjoys among some segments of the Senegalese population. Members of the Mouride Brotherhood, specifically Sheikh Béthio Thioune, who founded a branch of the Mourides called the "Thiantacounes," are known to be loyal followers of Wade. During his time in office, Wade protected Sheikh Thioune and the purported 12 million members of his sect. In return, Thioune claimed that he had a vision from the revered late Mouride leader Serigne Saliou Mbacké, in which Mbacké strongly urged his followers to vote for Wade in February 2012. Almost immediately, however, the Mbacké family responded that no such '*ndiguël'* (voting advice) had been issued.

Because the Mourides continue to be extremely influential political forces in Senegal, presidential candidates tend seek their support ahead of elections. Throughout his time in politics, Wade has cultivated close relationships not just with Thioune but with other influential

Mouride *marabouts*, many of whom have received cars, gifts and other favors from the ex-President. As long as Wade continues to enjoy political support from some of these religious leaders (who in turn have significant influence with their own followers), he can be expected to receive some level of political support among the electorate.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, Wade accumulated significant wealth while in office (in addition to the confiscated cars), which he might now use to consolidate support. To that end, one Senegal expert has noted, “Wade has resources... The number of cars the state owns — it’s really pointing at the centrality of resources in the political system. As long as he is distributing resources, he will be at the center of the game.”<sup>28</sup> The question remains, however, just how loyal his followers are, especially now that Wade is no longer in a position to provide favors and resources to them in exchange for political support.

### **Wade’s Decline from the Public Eye – A More Likely Scenario**

Even with the support of many among the Mouride community, it is unlikely that Wade will ultimately be able to maintain the level of influence to which he has become accustomed during his political career. At 86 years old (a conservative estimate), Wade’s health might well preclude him from very active political life. Moreover, many of Wade’s former loyal allies have turned on him, which is not at all uncommon in Senegal. Sall himself used to be a close ally of Wade.

Yet the most compelling evidence that Wade’s long and illustrious political career is over were the legislative elections of July 1. The results clearly signaled widespread support for Sall’s government, with the Alliance for the Republic Party-*Benno Bokk Yakaar* coalition winning 119 of 150 seats in the national assembly. Wade’s Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) won only 12 seats while the remaining seats went to smaller parties.<sup>29</sup> Even though turnout was low at just 36.6 percent of the 5.3 million registered voters, this election has been perceived not only as a landslide victory for the Sall government but also as a clear message to Wade that his political antics are no longer acceptable. Sall supporters see the election as a clear mandate to proceed with economic and social reforms, which he claims will halve the deficit to 4 percent by 2014 by reining in what he called the excessive government apparatus created by Wade.<sup>30</sup> His campaign also focused on boosting employment and cutting the cost of living for the poor, notably through food subsidies.<sup>31</sup>

Aside from his party’s poor performance in the legislative elections, Wade’s inability to mobilize political support was further confirmed in the days that preceded the vote. Wade had threatened to disrupt the parliamentary elections if the fleet of vehicles that had been confiscated from him and his supporters were not returned to their rightful owners.<sup>32</sup> He claimed that “if he [Sall] doesn’t give us back our cars, we’ll go into the street, and there won’t be elections.”<sup>33</sup> This proved to be an empty threat, however, as the government kept the vehicles, and peaceful elections ensued, without another word from Wade or his supporters. This would appear to indicate the negligible impact of Wade’s comments and a minimal level of supporters.

## **African-Arab Migration**

**Researcher:** Dr. Stephanie Burchard and Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### **Summary**

- A record number of African workers are migrating to Arab countries. These workers are often subject to mistreatment and, in extreme cases, become targets of human traffickers.
- The human rights abuses that migrants experience in Arab countries may undermine Arab-African relations due to the racial undertones that accompany the violence.
- Given their economic power and state capacity, Ethiopia and Kenya may be best positioned to negotiate better conditions for African migrant workers.

### **Africa-Arab Migration Patterns**

In the Arab states of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates, nearly 50 percent of the population comprises migrant workers,<sup>34</sup> many of whom emigrated from African states. In 2011, more than 70,000 Ethiopian migrants passed through Yemen – only one of the region’s major labor transit points – en route to employment opportunities across the Middle East.<sup>35</sup> In the first four months of 2012, a record number of African migrants arrived in Yemen, causing the UN to issue a warning about the potential for these migrants to fall subject to human trafficking and to contribute to instability across the region.<sup>36</sup> These migration patterns have the potential to destabilize both home and destination countries and upend political relationships. Several aspects need to be addressed urgently, especially the mistreatment of migrant workers.

The number of Ethiopians migrating to the Middle East in search of work is increasing and a growing number of these migrants represent the country’s expanding youth population.<sup>37</sup> A lack of viable domestic employment opportunities – even in the country’s cities and especially for women – is thought to be the chief factor driving this migration.<sup>38</sup> Wage disparities between the two regions are vast; for example, domestic workers in the Middle East on average make around ten times as much per month as their counterparts in Ethiopia.<sup>39</sup>

### **Allegations of Abuse and Mistreatment**

Although many leave Africa of their own accord, some of those working abroad are blatantly trafficked out of their home nations.<sup>40</sup> Others knowingly contact smugglers themselves, relying on the latter’s connections and experience to arrange the journey.<sup>41</sup> Once in the Middle East, many of these workers are the targets of coercion and violence – for example, finding employment only to have their passports confiscated and wages withheld by their employers.<sup>42</sup> Young women in these situations frequently find themselves in domestic servant relationships that closely resemble forced prostitution.<sup>43</sup>

Few countries in the region have labor laws recognizing domestic workers as employees, increasing their isolation.<sup>44</sup> The Gulf States have come under particular scrutiny for the large numbers of young Ethiopians working there in affluent households under questionable remuneration schemes.<sup>45</sup> A view that Ethiopians and other Africans are less valuable and desirable compared to Asian workers, especially in the context of domestic labor, increases the danger to these individuals as well.<sup>46</sup> Many job-seeking Ethiopians are considered to be “economic migrants,” a status that bars them from programs and resources available to those considered to be refugees.<sup>47</sup>

Migrants have been targets of violence – both state-directed and at the hands of local populations. They are often blamed for crimes and security issues for which they are not directly responsible and have no legal recourse against their accusers.<sup>48</sup> The most common destinations for Ethiopian migrant workers in the region include Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Lebanon<sup>49</sup> – all of which have recently been cited by Human Rights Watch for failing to adequately protect the large number of foreign migrant workers within their borders.<sup>50</sup> Underscoring this issue, in March an Ethiopian maid working in Lebanon committed suicide in a psychiatric hospital after she had been beaten by her employer outside the Ethiopian embassy in Beirut.<sup>51</sup>

Further evidence of the low status of African immigrants is provided by Israel's recent decision to deport upwards of 60,000 African migrants. This decision has been attacked as thinly veiled racism given the country's rhetoric against African "infiltrators."<sup>52</sup> In early July, the Israeli Health Ministry issued a directive to separate African migrants from Israelis at a Tel Aviv hospital due to the possibility of "infection."<sup>53</sup> After much criticism, the government decided to rescind this policy until it is able to reformulate it.

Large numbers of migrants never reach their intended destinations, rather ending up in IDP or refugee camps that have varying capacities to accommodate the increasing flow. These camps can become breeding grounds for crime or flashpoints for violence.<sup>54</sup> As recent events in Israel have highlighted, there is also some risk that migrants who belong to persecuted populations or come from repressive regimes may fall into statelessness.<sup>55</sup> Additionally, Oromo refugees have been kicked out of Somaliland and Puntland in recent years, but have often been unable to return home safely.<sup>56</sup>

### **African Responses**

Ethiopia is not the only state in the region whose citizens migrate to the Middle East. It is believed that Kenya is the country most affected by human trafficking to the Middle East,<sup>57</sup> but Ethiopia is an interesting case for several reasons, including the state's seeming complacency and lack of response to allegations of human trafficking. Ethiopia has mutually beneficial business and political relationships with many of the worst offenders. Thus, it possesses a measure of leverage it could use to insist on better treatment for its citizens. Yet, it has not employed this leverage in response to the current situation. The Kenyan government, on the other hand, is reacting swiftly to reports of abuse of its citizens. Citing hostility and incidences of abuse against Kenyans, the government recently ordered its citizens to stop seeking domestic work in Middle Eastern countries until protections are put into place.<sup>58</sup> The exploitation of massive influxes of disadvantaged Africans by employers in the Middle East has the potential to upend important state-to-state relationships. The future of African-Arab relations could depend on how Arab governments respond to allegations of mistreatment and what steps they are willing to take to better protect migrants.



## ALERTS

### Former Combatants Threaten to Block Upcoming Vote in Angola

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On July 10, 2012, war veterans in Angola threatened to block upcoming general elections in August if pensions promised to them go unpaid. “We are frustrated and tired of waiting.... If the government does not act before the elections, we will prevent them from taking place,” said Afonso Henriques Fula, a former combatant for Angola’s ruling party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), during the country’s 27-year civil war.<sup>59</sup> These statements follow two protests launched by war veterans in June 2012 over insufficient support from the government; both were suppressed by security forces. On June 20, police used tear gas, fired warning shots to disperse demonstrators, and arrested 51 war veterans.<sup>60</sup>

- In the wake of the June rallies, the Angolan Ministry of Defense promised to pay the pensions quickly and urged patience.<sup>61</sup>
- The government estimates that there are more than 40,000 war veterans in Angola, coming from three different liberation movements: the MPLA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA).
- Reports allege, however, that the official figures on former combatants are far too conservative.<sup>62</sup>
- The former combatants are demanding a lump-sum of 55,000 kwanzas (\$550), as well as a monthly stipend.<sup>63</sup>

Although the war veterans’ grievances are unlikely to pose a threat to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos’s regime security in the near term, the former combatants’ threats to block the elections in August are cause for concern as they increase the likelihood of violence surrounding the poll. The inadequate demobilization and reintegration of former combatants in Angola remains a flashpoint for conflict and, if ignored, could be a driver of instability in the medium to long term.

## Second Meeting of the China-Africa People's Forum Raises Questions for Future Engagement

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

The second meeting of the China-Africa People's Forum took place in Suzhou, China, on July 11. More than 300 people from Chinese NGOs, businesses, press, and academic institutions participated, as well as representatives from 35 African countries.<sup>64</sup> This is an increase of around 30 percent from the inaugural meeting last year in Nairobi. Several high-profile figures were in attendance, including former Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Joaqium Chisano of Mozambique, John Kufuor of Ghana,<sup>65</sup> Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, Sylvestere Ntibantunganya of Burundi, and Abdel Raqhman Swar el-Dahab of Sudan.<sup>66</sup> as well as high-ranking Chinese officials.<sup>67</sup> The focus of the forum was on "promoting friendship" and bolstering economic ties between the two continents; special attention was paid to engagement at the NGO level.<sup>68</sup>

Some notable facts:

- China portrays its investment in Africa as only the most recent overture in 2,000 years of engagement and exchanges, with a new era in the relationship beginning in 1949 with the founding of the People's Republic of China.<sup>69</sup>
- Chinese investment in Africa so far this year is 77.5 percent above the level of this time last year.<sup>70</sup>
- Trade between China and Africa has grown by 33.5 percent per year on average since 2000.<sup>71</sup>
- In 2006 in Beijing, a goal of \$100 billion per year in trade volume by 2010 was established; this was met in 2008.<sup>72</sup>
- In the early 1990s, China-Africa trade was less than \$10 billion per year; in 2011, it totaled over \$166 billion.<sup>73</sup>
- At the end of 2011, China had invested nearly \$15 billion in FDI in Africa and more than 2,000 Chinese businesses worked on the continent.<sup>74</sup>

Issues to follow:

- In his remarks, President Obasanjo explicitly linked a strong China-Africa economic relationship to "peace, security, and stability."<sup>75</sup> Is there evidence that this growing relationship has netted peace dividends on the continent?
- Obasanjo also argued that China-Africa trade should be conducted in Yuan.<sup>76</sup> Was this statement merely meant to flatter the forum's hosts, or does it constitute a workable, mutually beneficial proposal?

## ENDNOTES

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# **THE AFRICA WATCH**

**AUGUST 1, 2012**

## TO THE READER

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

With best regards,

*George Ward*

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ANALYSES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Liberia – Robert Sirleaf’s New Job .....	1
The African Standby Force – An Update .....	4
Ethiopia’s EPRDF without Meles: Signs of Resilience or Trouble? .....	6
Update on Chadian Politics.....	9
<b>ALERTS .....</b>	<b>12</b>
Iran Making a Second Hard Push for African Support at the NAM Summit in Tehran .....	12
Kenya’s Election: March 4, 2013 .....	14
Ebola in Uganda: Underplayed? .....	15
Army Mutiny in Madagascar Suppressed Ahead of SADC Talks .....	17
Updates on Guinea-Bissau.....	18
Clashes on the DRC-Zambia Border.....	19
French Foreign Minister Visits West Africa to Discuss Mali.....	21
<b>ENDNOTES .....</b>	<b>22</b>



## ANALYSES

### Liberia – Robert Sirleaf’s New Job

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

#### Executive Summary

- In February 2012, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf appointed her son, Robert Sirleaf, as chairman of the National Oil Company of Liberia (NOCAL). The appointment has been criticized by the ruling Unity Party (UP) and the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC).
- Current laws make NOCAL an industry regulator as well as a commercial, profit-driven entity. An Australian oil company, African Petroleum, recently discovered potentially significant oil deposits off the coast of Liberia. Since February, NOCAL appears to be working toward a new oil policy framework that promises greater fiscal transparency and inclusiveness.
- It remains to be seen how Robert Sirleaf will play his role as chairman of NOCAL. Since his appointment, numerous accusations of nepotism and corruption have dominated political rhetoric. Any presidential aspirations for 2017 will likely be affected by his tenure as Chairman of NOCAL.

#### Background: National Oil Company of Liberia

NOCAL, which was created in April 2000, holds all rights, titles, and interests of the Republic of Liberia to the deposits and reserves of liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons within the country’s territorial limits.<sup>1</sup> NOCAL has an inherent conflict of interest since it both regulates the oil sector and is a commercial and profit-driven enterprise. Thus, NOCAL regulates the companies with which it does business.<sup>2</sup>

In September 2011, Global Witness (GW), an international watchdog group, released a report highlighting rampant corruption within Liberia’s oil sector. Between 2006 and 2008, NOCAL reportedly paid members of the Liberian legislature to ratify oil contracts.<sup>3</sup> Following the oil discovery in February 2012, NOCAL released a statement – citing the GW report –that oil reform would be taken more seriously: “Management is now establishing a clear and inclusive forward agenda to reform the oil sector. This process will lead to proper governance systems, improve fiscal transparency and sustainability, and deal with concerns about mismanagement and corruption, such as those voiced by Global Witness.”<sup>4</sup>

The government’s Hydrocarbon Technical Committee (HTC), the interministerial body responsible for the oil sector that is chaired by NOCAL, is leading the reform process and has committed to an August 2012 deadline.<sup>5</sup> A GW policy advisor said that reforming Liberia’s oil sector will be difficult and will take considerable time. He stated that in order to be successful, reforms must include civil society, and NOCAL must embrace fiscal transparency.<sup>6</sup> Liberia is still recovering from a 14-year civil war; the failure to manage oil revenues transparently could lead to renewed conflict. Dr. Randolph A.K.W. McClain, recently appointed President and CEO of NOCAL, stated that NOCAL is “determined to complete this important reform process as quickly,

openly, and inclusively as possible ... we want to engage all stakeholders and educate people about oil so that all have a say in the future of the sector.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Robert Sirleaf Appointed Chairman of NOCAL**

Robert Sirleaf, son of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, currently serves as her special advisor. Since the 2011 presidential elections, there has been much speculation that Robert will be her successor. This claim is supported by his recent appointment as Chairman of NOCAL, possibly aimed at positioning him for the presidential election of 2017.

There are also rumors circulating in Monrovia that Robert Sirleaf is attempting to leverage his way into the CDC in order to align himself with the party’s standard bearer, George Weah, for a potential vice presidential nomination on the CDC ticket.<sup>8</sup> The chair of the CDC strongly refutes this as a possibility.<sup>9</sup> Others speculate that Minister of Finance and Planning Amara Konneh (also appointed to the Board of NOCAL) will run with Robert as his vice president or vice versa. In late July 2012, however, Robert dismissed speculation regarding his presidential aspirations for 2017.

Robert, 52, spent the majority of his life and career in the United States where he worked as an investment banker until 2008.<sup>10</sup> Upon returning to Liberia, he created the Office of the Senior Advisor (OSA) with his own funds in order to provide advice to the President on economic issues and to assist Liberia’s economically challenged communities.<sup>11</sup> In December 2010, his mother appointed him to the board of directors of NOCAL. Robert was promoted to chairman in February 2012. The appointment has received much criticism from both the UP and the CDC.

- February 2012: Two Liberian newspapers accused Robert of seizing five of Liberia’s offshore oil blocks for personal gain. In the article, “Robert Sirleaf Poised to Become Liberia’s First Billionaire by 2013,” Jefferson Kojee, head of auxiliaries for the CDC, claimed that Robert was trying to secure buyers in South Africa.<sup>12</sup> Robert Sirleaf responded to the accusation with an \$11 million libel suit.<sup>13</sup>
- May 2012: Liberian House of Representatives members asserted that the *pro bono* status of Robert Sirleaf’s chairmanship is not because Robert loves his country (as President Johnson-Sirleaf has stated), but is instead a scheme to avoid paying U.S. taxes (lawmakers believe Robert has dual citizenship). They demanded that Robert Sirleaf be paid a salary in order to be more accountable to the people.<sup>14</sup>
- June 2012: UP partisans protested near the residence of the President in Monrovia, accusing her of nepotism and demanding she step down as standard bearer of the UP. The protests were partially in response to the appointment of her three sons (including Robert) and a nephew to high-level government positions.
- July 2012: During a trip to Liberia, an IDA team interviewed CDC chairman George Solo, who commented on the promotion: “By appointing her son as head of the country’s oil endeavors, she [Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf] is slipping into old African governance patterns.”<sup>15</sup> In May, Solo threatened to begin peaceful street protests against President Johnson-Sirleaf’s “nepotism” in the administration of the oil sector.<sup>16</sup>

Much of this criticism stems from the belief that Robert Sirleaf is not qualified to chair NOCAL. Opponents have cited his lack of experience in the hydrocarbon industry. Also problematic is the perception that Robert, as *de facto* prime minister, decides who stays and who goes in the Liberian government. In November 2010, rumors circulated that he “heavily influenced” the

decision of President Johnson-Sirleaf to dismiss nearly all of her cabinet members.<sup>17</sup> He is also suspected to have been behind the replacement of Christopher Noyer, NOCAL President and CEO, in February 2012. Noyer, disliked by Robert, was reportedly dismissed over a disagreement about the apportionment of oil exploration blocks (Chevron vs. Russia's Gazprom). Similarly, in April 2012, the government denied rumors that the President and Robert were secretly negotiating and awarding oil contracts to foreign investors.<sup>18</sup>

### **Conclusion**

In the eyes of political opponents of the Liberian president, Robert Sirleaf's appointment as chairman of NOCAL signals nepotism and corruption within the Johnson-Sirleaf administration. Any qualifications that he brought to the chairmanship have been tarnished by the perceived conflict of interest that has the potential to undermine oil sector reform.

If Liberia's oil deposits prove to be commercially viable, NOCAL stands to control a large part of the Liberian economy within the next decade. Assuming this to be true, oil will likely play an important role in shaping the political landscape of the 2017 presidential elections.

The intense debate sparked by Robert Sirleaf's chairmanship of NOCAL suggests that any attempts by Robert to ascend to higher office in 2017 will likely face strong opposition and criticism by many of the key stakeholders in Liberian politics. Given recent internal struggles within both the UP and the CDC, however, it is not too far of a stretch to believe that significant partisan restructuring could take place prior to the next election and that Robert Sirleaf might play an active role in the 2017 elections.

## The African Standby Force – An Update

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

### Summary

- The delay in deployment of an African regional peace operation in Mali underscores the political and military complexities involved in implementing the African Standby Force (ASF) concept.
- The ASF concept has made some progress, but faces significant challenges, including:
  - Cumbersome decision making
  - Uneven political will
  - Deficiencies in logistics and mobility
  - Donor-related issues
- For the foreseeable future, external partner assistance will be needed for successful ASF deployments.

### Mali: Bold Intentions – Limited Results

The idea of an African Standby Force available to respond quickly to problems on the continent originated in the reactions of Africa's leaders to the failure of the international community to stop the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. The concept was formalized in 2002 as part of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) of the then-new African Union (AU). The APSA linked the AU's security activities both upward to the United Nations and downward to the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) on the continent. Under Chapter Eight of the Charter of the United Nations, regional organizations may undertake enforcement operations only as authorized by the UN Security Council (UNSC).

In the case of Mali, this cumbersome, three-tiered security system has been a source of delay. The REC for West Africa – the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) – met at a summit in Abidjan on April 26, 2012 and “authorized the immediate deployment of regional troops to ... Mali as part of efforts to restore peace.”<sup>19</sup> A month and a half passed before the Commission of the African Union announced its intention to request a resolution of the UNSC to authorize the deployment.<sup>20</sup> To its credit, the UNSC acted quickly, but not with the requested formal resolution. Instead, the Council issued a press statement on June 18, 2012 that expressed concern, encouraged a political settlement, and asked for additional information from ECOWAS on “the objectives, means, and modalities of the envisaged deployment.”<sup>21</sup> In essence, the UNSC put the ball back into ECOWAS's court, where it has since remained.

Perceived mismanagement of the planned intervention in Mali has affected the willingness of African countries to commit troops. One potential non-ECOWAS participant in an enforcement operation might be Chad. In a recent interview, however, Chadian President Idriss Déby stated that he had rejected, despite French support for the idea, participation in an ECOWAS-led mission in Mali because of his view that the regional organization had mismanaged the issue.<sup>22</sup>

### Uneven Political Will

According to a former senior AU staff member who was involved in the creation of the APSA, one of the problems that the ASF concept faces is limited political will.<sup>23</sup> Even though the concept and organization of the ASF was laid out by the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the

AU, the regional organizations, notably ECOWAS and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), have been its most active supporters. Some governments represented on the PSC retain the mindset of non-intervention that governed the old Organization of African States. Thus, the PSC is slow to act.

At the regional level, the RECs that have been most active in implementing the ASF concept have also been dominated by regional hegemon – Nigeria, in the case of ECOWAS, and South Africa, in the case of SADC. These countries have taken the lead in almost all of the peace operations undertaken by their regional organizations. Currently, Nigeria is less active as leader of ECOWAS than in the past, in part because it is distracted by its own internal problems. With its armed forces deployed in both the Niger Delta and the northern tier of the country, Nigeria's capability to contribute trained forces for enforcement operations in Mali or elsewhere is limited.

### **Force Considerations**

The ASF was originally projected to reach full operational capability in 2010. That target has been extended to 2015. The full ASF would include five regional combined brigades of approximately 5,500 soldiers each plus police and civilians. Each brigade would have a Rapid Deployment Capacity (RDC) of around 1,000 soldiers, police, and civilians available in as little as 14 days. The goal for development of the RDC by the end of 2012 has not been extended formally, but is unlikely to be met.

A recent study of the ASF characterized it as “a moving target, built on non-addressed issues and high expectations.”<sup>24</sup> The report highlighted several shortcomings in the ASF, including the “entire range of ... logistics needs, from strategic deployment to field logistics, as well as for ... communications and information systems ... needs.”<sup>25</sup>

According to the former AU staff member, more progress has been made on communications than on airlift or logistics.<sup>26</sup> Exercises sponsored by the U.S. military, for example, have taught African militaries how to develop standards and protocols that permit effective Africa-wide electronic communications, even in the absence of common equipment. According to the same source, the absence of airlift capabilities in sub-Saharan forces has been to some extent made up by using North African resources and contracting for the use of former-Soviet airlifters. The Algerian air force, for example, lifted Ugandans into Somalia, and ex-Soviet Antonovs brought South African soldiers to Burundi.

### **Donor-Related Issues**

Ever since the birth of the ASF concept, external donors have been very supportive. Bilateral donors view the ASF as evidence of African countries taking more direct responsibility for their own security needs. From the multilateral perspective, the ASF is a means of operationalizing Chapter Eight of the Charter of the United Nations, which authorizes security roles for regional organizations.

Donor generosity has not been without its challenges. In the words of the former AU staffer, developing the ASF is a bit like putting together a jigsaw puzzle. The problem is that donors have their own concepts of what the picture on the puzzle should look like, and they deliver assistance accordingly. The picture on the ASF puzzle should be drawn by Africans, who also need to coordinate donor contributions more effectively.<sup>27</sup> Until this happens, the current pattern of training and support from multiple partners will continue to result in differences in doctrine, equipment, and operations among African countries, creating challenges for multilateral operations on the continent.

## **Ethiopia's EPRDF without Meles: Signs of Resilience or Trouble?**

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

### **Summary**

- Prime Minister Meles Zenawi has been admitted to a Brussels hospital, but the Ethiopian government has not released any specifics on his health problems or how long he might be away.
- Hailemariam Desalegn, the deputy prime minister, has not assumed the duties of prime minister and his actual powers are not well understood.
- Protests by Ethiopia's Muslim community, which have been occurring since January 2012, have intensified, with as many as 1 million demonstrating in Addis Ababa.
- In the short run, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front's (EPRDF) ability to govern or maintain domestic control remains strong. But if Meles's absence continues, Hailemariam's decision-making power remains unclear, and the lack of information on Meles's condition persists, the EPRDF could begin to weaken.

### **Background**

On Thursday, July 19, the spokesman for the Ethiopian government, Bereket Simon, announced that Prime Minister Meles Zenawi had been admitted to a hospital in Brussels. He did not specify what ailed Meles, saying only that he is in "good and stable condition."<sup>28</sup> The press conference capped weeks of speculation about Meles's health that began when the Prime Minister appeared thin and gaunt while attending the G20 summit in Mexico City in June. He subsequently failed to attend the African Union's Summit, which took place in Addis Ababa on July 15 and 16.<sup>29</sup> What does Meles' absence mean for the ERPDF's ability to govern? Do the protests by Ethiopia's Muslim community that suddenly intensified this week serve as a harbinger of political disarray?

### **Protests by Ethiopia's Muslim Community**

Ethiopia's Muslim Community, comprising about 34 percent of the population, accuses the government of interfering in their religious affairs. Protests in Addis Ababa began in January, but escalated on July 22, when between 500,000 and 1 million took the streets in Addis Ababa.<sup>30</sup> Ethiopian security forces arrested several demonstrators. A protest of this size is a significant departure from the behavior of ordinary citizens in the current political climate. Since the 2005 elections, the government has intimidated, harassed, and co-opted potential opposition supporters – all in a bid to quash dissent.<sup>31</sup>

### **The EPRDF as an Electoral Autocracy**

The government of the EPRDF is an electoral autocracy:<sup>32</sup> it purports to support democracy and makes visible gestures and undertakings of democracy – like holding elections – but in reality it is a dominant, dictatorial regime that provides little room for opposition groups. The lead-up to the 2005 elections brought hope that Ethiopia was finally creating a level playing field and was progressing toward democracy given the opposition's ability to campaign anywhere in the country. But, the post-election violence – brought on by the EPRDF's near loss – and state suppression dispelled all notions of that.

After the 2005 election, the government ramped up its harassment and intimidation of opposition supporters. In advance of the 2008 local elections, the government secured its support by informing government employees that they could lose their jobs if they were not



members of the EPRDF and favoring party members for microcredit programs. The government also increased the number of members of the local government councils – forcing opposition parties to field more candidates. Meanwhile, the international community did not press hard for transparent and open elections as the Ethiopian government warned observers that local elections were not within their purview.<sup>33</sup> The EPRDF won most of the seats in the 2008 elections, sending a clear message that it was back in charge. In the 2010 elections, the EPRDF won an overwhelming majority of the vote, increasing its seat share from 60 percent after the 2005 elections to approximately 90 percent of seats in the Federal Parliamentary Assembly.

### **Can the EPRDF splinter?**

The EPRDF's strength stems from its ability to control dissent and permeate all aspects of government. This echoes the work done by scholars that postulates that authoritarian regimes must co-opt their opponents or repress them.<sup>34</sup> Since 2005, the EPRDF has done both. It has repressed members of the political opposition and co-opted them by restricting all access to government services and benefits to those who are members of the EPRDF. Some claim that this could paradoxically be the EPRDF's Achilles heel: the façade of widespread support for the EPRDF (note that the opposition received only 30 percent of the vote in 2005) might mask a tinderbox that could ignite at the first sign of the EPRDF's weakness.<sup>35</sup>

Additionally, mindful of the need for party unity, the EPRDF began to give a younger generation of party members the chance to lead. Ostensibly, it was to ensure that change could be controlled, that those party loyalists waiting in the wings for their turn did not become disillusioned and rebel, and that the other ethnic groups that make up the EPRDF would sense some credible possibility of someday obtaining a decision-making position. In a significant overture to southern Ethiopia, a region harboring historical, cultural, and ethnic grievances, Hailemariam Desalegn, chairman of the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM), was appointed foreign minister and deputy prime minister in 2011.<sup>36</sup>

Notably, it is not clear in Meles's absence what powers Hailemariam has or whether he can act in the prime minister's stead. Resolution of these questions is important in maintaining stability, especially in light of Nigeria's experience with late president Umaru Yar'Adua's prolonged absence in Saudi Arabia with an unspecified illness and his failure to transfer power to his vice-president, Goodluck Jonathan. By the time a federal court ruled to transfer power to Jonathan, the Niger Delta's peace process had fallen by the wayside and the country's fuel shortages were exacerbated by the lack of presidential approval of additional import licenses for gasoline.<sup>37</sup>

Other analyses of dominant parties point to their need for resources to maintain patronage.<sup>38</sup> Thus, an important factor is the EPRDF's need for continued access to resources to shore up its base. Ethiopia has had impressive growth of 8 to 9 percent,<sup>39</sup> but some question the accuracy of its self-reported economic data.<sup>40</sup> A related criterion that impacts the EPRDF's continued strength is whether outsiders can pressure it to increase transparency as a means of discouraging the illicit use of public funds.<sup>41</sup> This could be a difficult sell: Transparency International ranks it 120 out of 183. It does not qualify as a beacon of transparency, but neither is it in the same category as other notoriously corrupt states such as Nigeria and Chad, or even Kenya and Uganda.<sup>42</sup>

### **Conclusion**

It is not clear what ails Meles or how long he will be absent from Ethiopia. Furthermore, it is also not clear how much power Hailemariam wields. If Meles's absence does indeed prove

short, then problems with governance should not be anticipated in the domestic or international realm. But should the health crisis persist, along with the lack of information on his illness and Hailemariam's unspecified role, the EPRDC's ability to govern effectively might suffer. This is especially problematic given the multitude of domestic groups in regions such as Afar, Gambella, Ogaden, and Oromia that have significant grievances with the current government in Ethiopia.<sup>43</sup>

## Update on Chadian Politics

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

### Summary

- In May 2012, Chad launched “Operation Cobra,” a program to root out corruption and mismanagement of government funds. High-profile members of government and the opposition have since been arrested. President Idriss Déby has been accused of using the operation as a front to eliminate political enemies.
- After more than two decades in exile, former Chadian president Hissène Habré is tentatively set to be tried by a special court in Senegal on war crimes charges. Former president of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade spent almost 12 years stalling and equivocating on how to deal with the issue of Habré. If the trial does take place, this would be the first trial of a sub-Saharan African leader by an international court on African soil.
- In an interview in July, President Déby discussed his refusal to contribute troops to a potential mission in Mali if ECOWAS were to lead; his concern that the Toubou in Libya were being marginalized by the Transitional National Council; and the fact that, although four years away, he was still young enough and healthy enough to run for the presidency again in 2016.

### Background

In 1990, Idriss Déby, a former military officer and close advisor of then president Hissène Habré staged a coup and deposed the president. Habré fled to Senegal. At the time, Déby was given material and financial support from the governments of Libya, Sudan, and France<sup>44</sup> to topple the Habré regime; the new government of Khartoum (installed through a coup led by Omar al-Bashir) was an especially active supporter of Déby. Al-Bashir allowed Déby to use Sudan as a staging ground for coup preparations for Déby and his Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS).

Déby (now Déby Itno after he took the surname Itno in 2006) has been in power ever since, winning presidential contests in 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011 – all of which have been marred by allegations of massive fraud and opposition boycotts. He has ruled Chad with an iron fist. Political and civil liberties are severely restricted and there are countless allegations of extrajudicial killings and gross human rights violations.<sup>45</sup> Since 1990, he has weathered numerous internal challenges to his power in the form of rebel movements, attempted coups, and a civil war.<sup>46</sup> In 2008, he came very close to losing power to a group of rebels (backed by Sudan), but France interceded with troops and logistical support at the 11<sup>th</sup> hour and repulsed the rebels.<sup>47</sup>

Relationships between Déby and the al-Bashir government in Sudan deteriorated over ethnic issues; throughout much of the 2000s, Chad and Sudan fought what essentially became a proxy war, supporting miscellaneous rebel groups from each other’s countries. Déby alleged that Sudan supported rebel groups that attacked Chad many times in the 2000s, with al-Bashir making the same allegations regarding Chad’s involvement in Darfur. Déby is from the Zaghawa ethnic group, one of the main Darfuri ethnic groups fighting against the government of Sudan. It is also one of the ethnic groups the government of Sudan is accused of targeting for ethnic cleansing.<sup>48</sup> Déby was a very active supporter of the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), the main rebel group fighting against the Sudanese Janjaweed in Darfur. He provided significant financial resources and weapons to the JEM until a peace agreement was reached with Sudan in

2010.<sup>49</sup> Al-Bashir responded in kind by supporting Chadian rebels in Sudan that marched on the capital N'Djamena in 2006 and 2008.

Sudan and Chad signed a rapprochement in January 2010. In early 2012, Déby took Amani Hilal, daughter of renowned Janjaweed militia leader Musa Hilal,<sup>50</sup> as one of his wives. He reportedly paid a dowry of \$26 million.<sup>51</sup> Al-Bashir attended the ceremony.<sup>52</sup> Since Déby retracted his support from the Darfuri rebels, there have been reports that his co-ethnics in the Zaghawa clan are very displeased with the President. It is speculated that Déby's marriage to Hilal could be an attempt to forge an alliance with the Janjaweed to prevent the Zaghawa from causing more internal strife in Chad. Nonetheless, rumors of a coup attempt in mid-June have circulated; however, no serious challenge to Déby's rule took place.<sup>53</sup>

### **“Operation Cobra”**

Both Forbes and Transparency International routinely rank Chad as one of the world's most corrupt countries.<sup>54</sup> Bolstered by revenues from gold, uranium, and now oil (Chad began exporting oil from the Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline in 2003), the government of Chad has a sizable national account to support its corrupt practices. It is highly dependent on foreign aid (the European Union and France are two of its largest donors), however, and more than 50 percent of the country's population lives below the poverty line.<sup>55</sup> Per Chad's agreement with the World Bank, 10 percent of the revenues from Chad-Cameroon pipeline were to be set aside in a Future Generations Fund (FGF), and 80 to 85 percent were to be allocated to the education, social, health, rural development, environment, and water sectors. But in 2005, the Chadian parliament voted to stop funding the FGF, arguing that it needed the funds to address internal security threats.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, the World Bank ended the ambitious project intended to help Chad manage its oil revenues by diverting these funds to poverty alleviation programs.<sup>57</sup> Déby, instead, spent the oil revenues on military and defense needs.<sup>58</sup>

In May 2012, the Chadian Ministry of Justice and Public Sanitation launched “Operation Cobra,” a government-wide investigation meant to tackle corruption and the mismanagement of public funds by government agencies.<sup>59</sup> Responding to charges that Operation Cobra was actually intended to eliminate enemies in the government, Déby told an interviewer from *Jeune Afrique* that several of his friends and closest aides had been investigated and that the operation was already a resounding success, recovering nearly 10 billion CFAs (approximately \$19 million) in the first few months of its launch.<sup>60</sup> When pressed about the arrests of former secretary general Mahamat Saleh Annadif; opposition member Gali Ngothe Gatta, who was detained for poaching but then released for lack of evidence; and the judge who ruled against Gatta's arrest, Déby said that they were issues for the courts to decide and that any impropriety could be attributed to shortcomings within the judiciary.<sup>61</sup> In July, several state officials in eastern Chad were removed from office and charged with embezzlement.<sup>62</sup> Operation Cobra began months after a major scandal plagued the Chadian government in which the minister for morality and good governance, Ahmadaye Al-Hassan, was arrested after he had been accused of stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars from funds allocated to anti-corruption programs.<sup>63</sup>

### **The Trial of Hissène Habré**

On July 20, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Senegal must either try former Chadian president Hissène Habré or extradite him to Belgium. In 2000, a group of victims filed suit to try Chad's former president for war crimes. Habré stands accused of killing more than 40,000 Chadians during his eight years in power.<sup>64</sup> The initial suit was brought before a Senegalese court, but the court ruled that it did not have the proper jurisdiction to try him.<sup>65</sup> Charges were then filed with the ICJ in Belgium in 2005. The ICJ issued an arrest warrant in 2005,

and Senegal briefly placed him under house arrest; however, thus far, no trial has materialized. In 2008, he was tried and convicted in absentia in Chad.

Since 2000, the government of Abdoulaye Wade in Senegal agreed many times to put Habré on trial, but Wade also refused four separate extradition requests by the ICJ and, ultimately, he proved unwilling or unable to proceed with a trial.<sup>66</sup> The new Senegalese government of Macky Sall came to a tentative agreement with the African Union (AU) in late July to establish a special court to try Habré.<sup>67</sup> If the trial does take place, this would be the first trial of a sub-Saharan African leader by an international court on African soil.

Wade's reluctance to try Habré has been the subject of much discussion. Wade spent almost 12 years stalling and equivocating on what to do with Habré. After the AU issued a mandate in 2006 that Senegal begin proceedings, Wade spent the next four years attempting to negotiate an international budget.<sup>68</sup> He initially requested a budget of €66 million but finally agreed to €8.6 million in November 2010.<sup>69</sup> He then changed course and threatened to send Habré to Chad, stating that he was no longer involved and that the matter was up to the AU.<sup>70</sup> Wade offered to extradite him to Chad in 2011, but the UN requested he not be sent to Chad for fear of his torture and/or execution.<sup>71</sup> According to several human rights groups, the trial budget was never the real issue, but they were unclear as to Wade's real motivation.<sup>72</sup> Jacqueline Moudeina, lawyer for the victims, has suggested that Wade benefited from Habré's presence in Senegal. According to this version, Habré brought with him a fortune pilfered from the Chadian treasury.<sup>73</sup> Others have argued that Wade's wrangling allowed him a high-profile issue to leverage in order to obtain aid and development funds from donor countries and possible illicit payouts from political elites in Libya and Chad, who may have had no interest in seeing Habré brought to justice.<sup>74</sup>

The Chadian government released a statement praising the decision to try Habré in Africa but expressed its dissatisfaction that the trial would not take place in Chad.<sup>75</sup> The sentiment on the ground in Chad, however, is mixed. While many – particularly victims of Habré's torture and family members of the deceased – would like to see him brought to justice, others are keenly aware that Déby was a key cabinet member and one-time protégé of Habré.<sup>76</sup> It is unclear how, if at all, a trial would implicate Déby, but he has previously expressed his support for a trial in Belgium.<sup>77</sup>

## ALERTS

### Iran Making a Second Hard Push for African Support at the NAM Summit in Tehran

Over the past two months, President Ahmadinejad has orchestrated a second diplomatic push to encourage the participation of heads of African states in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit to be held in Tehran from August 26 to 31.<sup>78</sup>

- In mid-July, Nasrin Soltankhah, Iranian Vice President for Science and Technology Affairs, visited Eritrea and Chad to deliver personal invitations to both presidents to attend the summit. Also in mid-July, the Iranian Minister of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) delivered letters of invitation to the Presidents of Angola, Uganda and Zimbabwe while the Iranian Minister of Sports traveled to Togo on the same mission.
- In late June, Mohammed Reza Mirtajeddini, Vice President for Administrative Affairs, delivered an invitation to the president of Mauritania. At the same time the Iranian Health Minister was in Djibouti and Ethiopia to deliver letters of invitation while the Minister of Cooperatives, Labor, and Social Welfare visited Niger and Congo-Brazzaville for the same purpose.
- In mid-June the head of African affairs in the Iranian Foreign Ministry delivered invitations to the heads of states of Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Seychelles, and Mauritius.

While press reporting provides only limited insight into African leader plans to attend the summit, Tehran managed in some of these visits to score a few public diplomacy points. In their meetings with the Iranian ICT Minister, Zimbabwean President Mugabe predictably voiced his support for Iran's nuclear program while Ugandan President Museveni reportedly "praised Iran's steadfastness in resisting western pressures and vindicating its nuclear rights."<sup>79</sup> The Minister's visit to Angola resulted in an agreement to establish embassies in both countries.

Whether these few public diplomacy windfalls offset the effects of ongoing Iranian-related controversies in Sub-Saharan Africa is unclear. In Kenya, the arrest of two Iranians on terrorism-related charges continues to generate significant public attention with regard to Iran's activities in Africa. In South Africa, the government is continuing its investigation into the claim that the South African telecommunications firm MTN paid bribes to secure South African diplomatic support for Iran as a chip in securing entrée into the Iranian mobile market.

With the summit quickly approaching, the Iranian government is approaching the limits of hyperbole in describing its expectations for the event. One Iranian minister stated that the summit in Tehran will be a "turning point" in the movement's history. The Iranian Vice President for International Affairs in mid-July cast it as a retro event where the "movement must commit itself to returning to its charter and highlight such fundamental principles as fighting racism and liberating people from a colonialist grip." In more prosaic terms, Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign policy advisor to the Supreme Leader, has highlighted the urgent need for organizational reform, including the creation of a permanent secretariat. While some potential African participants in the summit – specifically, President Mugabe and Eritrean President Isayas – have voiced their support for such reform, it is hard to imagine that too many veterans of African

Union summits harbor great hopes that the Tehran Summit will relaunch the NAM as an energetic organization on the path to greater influence in the world.

## Kenya's Election: March 4, 2013

**Researcher:** Dr. Dorina Bekoe

### Summary

- The Kenya Court of Appeal has upheld a ruling by the High Court, which set elections for March 4, 2013, settling a suit brought by the Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW) and the Caucus for Women's Leadership.
- The defendants, however, might yet appeal to Kenya's Supreme Court.
- The continuous suits seem to serve more as a distraction than a destabilizing factor in the planning of Kenya's elections.

On Tuesday, July 31, the Kenya Court of Appeal upheld a ruling by the High Court in January 2012<sup>80</sup> that the General Election should be held in March 2013. One justice, of the five on the court, dissented; Justice Martha Koome opined that the elections should take place no later than January 15, 2013. In her dissent, Justice Koome stated that a sitting parliament should not exceed its 5-year term – which expires on November 15, 2012 – and that elections should be held within 60 days after the end of the term. The Court of Appeal hearing of the election case was in response to a suit brought by the CREAW and the Caucus for Women's Leadership, which claimed that the High Court's ruling was unconstitutional.<sup>81</sup> The case might not be settled however. Stephen Mwenesi, the lawyer for the CREAW promised to appeal the judgment to Kenya's Supreme Court.<sup>82</sup>

The Caucus for Women's Leadership, in concert with other women's groups, had previously objected to the March 2013 election date, claiming that it would interfere with the school calendar, and teachers are heavily involved with the logistical operations of the election. In addition, many women's groups claimed that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) had acted unconstitutionally when it set the date for March 2013: the women's groups asserted that the date could be set only after parliament had debated an amendment to the constitution that would establish affirmative action, in addition to a December 2012 election date.<sup>83</sup>

Meanwhile, the IEBC and related bodies are working to prepare the country for elections on March 4, 2013.



## **Ebola in Uganda: Underplayed?**

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### **Summary**

The ongoing Ebola outbreak in Uganda has killed nearly 20 people and sickened twice as many since the beginning of July.<sup>84</sup> Despite significant information and capacity gaps – and contrary to several reports from the field – the Ugandan and Kenyan governments as well as international organizations have insisted there is “nothing to worry about”<sup>85</sup> and the affecting strain is a “mild”<sup>86</sup> one. Recently identified as the same “Ebola Sudan” strain responsible for the most deadly outbreak of hemorrhagic fever in Uganda’s history<sup>87</sup> – which killed more than 200 people and sickened 425 in 2000<sup>88</sup> – the impact of this strain’s resurgence is at present unknown.

### **From Kibaale to Kampala**

The first reports of illness came from Kibaale region in Western Uganda.<sup>89</sup> Multiple villages in this region have since reported cases,<sup>90</sup> and the majority of deaths thus far are linked to a single family.<sup>91</sup> Schools in the region have closed,<sup>92</sup> and public facilities across the country – including and especially hospitals – have been abandoned as officials and individuals attempt to limit the spread of the disease and protect themselves.<sup>93</sup>

Two have died in the capital city of Kampala – around 200 kilometers from the first reported cases – but the government insists that the dead were infected in Kibaale, and there have been no new confirmed cases outside of Western Uganda.<sup>94</sup> Close to 20 are currently under quarantine in Kampala, the majority of whom are said to be health workers who were exposed by those infected elsewhere.<sup>95</sup>

### **Panic Spreads Alongside the Disease**

The outbreak has sparked a nationwide panic due to a combination of factors, including the grisly nature of the disease, persistent memories of the country’s three other major recent Ebola outbreaks, and a widespread belief that the symptoms are caused by evil spirits or pernicious bad luck.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, there is little public faith in the ability of the government to contain the disease.<sup>97</sup> While lower-ranking officials have maintained that the Ugandan government is in control of the situation,<sup>98</sup> acting in concert with international organizations to trace the spread of the virus, on Monday July, 30<sup>99</sup> President Museveni instructed his countrymen to avoid all personal contact – including shaking hands – in an attempt to control the epidemic.<sup>99</sup>

Ebola’s incubation period typically lasts from 2 to 21 days.<sup>100</sup> Initial reports of illness in Kibaale date to early July, and multiple sources report new diagnoses as recently as July 30.<sup>101</sup> Even assuming complete information and no new infections – very unlikely considering the highly contagious nature of the Ebola virus in general and the Sudan strain in particular<sup>102</sup> – this epidemic would remain a serious threat to public health for several weeks at a minimum.

Exacerbating this dynamic are the movement of potentially infected people (i.e., disease vectors) across the country<sup>103</sup> and the state of healthcare facilities in the region,<sup>104</sup> among other factors. Troublingly, even if the government’s claims were true and capacity existed to treat scores of hemorrhagic fever victims, it would be little consolation. Ebola has no known cure, there is no vaccine, and, by the time symptoms have manifested, the disease has generally advanced beyond the point where much can be done.<sup>105</sup> Why some people recover from Ebola and others do not remains unknown.<sup>106</sup>

Kenyan and South Sudanese sources have responded to the outbreak with particular concern due to their physical proximity and porous borders with Uganda.<sup>107</sup> While representatives of the Kenyan health bureaucracy made statements intended to quell public panic – similar to those made by their counterparts in Uganda – sources inside Juba’s health ministry responded to the epidemic with horror, vowing that the young country, unlike its neighbors, “would not take chances” with such a dangerous disease.<sup>108</sup> It is unclear whether South Sudanese officials have the intent or capacity to take any concrete steps to limit their country’s exposure to the epidemic, such as closing their borders to Ugandan refugees.

## Army Mutiny in Madagascar Suppressed Ahead of SADC Talks

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On July 22, 2012, a mutiny led by army Corporal Koto Mainty was suppressed by the military and paramilitary police in barracks located less than seven miles outside of Madagascar's capital city, Antananarivo. Corporal Mainty was killed in a shootout after an officer sent to negotiate with him was wounded. Reports suggest that two other mutineers were wounded, and four civilians were arrested in the operation. "The situation is under control," said General Raphael Ramasy, chief-of-staff to the Defense Minister, on July 23.<sup>109</sup> Although quelled quickly, the mutiny highlights rifts within the military, which holds much political influence in Madagascar.

- As outlined in the June 6, 2012 edition of *The Africa Watch*, Madagascar has been in political turmoil since 2009, when then-opposition leader Andre Rajoelina – with backing from the military – took power from former president Marc Ravalomanana, who is now in exile in South Africa.<sup>110</sup>
- Civil-military relations remain tense in Madagascar: the mutiny is the third such incident in three years.<sup>111</sup> In March 2012, more than 800 soldiers staged protests over taxation grievances.<sup>112</sup>
- The mutiny leader, Mainty, also known as "Black," is believed to have formerly been a bodyguard for a previous Defense Minister.<sup>113</sup>
- The incident has not stymied high-level talks between political rivals Rajoelina and Ravalomanana, which began on July 25 in Seychelles. The talks, meant to resolve the political crisis and lead to elections in late 2012 or early 2013, are sponsored by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and are being mediated by South African President Jacob Zuma.<sup>114</sup>

Although this particular incident appears unlikely to further destabilize the interim government significantly in the short-term, the failed mutiny exposes persistent divisions within the military and serves as a stark reminder of the deeply troubled civil-military relationship in Madagascar.

## Updates on Guinea-Bissau

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

### UN Action

- On July 18, 2012, the United Nations Security Council added six individuals to its travel ban list. All are members of the “Military Command” that assumed responsibility for the *coup d'état* of April 12, 2012, and most are known to be very close to General Injai, the coup leader.

### Bubo Na Tchuto

- The former Navy chief and USG-designated drug kingpin, Admiral Jose Americo Bubo Na Tchuto, is purportedly in Dakar, Senegal, seeking medical treatment for an unknown illness. No medical details are available, but his lawyer is adamant Bubo did not flee the country as some have alleged.<sup>115</sup>
- According to one news source, Bubo submitted an application to the Clerk of the Circuit Court for Regional Crime on July 11, 2012, stating he needed to travel abroad to receive special treatment for an unnamed disease. The application was rejected for lack of a medical certificate and because Bubo is not permitted to leave Guinea-Bissau under the terms of the order of his release from prison granted by Army Chief of Staff General António Indjai in June 2012.<sup>116</sup>
- Bubo had been arrested by General Indjai in connection with the coup attempt on December 26, 2011. He was released from prison on June 21 with 18 co-accused. Since his release, he has been under close guard.

### Lino Lopes

- Guinea-Bissau’s former Director General of Intelligence Services, Lino Lopes, was arrested on July 18, 2012 along with four others from the service’s former leadership.
- A spokesman from the Intelligence Service stated Lopes’s arrest was in conjunction with the ongoing investigation into the disappearance of Roberto Ferreira Cacheu, who had been the Secretary of State for International Cooperation and a member of the former ruling party (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, or PAIGC). Cacheu participated in the December 26 coup (along with Bubo and others), but disappeared that same day.<sup>117</sup>
- Local press reports indicated that Cacheu was assassinated and his body buried in the Buba area, in Guinea-Bissau’s southwest region.<sup>118</sup> Friends and colleagues interviewed at that time said he might be in France or Germany.<sup>119</sup>
- The arrest of PAIGC members such as Lopes is consistent with the current transitional government’s policy of ostracizing the PAIGC and barring its leaders from participation in national politics.

## Clashes on the DRC-Zambia Border

Researchers: Ms. Ivana Djak

### Border Clashes

Clashes erupted along border between the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Zambia after a Zambian truck driver was burned to death on July 4, 2012 by a mob near the Kasumbalesa border post in the DRC. The driver had struck and killed two Congolese pedestrians.

Retribution attacks followed, with Zambian and Congolese traders and drivers harassing each other. Zambian traders at Chisokone Market in Kitwe, Zambia attacked and beat suspected Congolese traders. They also gathered at the Chisokone civic center in protest of the killing.<sup>120</sup> Congolese traders at Lusaka Soweto Market were also harassed.<sup>121</sup>



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

Over the weekend of July 7, a protest by SADC-country truck drivers of the killing left hundreds of drivers stranded at the border. Meetings were held by local officials and police on both sides to resolve the issue.<sup>122</sup> The situation calmed only after the governor of the DRC's Katanga province assured SADC-country truck drivers they would be safe in the DRC, and urged Zambians to eschew retribution attacks.<sup>123</sup>

### National Governments Mitigate Tension

On July 11, the DRC consul general in Zambia announced the arrest of 12 Congolese and extended his condolences and apologies to the affected family members and the Zambian people, assuring them that the Congolese government will prosecute the perpetrators.<sup>124</sup> As officials on both sides advocated for peace, the 9<sup>th</sup> Regional Joint Permanent Commission meeting between the Katanga Province in the DRC and the five bordering Zambian provinces was set to take place the week of July 23, 2012, which could provide relief from the tension. Officials were to discuss border security, the reopening of the border at Tshisenda and Lumata, and further securing of the Kasumbalesa post.<sup>125</sup> The countries are also set to renew 11 bilateral agreements on trade, railway transportation, judiciary cooperation, security, and other matters at the meeting.<sup>126</sup> At this writing, the results of the Commission meeting have not been reported.

### Potential for Escalation and Further Clashes

Even as officials cooperate, the potential for further clashes exists. The Katanga Minister of Transportation and Communications warned that continued retribution attacks could lead to an

escalation of the conflict.<sup>127</sup> While there is no significant history of conflict between the DRC and Zambia, aside from the periodic kidnapping of fishermen<sup>128</sup> and illegal border crossings,<sup>129</sup> this incident serves as a warning.<sup>130</sup>

## French Foreign Minister Visits West Africa to Discuss Mali

**Researchers:** Dr. Dorina A. Bekoe and Ms. Betty Boswell

French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius has returned from a brief visit (July 26 to 28) to West Africa. Up for discussion were country-specific issues and possible approaches to a solution to the crisis in Mali. Minister Fabius brought the concerns of France's new government to the leaders of Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger, and Senegal – four countries directly affected by the unrest in Mali and the presence of Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) so close to their borders. The threat to democracy from terrorists cannot be tolerated, said Fabius, who went on to say “that the forces of Mali and African countries [must] come together with the support of the international community for the return of peace.”<sup>131</sup>

Apart from agreement that an African or international response to the crisis is needed, there did not seem to be a consensus among the four countries Fabius visited. Burkina Faso and Senegal still seek a diplomatic solution, and support holding talks with the Tuareg separatist groups and Ansar Dine.<sup>132</sup> Niger, on the other hand, feeling most threatened by AQIM's presence in neighboring Mali, believes ECOWAS's proposed intervention with a 3,000-troop force is the correct solution.

Chad's President Déby and his delegation of ministers spoke with Minister Fabius for an hour. Fabius stressed the importance to France of a continuing partnership with Chad and the other French-speaking countries of Africa. President Déby concluded the meeting by expressing his concern over the serious threat to the whole region posed by the Malian crisis and the AQIM organization. Chad's participation in any international force, however, would depend on getting specific answers to the questions of “how” and “with what resources,” according to its Head of State.<sup>133</sup> He stated that outside assistance from the U.S., France, and NATO was critical because African states do not have the resources for such an intervention. This echoes the points made by Déby in an interview with *Jeune Afrique* on July 23 that because ECOWAS did not have the capacity to undertake such a mission, Chad could only participate if the African Union deployed a force with the United Nations support – as in Somalia – and logistical assistance from NATO.<sup>134</sup>

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

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

With best regards,

*George Ward*

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ANALYSES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
The Mali Coup and Civil Society in West Africa .....	1
Illicit Wildlife Trafficking and Instability in Central Africa .....	4
Kenya’s ICC Process: Implications for the Presidential Race and Post-Election Governance .....	7
Election Watch: Angola 2012 .....	9
<b>ALERTS .....</b>	<b>11</b>
Tanzania-Malawi Border Dispute .....	11
After Chinese Death, Zambia Moves to Preserve China-Zambia Relations .....	12
Guinea: Mining Industry Woes Continue .....	13
Tension in Nigerian Bakassi Peninsula Ahead of Cession to Cameroon .....	15
Leadership Profile: David Yau Yau, South Sudanese Militia Commander .....	17
<b>ENDNOTES .....</b>	<b>18</b>



## ANALYSES

### The Mali Coup and Civil Society in West Africa

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

#### Summary

- The role of Malian civil society organizations in the March 2012 coup and their subsequent relationship with the military junta and the current “caretaker” government have led observers to question the pre-coup narrative that cast Mali as “a bastion of democracy in an otherwise volatile region.”<sup>1</sup>
- Civil society in Mali has become deeply divided between those who condemn the anti-democratic coup and those who either endorse or show a willingness to work with the new regime.
- Civil society organizations in other nominally multi-party systems in Cameroon, Burkina Faso, and Gabon have also acceded, either actively or tacitly, to the establishment of “Presidents for Life.”<sup>2</sup> The exception to the pattern is Senegal, where civil society groups organized an effective and, ultimately, successful opposition to an attempted “civilian coup” by then-President Abdoulaye Wade in the lead-up to the February 2012 presidential elections and subsequent run-off.
- These developments have led observers, both within and outside the region, to question the resilience of West African civil society in the face of disappointed expectations and consider what can be done to strengthen civil society as a “watchdog for democracy and the rule of law.”<sup>3</sup>

#### Malian Civil Society and the March 2012 Coup

Prior to the events of January through March 2012, Mali was widely hailed as one of the great success stories of democratization in West Africa. Its civil society could be characterized as “various forms of associations and organizations, either traditional or modern, and interest groups focused on economic, social, cultural, or civic activities without the intention to seek or exercise political power.”<sup>4</sup> A broad range of groups representing women, rural workers, labor unions, social and economic development, and religious communities engaged with political parties and the government through an umbrella organization, the National Council of Civil Society, which enabled them to serve as a neutral balancing force among the various political stakeholders. In broader terms, Malian civil society saw its role as educating and mobilizing citizens, defending human rights, conflict prevention and mediation, and promoting social and economic development. It pursued these roles primarily through non-partisan advocacy, negotiation, and mediation with government.

In January 2012, as the Malian defense forces suffered severe setbacks in their battle against Islamist rebels in the north, civil society engaged in a series of consultations to entreat the government to find a way out of the conflict. The intervention of “*des femmes de camp*” – a movement of army wives and mothers who traveled to Bamako to demand an explanation from the President as to why Malian soldiers were being sent into battle with obsolete weapons and

inadequate training – shifted the trajectory of the crisis in a direction that led to a mutiny by frustrated soldiers, emboldened by alcohol, and culminating in what observers and participants described as a “makeshift coup.”<sup>5</sup> With the March 22, 2012 military coup that ousted Mali’s democratically elected President, Amadou Toumani Touré, civil society became deeply divided between pro- and anti-junta factions. The National Council of Civil Society issued a statement that, while condemning the coup in principle, went on to say that:

*Mali, our beloved country, is the subject of a violent attack by armed secessionist groups who want to break away the Northern and Central part of the nation, The complexity of this crisis and the diversity of players involved render its resolution difficult; There is a deep unease in all layers of Malian society in the face of this crisis and the exit strategies or solutions to it are not immediately and clearly visible or understandable . . . . At the same time the primary concern of most politicians appear to be holding on to power or gaining access to it immediately; The national army clearly encounters many problems in its struggle to preserve the unity and integrity of the country; The task of preserving the honor of the Malian people and of defending the integrity of our national territory is the sole responsibility of the Malian army; The overwhelming support of the people towards the national army is an expression of the peoples’ attachment to national sovereignty and not an act of charity; The people are experiencing a growing concern for the preservation of their safety and that of their property.<sup>6</sup>*

The statement concluded with an offer to cooperate with “anyone and any national initiatives” whose goal is to bring an honorable end to the crisis.

### **Malian Civil Society after the Coup**

In the months since the coup, Malian civil society has divided into three camps. Almost from the beginning, the junta actively courted civil society with some success. Most civil society organizations and religious groups have taken a neutral stance, neither backing nor openly resisting the junta. Among those civil society movements that support the junta and the hand-picked caretaker government of President Dioncounda Traore and Prime Minister Cheikh Modibo Diarra are the Popular Movement of 22 March, or MP22, and the Association of Patriotic Organizations of Mali (COPAM). MP22 and COPAM consist of loose federations of around 50 political parties, followers of a few high profile politicians and public intellectuals such as Oumar Mariko, the Syndicate of Rural Peasants, and groups representing refugees from the north, returnees from Libya, members of the ethnically Arab population in the south, and various human rights groups.<sup>7</sup> The major consortium condemning the coup is the United Front for the Safeguarding of Democracy and the Republic (FUDR), which is made up of 38 political parties and roughly 20 civil society organizations and labor unions.<sup>8</sup>

The long-term consequences of this division and politicization of civil society for Mali’s democracy could be dire. In the words of Oumar Keita, “the cream of the thinkers and leaders of civil society have, in large part, become politicized” and have, as a result, lost their credibility as a neutral counterbalance and a voice for the voiceless in Malian political discourse. In contrast to the *Y’en a marre* movement in Senegal, which has retained a high level of public legitimacy because of its staunch refusal to become part of the new government or affiliate with any opposition political parties, much of Malian civil society will be viewed as having sold out and becoming part of the problem of corruption rather than an agent for change.

### **Civil Society and “Civilian Coups” in West Africa**

The coup in Mali has been paralleled by what some analysts have called “civilian coups” in a number of African democracies, including Cameroon, Gabon, and Burkina Faso in West Africa. As civil society leader Wodjo Fini Trouré of Côte d’Ivoire<sup>9</sup> described the problem at a recent IDA-sponsored workshop on civil societies in Africa, while all states in Africa have constitutions and laws, most also have regulations and systems that effectively inhibit the rule of law. Increasingly, democratically elected leaders develop monarchical ambitions and, in the absence of effective and neutral civil society organizations to hold them accountable, have managed to circumvent constitutional term limits and other restrictions to transform democratic rule of law into pseudo-democratic “rule of the strongest.”<sup>10</sup> The solution, Wodjo and others suggest, is the creation of regional civil society networks that can hold one another accountable, and share experiences and best practices with the long-term goal of creating an ethic of civic responsibility among the citizenry and a habit of political activism.<sup>11</sup> Learning from the successful popular movement that thwarted the attempted “civilian coup” by former Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade in early 2012 would, they agree, be an excellent place to start.

### **Democratic Disillusionment**

Numerous observers of the events in Mali have been critical of civil society’s reaction, which seems to have indicated a weak interest in maintaining democratic processes. The robustness of Mali’s democracy was probably overly optimistic. Even before the coup, some have pointed out, voter turnout in Mali’s elections was among the lowest in Africa.<sup>12</sup>

Others, however, see Malian civil society’s acquiescence as a symptom of a wider phenomenon in West Africa: a general sense of disappointment in the failure of democracy to live up to the promise of improving the lives of ordinary Africans. As Professor Yaw Badu, former rector of the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA), pointed out at the IDA Civil Society workshop in Dakar, it does no good to condemn those within Malian civil society whom we see as having “taken the wrong side.” Sometimes, in periods of extreme social, economic, or security stress, any change looks positive, even when it just amounts to “the same car with a different driver.”<sup>13</sup>

This democratic disillusionment is magnified by additional factors. First, regional organizations like the AU and ECOWAS apply egregious double standards in failing (or refusing) to condemn “civilian coups” with the same energy they have the military coup in Mali. Second, the civil society organizations and political parties that should be leading the defense of democracy are often as unaccountable and opaque as the regimes they are meant to monitor. Until these organizations become internally democratic and transparent themselves, they are unlikely to rally the trust and allegiance of a disillusioned citizenry. Finally, the tendency to posit a narrative that pits “good” (civil society) against “evil” (military juntas and Presidents-for-life) risks failing to examine the deep, social and economic structures and issues that lead to democratic crisis.

## **Illicit Wildlife Trafficking and Instability in Central Africa**

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

### **Summary**

- The global value of the illegal wildlife trade in 2011 is estimated at between \$7.8 billion and \$10 billion, making it the fifth most profitable illicit economic activity behind trafficking in drugs, humans, oil, and counterfeiting.
- Recent attacks by militants on national parks in Central African countries such as Cameroon, Chad, and the DRC give support to the claim that poaching activities are helping to fund regional insurgencies.
- While U.S. policy has aided in reducing the profitability of conflict resources to DRC rebel groups such as the M23, these groups have nonetheless increased their activities in recent months. Illicit wildlife trafficking could be providing alternative sources of funding to rebel groups.
- Poaching and wildlife endangerment are fueled largely by Asian demand. Local, national, and regional reaction indicates Central African nations might be poised to act strongly against illicit wildlife trading and those associated with it. Such action could affect their relationships with Asian investors.

### **Fueling and Funding Militant Activity**

Despite the commitment of the 175 signatories to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), which prohibits trade in endangered species, poaching is rampant in Central Africa.<sup>14</sup> A Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) survey estimates that the number of elephants in Central Africa decreased by almost 50 percent between 2006 and 2011. The number of elephants in the Republic of Congo's Nouabale-Ndoki National Park alone declined from 13,000 to 6,300.<sup>15</sup>

Driven largely by demand from Asia, seizures of endangered species parts have quadrupled over the last decade. In parts of Africa, rhino horns and elephant tusks are used for traditional medicinal and decorative purposes, but the main driver of ivory and animal trafficking is Asian black markets. A recent report by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) blames China, Thailand, and especially Vietnam for failing to reduce demand for endangered African species.<sup>16</sup> WWF said that although China has made strong efforts to stop the illegal trade of endangered species parts, it remains one of most prolific importers.<sup>17</sup>

According to Richard Carroll, vice president of Africa Programs at WWF in the U.S., 2011 was the worst year for rhino poaching in more than 25 years. Mr. Carroll argues, "Poaching is not just a conservation crisis anymore. Long linked to drugs and arms smuggling around the world, it now also poses a growing threat to the stability of governments in Africa." Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) director Julius Kipng'etich concurs: "Poached ivory travels through the same channels as drugs and people who are being trafficked." He further stated that ivory, like blood diamonds, is funding rebel groups across Africa. The CITES "Monitoring the Illegal Killing of Elephants" program from 2001 to 2009 established that those who hunt elephants generally work for wealthy patrons who reward hunts with weapons, ammunition, and supplies.<sup>18</sup>

Poaching has long been linked to organized and transnational crime, but as prices and demand escalate, the trade is becoming militarized, posing serious security threats to weak

governments. Militias, terrorist groups, and insurgents use money from wildlife crime to fund insurgencies.<sup>19</sup> Ivory now rivals cocaine and gold in value by weight, making poaching extremely lucrative.<sup>20</sup> Global Financial Integrity estimates the global value of illegal wildlife trade in 2011 at between \$7.8 billion and \$10 billion, making it the fifth most profitable illicit activity behind trafficking in drugs, humans, oil, and counterfeiting.<sup>21</sup> A kilogram of rhino ivory is worth up to \$65,000, and a kilogram of elephant ivory about \$2,000.<sup>22</sup> In Central Africa, wildlife crime is a high-profit, low-risk activity due to the prevalence of weak governments with inadequate law enforcement systems. For example, the DRC has reported only six ivory seizures in the past 20 years, but was implicated in 396 outside the country.<sup>23</sup> Penalties associated with illegal poaching are a small fine or a couple of months in prison in most countries.<sup>24</sup>

The militarization of poachers was most apparent during a March 2012 raid on Cameroon's Bouda N'Djida national park by Sudanese militants believed to be Janjaweed. The raiders, armed with automatic weapons, easily overpowered unarmed park guards and killed as many as 300 elephants. In 2011, various media sources independently reported that al-Shabaab has connections to the illicit poaching and trafficking of ivory and rhino horns.<sup>25</sup> The Sudan People's Liberation Army of South Sudan is accused of poaching elephants to fund its military operations during the struggle for independence. Sudanese militias, including the Janjaweed, reportedly poach ivory for profit in Chad, Kenya, and elsewhere. Somalia's poachers are allegedly engaged in significant operations in Kenya. In the DRC, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (*Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR)) and the Congress for the Defense of the People (*Congrès National Pour la Défense du Peuple* (CNDP)) are accused of participating in poaching by the UN and INTERPOL.<sup>26</sup>

Al-Qaeda affiliated groups in Eastern and Central Africa may also be relying on poaching. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, the U.S. government diminished al-Qaeda's financial support by targeting shell banks and the group's central command. As the group's cells and subordinates consequently had to find new ways to raise funds, some may have turned to poaching. Media reports indicate that two Bangladesh-based Islamic terrorist groups affiliated with al-Qaeda, Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) and Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI), are raising funds for their operations via illegal poaching in Africa.<sup>27</sup>

### **Militants and Poaching in the DRC**

M23 rebels and other militant groups destabilizing the DRC are suspected of partially relying on poaching for funding. A UN report that focused on Rwanda's alleged involvement in the mutiny in the DRC also detailed how the rebels make their money, listing bank robberies, extortion rings, selling cows and charcoal, and wildlife poaching as major sources of income.<sup>28</sup> In June 2012, Mai Mai Simba rebels attacked the Wildlife Okapi Reserve in the DRC, killing six people and twelve endangered Okapi (small mammals related to the giraffe), in response to a crackdown on illegal elephant poaching near the reserve. This particular Mai Mai group, made up of elephant poachers and illegal miners, warned that reprisal attacks would take place if their freedom to move and poach was threatened.<sup>29</sup> M23, FDLR, and other rebel groups have taken shelter in the Virunga National Park in northeast DRC, killing two gorillas in recent months and potentially going after the few dozen elephants remaining. Since January 2011, dozens of rangers and soldiers have been killed in the park as rebel activity intensified. Conservationists are particularly concerned because the world's remaining 800 mountain gorillas live in the park.<sup>30</sup> Over the weekend of July 21, 2012, Mai Mai rebels linked to poachers raided the headquarters of the Upemba National Park. No one was hurt, but equipment was stolen. The

unrest in the DRC has given poachers a chance to re-infiltrate parks that had previously chased them out.<sup>31</sup>

While U.S. policy (in the form of the 2010 Dodd-Frank law) has aided in reducing the profitability of conflict resources to DRC rebel groups such as M23,<sup>32</sup> there has been no attendant reduction in conflict or rebel activity in the DRC. Illicit wildlife trafficking might be providing alternative sources of funding to these rebel groups. It could in fact be the case that recent increases in illegal poaching are an indirect by-product of policies meant to reduce the trade in conflict resources.

### **Local and Regional Responses**

Across the region, governments, NGOs, and citizens are increasingly calling for the conservation of wildlife and natural resources.<sup>33</sup> Poaching in particular, because of its ties to militants and insecurity, has made it onto the political agenda of Central African nations and regional and international bodies. Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Rwanda, and Sao Tome and Principe launched a coordinated effort at a CITES meeting during the week of July 23 to combat poaching in the region in the face of escalating wildlife crime and related violence. The \$14 million five-year plan includes cooperation between law enforcement agencies, use of informants, revisions of penalties and prosecutions, ramping up investigations, and joint country patrols around border areas. Since China is the biggest importer of illicit wildlife trade products and the biggest investor in Central Africa, the signatories appealed to it to support the initiative.<sup>34</sup> On June 27, Gabonese President Ali Bongo set fire to nearly five tons of illegally seized ivory in a public ceremony intended to send a strong signal to those engaged in poaching. The pyre represented the nation's entire stockpile of confiscated ivory.<sup>35</sup>

The recent increase in poaching has led to a proposal by a faction within CITES to set up a centralized system for the legal sale of ivory. The proposal, which would be voted on at the 2013 CITES meeting in Thailand, has set off fierce debate between Southern African countries, which want legal trade to help pay for conservation efforts, and Central and Eastern African countries that oppose such a measure.<sup>36</sup>



# Kenya's ICC Process: Implications for the Presidential Race and Post-Election Governance

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

## Summary

- The International Criminal Court (ICC) will begin trials of the four Kenyans, including presidential candidates Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, accused of complicity in the 2008 post-election violence on April 10 and 11, 2013, five weeks after the general elections.
- The new chief prosecutor of the ICC has proposed broadening the charges against the four Kenyans, possibly increasing their chances of conviction.
- Although the ICC has not barred them from running for office, the Kenya High Court is currently reviewing a suit regarding the eligibility of Kenyatta and Ruto.
- While the ICC process sharply divides Kenyans, it is not likely to result in violence. Should Ruto or Kenyatta win the election, however, the ICC trial will probably make governing difficult.

## Expanded Charges for Kenyans in ICC Case

Of the original six Kenyans facing charges at the ICC, only four – Deputy Prime Minister Uhuru Kenyatta, Eldoret North MP William Ruto, KASS FM executive Joshua Sang, and former Civil Service head Francis Muthaura – will go to trial. The charges against the remaining two – Tinderet MP and Chairman of the Orange Democratic Movement, Henry Kosgey, and the Chief Executive of the Postal Corporation, Mohammed Hussein Ali – were dismissed because they did not fall under “crimes against humanity as codified in Article 7 of the Rome Statute.”<sup>37</sup> Kenyatta and Ruto are currently waging a presidential bid for the March 4, 2013, elections as representatives of The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), respectively.

Whereas the four were previously charged with co-perpetration of crimes, the ICC's new chief prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, submitted an application in early July to expand the charges to include “contributing, ordering, soliciting or inducing crimes committed during the post-election violence.”<sup>38</sup> This would expand the number of categories under which the four could be found guilty and presumably increase their chances of conviction. A similar strategy was employed in the cases of former Liberian President Charles Taylor and former DRC rebel leader Thomas Lubanga. In Taylor's case, the expanded categories were accepted, in Lubanga's case, they were not.<sup>39</sup>

## Kenyatta and Ruto Can Run for President (for Now)

Technically, Kenyatta and Ruto can run for president – provided they do not violate any rules set forth by the ICC<sup>40</sup> (i.e., contacting victims of the postelection violence, committing crimes against humanity, intimidating potential witnesses, and refusing to appear before the ICC when required).<sup>41</sup> The public is divided, however, on their eligibility. A May 2012 poll conducted by Ipsos Synovate revealed that only 44 percent feel that Kenyatta and 42 percent feel that Ruto should campaign while under investigation by the ICC.<sup>42</sup> There is significantly more support for their presidential bids in provinces that were among the hardest hit in the post-election violence *and* are currently the candidates' strongholds: 72 percent in Central Province (Kenyatta's base) and 70 percent in Rift Valley (Ruto's base) felt that Kenyatta should run for the presidency.

Similarly, 69 percent in Central Province and 68 percent in Rift Valley felt that Ruto should run for the presidency.<sup>43</sup>

While Kenyatta and Ruto might have cleared the hurdle of public opinion and the conditions set by the ICC, a suit brought in the Kenya High Court by the Kenya Youth League and the Kenya Youth Parliament, along with two private citizens, challenges their eligibility. The suit charges that Ruto and Kenyatta do not meet the “leadership and integrity” criteria in Chapter 6 of Kenya’s new constitution. According to the constitution, a determination of leadership and integrity includes, among other things, the qualities of objectivity, impartiality, honesty, accountability, and the absence of conflicts of interest.<sup>44</sup> A bill drafted by parliament, however, to entrench the requirements of Chapter 6 has been weakened by the Kibaki administration’s removal of key provisions. In particular, the administration removed requirements for vetting, declaring income and assets, and receiving certification from the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Administration of Chapter 6 compliance.<sup>45</sup> The Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution, established by the 2010 Constitution to monitor and coordinate the necessary legislation and administrative processes to implement the constitution, is appealing to parliamentarians to change the law.<sup>46</sup> The Kenya High Court has postponed the case to September 27, 2012.<sup>47</sup>

### **Consequences of an ICC Trial**

The ICC process is not likely to generate violence *per se*, because of the relative support Kenyatta and Ruto have for pursuing their presidential bids, but it is likely to present governing difficulties. With the general elections scheduled for March 4, 2013, and the ICC trials scheduled to start on April 10 and 11 for Ruto and Kenyatta, respectively, Kenya faces the possibility of having a president who must face trial at the ICC. In the most recent public opinion survey of the support for the various candidates, Prime Minister Raila Odinga received the highest with 34 percent, Kenyatta received 22 percent, and Ruto received 8 percent.<sup>48</sup> The lack of a dominant candidate suggests that a runoff election – perhaps between Odinga and Kenyatta – is likely. Polling indicates that an Odinga versus Kenyatta run-off would be close: each garnering support of 44 percent, with 12 percent undecided.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, a situation in which Kenya’s sitting president might be called to face trial is not far-fetched. The fact that Kenyatta currently receives support in just two provinces – a majority of support (58 percent) in Central province and a plurality of support (26 percent) in Rift Valley<sup>50</sup> – indicates that he does not have a national base of support, in contrast to Odinga. This alone would make governing in a Kenyatta administration very challenging; the specter of an ICC trial would exacerbate the difficulty. A Kenyatta administration would be distracted and weakened, possibly resulting in a slow-down in the implementation of national reconciliation policies, a reduction of Kenya’s regional influence and international reputation, and an inability to respond adequately to domestic crises.

### **Conclusion**

Kenyatta and Ruto might well prevail in the suit challenging their eligibility to run for presidential office, given the parliament’s weak approach toward fulfilling the leadership and integrity criteria called for in the Constitution. They, however, face an increased chance of conviction by the ICC, as the prosecutor seeks to broaden the charges against them. With the closeness of the presidential race thus far suggesting a good chance of a Kenyatta win, Kenya faces the prospect of having a sitting president answering to charges of crimes against humanity. While such a scenario is not likely to cause internal violence *per se*, it will hinder Kenyatta’s ability to govern effectively and address domestic and regional crises.

## Election Watch: Angola 2012

**Researcher:** Dr. Janette Yarwood

### Summary

- Angola will hold parliamentary elections on August 31, 2012. The election will be the second held in the country since the end of the 27-year civil war in 2002.
- It is widely expected that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA) – in power for 32 years – will secure another term.
- In the run-up to the elections, Angolans, led by youth groups, have regularly taken to the streets to voice their opposition to the current government, express their grievances, and call for overall improved democracy in the country.
- Ex-combatants have also staged their own demonstrations over unpaid pensions.
- The Angolan government has responded with political violence and intimidation of protesters.

### Pre-Electoral Environment

On August 31, Angola is set to go to the polls for only the second time since the end of a 27-year civil war in 2002. The election will decide the makeup of the parliament, with the leader of the winning party becoming president. President dos Santos of the MPLA is expected to win another term.

### Protests

In the months leading up to the elections, dos Santos has faced increasing opposition from political parties, youth, and war veterans. A small-scale youth movement emerged nearly 18 months ago with protesters, including rappers, intellectuals, and journalists, regularly staging protests in Luanda, the Angolan capital, and Benguela, one of Angola's most populous cities. Youth protesters have called for access to higher education, employment, poverty reduction, better housing conditions, improved supply of water and electricity, and improved democratic institutions.<sup>51</sup> The dos Santos administration has reportedly used violence and intimidation to clamp down on the budding youth movement.<sup>52</sup>

According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), Angolan authorities have banned and cracked down on five anti-government rallies since January 2012 and arrested at least 46 protesters, 11 of whom were sentenced to prison terms of up to 90 days.<sup>53</sup> A number of abductions were also reported. In April 2012, HRW called for an investigation of alleged abductions and possible enforced disappearances of several protest organizers. Youth activists have not been deterred and have called for Angolans to start raising their voices.<sup>54</sup> Rapper Carbono Casimiro said: "We want liberty, social justice and a better distribution of our public wealth. These people [the government] are addicted to power, and with them the changes will never be possible."<sup>55</sup>

The youth call for change has been echoed by war veterans demanding overdue pension payments. War veterans staged a number of protests in Luanda and Benguela demanding regular pension payments. On June 7, several thousand war veterans reportedly marched to the Defense Ministry in Luanda; this situation was repeated on June 20 when veterans marched through the streets of Luanda toward the presidential area, also stopping at the U.S. Embassy.<sup>56</sup> The police and military dispersed the crowd with teargas and live ammunition.<sup>57</sup> Although former combatants continue their threats to block upcoming general elections on August 31 if

pensions go unpaid, as noted in the July 18, 2012 issue of *The Africa Watch*, the war veterans' grievances are unlikely to pose a threat to President dos Santos' regime. If the veterans joined forces with other protesters, however, the two groups together could help chip away at MPLA's political hegemony.

### ***The Opposition***

Angola's opposition remains fragmented and weak. There are currently eight opposition parties running in the August 31 elections, all with overlapping political platforms that emphasize issues such as social development, democracy, and youth. In addition to the inability to provide an organized alternative to the MPLA, opposition parties lack the financial resources and access to media to effectively challenge the ruling party. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which has struggled to make the transition from a guerrilla movement to parliamentary party, remains Angola's biggest opposition party.<sup>58</sup> Abel Chivukuvuku, a charismatic senior UNITA member, broke away to form his own party, the Broad Convergence of Angolan Salvation (CASA) party, with several UNITA delegates.<sup>59</sup> This move, along with the emergence of several new parties and regular defections to the MPLA, has left UNITA fractured.<sup>60</sup>

### ***Election Management***

UNITA has expressed concern over vote rigging and the observation and counting of votes during the upcoming polls.<sup>61</sup> The largest opposition party claims that the MPLA rather than the National Electoral Commission (CNE) will control the process, citing the attempt to appoint Susana Ingles as head of the CNE. Since Ms. Ingles is seen as close to dos Santos's MPLA, opposition groups have said she would not be impartial. Ultimately she did not qualify because she is only a lawyer; the head of the electoral body should be a judge.<sup>62</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

Although all expectations are that dos Santos and the MPLA will remain in power, citizens are becoming emboldened and regularly express their concerns even in the face of extreme violence. While the political opposition and the nascent protest movements might not be organized enough to affect the current elections, the situation could play out differently during the country's first local elections, which could take place as early as 2013.<sup>63</sup>

## ALERTS

### Tanzania-Malawi Border Dispute

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

#### Summary

- Lake Nyasa (also known in Malawi as Lake Malawi), whose waters are shared by Tanzania, Malawi, and Mozambique, has been the source of a border conflict between Tanzania and Malawi since independence in 1964.
- Both Malawi and Tanzania have granted exploration rights in the lake to oil companies.
- The current dispute over the border was triggered when Tanzania requested that Malawi stop oil explorations in the lake until the two governments can resolve the border dispute. The crisis escalated with Tanzania's statement that the military option would remain on the table.
- The countries have agreed to meet on August 20 in Mzuzu, Malawi, to negotiate a resolution to the crisis.

#### History of the Border Dispute

Uncertainty about Lake Nyasa's boundary dates to German colonial times, when the description of then-Tanganyika's boundaries was unclear and frequently changing. In 1964, the newly independent Tanzanian government at first accepted that the lake did not fall within its borders (as outlined in the 1890 Anglo-German agreement), then reversed itself.<sup>64</sup> Malawi rejected these propositions; not only did President Hastings Kamuzu Banda threaten to put "a gunboat on Lake Malawi [Lake Nyasa]"<sup>65</sup> but also staked a claim to three Tanzanian districts at the shores of the lake, in addition to the entire lake.<sup>66</sup> No military action materialized and the lake boundary dispute abated.<sup>67</sup>

#### Higher Stakes for the Lake

The recent dispute is tied to the lake's oil potential. In October 2011, Malawi awarded exploratory rights over an area of 20,000 square kilometers to UK-based Surestream Petroleum,<sup>68</sup> while in January 2012, Tanzania granted Heritage Oil (headquartered in Jersey, the Channel Islands) 100 percent of the rights to explore a block of 747 square miles on the lake's northern shores (claimed by Tanzania). For Heritage Oil, this would be the second investment in Tanzania. It also has 100 percent exploratory rights in the Rukwa Basin, located in southwestern Tanzania.<sup>69</sup>

The border dispute resurfaced in late July 2012 when Tanzania charged that Surestream was flying planes into Tanzanian airspace in their quest for oil.<sup>70</sup> They requested that Malawi stop its activities until the border issue could be settled. The dispute quickly escalated following threats by Tanzania that it would defend its territory militarily, if necessary.<sup>71</sup> Besides possibly encroaching on Tanzania's territory, Malawi's claim creates credibility and contractual issues between Tanzania and Heritage oil; conceivably, it could jeopardize a very profitable venture – given the company's other interests in the country. Indeed, Tanzania noted that the border dispute could escalate if oil discoveries are made.<sup>72</sup> Government officials have since toned down their rhetoric; the countries are scheduled to discuss the dispute in Mzuzu, Malawi, on August 20.<sup>73</sup>

## After Chinese Death, Zambia Moves to Preserve China-Zambia Relations

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

On August 4, 2012, a Chinese manager at Chinese-owned Collum coal mine in Sinazongwe, southern Zambia, was killed by mine workers protesting over pay rates. Wu Shengzai, aged 50, died after he was hit by a mine trolley pushed by Zambian workers; another Chinese mine supervisor was also hospitalized as a result of the incident.<sup>74</sup> The Zambian government moved quickly to apprehend the Zambian workers responsible for the death, while also reassuring Chinese investors and workers in Zambia that the incident was an anomaly. Government spokesperson Kennedy Sakeni stressed that Zambia is a safe investment environment where industrial disturbances will not be tolerated. He also stated that “the incident is unfortunate and uncalled for. It is uncharacteristic of the peaceful and hospitable nature of the Zambian society.”<sup>75</sup>

- The workers at the Collum mine were protesting over delays in implementing new minimum wage laws that were announced in July. The operations of the mine have been suspended.<sup>76</sup>
- The police have arrested 12 suspects, charging one with murder and 11 with rioting and theft.<sup>77</sup>
- This is not the first such incident at the Collum mine. In 2010, two Chinese managers were charged with attempted murder after they fired on 13 Zambian miners during a pay disagreement. The charges were subsequently dropped.<sup>78</sup>
- Labor Minister Fackson Shamenda announced on August 6 that his ministry would be sending officials to train company workers and union representatives at the Collum mine in order to help fix “poor industrial relations” between the two groups.<sup>79</sup>
- As outlined in the December 7, 2011 edition of *The Africa Watch*, after campaigning on an overtly anti-China platform, which included criticism of Chinese-owned mines and decrying the exploitation of Zambian workers, President Michael Sata once in office reached out to China and has actively worked to smooth political and economic relations between the two countries.

Zambia’s swift response to the killing signals the importance of Chinese relations to Sata’s government. The incident, however, also highlights persisting tensions between Chinese mine managers and Zambian workers (also outlined in the December 7, 2011 issue of the *The Africa Watch*). Without careful attention from the government, the poor relationship between these two groups will lead to increased flare-ups, which could seriously threaten China-Zambia relations and cause China to decrease its operations in the mining sector.

## Guinea: Mining Industry Woes Continue

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

Guinea's mining industry has been plagued with controversy since the adoption of a radical new mining code in September 2011 that gives the government a free 15 percent share in mining companies (plus up to 20 percent more at market rates) and requires companies to carry out environmental and social impact studies before they are granted mining permits.<sup>80</sup> Recent violence in Zogota has increased international investor unease, potentially delaying the development of one of West Africa's richest iron-ore concessions, and could open the door for China to strengthen its position in Guinea's iron-ore industry.



On August 3, Guinean security forces killed five and wounded three villagers in the small town of Zogota (Kobéla subprefecture, near Nzérékoré). The villagers, who belong to the Guerze and Toma ethnic groups, were protesting the employment of non-indigenous ethnic groups by Vale, a Brazilian mining company operating in the Guinée Forestière region.<sup>81</sup> A resident claimed the trouble began when youths vandalized the offices of the mining company after being told that Vale planned to recruit workers from

Conakry.<sup>82</sup> Clashes spread to the town, where youths threatened to demonstrate in the streets, and the military responded with gunfire.<sup>83</sup> A report by a collection of local rights groups that visited Zogota said that the population there remains on guard.<sup>84</sup>

### Background

Nzérékoré, the largest city in the Guinée Forestière region, is inhabited by *Forestiers* – the Kissi, Toma, Guerze ethnic groups.<sup>85</sup> Simandou, also located in the region, is a 110-kilometer range of hills and the site of the largest integrated iron-ore mine and infrastructure project in Africa. Simandou has four exploration blocks. The rights to exploration blocks 1 and 2 are jointly held by Vale and Beny Steinmetz Group Resources (BSGR), an Israeli natural resources company with operations in Africa and Eastern Europe.<sup>86</sup> Blocks 3 and 4 are jointly owned by Rio Tinto (Australia) and ChinalCo (China).<sup>87</sup> Vale-BSGR agreed to a joint venture in October 2010, but development efforts have hampered the adoption of the new mining code.<sup>88</sup> The endeavor includes development of the Zogota mine with a dry processing plant and a 100-kilometer rail spur connecting an existing railway in Liberia to Zogota.<sup>89</sup> In January 2012, Vale threatened to sell its investments in Guinea due to concerns that Guinea's new mining code would prevent the company from making a profit. The project is also pending final approval from the Guinean government. Consequently, the project's start was delayed to late 2012.

## **Implications**

Two implications of the recent violence in Zogota are worth noting. First, it appears that the Vale-BSGR venture is not fulfilling its promise to provide training and employment for local residents. It is unclear why Vale prefers workers from Conakry, but this approach is destabilizing as evidenced by recent events. Second, additional violence could delay the Vale-BSGR project further and perhaps pave the way for China to gain a greater foothold in the region. If Vale-BSGR backs out the project (or is forced out due to mining code regulations), China could emerge as the front runner to take over. China's Baosteel Group and the China Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC) are already signed up for the construction of ports and railways for Simandou.<sup>90</sup> In addition, in May 2012, it was suggested that a private group of Chinese magnates was planning to take over Rio Tinto's stake in Simandou's exploration blocks 3 and 4 through a deal brokered by the China International Fund (CIF) and Angola's state oil company, which would involve a payment to Guinea of \$700 million.<sup>91</sup>



# Tension in Nigerian Bakassi Peninsula Ahead of Cession to Cameroon

**Researcher:** Ms. Ivana Djak

## Summary

Protests and threats of violence by the indigenous population of the Bakassi Peninsula have been reported as the October 10, 2012 final cession date from Nigeria to Cameroon approaches. The cession of the historically disputed territory to Cameroon was decided by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2002 and affirmed by the 2006 Green Tree Agreement between the nations. The transfer comes at great human cost as the Bakassi people are left stateless, neglected, and allegedly abused by Cameroonian security forces. The locals now threaten to take back "their Bakassi." Cameroon and Nigeria both appear to be increasing their military presence in the region.



[http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/media/images/44928000/gif/\\_44928428\\_cam\\_nig\\_bakassi03\\_226map.gif](http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/media/images/44928000/gif/_44928428_cam_nig_bakassi03_226map.gif)

## Historically Disputed Border

The resource-rich Bakassi Peninsula lies on the historically disputed border between Cameroon and Nigeria in Cross River State. The 1913 colonial border demarcation by France and Britain led to border skirmishes and territorial waters disputes for decades,<sup>92</sup> culminating in military confrontations between Nigeria and Cameroon in the 1990s.<sup>93</sup> At Cameroon's insistence and Nigeria's acquiescence, the ICJ was invited to settle the dispute in 1994. In 2002 the ICJ gave sovereignty over Bakassi to Cameroon. In 2006, Presidents Paul Biya of Cameroon and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria signed the Green Tree Agreement, setting out parameters for a peaceful handover of Bakassi.<sup>94</sup>

## Flaws in Agreement Cause Suffering in Bakassi

Flaws in the Green Tree agreement have led to the failure of its implementation and suffering for the Bakassi people. The agreement addresses the citizenship rights of only the Bakassi people who stay in Bakassi, ignoring the status of those who relocate to Nigeria or Cameroon. Cameroon made no concrete provision for the acquisition of Cameroonian citizenship for the Bakassi people moving to Cameroon, leaving them not only dislocated, but also stateless. On the Nigerian side, many Bakassi relocated to neighboring territory in Cross River State, only to find they were no longer on Nigeria's voters list and citizens register. On the Cameroonian side some Bakassi relocated to Akwa, settling around creeks that are the sites of pirate activity and dangerous living conditions, without hope of gaining Cameroonian citizenship.<sup>95</sup>

The legality of the agreement has been questioned by some in the Nigerian legal community, who have argued that the agreement was never ratified by the Nigerian National Assembly and, therefore, is invalid under the 1999 Constitution. Arguments against the legality of the cession could complicate the transfer. Some Nigerian legal experts also maintain that the agreement violates the Bakassi people's right to self-determination, since they have opposed incorporation into Cameroon, and have pointed to their cultural and linguistic ties to Nigeria.<sup>96</sup>

Ambassador Nkoyo Toyo, a House of Representatives member from Cross River State, warns that Nigerians are being tortured, detained, and abused by Cameroonian forces in Bakassi.<sup>97</sup>

Professor Chidi Odinkalu, the Chairman of the Governing Council of the National Human Rights Commission of Nigeria, visited Bakassi numerous times in recent months and describes the situation as grim and painful. Because the closest Cameroonian city is two hours away, medical help and proper food supplies are not easily accessible. Abuse by Cameroonian police is common. The people have been left without aid from either nation.<sup>98</sup> Cross River State Senator Basse Ewa Henshaw warned, "When [the Bakassi people] can't take any more, they will be prepared to fight."<sup>99</sup>

### **Recent Unrest and Potential for Clashes**

On June 22, 2012, hundreds of Bakassi indigenes protesting at the Cross River State Governor's office to express anger at lack of attention from the Nigerian government, which still administers the region, held signs that read "Bakassi belongs to Nigeria, Fed Govt save her!" and "Do we have a supreme court or supreme corruption?"<sup>100</sup> Displaced indigenous people from Bakassi threaten to return to the oil-rich peninsula, claiming the UN, Nigeria, and the international community abandoned and deceived them. The people claim they are being harassed and killed by Cameroonian paramilitaries and kept from fishing in the peninsula. Etinyin Etim Edet, the paramount ruler of the Bakassi Local Government Area, warned the media: "With total abandonment by Nigeria, the youth threaten to go back to the creeks to render the entire Gulf of Guinea inaccessible to oil and maritime exploration in collaboration with Niger Delta compatriots and their northern sympathizers."<sup>101</sup>

Recent unrest is of particular concern given military activities in the region by both Nigerian and Cameroonian forces. Cameroon has deployed troops to the Bakassi peninsula in response to recent agitation by Nigerians against the cession, and failure of the lower house of the National Assembly to ratify the October 10, 2002 ICJ judgment and the 2006 Green Tree Agreement. Cameroon has sent more soldiers and several gunboats to respond to any offensive by the Nigerian government or militant groups.<sup>102</sup> While Nigeria has withdrawn most of its troops from the region per the agreement, the Nigerian Navy has been active in the region, destroying 1,000 drums of crude oil in Calabar, Cross River State on July 30, 2012, arguing the oil was illegally siphoned from pipelines and stored in warehouses in Ilang, Bakassi. A navy spokesman said the operation was formulated to put an end to the illegal bunkering, sea piracy, armed robbery, and other economic sabotage.<sup>103</sup>

## **Leadership Profile: David Yau Yau, South Sudanese Militia Commander**

**Researcher:** Ms. Brittany Gregerson

### **Introduction**

Recent reports claim that Murle rebel leader David Yau Yau is once again rallying youth in his native Jonglei state against the South Sudanese government.<sup>104</sup> Widespread conflict in Jonglei predates the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that resulted in independence for Juba;<sup>105</sup> however, Yau Yau did not emerge as the head of his eponymous militia until after the new state's elections in 2010.<sup>106</sup>

Currently believed to be in exile in Khartoum – his second such period<sup>107</sup> – Yau Yau and his young followers may be attempting to fill the security vacuum left in the south by the persistent disorganization of the state and the disappearance of Yau Yau's more well-known compatriots.

### **From Post-Election Discontent to “Armed Insurrections”**

Several of South Sudan's most notorious rebel movements emerged in connection with Sudan's April 2010 general elections.<sup>108</sup> This category includes groups led by George Athor, Gatluak Gai, Gabriel Tang Gatwich Chan, and David Yau Yau.<sup>109</sup> State attempts at cease-fires and amnesties with rebel leaders have been resounding failures across the board.<sup>110</sup> While the first three leaders have all since been killed<sup>111</sup> – many “in mysterious and disputed circumstances”<sup>112</sup> – Yau Yau remains alive, a persistent thorn in the side of President Salva Kiir's government.

Yau Yau's home Jonglei state has been particularly restive in recent years, with violence and controversy over issues including state capacity, education, oil resources, border demarcation, and disarmament of civilians.<sup>113</sup> Currently, Yau Yau's forces are said to number at least 200<sup>114</sup> – as they did in 2010<sup>115</sup> – though it is unclear what portion of those men are new recruits. Regardless, the twin motivations of perceived state corruption and ethnic divisions<sup>116</sup> appear to have retained their saliency with youth in Yau Yau's hometown of Pibor – aided, of course, by the South Sudan government's inability to provide Jonglei men with sufficient alternative opportunities. In addition to these factors, some observers have suggested that there is a strong personal component to Yau Yau's appeal among the South Sudanese population.<sup>117</sup>

### **Motivations and Background**

A former theology student, Yau Yau is thought to be driven by his convictions. Chief among the latter are his focus on the exploitation of his Murle ethnic group by the Dinka-dominated political elite in Juba<sup>118</sup> and the corrupt nature of South Sudan's government, which he believes is to blame for his failure at the polls in 2010.<sup>119</sup> Yau Yau is unique among his peers for his lack of military experience prior to taking up arms, a factor that has been highlighted to explain the seemingly unprofessional nature of many of his early campaigns.<sup>120</sup>

Despite his lack of tactical experience, Yau Yau controlled access to most of Pibor within months of forming his militia in 2010.<sup>121</sup> Perhaps more notably, he has proved a shrewd political navigator, successfully handling Juba's multiple diplomatic and military offensives against him while developing a fruitful relationship with Khartoum<sup>122</sup> – though its exact parameters remain largely unclear.

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



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## TO THE READER

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

With best regards,

*George Ward*

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ANALYSES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Un Nouveau Type d'Africaine? A Generational Shift in Civil Society</i> .....	1
Mine Violence in South Africa Reveals Political and Societal Fissures.....	4
Ghana Elections 2012: Meet the NDC Ticket .....	7
Africa's Continuing Information and Communications Technology Revolution – The Thin Edge of the Chinese Wedge.....	10
<b>ALERTS .....</b>	<b>13</b>
Low Professionalism Undermines Benefits of Press Freedom in West Africa .....	13
Guinea: Alleged Attack on Prominent Opposition Leaders.....	14
Unrest in Gabon: Andrew Mba Obame and the National Union Party.....	15
Nigeria: Centralized vs. State-level Police Forces.....	17
Senegal: Locals Reject Biofuels Project .....	18
New Militia in the DRC: The Movement for Claiming the Truth of the Ballot Box .....	20
<b>ENDNOTES .....</b>	<b>22</b>



## ANALYSES

### ***Un Nouveau Type d'Africaine?* A Generational Shift in Civil Society**

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

**Summary:**

- African civil society increasingly shows signs of being in the process of a generational shift in the fundamental nature of civic engagement and a rise in social capital that could, in time, challenge the political status quo in nations across the continent.
- Grassroots, largely youth-based civic movements are beginning to take advantage of the political space opened by widespread disillusionment with traditional civil society entities – labor unions, student organizations, non-governmental organizations, religious organizations, fraternal and service groups – that seem to have become as undemocratic, entrenched, and corrupt as the regimes they are supposed to be holding accountable.
- While the nascent, direct-action movements in Africa share some surface similarities with the “Arab Spring” movements – such as their use of mobile messaging – they are deeply rooted in the political, social, and cultural realities of contemporary African societies. In particular, these movements share a common agenda of instilling new civic and group identities in youth who feel marginalized by the status quo.
- This shift expresses itself in both constructive (*Y'en a marre*, Occupy Nigeria) and destructive (Boko Haram) ways. What these movements all share is a focus on creating a new type of African who, instead of waiting passively for things to change, will take direct action to challenge the entrenched and corrupt political and civil society elite and force positive change as they define it.

#### **The Declining Relevance of Traditional Civil Society**

“Traditional” civil society organizations in Africa are losing their relevance to emerging generations in Africa because their organizational cultures are increasingly seen as indistinguishable from the corrupt, overly bureaucratic, politicized, and undemocratic regimes they are supposed to be holding accountable.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is not unique to Africa. In the United States, noted for its historically high levels of civic engagement, participation in traditional civil society organizations – labor unions, student organizations, fraternal and service groups, and religious organizations – has declined steadily and dramatically (by more than 50 percent) over the past four decades.<sup>2</sup> On a global level, civil society has become increasingly divided between “radical” civil society, with its focus on direct action to challenge the status quo and “neo-liberal” civil society that concentrates on service delivery on a non-profit business model – what some call “philanthrocapitalism.”<sup>3</sup> A May 2012 Freedom House report found that, since (and often in response to) the Arab Spring of 2010-2011, a clear trend has emerged against the expansion of the space in which “radical,” pro-democracy movements can freely operate.<sup>4</sup> Two factors have contributed to this shift: crackdowns on civil rights by governments, often under the guise of counter-terrorism and a tendency for international donors not to hold regimes accountable for “democratic backsliding” in countries like Ethiopia, Rwanda, and South

Africa. “Globally, donor countries,” according to UN special rapporteur on freedom of assembly Maina Kiai, “are beginning to move towards accepting the Chinese model of development” with the result that “the poster children for development ... [are] countries that do not have democracy but where the rates of development are going up.”<sup>5</sup>

“On the surface,” writes E. Gyimah-Boadi of the Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), “most African countries contain enough associations to constitute at least a putative civil society .... Yet, a closer look at many civil society groups reveals serious deficiencies that will sap their effectiveness as key agents in the long and difficult process of democratic consolidation.”<sup>6</sup> The greatest of these are the combined forces of repression of pro-democracy movement and co-opting of traditional civil society organizations by the state. Traditional civil society organizations in Africa, even in relatively democratic countries like Ghana and Senegal, find themselves perpetually faced with a Hobson’s Choice: maintain strict separation from the state and political parties to maintain credibility and legitimacy as a neutral balance to regimes and political parties and risk repression *or* accept a degree of collaboration with the state to ensure influence, protection, and financial support. As the recent experience of civil society in the aftermath of the military coup in Mali in March 2012 shows, when African civil society draws too close to party politics, it gets burned.<sup>7</sup>

### **A New Type of Civil Society**

These trends are creating a space for new kinds of civil society groups that, instead of focusing on creating and holding influence with national governments and international donors, are intent on creating “citizens” at the grassroots level. The emergence of relatively cheap and widely accessible communication platforms – especially smartphones – has dramatically expanded the capacity of civic groups to organize, communicate, and coordinate direct action at the local level. “Enough is Enough Nigeria” (smartphone-based grassroots monitoring of the 2011 Presidential Elections), “Occupy Nigeria” (coordination of mass demonstrations against the removal of fuel subsidies in January 2012 via smartphones and social networking), “Ghana Decides 2012” (a non-partisan social media project to promote voter registration and “foster a better informed electorate for free, fair and safe 2012 elections”),<sup>8</sup> and *Y’en a marre* and the June 23<sup>rd</sup> Movement (M23) in Senegal are all examples of youth-led, grassroots, direct-action movements that are organized and operating outside traditional civil society organizations in West Africa. The trend also has a dark side, which is manifested most clearly in the rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria, a grassroots movement of alienated and marginalized Muslim youth in Northern Nigeria who, instead of pursuing a positive agenda, are striking out violently against both the Nigerian government and a Muslim religious establishment that they see as equally corrupt and incapable of meeting even the basic needs of the people they are supposed to represent.

Boko Haram notwithstanding, the majority of these new civil society entities seek to cut across traditional class, identity, and interest lines to establish new tools for checking the power of the state and political parties and creating new civic identities that focus on bringing together voices representing diverse groups and views in pursuit of the common cause in promoting democratic values.<sup>9</sup> The question for these movements going forward is whether they can mobilize the energy manifested in protests against the end of fuel subsidies in Nigeria and resisting the “civil coup” attempted by former President Abdoulaye Wade in Senegal into a constructive and sustainable movement to raise civic awareness and begin to transform frustrated youth into proactive citizens. Such constructive grassroots identity construction is possible. In Malaysia, for example, the Bersih movement, a grassroots movement for democratic reform that cuts across



deep and longstanding ethnic and religious division, has succeeded in reframing what it means to be a Malaysian citizen.<sup>10</sup>

The success of these nascent movements will depend on their ability to overcome the generally weak sense of civic and national identity in most African nations and the continuing determination of cynical regimes and interest groups to aggravate and exploit religious and ethnic divisions to hold on to power. As Emmanuel M. Katongole (associate research professor of theology and world Christianity in the Divinity School at Duke University, co-director of the Duke Center for Reconciliation, and Catholic priest of the Kampala Archdiocese, Uganda) writes, “the first and primary challenge ... is one of social imagination”: the creation of new narratives and social formations as the basis for a new civic identity.<sup>11</sup> Katongole is referring specifically to the role of churches in breaking historical patterns of violence in African civic engagement, but his call for new narratives applies equally to the challenge facing the emerging, youth-driven civic movements. In addition, these movements must find ways to cooperate and coordinate across national boundaries in order to benefit from one another’s experiences and lessons-learned and reframe what it means to be an African citizen.

The *Y'en a marre* movement in Senegal has created a new narrative, one possible blueprint for transforming the energy of a protest movement into a sustainable drive for political and social change. In the aftermath of its success in mobilizing Senegalese youth to register, vote, and make a measurable contribution to thwarting the attempted “civil coup” in 2012, *Y'en a marre* continues to organize, expand, and promote its “Ten Commandments of the Spirit of *Y'en a marre*.” *Y'en a marre* dedicates itself not to a negative agenda, but to a positive one: the creation of “*un nouveau type de Senegalais*.” This New Type of Senegalese focuses not only on what is wrong with the system but also on recognizing and embracing the responsibility of the individual to become a positive agent of change, starting at the local level. *Y'en a marre* calls upon the youth of Senegal to participate in “the birth and reinforcement of a new citizenry, active and participatory, as the sole guarantee of sustainable development.”<sup>12</sup> *Y'en a marre*'s leaders are also reaching out to youth movements across Africa to share their “lessons learned” and provide morale and material support to grassroots groups hoping to reframe what it means to be a “citizen” in their own countries.

## Mine Violence in South Africa Reveals Political and Societal Fissures

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

### Summary

- In one of the worst outbreaks of violence since the end of minority rule in South Africa, 34 people were killed and 78 injured on August 16, 2012 as police attempted to disperse striking miners at the British-owned Lonmin platinum mine in Marikana.
- The incident, dubbed the “Marikana Massacre,” came one week after 10 others were killed – including two policemen and two private security guards – during violent protests over a pay dispute at the same mine. Demonstrations have continued since the violent incident, with reports of mining unrest spreading to other regions in South Africa’s platinum mining belt.<sup>13</sup>
- After a week of mourning, on August 25, Lonmin estimated that 57 percent of the Marikana miners had returned to work,<sup>14</sup> however, on August 30, amid reports of intimidation of returning workers, that estimate had sunk to only 8 percent.<sup>15</sup>
- The incident exposes deep fault lines among rival unions, political factions, and South African society in general, with the more radical unions tapping into political grievances held by a growing swath of society based on persistent inequality and frustration over slow service delivery.

### Growing Discontent and Inequality

Today, more black South Africans live in poverty than they did under apartheid; the World Bank in 2012 cited South Africa as having one of the highest inequality rates in the world.<sup>16</sup> In this context, there has been a growing frustration among working class and marginalized communities in South African society, resulting in new resistance struggles emerging across the country. Although only September, there have been more protests in 2012 than any year since the move to non-racial democracy in 1994 – most over sluggish service delivery and perceived corruption of local African National Congress (ANC) authorities.<sup>17</sup>

As stated in the June 20, 2012 edition and previous issues of *The Africa Watch*, this discontent and disillusionment with the ruling ANC has been manifested through calls for the nationalization of mines, land expropriations, and continued demands for social reform by the vocal and radical African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and former ANCYL leader Julius Malema.<sup>18</sup> The current mining unrest and factionalism within South Africa’s labor movement stems directly from this increasing frustration among large sectors of the population.

### Divides in the Labor Movement and Union Rivalry

Under the umbrella of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the labor movement played a crucial role in the democratic transformation of South Africa and has remained a strong ally of the ruling ANC. The Marikana incident, however, draws attention to growing factionalism within South Africa’s labor movement. Over the past ten years, the social composition of COSATU’s membership has changed significantly.<sup>19</sup> The members are becoming increasingly skilled and educated as there has been a steady decline of unskilled and semi-skilled members.<sup>20</sup> This shift, along with close relations to the political and corporate elite, has led to charges that COSATU and the established unions have lost touch with the grass roots level and the unskilled laborer.<sup>21</sup> These divides within the broader labor movement played out on a smaller scale in Marikana. The miners’ protest over demands for higher wages reflected a

growing struggle between the traditionally dominant National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which has ties to the highest rungs of the ANC leadership and is viewed as the most powerful union in COSATU, and the upstart Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU).

The rivalry between NUM and the AMCU is deeply personal and goes back to 1998. Gwede Montashe, currently ANC General Secretary and a confidant of President Jacob Zuma, was General Secretary of the NUM in 1998 when he expelled the North-West Province Chairman, Joseph Mathunjwa, for “bringing the union into disrepute.”<sup>22</sup> After Mathunjwa disputed his dismissal and was temporarily reinstated by a NUM inquiry, Montashe expelled him again, leading Mathunjwa to form the breakaway AMCU, claiming that NUM had sold out to the employers. Since then, NUM and the AMCU have been bitter rivals, with NUM staunchly opposed to the AMCU gaining bargaining rights.<sup>23</sup>

Despite NUM’s best efforts to paint the AMCU as rabble-rousers and radicals, the AMCU now boasts up to 20,000 members and has been steadily cutting into NUM membership in the platinum mining regions in North-West Province.<sup>24</sup> Echoing critics of COSATU, AMCU members who have left the ranks of the established unions argue that NUM no longer represents their views and interests and has become too cozy with government elites and big industry. One striking miner, Lazarus Letsoele, stated that “the NUM is all about politics. They have forgotten about the man in the mine shaft.”<sup>25</sup> Cyril Ramaphosa, a former NUM leader who now is an ANC stalwart, is one of the wealthiest people in South Africa and, ironically, sits on the Lonmin board. He serves as a salient example of the blurred lines between NUM, the ANC, and industrial interests.

### **Political Implications and Divides within the ANC**

The Lonmin mine violence has exacerbated splits within the ANC leadership and could have serious long-term political effects in South Africa. Senior ANC members, including presidential contenders Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe and Housing and Settlements Minister, Tokyo Sexwale, have blamed the crisis on Zuma’s failed leadership.<sup>26</sup> In addition to the internal political critique, Julius Malema, the expelled leader of the ANCYL, has been accused of “hijacking” the Marikana tragedy to advance his own following and his vehement opposition to the current ANC leadership.<sup>27</sup> Malema’s attempt to use the event for personal gain was addressed directly by COSATU President S’dumo Dlamini, who issued a warning to Malema to stop using the tragedy for his personal agenda. Despite these rebukes, Malema continues to visit the Marikana miners without police escort. In that setting, his radical message and seeming solidarity with the underclass have popular appeal.<sup>28</sup>

In the eyes of his critics, Zuma’s response to the crisis, which included visiting the mine and convening a high-level panel to investigate the events, has been dilatory, half-hearted, and elite-focused. Zuma’s lackluster response has been matched by a failure of NUM and COSATU to react quickly and forcefully to the crisis. This paralysis has been attributed to splits within NUM and COSATU that carry up the political rungs to the highest level of government, with both labor unions divided from within between two opposed factions supporting Zuma and Motlanthe. In this manner, the political fallout from the crisis is far-reaching, as the rivalry between the AMCU and NUM is directly challenging established alliances within NUM, COSATU, and ultimately the ANC.<sup>29</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The deep political divides outlined above could significantly weaken Zuma’s political position ahead of the important ANC Mangaung congress in December later this year. Indeed, in the

wake of the Marikana crisis, reports have emerged that Zuma has lost much political support among the ANC's National Executive Committee and senior-level civil servants.<sup>30</sup> The increasing fissures in the labor movement, among rival unions, and within South African society in general played out with disastrous results in Marikana. If the growing divides and discontentment are not addressed by labor leaders and all factions within the ANC, future outbreaks of violence are all but guaranteed.

## Ghana Elections 2012: Meet the NDC Ticket

**Researcher:** Dr. Ashley Bybee

### Summary

- President John Atta Mills's passing marked the first time a Ghanaian president has died in office. The transition is a true test of Ghana's democratic institutions, which so far appear to be withstanding the pressures of a new process.
- Mills's successor, President John Dramani Mahama, a northerner and a Christian, now leads the National Democratic Congress (NDC). His selection of Paa Kwesi Bekoe Amissah-Arthur as his vice-presidential running mate was unexpected but appears to be the result of a strategic calculation by Mahama and the NDC.
- Mahama is generally popular and will attempt to distinguish himself from the Mills administration while maintaining the support of sympathetic voters. Mahama, however, faces an uphill battle. A northerner has never held the office of president in Ghana. He must persuade voters that he can manage the country and represent in Accra the interests of all regions and ethnic groups.

### The Impact of Mills's Death on the Presidential Campaign

After a brief period of national mourning, during which Ghanaians embraced their national identity and refrained from political hostilities, the campaigns of both parties have resumed their aggressive stances. The death of Mills had a sobering effect, and President Mahama initially appeared likely to benefit from popular sympathy. Even in early August, however, when Mahama was arguably enjoying heightened "sympathy support," a nationwide poll reported that 51 percent of respondents stated they would vote for Nana Dankwa Akufo-Addo, candidate of the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), if the election were held that day. President Mahama was the preference of 48 percent of those polled, while 1 percent stated they would vote for other candidates.<sup>31</sup> Thus, this presidential race was and will continue to be an extremely close one, with no clear frontrunner.

### The NDC Ticket – Departures from the Norm

The NDC electoral slate of John Dramani Mahama and Paa Kwesi Bekoe Amissah-Arthur as candidates for president and vice president, respectively, presents some aspects that are unusual in the Ghanaian perspective. The following are snapshots of their personalities.



#### President John Dramani Mahama

Mahama, 54, is a northerner and Christian born in Damongo, in the Damongo-Daboya constituency. Mahama studied history at the University of Legon in Ghana with postgraduate studies from the Institute of Social Sciences in Moscow. These experiences have shaped his world view, although he admits in his recently published book *My First Coup d'État and Other True Stories from the Lost Decades of Africa* that his time in Russia "began to move [him] away from a devotion to any one ideology or archetype."<sup>32</sup>

(Source: [www.newstimesafrica.com/archives/27839](http://www.newstimesafrica.com/archives/27839))

His career in government includes an appointment as Minister of Communications between 1998 and 2001, followed by his election to parliament representing his northern hometown of Bole. He became vice president under John Atta Mills in the closely contested election of 2008.

As vice president, Mahama behaved unlike many of his predecessors, who played largely ceremonial roles. On the contrary, Mahama became a very active figure in Ghanaian politics, accompanying Mills on official visits. He played a central role in securing a \$3 billion loan from China, most of which was designated for infrastructure improvements in the Western Region (a critical swing region).

Mahama appears to be quite popular, despite the fact that his selection as the vice-presidential candidate in 2008 generated significant debate within the party.<sup>33</sup>



(Source: [www.africanelections.org](http://www.africanelections.org))

### **Paa Kwesi Bekoe Amissah-Arthur**

The selection of Amissah-Arthur as Mahama's running mate came as a surprise to many Ghanaians and international observers. He is a relatively unknown figure in Ghanaian politics, and most citizens are not familiar with his political philosophy or his track record.<sup>34</sup>

Amissah-Arthur was a loyal supporter of ex-President Jerry Rawlings and served as his deputy finance minister.<sup>35</sup> He was part of a team of economists that managed the structural adjustment program that helped to revive the collapsing Ghanaian economy of the 1980s.<sup>36</sup> Until he was confirmed as the deputy to President Mahama, he had been the Governor of the Bank of Ghana. In that capacity, Amissah-Arthur was frequently blamed for Ghana's fiscal crisis, in particular the failure to prevent the depreciation of the *cedi*, which has

fallen 17 percent against the U.S. dollar this year. Facing massive inflation, Amissah-Arthur has refused to cut interest rates, which would increase the value of the *cedi*, maintaining that depreciation of the *cedi* against major currencies always occurs during election years.<sup>37</sup> Instead, his position has been to urge the government to pay off mounting arrears to local suppliers, which he believes will inject sufficient liquidity into the national economy before the December election.<sup>38</sup>

In his capacity as Mahama's running mate, Amissah-Arthur has come under scrutiny by the press and political analysts. Because of his relative obscurity, many feel he cannot mobilize votes for the NDC as other more popular candidates could. The selection of Amissah-Arthur, however, can be interpreted as a strategic move to fill gaps in which Mahama personally comes short. First, as an Akan, Amissah-Arthur might be able to mobilize votes from the Central and Western regions (both swing regions). Given that Mills was a Fante (who predominate in the Central and Western regions), a candidate who can generate votes from these critical swing regions could help to mitigate the impact of the loss of Mills's supporters. Moreover, selecting Amissah-Arthur follows the unwritten rule in Ghanaian politics of balancing a northern (usually Muslim) candidate with a southern one. This power-sharing arrangement is meant to address grievances of political marginalization by those in the north. Second, although Mahama is proud of his own achievements in Ghana's oil and gas sector, economics is not his strong suit. His choice of Amissah-Arthur may have been a concerted effort to make up for this weakness, particularly in light of the opposition's economics-savvy VP candidate, Mahamudu Bawumia (Amissah-Arthur's

own Deputy at the Bank of Ghana). Other analysts claim the selection was an attempt to pick a running mate who would not overshadow Mahama.

### **Looking Ahead**

The next few months promise to bring heightened political debate and aggressive verbal attacks by the candidates on each other's records. Mahama will probably focus his campaign on the benefits that the oil and gas industry will bring Ghanaians, as well as presenting himself as the more youthful (and therefore desirable) candidate.<sup>39</sup> While age is not a particularly divisive issue in Ghanaian politics, it does appear that young voters are mobilized and taking an active role in the election. The Africa Youth Network (AYONET) will be host an open debate in October in collaboration with the Institute for Economic Affairs.<sup>40</sup> During the campaign, Mahama likely will be criticized harshly and will have to answer questions about the corruption associated with large government contracts in the oil and gas sectors. The NDC has already addressed this issue in part by noting that the NPP is not innocent in this matter, since Akufo-Addo was Attorney-General between 2001 and 2003, when many of the payments were authorized.<sup>41</sup>

The NPP also appears to be criticizing the NDC for general incompetence, high unemployment, and mismanagement of the economy, emphasizing Mahama's role as Chairman of Mills's economic management team, and therefore responsible in large part for its failure. The NPP is also criticizing the NDC for the falling standard of education and has made free education a hallmark of its manifesto.<sup>42</sup>

In the event of an NPP victory, many are anticipating a negative impact on those firms that did business in Ghana during the Mills administration. This is based on the experience in 2009, when the NDC took the reins from the NPP. At that time, the NDC launched probes into energy contracts awarded under former President Kufuor.<sup>43</sup> An NPP victory this year will increase the risks of probes against NDC officials (and affiliated companies) in the energy and construction sectors. Given the NDC's close relationship with the Chinese government and Chinese investors, the NPP would probably scrutinize the mining concessions that have been awarded to Chinese interests, and might even modify contracts to favor new administration officials.

In short, there is a lot at stake in this election. Not only will it be a true test of Ghana's democratic institutions, but the winning party will get to preside over Ghana's oil boom.

# Africa's Continuing Information and Communications Technology Revolution – The Thin Edge of the Chinese Wedge

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

## Summary

The adoption of modern information and communications technology (ICT) has been an important factor in the accelerated economic growth that sub-Saharan Africa has experienced since the turn of the millennium.

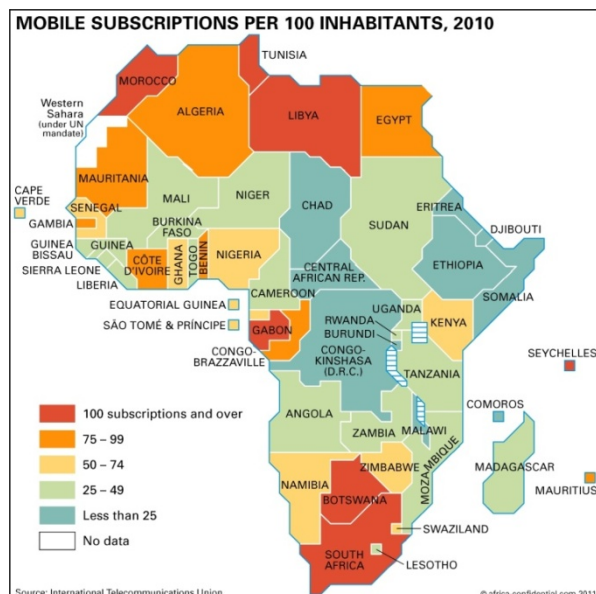
- In recent months, Africa's connections to high-capacity undersea cables have multiplied, and the rapid proliferation of smartphones has continued.
- Africans have devised innovative ICT-based solutions for the challenges they face, ranging from mobile banking to election monitoring.

In the midst of this progress, concerns have been raised over indications that some African governments are attempting to monitor and regulate the use of the Internet. Allegations have been made regarding Chinese assistance in this effort.

- Chinese companies have become major players in supplying ICT infrastructure and equipment to African entities. Some of this equipment can be used to monitor and filter Internet traffic.
- Nevertheless, China's primary motivation in supplying ICT to Africa is commercial, with the ancillary benefits of providing access to important African entities and personalities and facilitating Chinese commercial efforts in other sectors.

## The African ICT Revolution Continues

Internet access is lower in sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world, but the rate of growth is high. Between 2000 and 2011, usage of the Internet in Africa grew 2,500 percent.<sup>44</sup> Access to the web through mobile devices increased 156 percent in just the two years from 2010 to 2012.<sup>45</sup> Although the International Telecommunications Union in 2011 reported only 27 million mobile broadband subscriptions in Africa compared to 434 million mobile cellular subscriptions,<sup>46</sup> one African analyst asserts that 70 percent of mobile devices in Africa will be Internet-enabled by 2014.<sup>47</sup> Today, four out of every five African Internet users gain access via their mobile telephone.<sup>48</sup> As is the case worldwide, a great deal of African ICT bandwidth is devoted to social media and games. At the same time, there are many examples of African ICT innovations that have wider societal significance. M-Pesa, a mobile banking application, and Ushahidi, a software platform that uses the concept of crowd-sourcing for social activism and public accountability, were both developed in Kenya.





### **ICTs Boosts African Growth**

The ICT revolution might be the most important economic success story in Africa. In little more than a decade, Africa has gone from being ignored by investors to becoming a viable mass communications market. This growth has been driven by both foreign and African private capital. The few governments that have sought to maintain ownership of mobile telecommunications have tended to lag behind.<sup>49</sup> A study by the World Bank came to the conclusion that improvements in the quality and availability of ICT infrastructure boosted the growth rates of a group of representative African countries by one percent annually during the period from the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s.<sup>50</sup>

Asian firms and governments have taken the lead in outside investments in the ICT sector in Africa. The two most prominent Chinese players are the giant firms Huawei Technologies and ZTE, which provide equipment and infrastructure. The Indian firm Bharti Airtel, the world's fifth largest mobile operator, provides services. Bharti Airtel has been unsuccessful in repeated attempts to take over South Africa's MTN, which, with subsidiaries in 15 countries, is the largest African-owned telecom services firm. The major European players are Nokia, which once dominated the African hand-held device market, and two service providers – France Telecom and Britain's Vodacom. U.S. firms have been niche players in the African ITC market.

### **Generally Free Internet – In Practice**

Although many African countries have on the books laws that would permit filtering of Internet content, few have taken steps to apply those statutes systematically. According to surveys done by the OpenNet Initiative in 2009, only Ethiopia had put in place a technical filtering regime. In most of sub-Saharan Africa, sporadic blocking of websites rather than more sophisticated techniques is the norm.<sup>51</sup> Sudan, Gambia, and Zimbabwe are also often mentioned as engaging in efforts to filter the Internet. Most filtering is done for political purposes, although public morality is also used on occasion as a justification. The blocking of websites takes place most often in connection with elections or in periods of civil unrest.

### **External Involvement in Internet Control?**

Reports occasionally surface in print and electronic media alleging that countries outside the continent, particularly China, have helped African regimes monitor and filter the expression of views on the Internet. The evidence supporting these allegations is usually circumstantial, along the following lines:

- Chinese firms are major players in the Africa telecoms market, supplying both infrastructure and handsets. ZTE earned around \$1 billion revenue (12 to 13 percent of its worldwide total) on the continent in 2010, and Huawei Technologies booked \$3.5 billion in African revenue in 2010 (11 percent of its total).<sup>52</sup>
- The Chinese presence on the ground is considerable. Huawei has established training centers in Nigeria, Angola, Kenya, South Africa, Egypt, and Tunisia. ZTE has centers in Egypt, Ethiopia, Algeria, and Ghana.<sup>53</sup>
- Both companies have provided Internet security equipment to African governments and telecoms companies. Huawei prompts particular suspicion because it was reportedly founded by Ren Zhengfei, former director of the People's Liberation Army Information Engineering Department.<sup>54</sup>

To be sure, the installation of telecoms infrastructure on much of the African continent provides Chinese interests with potential access to the information carried. Improved infrastructure also

presumably gives African authorities better instruments to control the Internet. Some of the technologies and equipment needed to cope with Internet hackers can also be used as instruments of censorship. With the exception of Ethiopia, however, there is no publicly available evidence that Chinese or other non-African technology is being utilized systematically by sub-Saharan African governments to monitor and filter Internet traffic for regime purposes. At the same time, there is also little doubt that Huawei and ZTE would provide as part of their infrastructure and equipment contracts whatever capabilities African governments desired and are able to afford. That said, one observer of the African telecoms scene asserts that “software produced in North America continues to be the cyber-weapon of choice for many authoritarian regimes trying to censor the Internet.”<sup>55</sup>

### **Conclusion – What Do the Chinese Want?**

If the Chinese are not particularly interested in control of the Internet in Africa, what are they after? The primary answer seems to be simple and unexciting: business. Chinese ICT infrastructure efforts also serve two other purposes. First, they provide access to the senior officials and core institutions of African governments. Second, they improve the communications pathways that other Chinese entities need to pursue deals on the African continent and to service investments once they have been made. In this sense, ZTE and Huawei may be seen as the thin edge of the Chinese wedge pushing into Africa.

## ALERTS

### Low Professionalism Undermines Benefits of Press Freedom in West Africa

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

In June 2007, the World Association of Newspapers and the World Editors Forum, in their “Declaration of Table Mountain,” challenged authoritarian regimes across Africa to pledge to expand press freedom. The statement noted that the ability of the press in Africa to act as a watchdog for the people is commonly hobbled by repression: the jailing and persecution of journalists, the application of strict “insult” and criminal defamation laws, steep fines, and the banning of media outlets critical of regimes and their performance. “Consider,” the declaration went on, “that press freedom remains a key to the establishment of good governance and durable economic, political, social and cultural development, prosperity and peace in Africa, and to the fight against corruption, famine, poverty, violent conflict, disease, and lack of education.”<sup>56</sup>

In November 2011, Nigerien President Mahamadou Issoufou became the first African leader to sign the declaration. In so doing, he accepted the pledge to recognize press freedom, abolish insult and criminal defamation laws, review all other laws that threaten free press, free imprisoned journalists, end taxes and levies that raise the cost and restrict the revenue sources of newspapers, and commit to support moves toward media capacity-building and professionalization. The media watchdog group Reporters without Borders (RSF) issued a progress report on the media in Niger and Guinea-Conakry that noted, while serious challenges remain, there was cause for optimism in both countries, particularly Niger, which jumped from 104<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> in the RSF press freedom index for 2011-2012.<sup>57</sup>

A year later, the story seems less optimistic, largely owing to the lack of professionalism and ethical standards among journalists in Niger. In a June 2012 follow-up report, RSF warned the “decriminalization does not mean the freedom to publish or broadcast content of any nature whatsoever.” Journalists in Africa have to accept the responsibility inherent in press freedom. “There is a danger,” the report went on, “that the lack of ethics on the part of some people writing articles will undermine the media freedom that was won at such a cost.”<sup>58</sup>

The lack of media professionalism is a problem across West Africa. As Wodjo Fini Traoré, President of the Côte d’Ivoire African Union Club (Club UA CI) and General Coordinator of the Civil Society Coalition for Peace and Democratic Development in Côte d’Ivoire (COSOPCI), noted at an IDA-sponsored civil society workshop in Dakar, Senegal in July 2012, “in addition to rights, we should talk about duties,” and the duty of the media is to promote the rule of law through reporting, educating, and improving transparency while respecting professional ethics, and maintaining either political neutrality or balance.<sup>59</sup> Traoré went on to point out that, in most of Africa, the independent media does not make enough money to survive. As long as the media depends on “sponsors” – political parties, interest groups – or is bribed to cover particular events and ignore others,<sup>60</sup> it will never be truly professional. The challenge for African regimes and civil society is to enable the media to become truly autonomous by providing resources to enable journalists to propagate professional standards and build regional networks for defending, safeguarding, and monitoring the media as a watchdog for human rights and good governance.

## Guinea: Alleged Attack on Prominent Opposition Leaders

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

On August 27, security forces in Guinea reportedly opened fire on a vehicle carrying three of the country's top opposition leaders (and former prime ministers) – Cellou Daliel Diallo, Sidya Toure and Lansana Kouyate – during a government-banned protest by the Alliance of Democratic Parties (ADP). In response, opposition parties have vowed to suspend their participation in all republic institutions in an effort to tarnish the image of political and ethnic inclusivity enjoyed by President Alpha Conde's administration. This protest is one of many in recent months that have focused on dissatisfaction with the electoral code. These protests have led President Conde to postpone the parliamentary elections.<sup>61</sup> The following is the timeline of events on August 27.

- The Governor of Conakry issued a decree outlawing the opposition's peaceful protest planned for Monday, August 27 due to a high risk of violence. The ADP proceeded with its plans to protest.<sup>62</sup>
- Opposition members gathered at the home of Cellou Daliel Diallo. Police began releasing tear gas canisters.
- According to opposition reports, the three leaders got into an armored SUV to leave the area. Security forces reportedly opened fire, but without effect. State-owned media has denied this version of events and accused the opposition of sabotage.<sup>63</sup>
- Clashes followed between supporters of Conde's party, Rally of the Guinea People (RPG), and opposition members, resulting in several injuries and arrests.<sup>64</sup>

Given the tense socio-political environment since Conde's election in December 2010, it is important to follow the aftermath of the events reported above. Arsène Gbaguidi, Guinea director of U.S.-based National Democratic Institute (NDI), said: "The events of 27 August could force both the government and the opposition to harden what are already rigid stances...from a social, political and even military point of view, we've got the impression that all the warning indicators are at red. It's an explosive situation and we can't know when it's going to boil over."<sup>65</sup>

# Unrest in Gabon: Andrew Mba Obame and the National Union Party

Researcher: Ms. Ivana Djak

## The Return of Andre Mba Obame

Political tensions are poised to escalate in Gabon as violent clashes have followed the return of Gabon's main opposition leader after a year-long medical exile. Andre Mba Obame, an ally of long-ruling Gabonese President Omar Bongo Ondimba, held many high profile positions in the 1990s and 2000s including Minister of the Interior. After President Bongo's death in 2009, however, Mba Obame joined the opposition as leader of the National Union (*Union Nationale* (UN)) party to run against Omar Bongo's son Ali Bongo Ondimba, who went on to win the election. Deadly clashes followed the election. Mba Obame rejected the results and proclaimed himself president in January 2011.<sup>66</sup> Mba Obame's defiance led the Gabonese government to ban his party and to crack down on opposition groups. Mba Obame left the country in July 2011 for medical treatment but returned after a year on August 11, 2012. His return created a stir since Gabon has been without an opposition leader since the death of Pierre Mamboundou of the Union of the Gabonese People [*Union du Peuple Gabonais* (UPG)] in October 2011.<sup>67</sup>

## Violent Clashes Shake Libreville

By August 13, 2012, the central government and Mba Obame were engaged in a war of words. Gabon's interior ministry accused him of seeking to incite civil disobedience and fueling tribalism. Mba Obame, in return, has called for a national conference on a new constitution and for fresh elections in 2013. In his speech upon returning, he noted, "Either there will be political violence or there will be a national conference."<sup>68</sup> His party has directly stated its intent to oust President Bongo.<sup>69</sup>

On August 15, the *Union Nationale* held an unauthorized protest in Libreville that turned violent when youths threw stones at police who were breaking up the protest. Police, in turn, unleashed tear gas on the crowd, and chaos ensued. The unrest was the worst the country has seen since the 2009 election.<sup>70</sup> Although the opposition claims one person was killed, the government denies any deaths. Fifty-seven people were arrested.<sup>71</sup> On August 16, government forces torched the opposition television station. The opposition called this another act of repression against the press in Gabon. Tensions flared again on August 17 as government television channels accused the opposition party of paying youths to stir up violence at the protest.<sup>72</sup>

## Prospects for Instability

Of particular concern is whether Mba Obame will be arrested. His detention could lead to more unrest if the *Union Nationale* and other opposition groups rally around him. Libreville public prosecutor Sidonie-Flore Ouwe vowed on August 20 to arrest Mba Obame for organizing the protest. He already faces arrest on charges of creating a public nuisance.<sup>73</sup> In response, Mba Obame dared the prosecutor to arrest him, promising to keep fighting.<sup>74</sup> His words held true as the *Union Nationale* organized another rally on August 25. More rallies are likely.<sup>75</sup>

The government is also likely to continue persecuting the opposition. On August 27, Gabon's interior minister called for a medical commission to examine the opposition leader's mental and physical health, and threatened to expel him from the country.<sup>76</sup> The government also showed hostility to other opponents, especially in the press, in recent weeks. For example, on August 3, Gabon's state-run media regulator suspended two private newspapers, *Ezombolo* and *La Une*, for 6 months over criticism of top officials. *Ezombolo* was accused of threatening public order

with an opinion piece urging troops not to obey orders to shoot protesters and one calling Mba Obame the legitimate head of state. *La Une* was suspended over a series of columns critical of the President's attempt to secure the re-election of his brother-in-law Jean Ping as the African Union Commission Chairman.<sup>77</sup> Like the *Union Nationale*, the papers are fighting back, promising to continue publishing. The *Ezombolo* managing editor said, "We'll see who can stop us," while his counterpart at *La Une* also pledged to continue publishing.<sup>78</sup>

## Nigeria: Centralized vs. State-level Police Forces

**Researcher:** Ms. Betty Boswell

Within the framework of the Constitution Review Committee of the National Assembly, the Nigerian Governors Forum has been debating the establishment of state-level police forces to replace the current centralized police force. The state governors have been proponents of state police forces as part of a move toward true federalism. Initially, governors in both north and south were pro-state police; however, in a recent move, 18 of the 19 northern governors have stepped away from that position.<sup>79</sup>

The groundswell of support for state police has been driven by the reputation of the centralized police force. The latter has been known for its abuse of power toward detainees and ordinary citizens as well as for pervasive corruption. Calls for police reform have largely been ignored. Reform proposals are being advanced again as an alternative to the establishment of state police forces.

The president's Committee on the Reorganization of the Nigeria Police made several recommendations for reforming the police, including moves to make them more efficient and more autonomous. Among the recommendations was improved funding for the police, including higher salaries, which could reduce bribery, extortion, and embezzlement by officers.<sup>80</sup>

One of the committee's reasons for opposing establishment of state police was financial: "the funding of state police will be a burden that states cannot cope with because of the competing demands for their meager resources."<sup>81</sup>

Other reasons for opposing state police have been voiced and recorded in the press:

- "The establishment of state police will bring us back to the days of ethnic militias."<sup>82</sup>
- The leader of the Ijaw nation, Chief Edwin Clark, said states "will use the security outfit as thugs to intimidate perceived political opponents."<sup>83</sup>
- Parry Osayande, a former deputy inspector-general of police, said recently, "We don't need state police....The country will break up." This point of view was adopted by the 18 northern governors, who equated the employment of state police with a secession movement.<sup>84</sup>

The governors met on August 7 and 22 but have not resolved the north-south division on this issue.

## Senegal: Locals Reject Biofuels Project

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

Villagers of N'gnith<sup>85</sup> have vowed to fight a project to produce biofuels on their land. Senhuile/Senethanol, a Senegalese-Italian company, originally planned to lease 20,000 hectares of land in Fanaye (Podor department, Saint-Louis region) to grow sweet potatoes for the production of biofuels. Locals protested the project over the course of several months, fearing the “displacement of villages, destruction of cattle, and desecration of cemeteries and mosques.”<sup>86</sup> In late October 2011, violent protests erupted in Fanaye, leaving two people dead and 22 injured. The Senegalese government suspended the project two days later.<sup>87</sup>



In August 2012, Senhuile announced they were moving the project to N'gnith, also in northern Senegal's Saint-Louis region.<sup>88</sup> President Macky Sall signed a decree in early August that leases at least 10,000 hectares of land to the company. The Senegalese government believes the project will create up to 6,000 jobs and lead to agricultural advancements.<sup>89</sup> In addition, the 37 village chiefs were reportedly invited to a meeting with Senhuile to clear up “misunderstandings” regarding the endeavor.<sup>90</sup> As in Fanaye, the announcement was met by some dissatisfaction on the part of local villagers, who are largely dependent on agriculture and livestock farming. Below are some quotes from local sources:

- “We will fight those who want to take our land. It is the land of our ancestors... Whoever wants to take our land will first walk over our dead bodies,” said one local.<sup>91</sup>
- Enda Pronat<sup>92</sup> (Protection of Nature), an NGO, said, “The case of Fanaye must serve as a lesson to authorities” and denounced “land-grabbing in Senegal by multi-nationals.”<sup>93</sup>
- The Senegalese rap group, *Bidew Bou Bess*, and Enda Pronat have launched a “campaign” of sorts with the song *Touche pas à ma terre* (Don't touch my land) – “Let's block the road to those who want to plunder our land. Let's stop those who tear up our land. They want our land for profit. They are colonizing us, they are using us.”<sup>94</sup>
- Salif Ka, a spokesman for the farmers, said they were willing to negotiate peacefully. “We are not against investment, we are not against the project, but we want to protect



our land.” He maintained, however, that the local population would never accept negotiation by “intermediaries” between them and the government.<sup>95</sup>

Senhuile argues the project is not land-grabbing, but rather “an unquestionable interest in the improvement of the economic and social situation of the villages concerned and all Senegalese.”<sup>96</sup> Large-scale land acquisition by foreign investors (which has become known colloquially as land-grabbing) has become a contentious issue in Africa. Responsible investment, resource management, and the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples are at the forefront of concerns. As highlighted in previous issues of *The Africa Watch*, protests over land deals by foreign investors are becoming increasingly common.<sup>97</sup> Given the Fanaye precedent and strong opposition to the venture, protests have the potential to become violent if not handled properly by the Senegalese government.

# New Militia in the DRC: The Movement for Claiming the Truth of the Ballot Box

Researcher: Ms. Ivana Djak

## A New Rebel Movement

On August 12, 2012 a new rebel group emerged in the Kasai-Occidental province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The Movement for Claiming the Truth of the Ballot Box, also referred to as the Congolese People's Army for Change and Democracy, is demanding that opposition politician Etienne Tshisekedi of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (*Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social* (UDPS)) be installed as president. Tshisekedi lost to President Joseph Kabila in the widely criticized November 2011 election.<sup>98</sup>

On August 12, Lt. Col. John Tshibangu, the former second-in-command of the 4<sup>th</sup> FARDC (Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (*Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo*)) Military Region, based in Kananga, disappeared with 18 of his officers. He re-emerged as self-proclaimed General Tshibangu on August



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

16 for interviews with Radio Okapi and the opposition website *Congo Indépendant*.<sup>99</sup> Tshibangu explained that after November 2011, his group had hoped for political redress of the fraudulent election, but, since no action has been taken, they have now been forced to seek a military solution. He claims to be fighting for the “advent of democracy” in the DRC.<sup>100</sup> The movement seeks to destabilize the political establishment so that Tshisekedi can assume the presidency.<sup>101</sup>

Provincial government officials first denied a rebellion was occurring, but on August 22, after the governor of Kasai-Oriental province, Alphonse Ngoyi Kasanji, met with a delegation from the United Nations Mission for the Stabilization of Congo to discuss how to address the rebellion, soldiers and police officers were deployed to stop Tshibangu. Local officials are particularly concerned about Tshibangu’s defection because it comes in the wake of a series of high profile defections during July and August. Fearing a Kivu-like scenario, Kasai officials launched a public awareness campaign, urging locals not to cooperate with Tshibangu and pleading with local media to fight divisiveness. On August 27, officials revealed they arrested the Bena Kalonga village head and the director of Radio Television of South Kasai for harboring the rebels.<sup>102</sup> On August 28, five more people were arrested for complicity with Tshibangu, and the search for him continues.<sup>103</sup>

### **Prospects for Instability**

It is surprising that a militant movement has emerged with an apparent connection to Tshisekedi. The latter has been out of the media spotlight for nearly 8 months. Other opposition parties have reached out to President Kabila for a discussion of national security questions, but the UDPS and Tshisekedi have mostly been silent.<sup>104</sup> As noted in IDA's *The Africa Watch* July 16, 2012 Alert, "Chaos in the DRC: M23 Rebels Threaten Fragile Peace in the Great Lakes Region," the only substantial comment on the situation in the east by the UDPS was a June 2012 posting on the party's website urging Congolese to defend themselves against the "Rwandan invasion" by supporting Etienne Tshisekedi.<sup>105</sup> In July 2012, the UDPS made headlines again when the party's Deputy Secretary General, Jean-Marie Vianney Kabukanyi, was arrested and taken to an unknown destination for leading a party delegation to the embassy of France to petition for the relocation of the Francophile Summit scheduled to for Kinshasa in October 2012. This disappearance comes after the detainment of Eugene Ndongala, another popular opposition leader.<sup>106</sup>

## ENDNOTES

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES



# THE AFRICA WATCH

SEPTEMBER 19, 2012

## TO THE READER

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

With best regards,

***George Ward***

Ambassador (ret.) George F. Ward

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ANALYSES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Political Shift in Zimbabwe Increases Risk of Electoral Violence .....	1
Kenya’s Tana River County Clashes: The Political Manipulation of Orma and Pokomo Grievances.....	4
DRC Regional Entanglements: Rwanda .....	7
Election Developments in Sierra Leone.....	10
<b>ALERTS .....</b>	<b>14</b>
Playing at the Margins: Iran’s Engagement with African Leaders at the Non-Aligned Movement Summit.....	14
Zambia – Zimbabwe: Sata Increasingly Close with Mugabe .....	15
Burundi: New Rebellion and Growing Tensions.....	16
Mobilizing for Violence in Ghana’s Elections? .....	17
<b>ENDNOTES .....</b>	<b>18</b>



## ANALYSES

### Political Shift in Zimbabwe Increases Risk of Electoral Violence

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

#### Summary

- The results of two recent polls in Zimbabwe reflect a significant change in the political environment in Zimbabwe over the past three years.
- Although the two polls by Freedom House (FH) and Afrobarometer report different findings, they both show that widespread political support for Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) has declined and that support has increased for President Robert Mugabe's party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF).
- This narrowing of the political partisan gap suggests that upcoming elections in 2013 will be highly contested and close, a development that increases the prospects for electoral violence.

#### Poll Results Indicate Shift in Political Landscape

The contrasting results from two different polls undertaken during the same period in Zimbabwe demonstrate the difficulty of carrying out public opinion surveys in circumstances of political repression and violence. The first poll, released on August 18, 2012 and conducted by FH and the Zimbabwe-based Mass Public Opinion Institute, found that Mugabe's party, ZANU-PF, would gain 31 percent of the vote if a presidential election were currently held, compared to only 19 percent support for Tsvangirai's MDC-T faction. Other parties would garner a mere 2 percent. These results represent a substantial divergence from a 2009 FH presidential poll, which found only 12 percent support for ZANU-PF and 55 percent for MDC-T.<sup>1</sup> The survey polled a nationally representative sample of 1,198 adult Zimbabweans in June and July 2012, with a margin of error of 2.8 percent.<sup>2</sup>

These unexpected poll findings must be viewed, however, with some skepticism, as an overwhelming 47 percent of voters in the poll did not declare their voting intentions, with 40 percent answering as undecided and 7 percent declaring they would not vote. Immediately after the release of the poll the MDC-T contested the FH results, stating that violence and intimidation of voters by ZANU-PF skewed the outcome. Douglas Mwonzora, MDC-T party spokesperson, said that "the margin of terror fundamentally impugns the conclusion that can be derived from this report."<sup>3</sup>

#### Afrobarometer Poll

A second poll, conducted with slightly different methods by Afrobarometer and also carried out by an MPOI team in July 2012, found a different result: a "statistical dead-heat" between the two parties, with ZANU-PF gaining 32 percent of a prospective presidential vote and MDC-T, 31 percent. Similar to the FH poll, however, a high percentage of voters' intentions remain unknown, with 33 percent either refusing to state their preference, claiming they will not vote, or "don't know." While showing higher support for MDC-T than the FH poll, the Afrobarometer

findings still indicate a tremendous resurgence in support for ZANU-PF over the past three years and a concurrent drop in MDC-T support. Previous Afrobarometer polling in 2009 showed 55 percent support for MDC-T and only 10 percent for ZANU-PF, prompting the authors to note that “the distribution of voting intentions in July 2012 marks a radical shift from patterns observed in earlier surveys.”<sup>4</sup>

The authors of the survey claim that methodological differences between Afrobarometer and FH account for their divergent findings. They contend that a larger sampling size (2,400), less tightly clustered sampling, better formulated questionnaires, and more experienced interviewers make the Afrobarometer results more accurate.<sup>5</sup> Despite the fact that the Afrobarometer poll displays ZANU-PF’s rise in popularity, spokesperson Mwonzora in an effort to contain the political fallout from the FH poll MDC-T, declared that “the document from Afrobarometer seems to confirm our position on the questionable reliability of the Freedom House report.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Reasons for Tightening Political Race**

While myriad factors contributed to this shift in Zimbabwe’s politics, chief among them is the perception that the former opposition party has lost touch with the grassroots constituencies that brought it to power. As Susan Booysen, the author of the FH poll report, noted, there is a sense that the MDC is “spending too much time in the palace” enjoying the fruits of government office.<sup>7</sup> Recent corruption scandals within MDC-T have increased this perception among Zimbabweans.<sup>8</sup> During an IDA research trip to Harare at the end of June 2012, several individuals interviewed confirmed this view, arguing that, once MDC joined government, its leaders became coopted by the political elite and neglected the grassroots, particularly civil society organizations and youth. They asserted that the MDC has failed to develop policies that go much beyond criticizing ZANU-PF.<sup>9</sup> Interviewees also maintained that, in comparison to MDC, ZANU-PF had better grassroots operations to mobilize support, particularly in rural areas.<sup>10</sup>

Another cause of the shrinking partisan gap between ZANU-PF and MDC-T is political fear, or the “margin of terror.” As noted, both polls confirm that a large proportion of voters are undecided. Some of these undecided voters undoubtedly are MDC-T supporters who refuse to state their preferences due to fear of violence and other repercussions at the hands of ZANU-PF. Furthermore, a number of those who declare fealty to ZANU-PF might only do so out of political fear. Indeed, in the Afrobarometer poll, 63 percent of Zimbabweans reported that they personally feared political violence or intimidation during election campaigns and 89 percent said they had to be careful when discussing politics.<sup>11</sup>

Although highly speculative, Afrobarometer researchers attempted to forecast which party “reticent” voters actually support. They did this by extrapolating from the finding that, if voters “perceived government sponsorship” of polling surveys, they were more inclined to declare allegiance to ZANU-PF. After recalibrating the figures based on this model, which projects voter intentions in circumstances in which no government sponsorship is perceived, they forecasted that MDC-T would gain 49 percent of the vote compared to 45 percent for ZANU-PF.<sup>12</sup> Regardless of exact levels of political support among the populace, it appears Mugabe and ZANU-PF have unexpectedly closed the partisan gap. This suggests that elections in Zimbabwe in the coming year will be highly contested and exceedingly close, which increases the risks that Mugabe and ZANU-PF will employ violence to remain in power.

### **Conclusion**

The conventional wisdom regarding Mugabe and the ZANU-PF since their defeat in the first round of the 2008 presidential poll has been that they enjoy very little popular support and only



remain in power through repression and rigged elections. Despite the imperfection of recent polls, taken together the results serve as a rebuke to this narrative and to MDC-T's record in the unity government. While the exact figures on ZANU-PF and MDC-T support are debatable, it is clear that ZANU-PF's political position has vastly improved since 2009.

While Zimbabwe's history of political polarization and violence, weak formal institutions, a politicized security sector, and struggles over land rights render the country particularly vulnerable to electoral violence,<sup>13</sup> the newfound popularity of ZANU-PF further increases that risk in the upcoming presidential elections. Mugabe is more likely to revert to violence and intimidation if the poll is close. Although circumstances have improved since the 2008 vote, a tightly contested election changes the incentive structure for ZANU-PF to engage in violence, since even marginal violence and voter suppression could potentially reap large rewards. A close poll is likely to unfold in one of two ways: either ZANU-PF uses violence during the first round of voting in order to get beyond the 50 percent needed to win the presidency, or, if unable to reach that threshold, Mugabe would unleash a campaign of violence during the second round runoff to suppress voter turnout and punish those who voted for the opposition, as seen in 2008. While political conditions could change before the vote, unless MDC-T is able to recapture enough popular support to preclude a second round of voting, it is likely that Zimbabwe's violent electoral history will be repeated.

# Kenya's Tana River County Clashes: The Political Manipulation of Orma and Pokomo Grievances

Researcher: Dr. Dorina A. Bekoe

## Summary

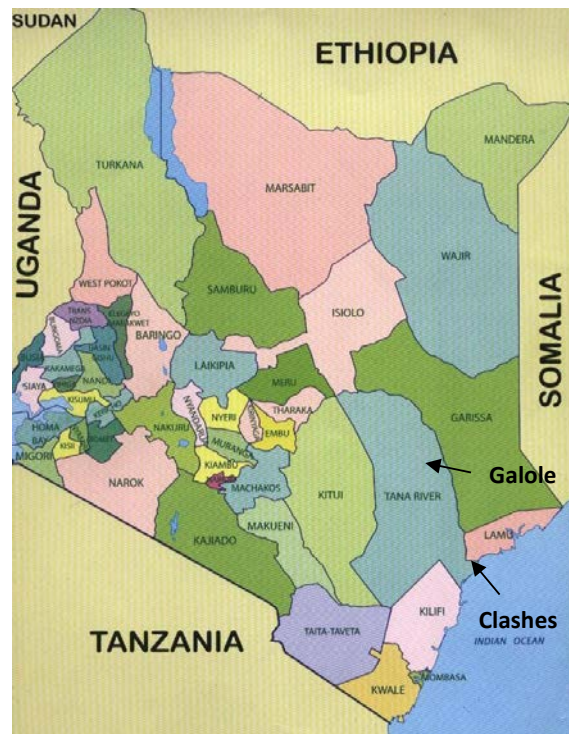
- The fighting between the Pokomo and Orma ethnic groups in the Tana River County has ebbed and flowed for decades. Clashes escalated in August 2012, resulting in approximately 110 dead and 6,000 displaced.
- The Pokomo, Christian agriculturalists, frequently clash with the Orma, Muslim pastoralists, over access to the river banks for land and water. Conflict between the two groups has existed for decades as the Pokomo, who claim the river banks for farming, accuse the Orma of destroying their crops as they access the river to provide water for their cattle.
- The Member of Parliament for Galole, Dadho Godhana, has been arrested over charges that he incited the groups to violence. But the Interior Security Minister, Yusuf Haji, who leveled the charges, supports Godhana's rival for governor, a position that Godhana had been planning to compete for in the March 2013 elections.
- Although Tana River County is poor, there is much at stake for winning the governor's office. International firms are interested in establishing agro-fuel enterprises; the Kenya national sugar company is interested establishing a large sugar factory; and the area has been the site of a number of dams constructed by international development entities.
- Unless politicians from both the Orma and Pokomo communities are investigated, violence will likely continue.

## Latest Developments

Members of the Pokomo and Orma ethnic groups have been fighting ostensibly over access to water and land in Kenya's Tana River County (see map). In the last three weeks, approximately 110 have been killed in a deadly cycle of revenge killings. The violence seems to have been incited by politicians taking advantage of existing grievances between the Pokomo and Orma to further their own political ends. There is significant incentive to reach the top political echelons in Tana River County: it offers considerable economic development promise, even if the residents have so far not benefited.

## Pokomo-Orma Relations

The Pokomo are Christian farmers, while the Orma are Muslim pastoralists. The Pokomo lay claim to the banks of the river to grow maize and bananas for subsistence and



Source: <http://softkenya.com/county/>

mangos and rice as cash crops.<sup>14</sup> The Orma, on the other hand, lay claim to the Tana River water for their cattle.<sup>15</sup> The Pokomo and Orma have clashed many times, engendering an atmosphere of low-intensity violence. There have been occasional spikes of intense violence, however. Before the recent outbreak of violence in August 2012, there had been a series of deadly confrontations from 2000 to 2002 that took the lives of 180.<sup>16</sup>

Many concur that the 2000-2002 violence was sparked by an ill-conceived government plan to allocate land in area where land was perceived as community-owned.<sup>17</sup> Because the Pokomo are agriculturalists, the Orma suspected that the Pokomo would be unfairly favored in the government scheme, denying the Orma access to grazing areas and water.<sup>18</sup> Eventually, the government land program was halted, but it marked the start of two years of repeated clashes between the two groups. Notably, in December 2001, tension led to violence when the Pokomo charged that the Ormas' livestock were encroaching on their farms and destroying their crops as they accessed the river water. In response, the Orma stated that the Pokomo farms were too close to the river bank to allow them to provide easy access to water for their cattle.<sup>19</sup>

### **The August 2012 Pokomo-Orma Clashes**

The Pokomo and Orma communities have been engaged in another cycle of violence and revenge attacks since January 2012, but the clashes escalated dramatically in recent weeks. On August 13, four people from Kau village (inhabited mostly by Pokomo) were killed and several cattle slaughtered as the two communities fought over long-simmering grievances over access to land and water.<sup>20</sup> Revenge attacks by the Pokomo against the Orma then took place in Reketa village on August 22 (54 people dead); Orma then attacked Chamwanamuna village on September 7 (11 Pokomo killed); the Pokomo avenged the Chamwanamuna violence by attacking Orma in Kilelengwani village (40 killed, including nine police officers); the Orma then broke the curfew imposed by President Mwai Kibaki to further avenge the Chamwanamuna deaths by attacking the village of Semikaro (four dead). To date, approximately 110 (including nine police officers) from both communities have died, and 6,000 have been displaced.<sup>21</sup>

From the beginning, the violence has taken on political implications. The police have been criticized for their slow and unprofessional response,<sup>22</sup> and there are allegations that politicians have instrumentalized the grievances, fomenting the violence. On September 12, Dhadho Godhana, an MP for Galole and the assistant livestock minister, was arrested on charges of inciting violence.<sup>23</sup> Godhana was accused of inciting the violence by the minister of internal security, Yusuf Haji. Haji allegedly is supporting Hussein Dado, Godhana's rival, in the Tana River County gubernatorial race.<sup>24</sup> Dado, the former Kenyan Ambassador to Namibia, hails from the Orma community, while Godhana is a Pokomo.<sup>25</sup> The Orma feel particularly aggrieved since none of the three MPs that currently represent them hail from their community.<sup>26</sup> If the past is any guide, the strategy of Godhana, if he is indeed guilty of inciting violence, would be to displace the Orma, paving the way for his win in the gubernatorial election. It is far from clear that the Orma-supported politicians are innocent; many are also suspicious of the motives of Minister Haji.<sup>27</sup>

### **At Stake in Tana River County**

Tana River County is poor, underdeveloped, and underserved by the government. The community is particularly lacking in security infrastructure, leading to the arming of residents by private means. And yet it is very important to Kenya.

The Tana is the largest river in Kenya, flowing 1,000 kilometers from Mt. Kenya to the Indian Ocean. The Tana Delta itself is among Africa's most significant wetlands.<sup>28</sup> The site of 50

percent of Kenya's remaining undeveloped irrigable land, the Tana Delta, has also attracted the attention of Kenya's sugar companies, international agro-fuel companies, and land acquisitions by foreign entities.<sup>29</sup> The Tana River has also been the object of a number of irrigation and dam projects by the Kenyan government, in a bid to bring development to the area. While some of these projects have benefited the nation, the residents of Tana County have seen little improvement in their lives. Indeed, many have been displaced, lost their livelihoods, and been pitted against each other as they struggle to survive in an undeveloped and uncertain terrain.<sup>30</sup>

### **Prospects of Continued Violence**

The most effective strategy for curbing the violence in Tana County is to investigate all involved, as called for by Human Rights Watch. Such a consequence would be a first for Kenya, as violence has repeatedly paid off in Kenya's elections; to date, no politician has been prosecuted for inciting election-related violence. Should just the pro-Pokomo politicians be charged, violence will likely continue between the two communities.

## **DRC Regional Entanglements: Rwanda**

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

### **Summary**

- Rebel groups continue to form and reconstitute themselves with alarming frequency in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).
- Rwanda has a long and complicated history with the DRC. Despite protestations from Kigali, it appears that Rwanda has been active in supporting some of these rebel groups.
- Current Rwandan Minister of Defense and former Congolese Army Chief of Staff General James Kabarebe has been repeatedly identified as being one of the key architects of insurgency in eastern DRC.
- Despite current African and United Nations efforts to calm the situation in the eastern DRC, Rwanda is likely to continue its military and economic engagement in that area.

### **Recent Events**

The situation in eastern DRC appears to be escalating and has the potential to destabilize a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Over the past few months, there have reportedly been a dramatic increase in rebel activity in the eastern DRC and a proliferation of rebel groups and militias, especially in North Kivu. In mid-September, it was reported that the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC, *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo*) integrated into its structure approximately 400 members of an Ituri militia group known as the Patriotic Resistance Force of Ituri (FRPI, *Force de Résistance Patriotique de l'Ituri*), including rebel warlord Cobra Matata at the rank of Brigadier General.<sup>31</sup> This move could be interpreted as a desperate calculation on the part of the government of the DRC. One of its most troublesome current rebel groups, the M23, was formed by disaffected FARDC soldiers who themselves had previously been integrated from the disbanded rebel group National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP, *Congrès National Pour la Défense du Peuple*) in 2009.

One of the major problems in analyzing this situation is a lack of clarity regarding the origins of the conflict. Is it the result of the disputed 2011 elections, which saw incumbent Joseph Kabila retain the presidency amid allegations of fraud? Is it the result of recent disruptions and misappropriations of mineral resources?<sup>32</sup> Or is it, as some argue, merely the continuation of the Second Congo War, which “officially” ended in 2003?<sup>33</sup> Further complicating the situation, there are allegations of direct support and involvement of several DRC neighbors, including Rwanda and Uganda, both of which have extensive histories in the First and Second Congo Wars.

### **Regional Interests**

The DRC shares a border with nine different countries, creating the potential for multiple conflicts over shared land, shared communities, and/or shared resources. It is the second largest land mass in Africa (2.34 million square kilometers in total area) with numerous ungoverned spaces in which rebel groups have space to operate. It is rich in mineral deposits (e.g., gold, diamonds, zinc, uranium) that have often been exploited by various rebel groups to help fund insurgency.

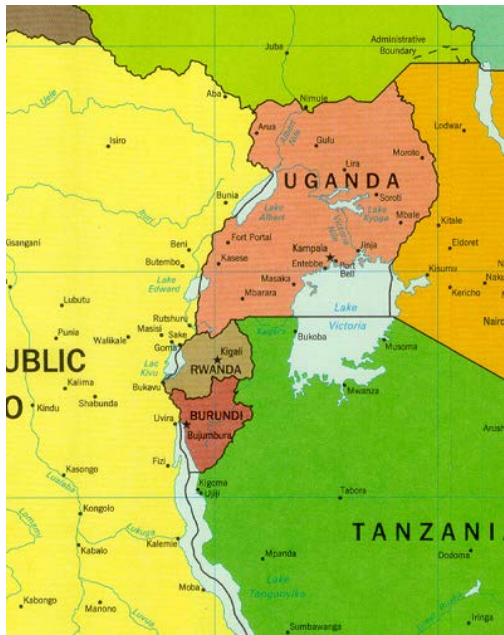
### **Rwandan Involvement in the DRC**

Rwanda has been a key actor in almost every conflict in the DRC since 1994. Rwanda’s stated interest is in countering Hutu militants who operate out of the DRC, especially the FDLR

(Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda*); however, there is an unstated concern for access to minerals in the east.<sup>34</sup> It is alleged that Rwanda pilfers minerals from the DRC and exports them as its own.<sup>35</sup>

In September, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), which included the concerned African states, met in Kampala, Uganda, to discuss what action could be taken to end the conflict in eastern DRC. It was decided that an international neutral force should be assembled and deployed to the DRC within approximately three months.<sup>36</sup> UN officials have expressed skepticism that this will occur.<sup>37</sup> IDA shares that view. Due to the history of the region, DRC representatives specifically requested that Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda not contribute troops to the international force.<sup>38</sup>

Rwanda has a long record of covertly supporting rebels in the DRC. A damning UN report that was released in June accused the government of Rwanda of supporting the M23 rebel group in the eastern DRC.<sup>39</sup> This was followed in September by a Human Rights Watch report alleging the same.<sup>40</sup>



Rwandan president Paul Kagame and some of his cabinet ministers were directly involved in both Congo Wars.<sup>41</sup> Current Rwandan Minister of Defense James Kabarebe was instrumental in backing Laurent Kabila against Mobutu Sese Seko in 1996.<sup>42</sup> For his support of Kabila, he was appointed chief of staff of Congolese army but was forced out of his position just prior to the beginning of the Second Congo War.<sup>43</sup> After the war, he served as head of Rwandan army operations in DRC and was appointed Defense Minister in 2010.<sup>44</sup>

In early September, Rwanda claimed to have withdrawn 357 of its best trained Special Forces troops, who had supposedly been supporting the Congolese Army in curtailing FDLR activity. General Charles Kayonga, chief of staff of the Rwandan Defense Force said the withdrawal happened because conditions have changed and the environment in which they were operating had been overrun by M23 rebels. Rwandan officials have now also accused the DRC of beginning to re-arm the FDLR, a purported common enemy.<sup>45</sup>

The DRC Information Minister Lambert, Omalanga Mende, told *The Southern Times*, a regional newspaper, that the televised withdrawal of Rwandan Special Forces from the eastern DRC was a “farce” and a “propaganda trick” intended to mislead the international community into believing Rwanda has stopped assisting the M23. Mende added that Rwanda had blocked the DRC army and the UN peacekeeping force, MONUSCO, from observing the withdrawal; he pointed out that a recent speech by Kabarebe accusing the DRC of lying to the international community about the whereabouts of Bosco Ntaganda (wanted by the International Criminal Court for war crimes)<sup>46</sup> was an attempt at justifying the atrocities being carried out in the east of the country: “We know that he is the master-mind of all rebel activities. He is their pilot.” Mende went on to say, “The so-called M23 was created by Kabarebe to cover Rwanda’s aggression on our country, to cover their operation on our soil. As far as we are concerned, M23 are puppets of Kabarebe.”<sup>47</sup>

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Mende said the announcement by Rwanda was intended to disguise the withdrawal of troops that should not have been in the DRC. He argued that the DRC agreed to host 100 Rwandan intelligence officers – not soldiers – to monitor the border, but recently decided to dismantle the team because of worsening relations with Rwanda. He claimed Rwanda had used the dismantling as an opportunity to move its troops in the DRC. He renewed the DRC's call to the U.N. Security Council for sanctions to be imposed on senior Rwandan officials and officers.<sup>48</sup>

In early September, Congolese opposition leader and Member of Parliament Roger Lumbala sought refuge in the South African embassy in Burundi.<sup>49</sup> He is wanted for treason in the DRC, accused of assisting Rwandan troops rebelling in the East.<sup>50</sup> Mende says that he has proof Lumbala was in direct contact with agents of Kabarebe in order to plan an insurrection in Kasai, a province rich in diamonds.<sup>51</sup> Thus far, the government of Burundi has not responded to the situation, and it is not clear how, if at all, Burundi is involved.

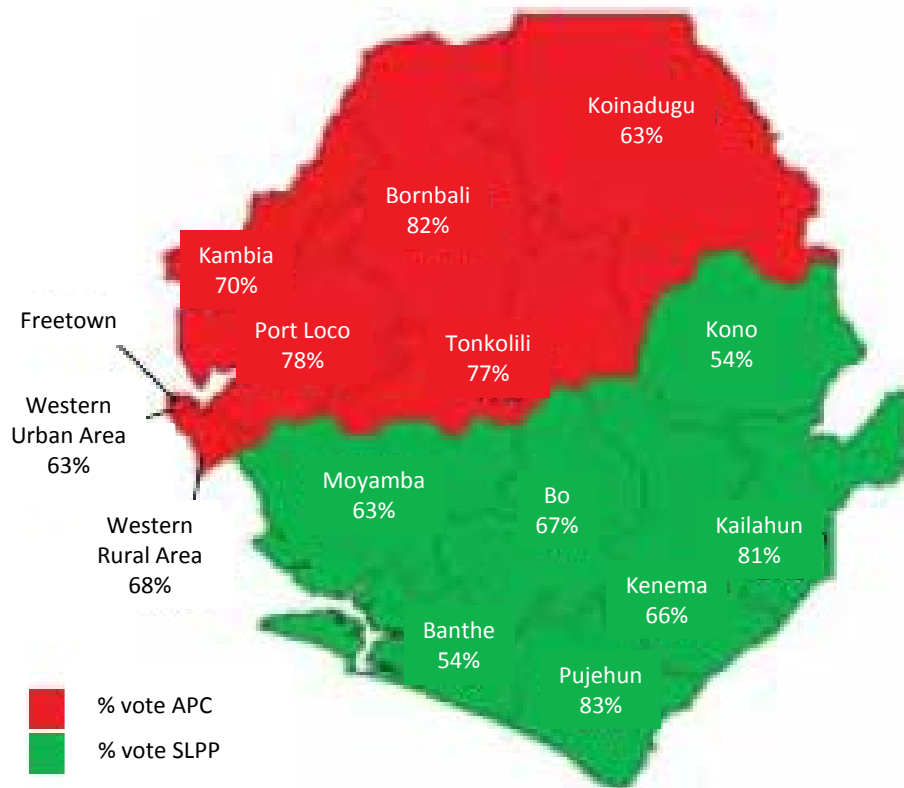
Despite the current attention being focused on Rwandan activities in the eastern DRC, it is unlikely that the government in Kigali will cease its involvement. For Rwanda, its security interests in countering Hutu extremism and its economic interests in the DRC's resources will continue to determine policy.

## Election Developments in Sierra Leone

Researcher: Dr. Ashley Bybee

### Executive Summary

- Sierra Leone will hold presidential, parliamentary, and local council elections on November 17. These will serve as a true test of the consolidation of democracy in the country. In the Presidential race, the incumbent, President Ernest Bai Koroma of the All People's Congress (APC), will face Brigadier Julius Maada Bio (Ret.) of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP).
- President Koroma is popular and has the incumbent advantage, though his current Vice President (VP), Samuel Sam-Sumana, may be a political liability because of several scandals in which he is implicated. Bio, on the other hand, appears to enjoy support in the south, though his sordid history and atrocious human rights record has raised concerns about whether he is fit to be President.
- Politics in Sierra Leone are drawn largely on ethnic and regional rather than ideological lines, as the map below illustrates. The APC draws its support from the Temne and Limba of the north and the Krio community in the west (predominantly Muslim). The SLPP draws its support from the Mende and other smaller tribes of the south and east (predominantly Christian). The Mende and Temne are the largest ethnic groups, each comprising about 30 percent of Sierra Leone's population.



### 2007 Parliamentary Results

(Source: Sierra Leone National Electoral Commission)



- There hasn't been any political violence reported in recent months, but it is important to recall Sierra Leone's long history of electoral violence, which has been perpetrated by either party loyalists or hired hands in all 11 parliamentary and five presidential elections since 1961.<sup>52</sup>

### **Who Will be Koroma's Running Mate?**

The primary issue facing the incumbent is the decision on whether to keep his current VP, Samuel Sam-Sumana (a Muslim and Paramount Chief from the SLPP-leaning Kono District), on the party's ticket or select a less controversial figure. Sam-Sumana has been implicated in a number of scandals including alleged corruption in an illegal timber deal, allegations that he diverted large sums of money received through commercial investments into a campaign fund for the APC in 2007,<sup>53</sup> and more recently accusations that he has defrauded several foreign businessmen of tens of thousands of dollars.<sup>54</sup> As a result, many political pundits view Sam-Sumana as a significant political liability. The VP's ability to mobilize votes in the SLPP stronghold of the Kono District (where he is a Paramount Chief), however, continues to make him an attractive running mate. In IDA's assessment, the scandals plaguing Sam-Sumana will have little impact on support for President Koroma. He will deliver some votes from the SLPP stronghold in Kono, but most southern voters will cast their ballots along ethnic lines, i.e., for the Mende, Bio.

Other contenders for VP include Charles Margai, who defected from the SLPP in 2006 to form the People's Movement for Democratic Change (PMDC), which is now the third major political party in Sierra Leone. He has high name recognition among the population but does not enjoy a particularly close relationship with Koroma, with whom he has sparred frequently. Furthermore, many of his own supporters have defected to other parties, raising the question whether he could attract new votes for Koroma.<sup>55</sup>

A second possible VP candidate that has been cited in local media sources is Joe Amara Bangali, Jr. Bangali is relatively unknown, although he has ridden on the coattails of his father who was once very popular but lost much support after his involvement in a student massacre in 1997. Another frequently cited contender is Joseph Bandabla ("J.B.") Dauda. Dauda, the current Foreign Minister, is one of the oldest political figures in Sierra Leone. With his wealth of political experience, he is very popular in Kenema, which voted 66 percent for the SLPP in 2007. His age and energy level, however, appear to be major limiting factors on his ability to mobilize a sufficient number of votes in Kenema for Koroma.

Another likely contender is Usman Boie Kamara (otherwise known as "UBK"). UBK ran against Bio for the SLPP's presidential nomination and is hugely popular in the west (a significant swing region) as well as in the eastern SLPP strongholds of Kono and Kenema. His good relations with the chiefs in those districts, who know him from his ten years as the General Manager at the National Diamond Mining Company, might make his replacing Sam-Sumana palatable. UBK also enjoys support from a large number of SLPP members who are unconvinced that their candidate, Bio, can win against Koroma. It is logical to assume that if Koroma selects UBK as his running mate, many of his supporters within the SLPP will divert their political allegiance in favor of the President.<sup>56</sup>

### **SLPP Charges Against the APC**

Bio continues to cite the government's procurement of several million dollars' worth of assault weapons as evidence of its plans to intimidate opposition voters ahead of elections.<sup>57</sup> Along with other members of the SLPP, he claims the arms will be provided to the ethnically imbalanced Operational Services Division (OSD), a paramilitary wing of the police force seen as

loyal to the President. This follows from allegations made by Bio that Koroma is “exporting” armed ex-combatants to opposition strongholds with the intent of inciting violence.<sup>58</sup>

Many within the SLPP have also complained that the National Electoral Commission (NEC), which oversees elections in Sierra Leone, favors the APC. Rumors abound that the recent registration of more than 31,000 people without fingerprints was an indication that the NEC Chair was planning to rig the elections in favor of the APC.<sup>59</sup> The SLPP also accused the APC of recruiting Liberians to register in certain constituencies where NEC representatives would turn a blind eye.<sup>60</sup> Another major issue that has prompted outrage from all parties is the candidates’ nomination fees. By law, candidates now must pay the following amounts to be placed on the NEC’s ballot: 500,000 Leones (\$115) for village heads, 1 million Leones for Councillors (\$230), 5 million Leones for Mayors/Chairpersons (\$1,160), 10 million Leones for Paramount Chief Member of Parliament (MPs) or ordinary MPs (\$2,325), and 100 million Leones (\$23,250) for presidential candidates.<sup>61</sup>

### **Outlook**

A poll conducted in Freetown during the first week of July 2012 and in the regions in the second and third weeks of the same month asked: “If there was a presidential election today, would you vote for Ernest Koroma?” Of the 1,504 respondents, 71.2 percent stated they would vote for President Koroma.<sup>62</sup> His highest level of support comes from the north (84.2 percent) followed by the east (52.9 percent) with much less support in the south (44.7 percent). It is difficult for IDA to gauge the accuracy of this poll, but if public opinion is still in favor of the President come November, it may be that there will be no need for a run-off, and Koroma will win on the first ballot.

Another poll conducted online by Newstime Africa in association with Cocorioko Newspaper asked which political party readers favored. The APC received 57 percent of votes while the SLPP received 39 percent. This was by no means a representative poll but does reflect the opinions of a small segment of internet users.<sup>63</sup>

Between what appears to be a high level of popular support and the advantages that accompany incumbency in many African countries (media control and the use of state’s security apparatus to intimidate voters and support electoral fraud), it appears likely that Koroma will win the election in November.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the PMDC is unlikely to win a sufficient number of votes to qualify for a potential second round run-off, but has vowed to throw its support behind the APC.

Bio’s level of support, on the other hand, is less steadfast. He has been endorsed by many elders in the SLPP due to his descent from a ruling Mende house. Nonetheless, many within the SLPP feel his sordid past (including a despicable human rights record associated with war crimes from the civil war) will be a liability in the eyes of international donors.<sup>65</sup> Bio’s running mate, Kadi Sesay, was born in the south but is of northern descent (she is ethnic Temne and a Muslim). She is quite popular but has also received a lot of criticism for partnering with Bio, who was responsible for the death of so many people in the 1990s, including some of her own family members.<sup>66</sup>

Prospects for violence continue to be a concern, as usual in elections in Sierra Leone. All ten registered political parties and other major stakeholders signed a declaration on May 18 committing themselves to free, fair, and peaceful elections.<sup>67</sup> Even the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Corporation, which is known for spewing divisive and inflammatory reporting that could exacerbate political tensions and incite violence, has signed onto guidelines, which

provide for equitable airtime and access for all political parties.<sup>68</sup> So far, there have been no incidents of election-related violence, although these have historically been more likely in the weeks leading up to elections. Guillermo Rishchynski, Canada's UN ambassador and head of the UN peacebuilding commission for Sierra Leone, has observed several disturbing trends, including persistent tensions between the APC and SLPP, the role of unprofessional media willing to exacerbate political divides, and irresponsible actors encouraging youth to engage in politically motivated violence.<sup>69</sup>

## ALERTS

### **Playing at the Margins: Iran's Engagement with African Leaders at the Non-Aligned Movement Summit**

Although Africa was not high on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit that Tehran hosted at the end of August, the Iranian government tried to take advantage of the attendance of many African leaders to signal its continuing interest in engagement within sub-Saharan Africa:

- Supreme Leader Khamenei met with Sudanese President Bashir and Benin's President Boni, who is currently serving as the rotating chair of the African Union. Based on an Iranian media account of these separate meetings,<sup>70</sup> it appears that the primary objective was to encourage the two leaders to actively engage with the NAM as that organization comes under Tehran's leadership over the next three years.
- President Ahmadinejad engaged with President Campaore of Burkina Faso, President Bozize of the Central African Republic, Vice-President Sambo of Nigeria, and President Bashir of Sudan.
- Iranian Foreign Minister Salehi had meetings with the foreign ministers of Benin and Burundi as well as the Acting President of Guinea-Bissau. At the summit, Tehran announced that it would provide Guinea-Bissau with somewhat over \$20 million in loans and aid.

African governments, with a few notable exceptions, did not appear to want to lean too far forward in expressing public support for Tehran. Zimbabwe's President Mugabe and Namibia's Foreign Minister Nujoma publicly expressed their opposition to the use of economic sanctions against Iran over the nuclear issue. The South African government, however, posted on a government website a statement of praise for South Africa's participation in the NAM meeting, but it only referenced Iran as the location of the Summit.<sup>71</sup> And, Niger's Foreign Minister took advantage of his attendance to publicly question the NAM's effectiveness.

Iran claimed that it reached agreements with several African governments to provide technical and engineering services in the oil and gas sectors (including "building small refineries"), but few specifics were provided. Nigeria, based on both Iranian and Nigerian press, appears to have reached some sort of agreement with regard to the development of electricity supply, but no details were released with regard to purported Iranian meetings with Angola and South Africa.

As perhaps a measure of Tehran's desperation to show tangible results of its hosting of the summit, the government announced that Iranian news media had signed agreements with Zambian and Zimbabwean government-owned media to share content and that it had reached customs agreements with some 30 NAM countries, including Ethiopia, Kenya, and Nigeria.

## **Zambia – Zimbabwe: Sata Increasingly Close with Mugabe**

**Researcher:** Mr. Alexander Noyes

Zambian President Michael Sata has long been an admirer of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. Recently, Sata has increased his overt support for Mugabe and the latter's party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). At a South African Development Community (SADC) summit in Luanda in early June 2012, Sata disrupted the proceedings by chanting ZANU-PF slogans when speakers addressed the Zimbabwe issue or criticized Mugabe. His interruptions during the summit were so excessive that prominent ZANU-PF officials were reportedly visibly embarrassed by Sata's behavior.<sup>72</sup>

- During an IDA research trip to Zimbabwe in late June 2012, a senior Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) official in the prime minister's office confirmed the growing closeness between Sata and Mugabe, even suggesting that Sata was accepting cash in exchange for his public declarations and support within SADC.<sup>73</sup>
- At a trade fair event organized by the MDC in Zimbabwe in late April 2012, Sata also chanted ZANU-PF slogans, much to the chagrin of MDC officials leading the proceedings.<sup>74</sup>
- On September 2, 2012, a Zambian civil society organization, the Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) cited Sata and Mugabe's relations as troubling, warning that Sata was learning the wrong lessons from Mugabe, such as using the state security forces to suppress political opponents.<sup>75</sup>

Sata's increasingly close relationship with Mugabe and ZANU-PF serves as another indicator of how his government has pushed Zambia, traditionally a friend of the United States in southern Africa, in an anti-Western direction. Sata and Mugabe's close ties will continue to complicate Zambia's relations with the West and hinder SADC efforts to find a lasting solution to the political stalemate in Zimbabwe.

## **Burundi: New Rebellion and Growing Tensions**

**Researcher:** Ms. Ivana Djak

### **New Rebellion**

The potential for instability in Burundi continues to grow amid allegations of politically motivated killings and as journalists, civil society, and opposition parties report being under increased pressure from the government.<sup>76</sup> In further evidence of escalation, a faction of one of the targeted opposition groups has declared “war” on the Burundian government. The *Forces Nationales de Libération* (National Forces for Liberation – FNL) was the last active rebel group in Burundi, laying down its arms in 2009 after a 2006 agreement ended 13 years of civil war. In 2010, the FNL became a part of the Alliance of Democratic Change (ADC-Ikibiri), a coalition of 12 opposition parties. The FNL claims hundreds of its members and fighters have been extrajudicially killed by Burundian security forces.<sup>77</sup> The FNL leader in exile, Agathon Rwasa, continues to condemn President Pierre Nkurunziza’s attempts to silence the opposition.<sup>78</sup>

On September 2, 2012, former Burundian army officer and rebel leader Aloys Nzambapema announced the creation of a new FNL faction, the FNL-Ubugabo Burihabwa (FNL-UB).<sup>79</sup> On September 3, he claimed responsibility for an attack a day earlier near the capital, during which rockets were fired towards the airport. A diplomatic source told *Agence France Press* (AFP) that about 300 to 500 fighters had taken to the bush to fight for the new group.<sup>80</sup> The FNL-UB declared it will fight the government of Bujumbura to protest poor governance, deterioration of security situation in the country, violations of human rights, and corruption.<sup>81</sup> Burundian Army officers have downplayed the significance of the group, referring to it as a small group of bandits.<sup>82</sup> Nzambapema, however, claims to have attacked three military positions thus far, and has warned that “if war begins, it will be difficult to stop.”<sup>83</sup>

### **Opposition Unrest**

The chairman of the Democratic Alliance for Change, Leonce Ndadakumana, has expressed surprise that Nzambapema claims affiliation with the FNL. The chairman stressed that controversy surrounding the rebel group is a distraction from a higher priority – revising the constitution and the electoral code.<sup>84</sup> Burundi’s opposition parties are demanding that political discussions take place before creation of a new national electoral commission to monitor the 2015 elections. The mandate of the current Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) expires on November 12,<sup>85</sup> and President Nkurunziza has announced that members of the new commission will be appointed soon. Tensions could rise in the coming weeks if the president shuts the opposition out of deliberations.<sup>86</sup>

### **International Involvement**

While national tension continues to mount, Burundi’s government is forging closer ties to China and Iran. In August and September 2012, China and Burundi held a series of meetings to forge closer bilateral ties.<sup>87</sup> On September 2, Iran and Burundi held a meeting to discuss improved relations. They spoke of creating a Joint Economic Cooperation Commission.<sup>88</sup>

Additionally, Burundi recently became further entangled in regional tensions when Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) opposition politician Roger Lumbala, who is accused of plotting with Rwanda’s defense ministry to plan an insurrection in the DRC, fled the DRC on September 3 and took refuge in South Africa’s Embassy in Bujumbura. Burundi’s handling of the DRC’s extradition request could have implications for its relations with the DRC, Rwanda, and South Africa.<sup>89</sup>

## Mobilizing for Violence in Ghana's Elections?

**Researcher:** Ms. Ashton Callahan

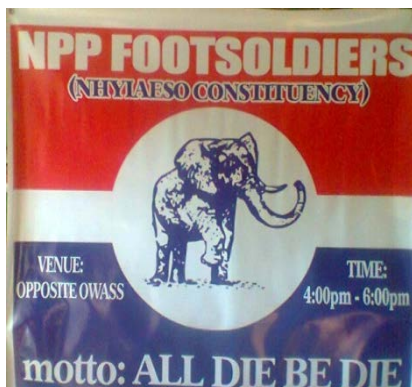
During the 2008 presidential elections, there was an outbreak of violence in Ghana's northern region when "foot soldiers"<sup>90</sup> of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) clashed at polling stations.<sup>91</sup> Recent political rhetoric raises concerns that such violence has the potential to become widespread in December 2012's presidential elections and could escalate under certain circumstances.

In past elections, foot soldiers, typically unemployed youth, have engaged in disruptive activities such as stealing ballot boxes, terrorizing political officials, and seizing control of local income-generating public facilities.<sup>92</sup> Prof. Kenneth Agyemang Attafua, CEO of the Accra-based Justice and Human Rights Institute, recently said, "Foot soldierism is a threat to our liberal constitutional democratic order."<sup>93</sup> He urged youth not to participate in nefarious activities as they were a means to an end and would quickly be forgotten by their political parties.



NDC foot soldiers Terrorize District Chief Executives of the Central Region, March 2011.

In September 2012, a tape recording of a meeting between Yaw Boateng Gyan, National Organizer of the NDC, and party foot soldiers was leaked. The tape revealed a plan to draft foot soldiers into the National Security apparatus and provide them with official government identity cards. The recruits, under the guise of National Security staff, would be allowed to "police" the polls, effectively granting them license to intimidate voters in NPP strongholds. If violence were to occur, NDC would use NPP's slogan of "all die be die" (which is viewed by some as a call to arms) as a scapegoat.<sup>94</sup>



Facebook profile picture for a group of NPP foot soldiers.

Following the tape leak, the National Enforcement Body (NEB), established to monitor compliance with electoral code of conduct, made the following statement: "The NEB advises the youth, party activists, and the general public not to avail themselves to be used by politicians to engage in actions that can lead to violence and civil unrest ...The utterances in the said recording, in the view of the NEB, have the tendency to create anarchy before, during, and after the elections."<sup>95</sup> Although the National Security

Advisor, Lt. Col. Larry Gbevlo-Lartey, has made no official comment on the matter, he has promised an investigation.<sup>96</sup>

Regardless of the level of NDC members' knowledge and support for this practice, the incident could provoke violence between NPP and NDC-supporting youths who believe it to be true. In this context, the "all die be die" slogan<sup>97</sup> of NPP presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, could serve as a springboard for NPP-faithful foot soldiers to do "whatever it takes" to defend themselves and ensure the party's victory. The activities of foot soldiers and grassroots movements should be monitored closely leading up to and during the December polls.

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