

# Southern African events of international significance – 2012<sup>1</sup>

## January

In Angola the ‘Angolan family business in politics’ continued. In early January, the long-standing President José Eduardo dos Santos of the ruling ‘Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola’ (MPLA) appointed the former CEO of state oil company Sonangol, Manuel Vicente – his nephew by marriage – as Minister of Economic Coordination. This newly created post to oversee and ‘improve the efficiency’ of the national economy gave Vicente wide-ranging competences and direct access to the president. This was widely seen as a move to increase Vicente’s political experience ahead of the elections. In the same month Cuba pledged to send 1 300 medical doctors to Angola over the year for medical practice and teaching.

Also in January it was reported that food security remained a concern in Zimbabwe. According to the World Food Programme (WFP), cereal production for the 2011-2012-season was a third lower than in the previous season. Crop-planting figures suggested that output of maize, cotton and soya would decline. The Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC) estimated that 1,6m ‘food-insecure’ people would be unable to meet their basic food requirements in the 2012/13 consumption year until the following harvest in April 2013. WFP identified the threats to food security as including political and economic instability, recurrent droughts, poverty, poor agricultural practices, HIV/AIDS, and high unemployment. The agency reported that, together with its partners, it was responding to the crisis by providing Targeted Seasonal Assistance to meet the food needs of highly vulnerable groups during the lean season. Zimbabwe also performed poorly in a number of World Bank league tables. The country was ranked 171st out of 183 economies in ‘Doing Business 2012’, Zimbabwe’s overall score having fallen by three points, reflecting lower scores for five indicators. The most drastic drop occurred in the Getting Credit indicator, where it fell ten places. Zimbabwe’s economic freedom score was 26,3, making its economy the 178th freest in the 2012 Index. Its score had increased by 4,2 points from 2011, reflecting gains in half of the ten economic freedoms. Zimbabwe was ranked last out of 46 sub-Saharan countries and was the second least free country ranked in the 2012 Index. Meanwhile there was no improvement in Zimbabwean relations with the USA.

---

<sup>1</sup>This report is based on information obtained from: *Keesing’s record of world events (from 1931)* available at <http://www.keesings.com/search> (accessed on 2013/02/14) and *Africa Yearbook (2012)* available at <http://www.referenceworks/brillonline.com/browse/africa-yearbook-online> (accessed 14 December 2013) <http://www.bbc.com/news/world/africa> (accessed 15 February 2013) <http://www.theguardian.com/world/africa> (accessed 16 February 2013).

During January, the USA imposed sanctions on two state-owned diamond-mining companies, although this was unlikely to affect sales of Zimbabwean stones to destinations such as India and Dubai. Finance Minister Tendai Biti attacked the US government for imposing the ban.

Starting in January and continuing throughout the year the political landscape of Botswana was characterised and dominated by the opposition parties' cooperation talks that established the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) to challenge the domination of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). The UDC was made up of the Botswana National Front (BNF), the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD; an off-shoot of the BDP), and the Botswana Peoples Party (BPP). Consistent with its foreign policy principles, Botswana promoted good governance, democracy and human rights on the international stage. Economically the country recorded some positive growth amid uncertainty in the global economic environment, but at the same time demonstrated its own economic volatility as a result of mineral dependency. Remaining firmly entrenched were unremitting social problems, which may pose a threat to the country's stability in the long run.

Cholera is endemic in Mozambique, but in the poorest areas local people blamed the government and the better-off for spreading cholera to kill the poor, particularly through the use of a white powder. In northern Cabo Delgado province, mobs attacked cholera treatment tents, health workers and community leaders in January (see 29 March and November).

In January South Africa continued with the second (and final) year of its non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). It took up its one-month presidency in January and actively pursued closer alignment between the UNSC and the African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council. One outcome of South Africa's two years on the UNSC was resolution 2033, which laid out a framework for further cooperation between the regional body and the UNSC. Also in January South Africa began to engage in the contest for the Chair of the African Union Commission (AUC). The nomination of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the Southern African candidate provoked criticism because there had been a gentlemen's agreement amongst the big five African countries that they would not field candidates to ensure the institution would not be dominated by bigger states. Not surprisingly, Dlamini-Zuma's nomination therefore met with mixed reactions. For one thing, it was interpreted as an attempt by Pretoria to gain greater prominence and leverage within the AUC; on another level, it was viewed as a way to counter France's influence amongst its former colonies. Throughout 2012, there were constant discussions around the launch of the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) to replace the African Renaissance Fund. SADPA would become Pretoria's official national development agency to promote South Africa as a development partner with its primary focus in Africa and to strengthen South-South cooperation. For SADPA to become the country's official development agency, the African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund Act had to be repealed and replaced by the SADPA Fund. SADPA was to have been launched in April 2012, but by year's end there was no word of when it would become operational.

- 8 The regular anniversary celebrations of the South African ruling party – the African National Congress (ANC) – became centenary celebrations (the day it was founded 100 years ago in 1912). While the ANC was buoyed by its historic relevance as one of the oldest political movements on the continent, the domestic situation remained fragile as a result of uncertainty in the economy, poor service delivery, and a state that appeared to be increasingly unresponsive and unaccountable to its electorate.
- 12 The UNSC unanimously adopted resolution 2033 (2012) committing to take ‘effective steps’ to enhance the relationship between the UN and regional and sub-regional bodies, ‘particularly’ the AU. The resolution ‘reiterated the importance of establishing a more effective relationship’ between the UN and the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC), ‘including in the area of conflict prevention, resolution and management, electoral assistance and regional conflict prevention offices’.
- 22 Zimbabwe moved closer to a new constitution. The three drafters handed the revised copy of the draft constitution to the co-chairpersons of the Constitutional Parliamentary Committee (COPAC).
- 24 Zimbabwean authorities revealed that more than 660 people had been treated for typhoid in Harare. They claimed that the outbreak of the bacterial disease appeared to be waning (see July).
- 24 The SADC, as the guarantor of the Global Political Agreement (GPA), continued its mediation efforts, as individual countries mostly supported the Zimbabwean Government of National Unity (GNU) or parts of it. Notable in this respect was Zambian President Michael Sata’s strident support for Mugabe and ZANU-PF. In an interview with the UK *Telegraph*, Sata labelled Tsvangirai a ‘western stooge’, indicating that he would not block Mugabe’s push to abandon the unity government (see 1 June).
- 25 UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon, in an address to the UN General Assembly, outlined a five-year action agenda, ‘The Future We Want’, in order to realise the goals of sustainable development, prevent and mitigate conflicts, human rights abuses and the impact of natural disasters, support countries ‘in transition’, build a more secure world and engage the contributions of women and the young.
- 29-30 Heads of state and government from member states of the AU convened in Addis Ababa for its 18th ordinary summit with the theme ‘Boosting Intra-Africa Trade’. The summit ended in an anti-climax when none of the candidates for the role of chairperson of the AU commission achieved the two-thirds majority required.
- 31 The factionalism within the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) eventually boiled over when Prime Minister Mosisili dismissed three cabinet ministers and one deputy minister. Among them was Minister of Communications, Science and Technology, Mothetjoa Metsing, who remained the LCD’s secretary-general. He was generally identified as the leader of the ‘fire-extinguisher’ faction, which had long been feuding with the rival ‘fire-eaters’, led by Minister of Natural Resources, Monyane Moleleki, which was supportive of Mosisili (although in essence, the conflict was a battle for the succession to a prime minister who had been in power since 1998).

## February

In February, Zimbabwean Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment Minister, Saviour Kasukuwere, advised the mining company Mimosa that a portion of its indigenisation proposals had been rejected. The government also ordered Impala Platinum to transfer 29,5% of its shares to the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund in order to comply with local empowerment laws. Throughout the year, Kasukuwere issued a stream of threats to foreign-owned banks. The MDC-T continued publicly to oppose the programme. In what was interpreted as a symptom of the infighting within ZANU-PF, RBZ governor Gideon Gono publicly differed with Kasukuwere on the indigenisation of banks. The indigenisation drive continued to be a controversial and polarising issue. A number of mining companies, among them the mining giant Zimplats, had their indigenisation plans accepted by the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment. Others had theirs rejected or modified. Zimplats was the first mining company to implement the indigenisation process by launching a shared ownership scheme for the Mhondoro-Ngezi, Chegutu and Zvimba communities.

In Angola the development of South-South partnerships also saw a strengthening of relations and commercial ties with Argentina, Cuba and Vietnam. A five-day visit to Vietnam in February by Vice President Nandó resulted in the signing of new bilateral agreements on education, agriculture and investment policies, as well as a contract for the construction of 500 000 social houses in Angola.

Also in February the Okavango Diamond Company was set up in Botswana to buy and sell up to 15% of Debswana's production of diamonds in accordance with a new sales agreement (see July).

In Mozambique social violence continued in the poorest areas, reflecting a distrust of the better-off and outsiders. Mobs attacked police stations near Maputo and Beira in an attempt to seize and lynch an alleged murderer and a kidnapper. In the Nicoadala district of Zambezia, local people accused the government of locking up the rain and giving it only to better off people; and 25 houses were burned down, three people were killed and six injured for having diverted the rain.

- 1 Botswana's macro-economic management remained prudent by targeting a budget surplus. In the 2012/13 budget projected revenues of Pula 42,91bn and total expenditure of P 41,76bn, producing a surplus of P 1,15bn was projected. Customs duties contributed 33% of revenue followed by minerals at 28,1%. Budget deficits stood at P 2,2bn for 2011/12, compared with P9,5bn in 2009/10.
- 7 Botswana's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Relations criticised China and Russia for rejecting a UNSC resolution on Syria.
- 7 In Namibia the prosecution in the Caprivi high treason trial closed its case after its 379th witness testified. The trial had been opened in October 2003, most of the accused having been imprisoned after a failed secession attempt in August 1999. The trial record amounted to almost 35 000 pages (see 28 February).

- 8 The Zimbabwean newspaper, *The Independent*, reported that an inquest into the death in a suspicious house fire in August 2011 of Gen (ret'd) Solomon Mujuru, one of President Robert Mugabe's most likely successors as head of the co-ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), had ended with the court refusing appeals from his family for his body to be exhumed. Mujuru's family had wanted a medical expert from South Africa to examine the remains. Adding to suspicion was testimony from witnesses who heard gunshots before flames were seen at Mujuru's farmhouse, and reports that a fire engine sent to the scene contained no water.
- 9 South Africa's President Jacob Zuma delivered his 4th State of the Nation Address to the joint houses of parliament on 'The Knowledge Economy and Development'. The speech was designed to appease both business and labour by putting its primary emphasis on the rollout of an intensive infrastructure programme intended to drive job creation and skills development. Aligned to the infrastructure project was the announcement of several strategic government investment plans that the president identified as strengthening the country's industrialisation path. They included a R300bn investment in capital projects by Transnet, of which R200bn was allocated to railway infrastructural projects and the rest to the improvement of ports. Plans included the expansion of the rail network in Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces to take transportation of coal off the roads and onto rail. Spending of R300m was announced for the building of two new universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape.
- 9 The London-based Zimbabwe independent SW Radio Africa reported that Job Sikhala, president of the opposition breakaway MDC-99 party, had said that he and 70 members of his party leadership would go on a 66-day hunger strike in early March at the Africa Unity Square in Harare (the capital) until Mugabe was 'gone'. 'He has to be overthrown before we hold any elections', said Sikhala.
- 9 The Zimbabwean Constitutional Parliamentary Committee (COPAC) released a press statement signed by all three party co-chairpersons. It stressed that the constitutional draft, described as 'work in progress until it is approved by COPAC' was not final and was still under review by the Select Committee assisted by technical experts.
- 14-15 British Foreign Secretary William Hague visited Botswana, the first visit of this kind in 26 years.
- 17 Zimbabwean relations with the European Union (EU) remained frosty. The EU announced that 'restrictive measures' against Zimbabwe would be renewed until 20 February 2013. On the list were 112 individuals and 11 entities. Ostensibly to facilitate further dialogue between the EU and the government of Zimbabwe, the travel ban imposed on the two members of the 're-engagement team', Justice Minister Patrick Chinamasa and Foreign Minister Simbarashe Mumbengegwi, was lifted.
- 19 Zimbabwean President Mugabe said that he would definitely call elections in 2012, describing as 'cowards' politicians who said that polls could not be held until 2013. Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's co-ruling Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) had said that polls could not go ahead until constitutional reforms were complete.

- 20 Angolan relations with South Africa remained notoriously tense. A state visit by South Africa's President Jacob Zuma to Luanda lasted only one hour and no media statements were issued. South African investors also complained of difficulties in accessing the Angolan market, but bilateral trade nevertheless increased.
- 22 South Africa's Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan, delivered the annual budget speech. It was a cautious budget, given that the growth forecasts were below 3%. At the same time, Gordhan warned public servants against excessive and wasteful public sector expenditure. Nevertheless, corruption and lack of transparency in the public sector procurement process continued to remain a blot on the country's landscape and led to a number of investigations initiated by the Office of the Public Protector. While Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, remained committed to carrying out the duties mandated by the Chapter Nine Institutions of the Constitution, the ruling party and its ally, the South African Communist Party (SACP), accused her of being biased against the ANC and embarrassing the government. This followed a report related to a R1bn fraud in which the Public Protector found Police Commissioner Bheki Cele and Public Works Minister Gwen-Mahlangu-Nkabinde guilty of misconduct.
- 25 The Botswana Democratic Party (BDF), in power for 46 years, mounted a colourful ceremony to celebrate the 50th anniversary of its founding. Opposition parties were invited but stayed away.
- 28 The annual report of the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) 'The State of the World's Children 2012' focused on the plight of children in an urban world. Children growing up in slums such as Kibera in Nairobi, Kenya, and the favelas of Brazil were forced to endure violence, exploitation and lack of basics such as clean water and education. They were likely not to have been registered at birth and their families often lacked protection from arbitrary eviction. The report contested the notion that all children who lived in cities were necessarily better off than those in rural communities. It showed that, although disadvantaged children may live minutes away from schools and clinics, for example, they were often cut off from them by poverty and discrimination. It also called attention to the lack of data on conditions in slums, particularly as it related to children, and called for a deeper understanding of the issues surrounding poverty and inequality in cities and increased political will to improve the lives of the most marginalised.
- 28 In Namibia the local EU delegation expressed their hope for a quick end to the legal proceedings – the prosecution in the Caprivi high treason trial (see 7 February).
- 28 75-year old Zambian President Michael Sata (aka 'King Cobra') reshuffled the cabinet.

## March

Relations with Angola's main Lusophone partners Portugal and Brazil remained very cordial – dominated by the intertwining of strong commercial and political interests. Angola signed a police training treaty during the month with Brazil, to benefit from Brazil's experience in 'slum control'.

Also during March, there were sensational reports that Zimbabwe's role as a potential conduit for military equipment destined for Iran was likely to come under the spotlight as international agencies probed claims that bribes were solicited in South Africa for sanctions-busting deals with Iran. Some critics interpreted this as Iran's attempts to access Zimbabwe's uranium and diamonds.

In March in Quinga, Mogincual district, Nampula, Mozambique a very poor area with high levels of malnutrition, a Red Cross volunteer was beaten to death (see January, 17 March and 11 November). Also during March in Mozambique it was reported that huge investments in the minerals-energy sector and substantial GDP growth had not reduced poverty. The self-evaluation report of the National Forum for the APRM, published in March, asserted that the principle beneficiaries of growth were a tiny group and 'the most credible indicators show an increase in absolute terms in the number of people below the minimum subsistence line'. The National Forum is an establishment body of 58 people, including three provincial governors, the governor of the Bank of Mozambique, university rectors, and representatives of eight parliamentary commissions, civil society and the private sector, and it explicitly rejected government and donor claims of dramatic reductions in poverty.

The Swazi government continued efforts to curb the influence of the trade union movement. The country's two largest labour federations, the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, and Swaziland Federation of Labour, amalgamated to form the Trade Union Congress of Swaziland (TUCOSWA) during March. The move was backed by major elements in the South African trade union sector. Also in March the International Court of Arbitration ruled in the South African cell phone company MTN's favour. The case followed upon the Swaziland Posts and Telecommunications Corporation's (SPTC) claim that it had given up its shareholding in MTN by transferring its 41% share to the Ministry of Finance and 10% to the King. This new service grew rapidly, with many thousands of MTN subscribers shifting to the new company. MTN disputed this transaction and claimed that SPTC was operating a rival service in violation of its arrangement with the Swazi government (MTN was granted a 'monopoly licence' in 1998 to operate a local cell phone service). The Swazi government then suspended the SPTC operation, leaving its customers with phones and dongles that no longer worked and sparking an outcry against MTN Swaziland, which was accused of defending its monopoly and the profits of the Swazi elite at the expense of ordinary Swazis.

In March, South Africa participated in the 4th BRICS Heads of State Summit in New Delhi (India). This was Pretoria's second attendance at the Summit since it was officially invited to join by China in December 2010 on the ground that South African participation would be significant in advancing the African agenda and pushing for greater support for the continent's infrastructure needs and industrialisation initiatives.

- 3 In Namibia the influence of the Swapo Party Youth League (SPYL) diminished. Its candidates for the party's top positions (including Ekandjo) (see 29 November – 2 December) almost all failed. With a reference to the expulsion of South Africa's ANC Youth League leader, Julius Malema, President Hifikepunye Pohamba indicated that his generation had steered the

- liberation struggle and would not accept that over-zealous young Turks did not recognise their merits. Open exchanges by SPYL members on Facebook were criticised as inappropriate forms of critical debate.
- 7 In Zimbabwe COPAC announced that the co-chairpersons and technical experts had completed reviewing the draft and were ready to hand it to the management committee within the week. Reflecting the acrimony that had characterised the process and was to continue with the draft, the state-controlled, openly pro-Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) daily *The Herald*, reported on the same day that COPAC had ‘made a raft of changes ... after principal drafters inserted information not solicited from the people’ (see 22 January and 9 February).
- 12 The trial of 29 MDC-T activists accused of murdering a police officer in May 2011, began at the High Court. The MDC-T and other critics of ZANU-PF saw this as persecution by prosecution (see 17 December).
- 15 In Namibia the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area was launched at Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi. The world’s largest trans-frontier conservation area is situated within the Kavango and Zambezi River basins and spans over 444 000 km<sup>2</sup>.
- 17 A Red Cross activist was assaulted, buried up to her neck, and nearly murdered, when a mob demanded that she hand over ‘the cholera’ she was allegedly keeping in her house. She was rescued by the police, who were attacked by the mob. Frightened police arrested 29 people and packed them into a tiny police cell in Mogincual in Mozambique, where twelve suffocated to death in the early morning. Two police officers were each sentenced to one year in jail for actions leading to the deaths.
- 19-21 Zambia’s President, Michael Sata, visited Botswana and caused some irritation when he urged Zambians residing in Botswana to consider returning to contribute to rebuilding Zambia.
- 22 The EU renewed its ‘restrictive measures’ against rough diamonds from Zimbabwe’s Marange area until February 2013.
- 23 US President Barack Obama nominated Jim Yong Kim, 52, a US citizen born in South Korea, as the next president of the World Bank, as from 1 July 2012 with the expiry of the five-year term of current president Robert Zoellick (see 16 April).
- 26 In Namibia Theo Ben Gurirab, Speaker of the National Assembly, addressed a delegation of Chinese MPs and strongly criticised Western military and economic hegemony and warned that ‘military intervention and regime change have replaced dialogue and peaceful co-existence’.
- 27 Botswana condemned the overthrow of President Amadou Toumani Touré’s government in Mali by the military, and rejected a military *coup* in Guinea Bissau on 12 April 2011.
- 27 In Zambia a simmering conflict over the status of Barotseland erupted with a statement issued as a final declaration by Barotseland representatives of a ‘national assembly’ for Barotseland. Their declaration stressed that the Lozi would seek this independent status by purely legal means, on the basis of the original 1964 agreement which had conceded semi-autonomy to Barotseland. More than 80% of the Western Province’s population lived below the poverty

line which fuelled secessionist tendencies, particularly among the younger generation (see April and May).

- 30 The Namibian public energy utility, NamPower, announced a critical supply period for electricity due to power supply problems from South Africa's Eskom and the end of a power purchase agreement with the Zimbabwean power utility Zesa in 2013. A

## April

In April, in Zambia Deputy President Guy Scott responded to the unrest in Barotseland by suggesting that the original 1964 agreement regarding semi-autonomy for Barotseland should be considered in the constitutional reform process (see 27 March and May).

In Swaziland, despite considerable discontent over the state of the economy, the pro-democracy movement was unable to mount an effective challenge to the government in the face of repression by the security forces, which continued to operate with impunity. On several occasions, demonstrators took to the streets – or attempted to do so – in protest at government cutbacks and in support of wage increases. In April, civil servants, including nurses and teachers, launched strike action demanding a 4,5% salary increase. Teachers, led by the Swaziland National Union of Teachers, continued their action throughout the second term of the year (April to September) by reporting for work but not actually teaching. In the same month Swazi King Mswati received as a gift on his 44th birthday a new private jet, worth \$17m, from Salgoacar, an Indian-based mining company. Soon thereafter, it was revealed that the company had been licensed to mine iron ore within a protected national park. The King was to retain 50% of the concession, from which it is estimated that he could earn up to \$100m.

- 1 In Swaziland TUCOSWA's (the new trade union – see March) first initiative was an attempt to organise a four-day mass protest in Mbabane, but police and the army were deployed to prevent the demonstration and by midday on the first day union leaders called off the action.
- 2 The National Disciplinary Committee of South Africa's ruling ANC chaired by Derek Hanekom, had announced the suspension of Julius Malema's membership of the ANC with immediate effect in accordance with rule 25.12(c) of the ANC Constitution. The suspension followed Malema's verbal attack on the president, in which he had accused Zuma of being a dictator and of suppressing the ANC Youth League (ANCYL). Malema's suspension was seen in political circles as a strategic move by President Zuma to neutralise any populism that would undermine the Elective Conference in December and threaten Zuma's chance of re-election. Thus expelled from the ANC, Malema was at the forefront of a campaign to stop the president from being endorsed for a second term.
- 2 The Botswana Investment and Trade Centre was established to replace the Botswana Export Development and Investment Authority and the Botswana International Financial Services Centre in the country's process of the rationalisation of its public enterprises.
- 8 Mozambique had been toying since 1994 with its elections laws, which were

- confused and contradictory. A further law was passed to clarify some problems, but it created new contradictions, particularly in the electoral calendar, and unexpectedly increased to six the number of documents that candidates for parliament had to present. Mozambique's election laws have always given the National Elections Commission (CNE) total freedom to act in secret, and even to change the results without explanation. This had been repeatedly criticised by domestic and international observers, but has never been changed (see 28 October).
- 15-17 Only a small number of countries are represented at ambassadorial level in Swaziland – the most important being the Republic of China (Taiwan) – whose President Ying-Jeou Ma visited Swaziland. His visit yielded several economic benefits, including a grant of R1,5m towards the refurbishment of a bio-technology park and desktop computers worth R2,4m for various government ministries. Taiwanese manufacturers have invested heavily in Swaziland and there were 25 Taiwanese-owned factories producing textile products. Swazi textile workers make up one of the largest groups of employees in the manufacturing sector.
- 16 The 25-member executive board of the World Bank selected Jim Yong Kim as the next president of the bank as from 1 July 2012 (see 23 March). Although the choice of Kim perpetuated the tradition that the post was occupied by a US citizen, this convention was for the first time challenged by two nominees from developing countries: Nigeria's Finance Minister, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, a former World Bank managing director, and José Antonio Ocampo, former Finance Minister of Colombia. Analysts said that although all 54 African states backed Okonjo-Iweala (who also received an open letter of support from 39 former World Bank officials), the major emerging economies failed to unite behind a single candidate. Kim, a doctor and academic who had worked for the WHO on treatment programmes for HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, was the first World Bank president with hands-on experience of public health and development issues. Some analysts saw his lack of expertise in finance and economics as potentially problematic.
- 18 The Spanish King Juan Carlos visited Botswana (supposedly in secret) for elephant hunting, but suffered a hip fracture. The royal excursion came under harsh criticism in Spain.
- 19-21 Spring meetings of the IMF and the World Bank, together with a meeting of finance ministers of the G-20 (Group of 20) leading industrialised and major emerging economies, were held in Washington DC, USA. The main result of the meetings was IMF managing director Christine Lagarde's success in rallying a wide range of countries, including South Africa, to contribute some US\$430 billion in emergency funding to the IMF to deploy in case of a resurgence of the eurozone sovereign debt crisis. The USA and Canada declined to participate. Lagarde spoke of five 'dark clouds' over the global economy: (1) high unemployment; (2) slow economic growth; (3) too swift debt-reduction by banks; (4) the strains of the eurozone; and, (5) high oil prices.
- 25 In a protest, Namibian MPs from the official opposition and other parties left parliament amidst booing from Swapo MPs when President Pohamba delivered his State of the Nation Address.

- 26 Botswana called for a cessation of the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan, and for Sudan to refrain from provoking South Sudan. It also called on Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, who had been indicted by the ICC for crimes against humanity, not to commit further crimes, and pledged to arrest al-Bashir if he were to visit Botswana. ICC Prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, commended Botswana for its support. President Khama lauded the sentencing of Charles Taylor by the Special Court for Liberia for war crimes and crimes against humanity, noting that the conviction would send a message to other leaders. Khama also urged Malawi not to allow al-Bashir to attend the AU Summit in July.
- 27 In Botswana, the uneasy relationship between the government and Chief (Kgosi) Kgafela Kgafela II of the Bakgatla tribe continued. Kgafela, who was charged with illegally flogging people in his area, lost his bid to set aside the Botswana Constitution in the Court of Appeal, in a case that he described as a 'fraud'. He went into self-imposed exile in South Africa, where the majority of the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela tribe reside. Khama, using his constitutional powers, pardoned one of Kgosi Kgafela's co-accused, Kgosi Mothibe Lenchwe. Although Kgafela lost his challenge to the Botswana Constitution, the findings of the Afrobarometer Survey of June/July suggested that 55% of those who participated in the survey supported a constitutional review.
- 29 The UN International Labour Organisation (ILO)'s 'World of Work Report 2012', appeared. The Report warned that fiscal austerity measures designed to reduce government debt and labour market reforms were failing to create jobs. In 90% of countries that had introduced austerity measures, unemployment rates remained above the 2007 level, the year before the banking crisis.
- 30 The death toll among Zambian imprisoned suspects rose to nineteen, with 112 men still on trial. More people had already died in custody than were killed during the failed secession attempt in the Caprivi (see 7 and 28 February and 30 August).

## May

In Angola opposition parties started finding their voice over issues of social justice, wealth distribution and the organisation of the elections. In May, the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) successfully mobilised over 200 000 supporters in Luanda to demand free and transparent elections (see January, June and 31 August).

In Botswana public servants celebrated the first anniversary of Botswana's longest strike in May (see 21 June and 9 August).

The factional battle that had been raging inside the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) culminated in Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili crossing the floor of parliament with a small majority of MPs to form the Democratic Congress (DC). Continuing to head the government, he led his new party into a general election called in late May. Although the DC emerged as the single largest party, its two major rivals, the All Basotho Congress (ABC) and remnant LCD joined up with the small Basotho National

Party (BNP) to form a new government under the ABC's Tom Thabane. The transition from one administration to another was managed peacefully. Nonetheless, the fractiousness of Lesotho's politics continued to raise concerns about stability (see 31 January).

In May, Mozambique was accepted as candidate country for the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), and a coordinating committee was established. Under the EITI, all revenue received by governments, and all payments made by companies resulting from mining and hydrocarbon exploitation, are made public.

In Zambia, disappointed by President Sata's U-turn since his election in failing to honour his promises to recognise the desire for greater autonomy on the part of the Silozi-speaking people in the Barotse kingdom in Zambia's Western Province, the Barotse Royal Establishment and the Barotse National Council reiterated their desire for autonomy (see 27 March and April).

In Swaziland, the sixth wife of King Mswati, Angela 'LaGija' Dlamini, left the royal compound and went into hiding, claiming she had suffered years of emotional and physical abuse. She became the third of the King's wives to abandon her matrimonial role.

- 4 On Cassinga Day, which commemorates a massacre by the South African army in a refugee camp in Southern Angola, Namibia's President Pohamba categorically rejected the demand by soldiers fighting on the South African side that they be regarded as war veterans. This disqualified them from a generous compensation scheme introduced for Swapo members. High-ranking political office holders and government officials also received a one-off payment and a monthly pension. The rejection of any war veteran status for former combatants on the side of the South African army, provoked a debate over the meaning of reconciliation.
- 21-25 Liberia's President Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson visited Botswana on a state visit.
- 23 Relations between Zimbabwe's President Mugabe and his Botswana counterpart, President Ian Khama, appeared to be thawing. In what was dubbed a 'secret visit', Zimbabwe's second vice president, John Nkomo, arrived in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana leading an 11-member delegation and held a brief meeting with Khama.
- 24-25 The first-ever Summit on Sustainable Development in Africa was held in Gabarone, the capital of Botswana and attended by national representatives and officials of the ten signatory countries.
- 25 Zimbabwe's relations with multilateral organisations were mixed. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, visited Zimbabwe and called for the suspension of targeted international sanctions pending the holding of elections. Expressing views that resonated with ZANU-PF's stance on sanctions, she claimed that the measures were hurting the country's poorest and most vulnerable people.
- 25 After Lesotho's general election that day, the All Basotho Congress (ABC), the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) and the Basotho National Party

(BNP) announced that they would form a coalition government led by the ABC's Tom Thabane as Prime Minister, with Mothetja Metsing as his deputy, and the other cabinet seats divided more or less proportionately between the three parties.

- 26 In Botswana, the BMD, an offshoot of the BDP, held its inaugural youth congress. It continued to lose some of its founding members to the BDP (see January above).

## June

In Angola June saw the MPLA's electoral list finally published after repeated delays and awaited with particular interest. It confirmed Manuel Vicente (see January) as number two on the MPLA's electoral list, and therefore as candidate for the vice presidency. An earlier attempt by dos Santos to impose Vicente as his running mate at a party congress in 2011 was rejected by the MPLA 'old guard', the veterans of the independence struggle. His confirmation as the party's number two candidate indicated dos Santos's determination and ability to overrule internal party dissent. Also in June several hundred veterans (both ex-MPLA and ex-UNITA) advanced on the presidential palace to demand the overdue payment of pensions and were dispersed by the police firing tear gas and live ammunition; at least two demonstrators died in the confrontations, with several more injured.

A conflict broke out between Basotho workers and the management of the Chinese-owned Sinohydro Corporation, which was involved in the construction of the Metolong Dam in Lesotho. The strike (centred on a wage dispute but fuelled by allegations of racial discrimination), culminated in Basotho workers throwing stones at Chinese managers and workers. After the Basotho returned to work Minister of Water Affairs, Timothy Thahane, ordered the Metolong Authority to set up a police post near the construction site and to hire a labour relations officer who would report to his ministry.

- 1 At the Extraordinary Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government in Luanda, the capital of Angola, the regional body effectively ended Mugabe's plans to hold polls during the year without any meaningful reforms. In its communiqué, SADC 'urged the parties to the GPA to finalise the constitution-making process and subject it to a referendum thereafter'. The summit also urged the parties to the GPA, assisted by President Zuma, to develop an implementation mechanism and to set out time frames for the full implementation of the roadmap to elections. Both the MDC-T and ZANU-PF interpreted this as a vindication of their positions. At the same summit Zambian President Sata kept chanting pro-ZANU-PF slogans, interrupting anyone who criticised Mugabe (see 24 January).
- 6 Zimbabwe's ZANU-PF walked out of a COPAC meeting when a highly controversial document containing their input and amendments to the draft was rejected (see 22 January and 9 February).
- 8 Malawian President Joyce Banda unveiled the budget which forecasted economic growth of 4,3% in 2012, rising to 5,7% in 2013 (see 27 June).
- 12 In South Africa, following a special meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC, President Zuma announced his third cabinet

- reshuffle since taking office in 2009. Some saw the cabinet shuffle as a way for Zuma to strengthen his hand in the lead-up to the Elective Conference in December, since it enabled him to move key supporters within the ANC to vacant cabinet positions without necessarily firing anyone.
- 15 Malawian Finance Minister, Ken Lipenga, announced that foreign donors had pledged US\$496 million in budget support for the 2012-13 fiscal year, more than double the amounts pledged for the 2011-12 budget (see 8, 22 and 27 June).
- 21 It was announced by Malawian authorities that at least 47 people (all suspected illegal immigrants from east Africa) died on 18 June 2012, when a boat in which they were travelling capsized in Lake Malawi near the remote northern district of Karonga. Local police officials said that the victims, many of whom were thought to be Ethiopian citizens, had been trying to enter northern Malawi from Tanzania. Malawian police officials believed that organised people-smuggling rings from Ethiopia and Somalia frequently targeted Malawi because of the country's porous border and its proximity to mining jobs in neighbouring southern African countries.
- 21 In Botswana in the matter of the national public sector strike that had begun in 2011, the Industrial Court ruled that essential service workers were striking illegally. Various public-sector unions, under an umbrella of the Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions, appealed the decision in the Court of Appeal. When the government dismissed a number of employees, the unions challenged their dismissal in the High Court, and High Court judge, Justice Oagile Key Dingake, ruled that they should be reinstated (see 9 August).
- 22 The US Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), a US government agency established in 2004 to provide financial assistance to poor countries, announced that it was restoring its US\$350 million aid programme to help upgrade Malawi's aged electricity grid. MCC officials said that a resumption of the aid programme, which was suspended in July 2011 amid concerns about human rights violations and 'increasingly autocratic' government, was recognition of the 'sound' economic policies introduced by President Joyce Banda since she assumed the presidency following the death of her predecessor Bingu wa Mutharika in early April.
- 23 Symbolically, the most important event of the year in Lesotho was the completion of the new parliament buildings, funded and built by China. Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohlabi Tsekoa noted in receiving the keys to the building from the Chinese deputy minister of commerce that, in addition to the new parliament, China had financed many projects including the construction of the Manthabiseng Convention Centre, the Butha-Buthe Industrial Park, three secondary schools, expansion of radio and television coverage, and construction of the State Library and Archives.
- 26-29 South Africa's ruling party, the ANC hosted its 4th National Policy Conference. It focused on organisational renewal within the context of the second transition. During his opening address, President Zuma noted that the time had come 'to do something more drastic to accelerate change, towards economic transformation and freedom'. The message was clear that the next decade of South Africa's post-apartheid period should be characterised by a

‘radical shift towards economic and social transformation’ and that a militant programme of action was needed to address the triple challenge of poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

- 27 The Malawian National Assembly (the unicameral legislature) unanimously approved the government’s proposed US\$1,6 billion budget for 2012-13 (see 8, 15 and 22 June).

## July

In July, the Angolan national police, accompanied by pro-government militias and police dogs, surrounded the headquarters of UNITA’s youth wing, JURA, in Luanda, to stop the distribution of party political leaflets and posters across town. Youth activists reported being abducted from their homes or university in unregistered cars and held in warehouses by unknown men under the threat of torture to dissuade them from protesting. Another protest leader, departing for Lisbon, saw his luggage temporarily confiscated at Luanda airport. Upon arrival in Lisbon, the Portuguese police found a kilo of cocaine in his luggage, but they believed his account and he was released shortly afterwards.

Also in July, Zimbabwean officials reported at least 111 cases of typhoid in Harare and Chitungwiza. Officials said the outbreak was due to water shortages in the city and in the satellite towns.

During July the Botswana government reported that Diamond Trading Company Botswana (DTC) traded diamonds worth \$ 373,84 m (Pula 2,953 bn) in the first six months. Notwithstanding the collapse in mineral output and proceeds in recent years, especially diamonds, minerals continued to play a crucial role in Botswana. Consistent with government’s policy of promoting value addition and beneficiation as well as creating additional jobs, a complete relocation of DTC International from London to Gaborone was planned to make Botswana a major diamond centre. It also noted a breakthrough when diamonds produced by De Beers were first ‘aggregated’ in Botswana in July (see February). A further five diamond cutting and polishing companies were licensed, following the removal of the 2008 moratorium on licences for diamond cutting and polishing companies.

In July the Mozambican government, as part of its programme to raise the quality of local administration, began improving by 25-45% the salaries of state employees with high or mid-level education who were not working in the cities. In the same month a new 2,4 km bridge over the Zambezi River linking Sofala and Zambezia provinces was opened. The \$113m bridge replaced an erratic ferry service. The bridge finally made it possible to drive from the north to the south of the country. As well as the psychological importance of physically linking the north and south, it was likely to increase internal trade.

In July Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma secured a convincing win to become the first female Chairperson of the African Union Commission (AUC) (see 29 and 30 January). But the victory was bitter-sweet. A report in the *Southern Times* newspaper highlighted that her election reflected Pretoria’s ambitions to carve out a bigger role for itself in the

continent. Other commentators were quick to point out that the odds at the July Summit had been stacked in Dlamini-Zuma's favour; Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan had not attended and Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles was ill. Ultimately, the implications of Dlamini-Zuma's election were viewed with cautious optimism. Also in July the former South African police commissioner, Jackie Selebi, who had been convicted on corruption charges in 2010 and was to serve a fifteen year prison sentence, was granted medical parole.

- 3 In Zimbabwe a government notice gave international banks operating in Zimbabwe until July 2013 to comply with the controversial Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Bill, which stipulated that foreign-owned companies and those owned by people not disadvantaged during colonial times (whites and Asians) must sell 51% of their shares to indigenous (black) Zimbabweans. The notice also expanded the indigenisation campaign to include hotels, private schools, sports facilities, engineering and construction companies, and the telecommunications and energy sectors.
- 4 Zambia's 'King Cobra', President Sata was not perceived as joking (although that defence was made) when he received former US president George W Bush and his wife at State House in Lusaka for a courtesy visit. At the press conference that followed, he denounced the USA as a colonialist country that had abandoned Africa after stealing all her resources. The Bushes, on a promotion tour for their cervical cancer prevention foundation, were accused of representing 'payback time for colonialists'. Sata complained that 'the young man' Bush was fifteen minutes late for their meeting after a 90-mile drive from opening a clinic refurbished with the foundation's money. The incident turned into a domestic affair when former president Rupiah Banda apologised to Bush in a letter the next day.
- 6 All the resignations and defections from the various opposition parties in Botswana resulted in the BCP president, Dumelang Saleshando MP, assuming the position of leader of the opposition in parliament (see January, 25 February 25 and 26 May).
- 12 The Zimbabwean Supreme Court confirmed a High Court order that President Mugabe should call by-elections in three Matabeleland constituencies by the end of August.
- 12 In Zimbabwe the smaller faction of the MDC, which itself had split into two factions, continued divided with faction leaders, Deputy Prime Minister Arthur Mutambara and Industry and Commerce Minister Welshman Ncube, fighting for the coveted role of principal in the GPA. The High Court ruled in favour of Ncube as the legitimate leader of the MDC faction. Mutambara appealed to the Supreme Court. The High Court decision was widely interpreted as jeopardising Mutambara's position as the country's deputy prime minister. However, throughout the year, Mugabe and Tsvangirai, the other principals, continued to deal with Mutambara, ignoring Ncube's pleas to remove him.
- 18 Zimbabwean Finance Minister Tendai Biti unveiled a revised budget plan, calling for spending cuts and tax increases on some imports and fuel to reduce a deficit of Z\$600 million. Cutting the 2012 budget from US\$4 billion to

US\$3,4 billion, Biti said that the government had failed to realise the projected growth forecast for 2012 due to a weaker than expected recovery and reduced revenue from diamonds from the eastern Marange fields.

## August

In August, the Zimbabwean government indicated that it had formalised plans to export some 2 000 nurses to other countries. The country had been unable to employ all the nurses it trained, but had continued to ‘bond’ them, resulting in their being jobless but at the same time unable to seek employment elsewhere. According to official sources, many countries including Swaziland, Lesotho, Trinidad and Tobago had indicated that they needed hundreds of nurses to work in their countries under a government-to-government agreement. Also in Zimbabwe during August, Mashonaland West police wrote to the MDC-T provincial leadership, advising the party that no meetings would be held without the authority of chiefs, headmen, kraal heads, and councillors – most of them widely viewed as ZANU-PF apparatchiks. The MDC-T vowed to defy the directive.

In August it was announced that Mozambique’s Central Office for the Fight against Corruption (GCCC) and the eleven provincial attorney’s offices investigated 534 allegations of corruption and theft of state funds and property. Of these, 27 came to trial, 40 were shelved, and charges were laid in 155 cases; 111 people were arrested. The figures show a significant rise since the shake-up in mid-2007, when Augusto Paulino was named attorney general and named Gemo to head the GCCC (see November). Former interior minister Almerino Manhenje remained in detention awaiting trial on corruption charges. A range of other corruption cases also became public.

During August, the Swazi Ministry of Education dismissed 110 teachers. King Mswati ordered that the fired teachers be re-instated and instructed the government and the union to resume negotiations. The negotiations ended in a stalemate, however (see April and September).

- 2 Major relief for Lesotho’s textile sector came with the extension of AGOA, in terms of which duty was waived on clothing exported to the US from nominated countries. AGOA had been due to expire on 30 September 2012 the USA Congress agreed to extend the agreement until the end of 2015. Without renewal, 40 000 jobs in Lesotho would have been at risk.
- 7 The Namibian Ministry of Health and Social Services disclosed that 10% of newborn babies were fed plain water during the first two months, only one third of the population had access to improved sanitation facilities, and almost a quarter of deaths of children under five were related to diarrhoea-type diseases. With an estimated 1,3 m people without proper toilet facilities, Namibia had one of the lowest levels of sanitation coverage in the sub-region (see 13 August).
- 9 Botswana’s minister responsible for labour matters expanded the category of essential service workers, but the unions challenged this in the High Court, and the same judge (Justice Oagile Key Dingake) who ruled in favour of the

- reinstatement of fired public servants, ruled in their favour (see 21 June). The government appealed against the decision.
- 10 A wildcat strike for better pay by rock drillers began at London-listed mine operator Lonmin's platinum mine at Marikana (in the so-called platinum-belt), near Rustenburg in the North-West Province and some 100 km north-west of Johannesburg. The strikers demanded a trebling of their monthly wage. It led to days of clashes between miners from two rival unions, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the radical breakaway Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU). During the days of violence ten people, including two policemen, were killed (see 16 and 17 August).
- 13 Namibian President Pohamba constituted the first-ever presidential commission of enquiry to investigate the state of public health services as a response to the increase in the number of deaths of babies, mothers and other patients in hospitals (see 7 August).
- 16 There was a public outcry after South African 'riot' police opened fire on 3 000 striking miners at the Marikana platinum mine 34 people and injuring many more. The police said that they acted in self-defence against a crowd of protesters who advanced towards them armed with sticks, spears, and machetes. The violence shocked South Africa with images that evoked memories of the brutal tactics used by the security forces under apartheid. Accusations emerged that the police were acting on the orders of Lonmin executives to resolve the crisis expediently. Cyril Ramaphosa, a trade unionist turned business tycoon, was criticised for complicity in what became known as the 'Marikana massacre', given his position on the Lonmin's board. But Marikana was not just a mining issue. It also sent shockwaves across the country as an example of what was becoming the increasing class struggle arising from the way the political transition had been negotiated without accompanying economic transition. Marikana also saw Zuma opponents using the incident to criticise his administration and as an opportunity to present their response to the crisis.
- 17 South African President Zuma said that an inquiry would be set up into the cause of the incident (see 10 and 16 August). The president appointed the Farlam Commission of Inquiry chaired by retired Appeal Court Judge, Ian Farlam, to investigate the circumstances in which the mineworkers had met their deaths.
- 17 At midnight the official national census of Zimbabwe commenced. It was marred by controversy. Soldiers threatened to take over the task by force. The census had been in danger of being cancelled the previous week after thousands of soldiers around the country had stormed centres where enumerators (mostly teachers) had gathered for the final session of their three-month training. They were apparently motivated by the allowances that came with the job (see December).
- 17-18 On several occasions, Zambia's President Sata perplexed diplomats and the wider public with his highly unconventional impromptu statements. At the annual SADC summit in Maputo (Mozambique), he took delegates by surprise when he declared that Zambia would welcome refugees if Malawi and Tanzania went to war over a border dispute. In response to an opposition

- parliamentarian's enquiry in parliament, Vice-President Guy Scott explained the president's rhetorical escapades with the English saying, 'You can't teach an old dog new tricks'. Sata's admiration for and support of Robert Mugabe were also defended by his loyal vice-president, who justified the need for a policy of good neighbourliness with regard to the autocratic Zimbabwean leader. This new approach was in marked contrast to the critical positions taken by earlier Zambian presidents, and also largely characterised the country's inter-state relations in the sub-region. It went hand in hand with some derogatory statements concerning Botswana, which articulated the most critical positions on the violation of human rights by political leaders in office.
- 18 Quick to make political capital out of the shootings at Marikana, Julius Malema, the controversial former youth leader of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), visited the striking miners and called on President Zuma to resign over the 'massacre', accusing him of selling out to the mine's white 'Boer owners' (see 10, 16 and 17 August).
- 18 Angola handed over the rotating SADC-chairmanship to Mozambique at the full SADC summit (the 32nd Session of the SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government). Angola's commitment to the regional organisation remained largely rhetorical as it postponed again its implementation of the SADC Free Trade Area (FTA), despite previous commitments to adhere to it. This did not, however, impede Angolan government officials from claiming several SADC initiatives as Angolan successes – in July, for example, the *Jornal de Angola* hailed Nkosasana Dlamini-Zuma's election as AU chairperson as a great triumph for Angolan diplomacy and its leadership of SADC, when, in reality, Angola's commitment to regional cooperation remained lukewarm at best. The SADC affirmed the resolutions, (see 1 June) again urging 'the parties to the GPA to develop a roadmap together with timelines that are guided by requirements of the processes necessary for the adoption of the constitution of conditions for free and fair elections to be held'. Notably, at the same meeting the SADC summit resolved that Zimbabwean Welshman Ncube was the recognised MDC-N principal of the GPA, even though the party leadership dispute was still pending in the Supreme Court (see 12 July). Also at the summit as SADC Facilitator on Zimbabwe, President Zuma presented his report, which noted the progress in the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) while urging stakeholders to work together, particularly with regard to the constitution-making process, which was about to be concluded. Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the SADC Summit was the fatal blow that the heads of state dealt to the SADC Tribunal. The decision to shut down the Tribunal was viewed as a retrogressive step for the rule of law and human rights remedies in the region. Nicole Fritz, the executive director of the Southern African Litigation Centre, a think tank based in Johannesburg, condemned it as flying 'in the face of the recommendations of both the SADC-instituted review of the Tribunal and SADC's own Ministers of Justice and Attorneys General'. She said that it was completely at odds with the best practice of other regional institutions and undermined the protection of human rights and hopes for future economic growth and development. The fact that SADC leaders

- themselves had taken this decision laid them open to accusations of contempt for the rule of law. But it was South Africa's silence that caused a stir. The former judge president of the Tribunal, Ariranga Pillay, told a forum in Pretoria that the South African leadership could have played a more constructive role by using its power as SADC's largest state and its 'moral authority' to prevent the Tribunal from being emasculated. The debacle surrounding the SADC Tribunal mirrored South Africa's own domestic challenges regarding the independence of the judiciary and attempts to reconcile tradition with the characteristics of a modern state.
- 22 A court in Ventersdorp, in the North West Province in South Africa sentenced black farmhand Chris Mahlangu to life imprisonment for the murder in April 2010 of Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the white extremist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) in South Africa. His co-accused, Patrick Ndlovu, was given a suspended sentence for housebreaking.
- 27 A farm workers' strike erupted in the De Doorns area, in the Western Cape. The strike, organised by mostly female workers was prompted by poor living conditions, pitiable wages, and extensive abuse on the farms. It was suggested that the Marikana mine workers' strike had spread by contagion. The farm workers' strike had serious political undertones. The Western Cape was controlled by the opposition DA and the provincial branch of the ANC used the opportunity to accuse the DA of poor governance. COSATU's leader in the Western Cape, Tony Ehrenreich, was quick to point out in an official statement that the cat was out of the bag in the Western Cape, since 'workers now know that the DA supports the farmers' oppression'. He maintained that workers rejected the DA, which as a result had lost the election in the West Coast and would continue to lose political support.
- 28 The South Africa National Prosecuting Agency (NPA) sparked further consternation when it made the bizarre announcement that 270 demonstrators arrested during the incident and charged with public violence, would also be charged with the murders of their shot colleagues under a controversial apartheid-era law known as the 'common purpose' doctrine in which members of a crowd when a crime was committed could be prosecuted as accomplices (see 10, 16-18 and 31 August).
- 30 One accused in the Namibian Caprivi high treason trial (see 7 and 28 February and 30 April) was discharged after the prosecution conceded that there was no evidence on which he could be convicted. The marathon trial had not ended by year's end.
- 29-30 South Africa's President Jacob Zuma was in Botswana on a state visit.
- 31 With the unrest spreading to other mines, Lonmin's Marikana operation remained shut after just 5,7% of its 28 000 employees showed up for work following intimidation by striking colleagues. A workforce of at least 80% was needed to produce platinum (see 10, 16-18 and 28 August).
- 31 The Angolan political year was dominated by the elections. In the run-up to the elections, opposition parties were surprisingly vocal in their criticism of the government, while youth protests faced administrative obstruction and increasingly violent repression. The elections were marked by irregularities and were won by the incumbent president – President José Eduardo dos

Santos – and his party, the MPLA with a comfortable majority. Despite all the irregularities, UNITA almost doubled its representation, to 18% (32 MPs), while the newly formed *Convergência Ampla pela Salvação de Angola – Coligação Eleitoral* (CASA-CE) gained a remarkable 6% and eight seats. The *Partido de Renovação Social* (PRS) only received 1,7% of the vote (3 seats), while the *Frente Nacional de Libertação the Angola* (FNLA), the third ‘historic’ party and former anti-colonial guerrilla movement, was reduced to two seats. It should be added, however, that the FNLA was handicapped by long-standing internal divisions, for which it blamed the government – a not entirely implausible accusation, considering the Constitutional Court’s invalidation of the FNLA’s party congress in February.

## September

Social conditions in Angola remained unacceptable. Although the MPLA had promised to create 1m jobs by 2012, job creation was clearly inadequate, and this was exacerbated by the low skill base of the workforce. The teachers’ union stated in September that Angola would not reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for education, since many children were still excluded from formal schooling, despite some progress regarding the number of schools and teachers. Most Angolans, especially women, were thus still working in informal commerce or subsistence farming.

In Botswana it was reported that HIV/AIDS was an additional major obstacle to the country’s development trajectory. The latest estimates put the national prevalence rate at 17,6%. The government, with the support of its development partners, implemented a number of programmes. As of September, 198 553 citizens were receiving anti-retroviral treatment (98% of those estimated to be in need). Another successful programme was the prevention of mother-to-child transmission, which resulted in a fall in transmission to less than 5%. The government was lauded internationally for these notable achievements (see 5 November).

Mozambique was elected chair of the SADC Troika for Politics, Defence and Security in September, and was involved in unsuccessful negotiations in Maputo to try to resolve internal conflicts over disputed elections and governments in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Madagascar.

In Swaziland King Mswati instructed teachers to end their strike, which they did (see April and August). During the same month a civil-society coordinating network, the Swaziland Democracy Campaign, launched a global week of action, focusing each day on a specific sector or issue – hunger, poverty, human rights and education – and including both local actions and protests by groups outside the country, mostly in South Africa and Denmark, where the local democracy movement has strong civil-society and state support. Attempted marches and street protests in Swaziland were broken up by police, including with a baton charge on student marchers on day two. The week culminated with a People’s Summit in Manzini, where approximately 1 000 delegates adopted a People’s Charter. Modelled on South Africa’s Freedom Charter adopted by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1955, the Swazi version called for a new

system of government involving the scrapping of the traditional *tinkhundla* electoral system, which is controlled by unelected chiefs, the unbanning of political parties, and free and fair democratic elections.

In September, South African President Zuma attended the High Level Meeting of the 67th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. It was ironic that the meeting also focused on promoting the rule of law, considering the decision of the SADC Summit a month earlier to disband the SADC Tribunal (see 18 August). During the session, Zuma delivered an address on the rule of law at the national and international levels, emphasising that it was an integral concept of the work of the UNSC and highlighting that the rule of law needed to be applied uniformly and without prejudice. He maintained that South Africa's overall goal was to gain fair and equitable representation for Africa and emphasised that the current configuration of the UNSC was unfair, since it did not reflect the contemporary geo-political realities, especially with respect to Africa. He said that adherence to the international rule of law would therefore continue 'to elude us as long as the organ with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is unrepresentative and undemocratic'. He also questioned whether UNSC decisions themselves were fair and concluded: 'We have seen both inspiring improvements and spectacular disappointments in the promotion of the rule of law through the Council's work'. Also in September, President Zuma led a delegation to the 5th EU-South Africa Summit in Brussels (Belgium). The EU's position as Pretoria's main trading partner meant that the Summit held special significance in terms of the focus of the discussions around implementation of the South Africa-EU strategic partnership, and key issues such as the global economic situation, climate change, trade, development cooperation, and peace and security issues in Africa and the Middle East. The Summit produced a communiqué that emphasised, amongst other things, continued support in the areas of peace and security; strengthened collaboration in the G20 towards the recovery of the global economy; consolidated the partnership to stimulate growth and employment under the Trade Development Cooperation Agreement; and, enhanced a people's partnership. One of the outcomes from the Summit was the launch of the EU-South Africa Business Council. September also saw rating agencies losing confidence in South Africa's economic strength and reliability. Moody's Credit Rating Agency downgraded the country's rating by one level to Baa 1, knocking investor confidence. Moody's cited as reasons for the downgrade lack of policy coherence and the inability of the Zuma government to address the political and economic challenges (see October). Zimbabwe's Finance Minister, Tendai Biti, appealed to South Africa for financial assistance for Zimbabwe in the form of a R1bn loan, in light of the country's dire financial straits. Most observers saw the appeal as controversial, given Zimbabwe's poor political governance and human rights record.

Moreover, during the same month the 'Nkandlagate' scandal erupted in South Africa. A national newspaper, *City Press*, revealed that R200m of government money was being used to upgrade President Zuma's private residence, Nkandla on the north coast of KwaZulu Natal under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Works. As soon as the story broke, questions were raised as to whether the Nkandla upgrade should have been undertaken as a government project when, as opposition parties pointed out, the

president had an official residence in Durban. In response to the criticisms, the Minister of Public Works initiated an inquiry and the offices of the public protector and auditor-general opened probes into the controversial spending on the Nkandla project. As the controversy deepened, it also emerged that Nkandla fell under the National Key Point legislation, which allowed the government to invoke the right not to disclose further information about expenditure related to the upgrade on the grounds that disclosure could compromise its security. Nkandlagate exposed the rising levels of inequality in the country. By the end of the year, almost 15,5 m of the population were dependent on some kind of social benefit, most often child support grants, disability benefits or old-age pensions.

- 9 Former Mozambican transport minister Tomas Salomão was elected for a second term as executive secretary of SADC.
- 11-12 Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan was on a state visit in Botswana (around 2 500 Nigerians are resident in Botswana).
- 15 In Mozambique the 19 budget support donors, known as Programme Aid Partners (G19), issued an unusually strong statement criticising the exclusion of the Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM) from standing in many provinces in the October elections, and then demanded and held angry meetings with National Electoral Commission, President Joao Leopoldo da Costa, and President Armando Guebuza (see 28 October).
- 17 In Swaziland the four-year long stop-start trial of South African national and member of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Amos Mbedzi, ended with his conviction and imprisonment. Mbedzi was convicted of murder, sedition, unlawful possession of explosives, and illegal entry into Swaziland. He was sentenced to 85 years' imprisonment. With the terms running concurrently and the sentence backdated to 2008, Mbedzi will serve 21 years. In South Africa, a campaign highlighting Mbedzi's case was launched with support from sixteen organisations including all three members of South Africa's tripartite alliance – the ANC, the SACP and COSATU. Mbedzi planned to appeal his conviction
- 21 Zambia's President Sata opened the second session of the 11th National Assembly and stressed 'democracy, good governance and the rule of law' as essentials for national development. During the year, the Freedom House 'Freedom of the Press' report upgraded its assessment of the country's media freedom from 'not free' to 'partly free' as a result of the liberalisation of the state-run media under the new government. According to the review, this enhanced professionalism and independence, and reduced self-censorship and the partisan character of media outlets.
- 26 Zimbabwean President Mugabe's criticism of the UNSC continued unabated. In a speech before the UN General Assembly he said the UNSC had allowed itself to be 'abused' by authorising the use of force in Libya.
- 27 It was confirmed at the 14th annual symposium of the Bank of Namibia that the privatisation of collective communal land – dubbed 'modern land grabbing' – implicated holders of political offices at the highest level (see 20 October).

## October

In Angola the human rights situation, which deteriorated further in the run-up to the elections (see 23 June and 31 July), remained dire, including developments beyond the electoral contest. During October, the police raided a floating production and storage vessel off Soyo and arrested fifteen oil workers who had started a strike to demand better working conditions (see November). Also in October due to the MPLA's comparatively low scores in the cities, the Minister of Territorial Administration announced the postponement of local elections – originally scheduled for 2014 – officially because 'technical conditions' were not met. In the same month (in early October), the Catholic Church in Huíla stated unequivocally that people were dying of hunger and said it was a scandal that a region so rich in mineral resources was subjected to an 'assault of the elites' and neglect in terms of redistribution of incomes. Nationally, food production dropped by 400 000 tonnes, (partly as a result of the drought, mainly in the south of the country) and 1,8 m people (553 000 of whom were children) faced hunger, mainly in the provinces of Huíla, Huambo, and Namibe, but also in Benguela, Moxico and Bié.

It was also reported that during October in order to counteract the 'dollarisation' of the Angolan economy and to strengthen the local currency, the kwanza, the National Bank introduced new regulations for the oil sector, stipulating that all payments for goods, services and taxes should be made in local currency, through local banks. It was said that these regulations would gradually triple the volume of transactions and boost the expanding banking sector, although it was unclear whether banks would be able to cope with the increased workload.

During October it was reported that the Zimbabwean parastatals' financial position remained perilous. Also in October, reports indicated that the parastatal, the National Railways of Zimbabwe, had failed to pay its 7 000 employees for the previous five months. Moreover, the company needed \$400m to upgrade its infrastructure as it tried to boost its cargo carriage. Also in October it was reported that the Iran-Zimbabwe Joint Commission had been inaugurated in Tehran, the capital of Iran. Meetings took place between the respective foreign ministers. Iran expressed satisfaction with the level of Tehran-Harare cooperation.

It was announced in October that the Botswana government's poverty eradication efforts were to be coordinated by the Office of the President. A Cabinet Sub-Committee for Poverty Eradication was established. The government introduced a ten-year Affirmative Action Plan for the benefit of Remote Area Dwellers (including the San/Basarwa), who lagged behind the rest of the country as far as poverty levels were concerned, the intention being to establish a broad poverty strategy into which Remote Area Communities had an input. The IMF delegation commended the government's poverty eradication efforts.

It was reported that the abuse and harassment of women and children continued unabated in Swaziland. Statistics from January 2011 to October 2012 showed that, of the 3 519 recorded cases of assault and physical abuse, 85% of the victims were women. Of 928 rape cases reported between January 2011 and October 2012, 170

involved children between the ages of one and eleven years. A proposed amendment to The Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence Bill of 2000, introduced to protect women from stalking, failed when a majority of parliamentarians argued that the practice was part of Swazi social cultural norms.

As regards South Africa, the international rating agency Standard and Poor's (S&P) lowered the country's long-term foreign currency sovereign credit rating from BBB+ to BBB, and the long-term local currency rating from A- to A. Again the reasons cited were labour unrest and increasing social tensions, which 'were likely to feed into the political debate in the run-up to the 2014 elections' and 'may increase uncertainties related to the ANC's future policy framework'. In addition, S&P also saw the country's escalating social tensions leading to increased spending pressures that would reduce the government's fiscal flexibility (see September).

- 8        The IMF's *World Economic Outlook* warned that unless the EU swiftly resolved the debt crises in Greece and Spain it risked dragging down global economic growth, even in the major emerging economies such as China and India.
- 9        The Food and Agriculture Organisation (UN) (FAO), in its report 'The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2012' corrected its 2009 estimate that there were 1 billion undernourished people in the world in 2009 to 867 million. The earlier figure was the result of flawed methodology and poor data.
- 9        In Zimbabwe controversy persisted regarding human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The police featured prominently in these developments, with complaints continuing throughout the year that they were a partial force serving ZANU-PF and on that day Energy and Power Development Minister, Elton Mangoma, was arrested for allegedly insulting Mugabe at a rally in March.
- 9-14    The annual meetings of the IMF and the World Bank were held in Tokyo. The closing statement focussed on the risks to the world economy posed by the EU's sovereign debt crisis and the potential failure of the administration of US President Barack Obama and the US Congress to agree on deficit reduction measures. It was widely reported that finance ministers and central bankers of major emerging economies such as Brazil and South Africa were becoming frustrated by the domination of IMF meetings by the EU's eurozone crisis, and by the failure of the Fund to ratify reforms of its voting quotas to reflect the shifting balance of the world economy, which were agreed in 2010.
- 11       In an interview with the BBC, Zimbabwean Justice Minister Patrick Chinamasa, the ZANU-PF negotiator under the Global Political Agreement (GPA) talks, echoed the position of senior military officials that ZANU-PF and the military would not accept an MDC-T election victory, since such a victory would have been imposed by foreign powers.
- 16-18   The 8th African Governance Forum was organised by the UNDP, UNECA and the AU Commission and was attended by around 300 participants from 30 African countries.
- 18       ZANU-PF spokesperson, Rugare Gumbo, had warned that it would be 'messy' if Tsvangirai won the elections. This was interpreted as a threat of a bloodbath

- in the event of an MDC-T electoral victory.
- 20 Zimbabwean MDC-T Secretary-General and GNU Finance Minister, Tendai Biti, called for the arrest of Chinamasa (see 11 October) and ZANU-PF spokesperson, Rugare Gumbo (see 18 October), who had made similar remarks, accusing them of plotting to subvert the will of the people in the forthcoming elections.
- 22-23 COPAC's Second All Stakeholders' Conference to discuss the proposed new Zimbabwean Constitution took place in Harare (the capital). In a rare moment of agreement, representatives of the three GNU parties proclaimed the conference a success, publicly indicating that they were happy with the deliberations (see 22 January, 9 February and 6 June).
- 20 In an interview with Al Jazeera television Namibian President Pohamba claimed that the 'willing-buyer, willing-seller' policy had not produced the desired results in land redistribution. He suggested a constitutional change to the rules for the acquisition of land in order to prevent a revolution (see 27 September).
- 23 In contrast to the FAO report on hunger in Namibia (see 9 October), Health Minister Richard Kamwi confirmed in parliament that almost half of the Namibian MPs were either overweight or obese.
- 24-27 Zimbabwean Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai visited Botswana on a state visit. During that visit Botswana openly called for free and fair elections, adherence to the rule of law, and respect for human rights in Zimbabwe.
- 25 The five judges of the Supreme Court of Namibia dismissed the appeal of the opposition parties against a High Court judgment, which had dismissed their election challenges in February 2011. The election results were thereby confirmed, although the court recognised administrative failures of the Electoral Commission and ruled in favour of the opposition parties' complaint about the conduct of the election.
- 26 Lesotho's Head of the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences, Leshele Thoahlane, claimed in the *Public Eye* newspaper that corruption was 'rampant'. This may not have been unconnected to the state of public accounting – in December 2011 the auditor general had issued a damning report on the public accounts for the year ended 31 March 2009, citing a host of financial irregularities, including overspending by many ministries; unauthorised expenditure; poor financial management; overpayment of salaries; and, under-collection of payments for services.
- 28 President Armando Guebuza was re-elected and the ruling Frelimo party won a landslide victory in Mozambican elections. However, the elections were controversial and tainted. EU observers concluded that 'Frelimo's overwhelming victory suggests that the results reflect the choice of a vast majority of Mozambican voters', but went on to say: 'The broader electoral process was weakened by the insufficient measures of transparency shown by the country's electoral authorities, by an "unlevel" playing field during the electoral campaign and by limitations with regard to voter choice at local level'.
- 30 In a statement the IMF announced that it had relaxed most restrictions on technical assistance to Zimbabwe. This opened the way for future staff-

monitored programmes and full normalisation of relations. The IMF executive board would also resume IMF technical assistance in new areas to support the country's formulation and implementation of a comprehensive adjustment and structural reform programme to be monitored by its staff.

## **November**

During November, the Angolan police used dogs to disperse striking workers at Angola Telecom in Luanda. Forced evictions and housing demolitions, condemned by human rights organisations, continued in all major cities. In the diamond-producing Lunda provinces, human rights violations against the local population and artisanal miners continued at the hands of the military and private security companies (PSCs). An artisanal miner was shot to death by guards working for the Bicular PSC in Cafunfo, Lunda Norte. Nine army generals – the owners of the PSCs accused of torture and human rights violations by Angolan activist and investigative journalist, Rafael Marques – hit back by suing him and his Portuguese publishing house for libel in a Lisbon court. In the oil-rich enclave province of Cabinda, where the separatist 'Frente de Libertação da Enclave de Cabinda' (FLEC) continued its low-level guerrilla campaign, the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) continued their counterinsurgency actions. FLEC leader Henrique N'Zita Tiago, speaking from his Paris exile, repeatedly offered a ceasefire and dialogue to the government, but no steps were taken to address the conflict. In Cabinda and the Lundas the forced expulsion of 'illegal migrants' – mainly into the DRC – continued, with reports of torture, beatings and rape at the hands of the armed forces (see October). Also in November it transpired that the Angolan health system remained in a dismal state. Speaking at the WHO regional commission session, new Vice-President Manuel Vicente recognised quite astutely that two doctors per 10,000 inhabitants was 'manifestly insufficient', and said the government was sparing no efforts to reduce infant and maternal mortality. UN estimates in fact indicated a reduction of infant mortality from 175 to 96 deaths per 1,000 live births since 2011 (83/1,000 according to other sources), although such a significant reduction was probably more indicative of the lack of reliable statistics than of stupendous advances in neonatal health, considering the dearth of hospital beds and affordable healthcare. Still, life expectancy also increased slightly, to 54.6 years.

Notwithstanding reports of rampant corruption in Lesotho (see 26 October) these were not enough to deter the new Lesotho government from establishing a commission to review the salaries and benefits enjoyed by ministers, MPs and other senior officials.

In Mozambique during November the trials of former transport minister, Antonio Munguambe and Diodino Cambaza, former chair of the Mozambique Airports Company, began. They were accused of stealing \$3m (see August).

In Swaziland Ellinah Wamukonya was ordained as both the first female head of the Anglican Church in the country and Africa's first woman Anglican bishop. The ordination was boycotted by King Mswati, his family and members of the cabinet. No reasons were given, but it can be assumed that the elevation of a woman to such a senior position was regarded by the monarch as 'unSwazi'.

- 4-5 A meeting of finance ministers and central bankers of the G-20 major economies was held in Mexico City, Mexico. The majority opinion at the meeting accorded with the view of Christine Lagarde, managing director of the IMF, that a more flexible approach should be adopted to the deep cuts in budget deficits agreed at the G-20 summit meeting in June 2010 in Toronto, Canada. The closing communiqué of the meeting supported an adjustment of the pace of fiscal consolidation to match the situations of individual countries, in order to stimulate economic growth and avert the return of recession. Lagarde said that budget cuts should be structurally targeted rather than 'fixated on nominal targets'. German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble was a reluctant recruit to the new approach, emphasising the necessity to reduce debt through austerity measures. South Africa attended the G20 Summit. Being the only African member of the group, South Africa sought to use the Mexico gathering as a way to effect progress towards reform of the international economic structure and increasing the influence and representation of the developing world, especially African countries, in global economic and financial governance architecture. On the sidelines of the G-20 meeting, Pretoria together with its BRIC partners announced that it would be contributing \$2bn of its reserves to the IMF 'firefall' fund.
- 5 A report to the G-20 leaders by the Financial Stability Board (FSB), comprising central bank governors and regulators, warned that implementation of the Basel III measures designed to avert a future banking crisis were lagging behind schedule. Many of the banks classed as 'globally significant financial institutions' (GSFI) would fail to meet the 31 December deadline produce so-called 'living wills' – plans for stabilising themselves or shutting down in the event of a financial crisis – so were given an additional six months to produce these recovery plans.
- 6 The expected windfall from diamonds did not materialise in Zimbabwe, as revenue from the minerals did not live up to expectations. The Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation announced that the diamond industry was expected to contribute only a quarter of the \$600m that Treasury had projected would come from the sector in 2012.
- 10 Despite all the defections from various parties in Botswana, the BMD, BNF and BPP went ahead with 'Umbrella' (co-operation) talks and launched the United Democratic Congress (UDC), with the BNF president as its leader, while the parties retained their separate identities (see January, 25 February, 26 May and 23 and 28 November).
- 11 Mozambican police shot and killed four people in a crowd attacking a cholera treatment centre in the village of Muadja, in Ancuabe district (see January and 29 March).
- 15 Zimbabwean Finance Minister, Tendai Biti, presented the 2013 national budget, which he described as the fifth and last budget of the Government of National Unity (GNU) (see 18 July). He said the budget was inspired by the need for economic growth and job creation, but lamented the fact that imports remained very high for a small economy like Zimbabwe's. He said growth momentum would be underpinned by expansion in the finance, mining, tourism, agriculture, manufacturing and transport sectors.

- 23 In Botswana the BNF and BMD MPs declared their intention of joining the UDC to the speaker of parliament (see Jan, Feb 25, May 26, July 6 and Nov 28).
- 26-8 Dec The 18th conferences of the parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC—COP 18) was held in Doha (the capital of Qatar), attended by delegates from 194 countries.
- 28 Having declared their intention of joining the UDC to the speaker of parliament of Botswana (the BNF and BMD MPs) this action removed Saleshando from the position of leader of the opposition since the BCP and UDC now each had seven MPs (see January, 25 February, 26 May, 6 July, and 23 November).
- 29-2 Dec The 5th South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) Congress of Namibia was preceded by in-fighting over the composition of the 600 delegates, who were to elect the party's leadership. President Pohamba had declared that he remained party president. His unopposed confirmation in office for another five years was a formality. Since his second term as head of state was to end in March 2015, the election of the vice-president implied nomination as the party's presidential candidate for the elections in late 2014.

## **December**

The results of the Zimbabwean census (see 17 August) released in December showed that the population had increased by an annual inter-censal growth rate of 1,1% since the 2002 census. The population of Zimbabwe on 18 August 2012 was 12 973 808. There was also an indication that Zimbabwe's exodus had marginally slowed down. The estimated net migration rate was 23,8 migrants per 1 000 of the population. There was, however, an increasing flow of Zimbabweans into South Africa and Botswana in search of better economic opportunities.

Also during December it was announced that Air Zimbabwe confirmed that it had received two A320 Airbus planes, which would operate at the beginning of 2013 in the company's attempt to return to its regional and international routes.

Also in December, the Angolan government announced its intention to reform the taxation system. The announcement was ascribed to the World Bank's 2012 'Doing Business' report. According to the report Angola fell from 163rd to 174th of 185 countries surveyed, due mainly to problems linked to taxation, investor protection, and the registration of new companies. The head of the National Investment Agency, Maria Luisa Abrantes, one of President dos Santos's ex-wives, deplored the report, saying it 'endangered the mobilisation of private investment in the country', and that Angola had a very competitive business environment. She also exhorted national statistics agencies to increase their interventions with international organisations responsible for such rankings.

In December, Julius Malema, suspended Secretary-General of the ANCYL (see 2 April), Sindiso Magaqa and suspended ANCYL spokesman Floyd Shivambu wrote a letter to the 53rd ANC National Elective Conference asking that their membership of

the ruling party in South Africa, the ANC, be reinstated and that they be restored to their positions in the ANCYL. The letter received a lukewarm response by the party's top leadership.

- 4 The ministerial session of (FCCC—COP 18) commenced. The final test of the conference included a provision to extend the only existing legally-binding measure to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, to the FCCC for leading industrialised states, beyond its expiry date of 31 December 2012 to 2020, when a new climate change treaty, to be negotiated by 2015, was due to come into force. However, not all of the Kyoto parties signed up to the extension, with Canada, Japan, New Zealand and Russia either formally or effectively opting out. Developed countries pledged to contribute US\$100 billion a year by 2020 to help poorer countries that were already the most affected by drought, cyclones and rising sea levels to adapt to and mitigate climate change, including the adoption of 'clean' low-emission technology, although there was little detail on how this money would be raised. The conference for the first time admitted the principle of compensation for loss and damage through climate change, in recognition that its effects were already a present reality. Analysts said that COP 18 was principally a forum for tidying and combining existing strands of negotiation in preparation for detailed work on the new treaty.
- 7-10 The 13th annual ZANU-PF conference took place on in Gweru, Zimbabwe in a \$6,2m complex built specially for the conference by a Chinese company. Among the conference's notable resolutions was the confirmation of Mugabe, formerly elected at the previous congress, as the party's presidential candidate in the harmonised elections to be held in 2013; the backing of indigenisation and economic empowerment; and spearheading the adoption of currencies of the BRICS (Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa) countries and other emerging economies as legal tender in Zimbabwe alongside the US dollar.
- 8 The SADC summit in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania again urged the political stakeholders in Zimbabwe to implement the GPA fully, and called on the political stakeholders to finalise the constitutional process – including a referendum – before holding elections in 2013. As expected, the Zimbabwean political parties put their own political spin on the communiqué, declaring victory for their own positions.
- 13 Figures released by the Bank of Namibia for the third quarter of the year indicated poor performance in all economic sectors except mining, construction, transport, and communications. The targeted annual economic growth rate of 4,6% became unrealistic. A best-case scenario suggested anything between three and 3,5%.
- 16-20 In South Africa the ANC held its 53rd Elective Conference in Mangaung (Bloemfontein), in the Free State, where both the ANC and the now defunct National Party were originally founded. But Mangaung was not without its surprises. The first was the announcement by ANC Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe that he would not stand for the deputy president position (after wide speculation that he might be contemplating running against President Zuma for the presidency of the ANC), and the second was the nomination of

- Cyril Ramaphosa for that position in the Zuma camp. Zuma won by a large margin. Commenting on the outcome of the conference, political analyst Steven Friedman noted that Mangaung's real import was 'that the nationalists took on their opponents and lost badly' since they secured only a quarter of the votes and no longer had a presidential candidate.
- 17 A report released by Global Financial Integrity on illicit financial flows from developing countries between 2001 and 2010 estimated there to be an average annual transfer of around \$ 420 m (about N\$ 3,6 bn) in 'dirty money' in Namibia.
- 23 A new analysis published in the journal *Nature Geoscience* of temperatures recorded at the Byrd research station in central West Antarctica concluded that the average temperature of the West Antarctic ice sheet had risen by some 2,4 degrees Celsius since 1958, about twice of what had been previously thought. The US researchers resolved problems in the Byrd data set, including gaps in the records, which had previously made it difficult to use. A continuing rise in temperature could increase the risk of the collapse of ice shelves on the Antarctic coast, resulting in the progressive destabilisation of the West Antarctic ice sheet and a more rapid rise in sea levels.
- 25 The main section of the 67th session of the 193-member UN General Assembly closed, having approved the rates of member state contributions to the regular and peacekeeping budgets 2013-15, and the 2013 budget for 33 political missions. Amongst the 248 resolutions approved by the session were a call for the global elimination of female genital mutilation; a decision to upgrade the status of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) by opening membership of its governing body to all UN member states and making UNEP eligible for funding from the regular UN budget; and a commitment to resume a conference on an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) between 18-28 March 2013.

*Prof Margaret Beukes  
University of South Africa (Unisa)*