

## MANGANESE COUNTRIES

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### Abstract

Cheickna Bounajim Cissé wrote an article in Mars 2013 in the Journal *Les Afriques* N.º 237, suggesting a new acronym, MANGANESE, for the nine African countries: Morocco, Angola, Namibia, Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa and Ethiopia. According to Cissé, this group of African nations will be the fastest growing states in the region over the next few years. The purpose of this article is to test the pertinence of the acronym, discuss the credibility and reliability of the future prospects of these countries by comparing selected socioeconomic and sociopolitical indicators based on the latest global rankings and trends. Likewise, the potential of Cissé's claim will be assessed, especially in relationship to drug trafficking and terrorism that may put their recent sustainability in danger now and in the future.

### Keywords:

Manganese; emergent economies; terrorism; drugs; trafficking

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### Introduction

In March 2013, Cheickna Bounajim Cissé wrote an article for the journal *Les Afriques*, N.º 237, suggesting a new acronym called MANGANESE for nine African States (Morocco, Angola, Namibia, Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa and Ethiopia). He justifies this monogram arguing that the rapid individual economic growth of each of these countries is noteworthy, and will continue into the near future.

It is my contention that this perspective is questionable and must be scrutinized. To accomplish this, this paper is divided into five sections. First, statistics about Africa are examined in order to compare the potential of the continent with other geoeconomic areas of interest. Secondly, the pertinence of the acronym and key socioeconomic indicators are investigated. Thirdly, main sociopolitical aspects are assessed on the view of economic sustainability and levels of political stability (stable, failing, or failed state). Finally, in the fourth and fifth sections, the article considers questions about security; taking into account the level of terrorist threat and its relationship to drug trafficking in these states.

Statistics from the Fund for Peace and the Institute for Economics and Peace, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and associated tables and maps are utilized, providing a fuller understanding and visualization of the countries in consideration.

### Africa – Massive continent, larger challenges

The United Nations African group is constituted by 54 member states. Africa is the second largest continent in the world in both area and population comprising of about 20% of the total landmass on Earth. Table 1 allows us to compare some basic economic statistics for Africa and the rest of the world.

IMF offers data for a joint group formed by the Middle East and the North of Africa, which may create some bias in the data's interpretation. Nevertheless, the Growth Domestic Product at constant prices (GDP cp) for this region until 2010 was higher than the world's average; the growth rates are expected to lower a bit, but are predicted to continue above 3% in late 2013 and are likely to be 4.5% in 2015 *ceteris paribus*. The Gross Domestic Product based on purchasing-power-parity share of the world (GDP PPP % world) was 4.3% in 2000, increased to 5.3% in 2010 and is expected to grow to 5.2% in 2013 and 2015.



**Table 1: Africa's Future Economic Potential**

Country Group name	Subject descriptor	2000	2005	2010	2013*	2015*
<b>World</b>	GDP cp (%)	4,8	4,6	5,2	3,3	4,4
<b>Euro area</b>	GDP cp (%)	3,8	1,7	2,0	-0,3	1,4
<b>Euro area</b>	GDP PPP (% world)	18,3	16,5	14,5	13,2	12,5
<b>European Union</b>	GDP cp (%)	4,0	2,3	2,0	0,0	1,7
<b>European Union</b>	GDP PPP (% world)	24,9	23,0	20,4	18,7	17,8
<b>Middle East and North Africa</b>	GDP cp (%)	5,7	5,8	5,5	3,1	4,5
<b>Middle East and North Africa</b>	GDP PPP (% world)	4,3	4,9	5,3	5,2	5,2
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	GDP cp (%)	3,6	6,2	5,4	5,6	5,9
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	GDP PPP (% world)	2,0	2,2	2,4	2,6	2,7

Source: IMF (2013)

\* (previsions)

Table 1 shows that growth rate for the GDP cp of sub-Saharan Africa was lower than the world's average in 2000. Nevertheless, in 2005 and 2010 the rate was above the global standard performance, and is expected to continue to grow in 2013 and 2015. However, Sub-Saharan countries represent a small percentage of world's business (2% in 2000, 2.2 in 2005, and 2.4 in 2010), yet there are expectations for gradual growth in 2013 and 2015.

This economic behavior is particularly interesting when compared with European growth rates. For instance, the Euro Area had a GDP cp of 3.8% in 2000, 1.7 in 2005, 2.0 in 2010 and expected negative growth in 2013 (-0,3%). This change represents a gradually decreasing proportion of the total GDP PPP share of the world (from 18.3 in 2000 to 13.2 in 2013).

While the European Union and specifically the Euro Area are slowly losing a share of the world market, the Middle East and North Africa, and particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, are gradually attracting a larger share of the world market according to the data in Table 1.

However, isn't Africa too big to be analyzed as a whole: defiant and heterogeneous in nature, patterns and risks? In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, many African countries are facing diverse economic, political and social challenges, and the next quarter century will determine if the strongest African markets can live up to their full potential.

*"The trend since independence in the 1960s has been for the continent to become more heterogeneous, and there is no doubt that this tendency will continue in the next 14 years. More countries will collapse under the devastating burden of civil strife, economic bankruptcy, and disease. However, there is also the prospect that some other countries will begin to consolidate their political order, engage in the global economy, and develop a comprehensive set of governance practices that will allow their citizens to prosper." (Herbst and Mills, 2006: 2)*



These “other countries” engaging in the global economy could be Morocco, Angola, Namibia, Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa and Ethiopia. That is precisely the argument of Cissé (2013) suggesting a new acronym for nine emerging economies (the MANGANESE) that may stand out in Africa in the future, based on present growth performances. He also proposes specific criteria based on comparative growth performance since the beginning of the millennium. Surprisingly, Cisse (2013), as a reputed economist, presented his argument in *Les Afriques*. *Les Afriques*, founded in 2007, claims to be the first pan-African financial newspaper. It is a non-scientific journal, a weekly financial newspaper in a format of a tabloid.

Therefore, is this argument a form of “firework journalism” designed for an easy sell? Despite the venue, is there merit to these propositions? Indeed, Cissé’s (2013) ideas, clearly original and insightful, must be tested in a more systematic way. “Are we heading toward an upended world?” (Cissé, 2013: 40) He posits that the traditional economic powers are facing social and economic shortfalls, magnified by the recent economic crisis while Africa is flourishing after several decades of negative growth. The main purpose of this monograph is to analyze this possibility and assess if the logic behind the MANGANESE contention is, in fact, enduring.

### The Manganese acronym and associated socioeconomic indicators

Cissé (2013) coined the acronym, MANGANESE, to group nine African countries: Morocco, Angola, Namibia, Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa and Ethiopia. Why was this ACRONYM used when it is also a name for a critical global resource? Are these countries the biggest producers of manganese ore? Do they have the largest global reserves of this resource? According to the latest known deposits, in table 2, the answer is clearly indicated.

**Table 2: Manganese’s World Mine Production and Reserves**

Country	Reserves	Mine production	
		2011	2012
<b>South Africa</b>	150.000	3.400	3.500
<b>Ukraine</b>	140.000	330	310
<b>Brazil</b>	110.000	1.210	1.100
<b>Australia</b>	97.000	3.200	3.400
<b>Burma</b>	NA	234	230
<b>Gabon</b>	27.000	1.860	2.000
<b>India</b>	49.000	895	810
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	5.000	390	390
<b>Malaysia</b>	NA	225	230
<b>Mexico</b>	5.000	171	170
<b>Other Countries</b>	Small	1.740	1.700
<b>World Total</b>	630.000	16.000	16.000

Source: Corathers (2013)



As the twelfth most profuse component of the earth's crust, manganese reserves are not widely dispersed throughout the world or regionally in Africa. (Virga *et al.*, 2012, p. 11) About 75% of known reserves are held by South Africa, the only country on the list proposed by Cissé (2013). The relationship between the acronym and resource is reasonable for South Africa but not the other eight countries identified. If the resource of manganese is not abundantly present in the other eight countries grouped by Cissé (2013), why was it chosen? Perhaps the answer lies in the analysis of key socioeconomic indicators.

Table 3 shows some indicators like the percentage change of Growth Domestic Product at constant prices (GDP cp), the Growth Domestic Product Based on Purchasing-Power-Parity (GDP PPP) per capita GDP, and Population for the nine selected African countries: Morocco, Angola, Namibia, Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa and Ethiopia. Based on data, their markets are clearly growing.

According to the IMF's predictions (in Table 3), the economic growth of both Algeria and Morocco continue to be high. In the past decade, Morocco stabilized prices, improved its position internationally and launched an ambitious program of structural reforms, but must accelerate economic growth and expand job creation to avoid widespread economic and social inequality. In Algeria, state involvement in the economy increased, and parastatals control the oil and gas sector (just under half of total GDP), banking and telecommunications, and heavy industry.

Nigeria has the largest population of the MANGANESE group of countries. National revenues are derived mostly from the oil sector, public, and energy sectors, which employs much of the labor force. As Africa's second-largest economy, it has been one of the continent's consistent performers in recent years, with annual gross domestic product increases of between 5% (2005) and 7.2% (2013). Most of the economic expansion is due to trade and agriculture. The short-term macroeconomic outlook is strong overall, with probable lower inflation, reserve accumulation and continued growth (an expected 6.7% in 2018).

Since the end of civil war in 2002, Angola has experienced substantial economic expansion. The oil industry is dominant and sustains macroeconomic stability, but high levels of corruption, tariff, and non-tariff barriers to international trade act to constrain a market that is facing slower growth rates. Yet, if growth, peace, and social stability continue, Angola is poised to become a strong regional economic power. A clear indication of Angola's new found prominence was best demonstrated by its invitation to the March 2013 meeting of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in Durban, South Africa.

Namibia and South Africa are two countries with the biggest GDP PPP per capita GDP in Africa. Namibia's prospects for the medium-term remain favorable with GDP growth projected to continue driven by manufacturing, crop farming, construction and livestock. However, a weak demand for minerals (uranium, diamonds, zinc, silver, lead and tungsten) from the global economy may limit continued growth.



**Table 3: Socioeconomic Indicators**

Country	Subject Descriptor	2000	2005	2010	2013*	2018*
Algeria	GDP cp %	3,8	5,9	3,6	3,3	3,9
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	4438,8	6068,0	7059,6	7736,9	9541,4
	Population	30,5	32,9	35,4	37,0	39,9
Angola	GDP cp %	3,0	20,6	3,4	6,2	6,0
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	2243,9	3328,6	5.748,9	6650,3	8481,6
	Population	14,4	16,6	19,1	20,8	24,1
Egypt	GDP cp %	5,4	4,5	5,1	2,0	6,5
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	3912,1	4762,1	6343,9	6652,9	8748,0
	Population	63,3	70,0	78,7	84,2	93,8
Ethiopia	GDP cp %	5,9	12,6	8,0	6,5	6,5
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	474,7	636,1	1041,5	1258,6	1713,4
	Population	65,6	74,3	82,9	88,9	99,1
Ghana	GDP cp %	4,2	6,0	8,0	6,9	5,8
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	1443,0	2030,0	2732,6	3501,5	4603,9
	Population	18,4	20,9	23,7	25,6	29,0
Morocco	GDP cp %	1,6	3,0	3,6	4,5	5,8
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	2667,1	3585,1	4782,7	5537,5	7582,2
	Population	28,5	30,2	31,9	32,9	34,5
Namibia	GDP cp %	4,1	2,5	6,6	4,2	4,3
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	4064,4	5532,2	6967,9	8159,9	10683,8
	Population	1,8	2,0	2,1	2,2	2,3
Nigeria	GDP cp %	5,3	5,4	8,0	7,2	6,7
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	1129,8	1795,5	2419,8	2883,4	3908,1
	Population	119,0	136,3	156,1	169,3	193,9
South Africa	GDP cp %	4,2	5,3	3,1	2,8	3,1
	GDP PPP (per capita GDP)	6643,1	8653,7	10562,6	11750,4	14393,7
	Population	44,5	46,9	50,0	51,8	55,0

Source: IMF Database

Population (millions) \* (previsions)

GDP PPP (Current international dollar).

South Africa has the lowest GDP cp growth rates of the group but has the highest GDP PPP per capita GDP in the group. It is also a BRICS member. Its lucrative mining industry has recently been hit by a series of deadly riots over wages, hurting its export markets and alienating foreign investors. There is also high unemployment and income inequality.

Ghana was the first country in colonial Africa to reach independence and, since 1992, a stable democracy. It is rich in natural resources like diamonds, manganese ore, and cocoa, gold and petroleum. Its industrial sector is arguably one of the most developed of the group. The Ghanaian economy is expected to maintain growth based on international credibility of a stable business environment and a commodity boom supported by solid democratic institutions.



Egypt is facing a transition period since the so-called Arab Spring of 2011, which resulted in a regime change. The resulting political instability impacted currency volatility, capital outflows and a caused a decline of the overall fiscal outlook contributing to an economic slowdown. The Egyptian economy has been experiencing an extended period of instability and uncertainty, due to the challenging political and economic turbulence. As political reforms are being postponed and in the absence of a serious macroeconomic stabilization programs, the GDP will continue to deteriorate gradually, with low growth and increasing unemployment and inflation.

Ethiopia, the second most populous nation on the MANGANESE list, with almost ninety million inhabitants, is currently Africa's fourth-largest economy and East Africa's largest. Recent growth is based on the public sector with freshly improved services in education, health, utilities, and agriculture. These improvements are promoting development besides economic growth, which is very significant for the population.

Nonetheless, are these recent efforts enough? Some argue, "Poor countries with high population growth only have a chance for development if growth slows down and if birth rates decline." (Sippel, Kiziak, Woellert and Klingholz, 2011: 4) MANGANESE countries register strong economic growth rates and, in general, have natural resources to attract global interest. Likewise, they all have demographic challenges and African demographic growth rates, especially in sub-Saharan countries, are high, requiring more advancement in education, health and family planning (Sippel, Kiziak, Woellert and Klingholz, 2011: 5) to promote development and stability.

As shown, within the MANGANESE construct, South Africa has the highest GDP PPP per capita GDP of the group, holds sustainable GDP cp percentage growth, and has a large consumer market with 51,8 million people (as of 2013). It is still too early to assess if the rest of the states will maintain sustainable development, but for the sake of consistency throughout the article and validity of the argument, the use of the acronym will be continued.

### **Sociopolitical indicators**

The MANGANESE countries, as designated, are located in various geographic regions throughout Africa, rather than grouped in the North or South (typical areas of reference). They have disputed natural resources and register notable economic growth rates, but although these are desired foundations for prosperity and stability, they are not sufficient. Outside the main cities, large-scale economic growth is minimal and the large rural populations are frequently poor. Besides food insecurity and disputes over natural resources, high unemployment and lack of hope cause pressing social problems. Foreign investment in these countries is increasing but due to internal challenges, progress is slow. But what are these internal challenges? In considering this question, it is important to know if MANGANESE countries are stable, structured and democratic; or if there is a tendency for state weakness, volatility and erosion of public goods within a fragile system plagued with a history of violence.

The absolute intensity of violence does not define a "failed state." Rather, it has to do with the enduring character of that violence (as in Angola, Burundi, and Sudan) and the quantity of hostility against the existing government or regime. Additionally, the vigorous character of the political or geographical demands for shared power or





autonomy that rationalizes or justifies that violence must be assessed. Furthermore, the concept of “failed state” is not consensual<sup>1</sup>, yet the Fund for Peace publishes an annual index that can aid research in reference to this important matter.

The Failed States Index (FSI) for 2012 ranks countries from 1° (the worst-case scenario) to 177° (the best-case scenario). The MANGANESE countries are listed in Table 4. The index is led by Somalia (1°), Democratic Republic of Congo (2°) and North Sudan (3°). The first fourteen countries are considered the most failed states in the world. There is a second “highly problematic” group from positions 15° (Guinea Bissau) to 33° (Congo Republic) and a third “challenging” group from positions 34° to 67°.

**Table 4: Failed States Index 2012 for Manganese Countries**

Ranking	Country	Total
14°	Nigéria	101,1
17°	Ethiopia	97,9
31°	Egypt	90,4
48°	Angola	85,1
77°	Algeria	78,1
87°	Morocco	76,1
106°	Namibia	71,0
112°	Ghana	67,5
115°	South Africa	66,8

Source: The Fund for Peace (2012)

Table 4 shows only the ranking of the MANGANESE countries. Nigeria belongs to the first group, Ethiopia and Egypt to the second group, Angola to the third.

Angola, Ethiopia and South Africa were reported as “failed states” in the final decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but since the end of apartheid in South Africa and the peace agreements promulgated by Angola (2002) and Ethiopia (2000), these states are currently more stable and less vulnerable. Of the three, South Africa is clearly committed to the rule of law and good governance. It is a pluralistic democracy with a robust free press and an independent judiciary.

Still, South Africa borders Zimbabwe, ruled by President Robert Mugabe (after ambiguous elections results), a country with many structural problems likely caused by mismanagement and corruption. Likewise, Angola borders the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where ongoing conflict, suffering, and lack of development since DRC independence in 1960 justify a recurring UN peacekeeping presence. Similarly, unsustainable countries like Somalia, North Sudan and South Sudan border Ethiopia, and relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea are tense. Therefore, the future of emergent economies like Angola, South Africa and Ethiopia is tenuous if “boil over” from their respective neighbors occurs.

<sup>1</sup> “The concept of failed states has attracted the attention of many analysts, and there are three main poles of opinion. Some scholars uncritically accept the concept as a paradigm change in international politics with fundamental implications for how we should think about and address insecurity. According to this, ‘weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order’. Secondly, other analysts are skeptical of the analytical value of the concept on epistemological grounds, arguing that it is difficult to objectively define, identify and analyze failed states with methodological rigor. Finally, a further argument in the literature rejects the idea of failed states as a politicized, ethnocentric, hegemonic concept with interventionist connotations” (Newman, 2009: 421).





In contrast, Namibia is located between Angola and South Africa. It is uranium-rich. Namibia's elite is accused of overspending the country's resources in a class-based society. The government has made some reforms, but the lack of an independent judiciary weakens the rule of law. Likewise, greater economic freedom has been stifled, and the economy underperforms in many significant fields.

Ghana's economy is generally open to foreign investors except in key sectors, but the overall investment regime lacks efficiency and transparency. Ghana also has a positive track record of promoting human rights and good governance and is slowly becoming a role model country in Africa.

Angola is at peace since 2002 after 27 years of civil war, one of the longest African conflicts of the 20th century. However, the distribution system of national income is not transparent. It is based on power struggles, influences and ambiguous rules.

*"Angola lacks four important ones (components), namely: a determined elite guided by a modernising vision for the whole nation; state autonomy from the interests of powerful cliques; a competent economic bureaucracy insulated from special interests; the capacity for effective management of private economic interests. Angola does, however, possess (...) a weak and subordinated civil society; and an uneasy mix of repression, poor human rights and legitimacy." (Sogge, 2009: 24)*

Ethiopia has strong border issues with neighboring countries. Following the war with Eritrea in the 1990s, a U.N. peacekeeping mission was established on the border. The mission ended in 2008, but relations between the two countries remain strained. Terrorist attacks are a major problem.

Algeria as the world's fourth-largest exporter of natural gas, has the eighth-largest natural gas reserves, and the 16th-largest oil reserves. After the "Arab Spring" protests in neighboring Tunisia and Libya, the government incentivized some political reforms in the country, but institutional weaknesses continue to undermine prospects for sustained long-term economic development.

Morocco is a constitutional monarchy lead by King Mohammed VI that, like Algeria, made institutional reforms after the 2011 "Arab Spring" to pacify popular movements and promote social stability in the country. The king proposed a new constitution that grants more independence to the Prime Minister, the legislature, and the judiciary.

Egypt is one of the top ten countries that worsened by rank between 2011/12, rising from 45º to the 31º positions after regime change. Egypt's first-ever democratically elected president is a major historical milestone for the country, but since his removal, Egypt faces serious, immediate and long-term challenges based on political/social tension.

In Nigeria, the rule of law is weak, and increasing social tensions among rival ethnic, political, and religious groups threaten stability and sustainability. These tensions may easily turn into conflicts if the violence escalates. Based on the experiences of the last



century, tensions must diminish in Nigeria (and in Africa in general) in order to avoid drastic outcomes.

*"Conflict must not be allowed to be a driver on the continent. The bloody 1990s taught African countries two lessons. Firstly, conflict in countries takes a devastating toll on those immediately affected by combat and countries in the surrounding region. (...) Secondly, African countries can only rely on themselves to end wars. The international community is fickle when deciding to get involved in African conflicts and not committed enough to see these difficult political questions through to satisfactory conclusions." (Herbst and Mills, 2006: 5)*

Consequently, MANGANESE nations are very heterogeneous as a group. They are fragile states that face many unresolved border problems, domestic tensions, and social problems that, in a worst-case scenario, could undermine their future stability and sustainability.

### Manganese countries and terrorism

Up to this point, the argument this article proposes is that the acronym MANGANESE as an identifier of specific African nations exemplifying economic strength and future potential is questionable according to several indicators, namely, socioeconomic and sociopolitical. When this is taken further, the evaluation from a security standpoint is even more complex.

Table 5 lists the MANGANESE countries according to the Global Terrorism Index 2011. Nigeria is the first of the group of nine countries. Additionally, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia and Morocco cross into the Orange zone. Angola lists as number 65°. The three remaining countries (South Africa, Namibia and Ghana) have residual or no record of terrorist attacks, which is positive.

**Table 5: Global Terrorism Index 2011 for Manganese Countries**

Ranking	Country	Total
7°	Nigeria	7,242
15°	Algeria	5,831
27°	Egypt	4,576
37°	Ethiopia	3,732
40°	Morocco	3,599
65°	Angola	1,696
111°	South Africa	0,054
116°	Namibia	0,000
116°	Ghana	0,000

Source: The Institute for Economics & Peace (2012)



The transnational network of terrorism (including of Al-Qaeda and its associate, AQIM) infiltrates the MANGANESE countries of Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia and Morocco and uses them to spread extremism and terrorism with an overall intention of establishing a new caliphate.

*"There is no doubt that North Africa remains a critical area for radical Islam's (Salafi jihadism) expansion, which affects each North African country both idiosyncratically and transnationally. Over the past 20 years, the threat of terrorism has been reinforced by the emergence of organizational and institutional networking of nationally-based, radical Islamist movements with European and Middle East outreach, in particular its most active group in North Africa, Al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)." (Roussellier, Jacques: 4)*

Initially, the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia) was the frontline in the global war on terrorism in Africa. The US government operated to dismantle Al Qaeda's activities in the region. At the same time, other areas of the African continent, like Nigeria and South Africa, were considered less critical. As the network seeks new territory, this idea may be changing based on necessity. (Lyman and Morrison, 2004: 75-76)

In the case of Egypt, a base for Islamist militancy has been incubating for as long as can be remembered. Al Qaeda's leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, is Egyptian. When he was still President, Hosni Mubarak continually faced militant violence including an armed Islamist insurrection. Since his overthrow in 2011, Egyptian security has declined markedly. Islamists and rebels are expanding into the Sinai Peninsula. Militancy has been less apparent in the Nile Delta, where most of Egyptians live and vigilance is somewhat higher.

Morocco largely occupies a considerable desert territory in northwest Africa named Western Sahara. In this territory, the state continues a 37-year conflict with self-determination groups such as the Polisario Front that declared the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) on 27 February 1976. The Polisario announced its first government a week later; a claim not recognized by Morocco, which in turn, accused the Polisario Front of perpetrating terrorist attacks. Relations between Morocco and Algeria remain tense since Algiers continues to show considerable support for the rebels in favor of self-determination in Africa. Besides this, there is also the problem of radicalism amongst Moroccan expatriates:

*"The monarchy long asserted that the legitimacy from its claimed descent from the Prophet Mohammed was a Shield against Islamist militancy. This belief has been challenged over the past decade, as expatriate Moroccans have been implicated in terrorism abroad and Morocco has suffered from terrorism at home. (...) Numerous small, isolated, tactically limited, extremist cells, which adhere to the Salafiya Jihadiya (Reformist Holy War/Jihadist) ideology, are*



*viewed as the main threat to Morocco's domestic security."* (Arieff, 2012: 5-6)

Additionally, the countries bordering the so-called Arc of Instability across Africa's Sahara/Sahel are vulnerable to Al Qaeda-linked terrorists and militants, including AQIM. The Atlas Mountains of Algeria are poor areas just across the Tunisian border where police and soldiers have been searching for Islamic radicals and terrorists, but AQIM comprises of several brigades that operate in different regions of the country. In other words, if the main cell of the group is operating in the center of Algeria, other cells extend across the desert and less occupied areas of the Sahel (Mauritania, Mali and Niger). They have indigenous leadership and spread fear by committing suicide attacks.

*"Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, established in January 2007, is the latest in a long line of Algerian jihadi groups. Like many terrorist organizations, AQIM enjoys global media exposure on activist Internet sites, but unlike other al-Qaeda franchises, it has managed to maintain its indigenous leadership. The group has become known for fearsome suicide attacks, which were previously unheard of in Algeria, but has failed to incorporate the jihadi outfits from neighboring Morocco and Tunisia. AQIM has therefore focused on the northern Sahara, carving out safe havens and threatening weak government forces (...)"* (Filiu, 2009: 1)

As for Nigeria, terrorism is increasingly problematic. It resisters regular casualties around oil claims, but many of the kidnappings and murders are more and more attributed to Islamic groups of rebels like Boko Haram.

*"The number of fatalities in Nigeria has steadily increased over the last decade, and has seen a dramatic increase in 2011 with 165 lives lost as opposed to 57 in 2010. Until recently, most of the terrorist activity was associated with the dispute in the Niger Delta over oil extraction and claims of exploitation. The most active group in that period was the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. In recent years, Boko Haram, an Islamic terrorist group has operated in the north/north east of the country where it has carried out a wave of attacks against local Christians, churches and schools.»* (Institute For Economics & Peace, 2012: 19)

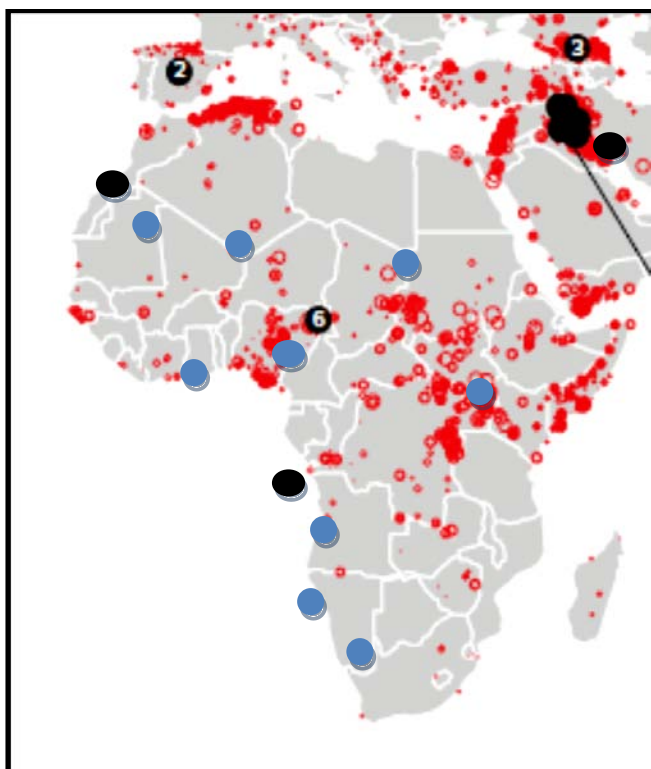
Despite the brutal violence of their attacks, Boko Haram is not officially considered a terrorist group. Nevertheless, at times simple criminals or even "freedom fighters" in the name of religion justify violence and terrorism. They seem to be keen, using all means, including armed assault and bombs to implement Sharia law in the country.



In the case of Angola, terrorism is rarely discussed. After years of colonial war (1961/1975) and civil war after independence (1975/2002), the country has maintained peace. However, the province of Cabinda, rich in oil, has been the center of conflict between the fighters for self-determination and the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA). The *Liberation Front of the Enclave of Cabinda* (FLEC) and other militia groups in the region were accused of carrying out terrorist attacks threatening the state's security. The January 8, 2010 attacks on Togo's football team were claimed by FLEC and "They were charged with 'terroristic crimes against the security of the state' indictment" (Ojakorotu, 2011: 103-104). Since 2010, there have been no major attacks.

Map 1 depicts terrorist activities as discussed in this paper, based on data of the Global Terrorism Index for the period of 2002/11. Redness refers to terrorist attacks.

**Map 1: Africa – Global Terrorism Index 2002/2011**



Source: The Institute for Economics & Peace (2012)

The distribution of red points on the map confirm the argument that MANGANESE countries, though different in number and intensity of terrorist attacks, live with this type of threat in their territory or neighboring countries. Red is mostly noticeable on the map in the north of Algeria, Ethiopia and all parts of Nigeria.

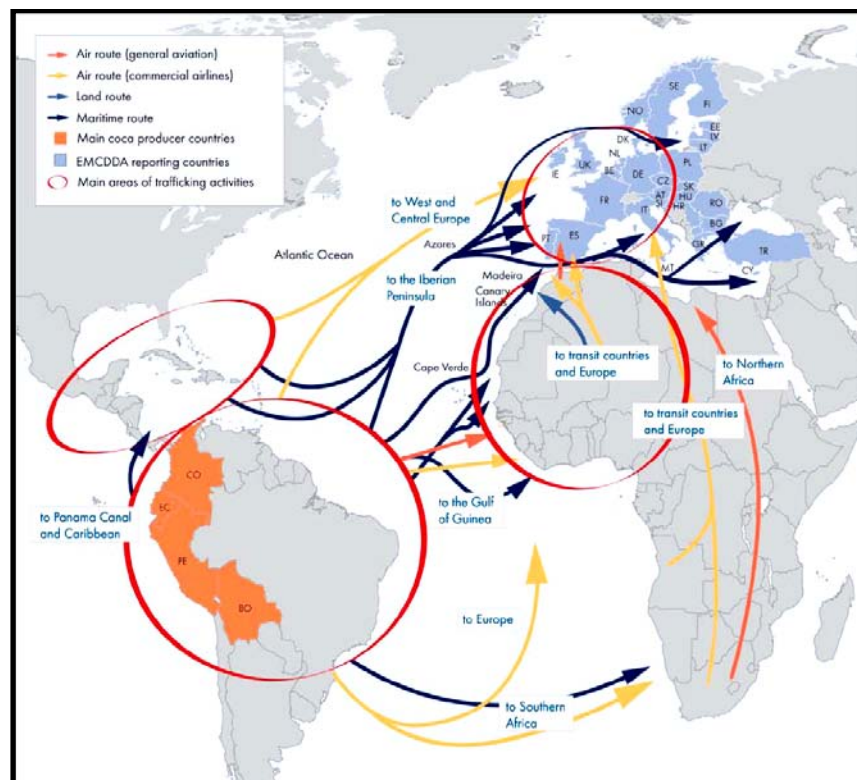


## Terrorism and drug trafficking

The attack on the Amenas' gas plant in southern Algeria near the Libyan border killing many Algerian and foreign workers over a four-day attack in January 2013, highlight the nexus between organized crime and terrorism in West Africa. This has major implications for the international community and requires greater international support to the West African governments in the region. It is important to note that the terrorist threat in Africa mixes political, religious and ideological extremism with organized crime while historical and cultural differences and norms can thwart efforts to solve the problem.

Some rebels fight for religious reasons, others for political causes, but most of them have economical/financial interests in common, using smuggling, trafficking, and money laundering from natural resources and local production centers. Why? Terrorist groups need to finance their highly lucrative drug trafficking activities. "Illicit drug trafficking, one of the major activities of organized crime worldwide, benefits from insufficient international cooperation, regulatory inconsistencies, political obstacles and lack of governance over the global financial markets." (European Commission, 2011: 11)

**Map 2: Main Cocaine Trafficking Routes**



Source: EMCDDA and EUROPOL (2013)

The rise in drug trafficking, drug production and consumption, is fast becoming a major challenge in the pursuit of peace, stability and security in Africa. Drug trafficking is among the primary activities of organized criminal groups in MANGANESE countries.

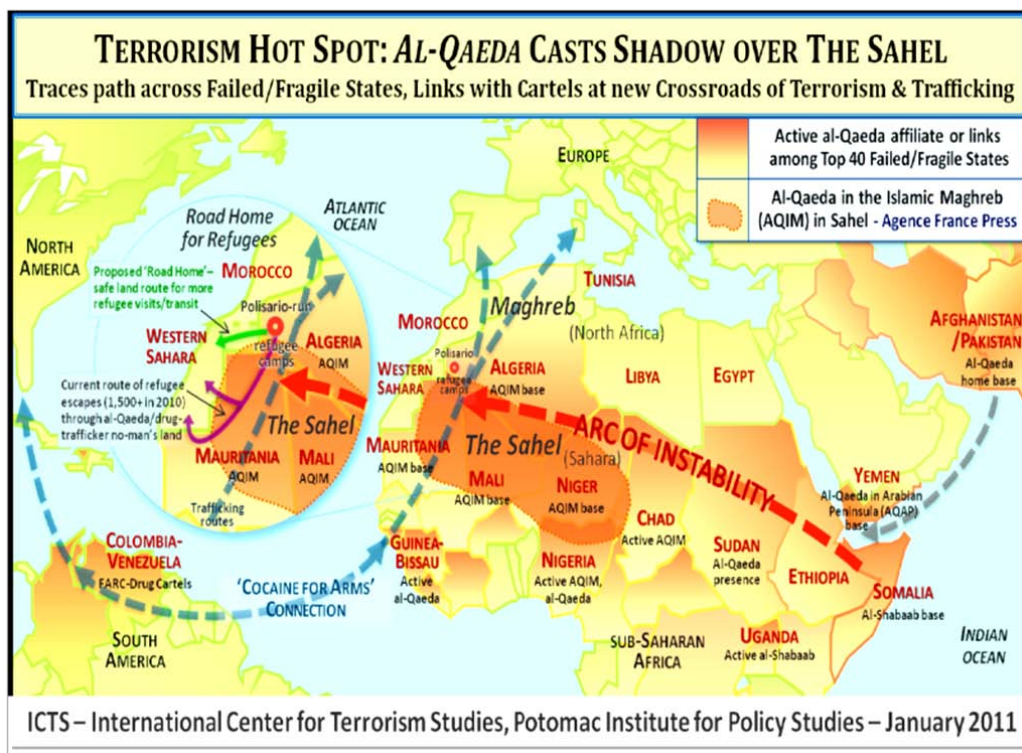




The best-known routes from Latin America through Africa to Europe are the cocaine routes as depicted in Map 2.

Map 2 refers to different Cocaine Trafficking Routes, some of them maritime (dark blue), others by air (red and yellow) and land (light blue). Regardless of the route, one thing is clear; that cocaine is transited through West Africa and then through the Sahel region by land to Europe, or through South Africa using North/South routes.

**Map 3: Terrorism and Drugs Trafficking**



Source: Yonah Alexander (2011)

Map 3 portrays terrorist areas of operation with cocaine routes that occupy West Africa and the Sahel region. It traces the path of illegal trafficking perpetrated by terrorists like Al-Qaeda and African affiliates like AQIM. On these routes, profits from illegal drugs are used to purchase arms for regional conflicts. Because of this market, the Sahel represents a direct influence on the extensive "Arc of Instability" from North Africa to Somalia.

*"AQIM's potential involvement with the cocaine trade flowing into Western Europe from Latin America via West Africa is another critical factor. If such a trend is confirmed, AQIM's expanding operational capabilities, combined with prolonged unrest and a volatile security situation in the Maghreb, could deepen instability in the whole region."* (Roussellier, 2011: 8)



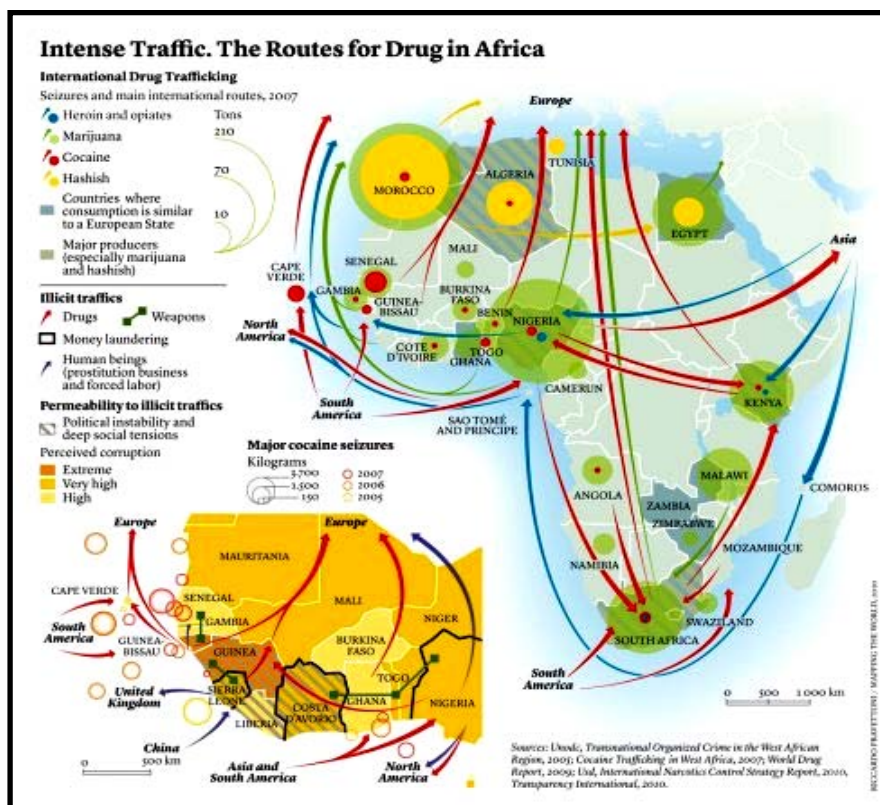


Regionally, the current Mali conflict has expanded the Tuareg struggle over the desert areas of Mali, Niger, south Algeria and south Libya, but the arc continues through Chad, North and South Sudan, Ethiopia and ends in Somalia. This “Arc” crosses over two countries included in the MANGANESE anonym, Algeria and Ethiopia.

Besides the problems of terrorist operations and drug trafficking, the direct effect of drug-related corruption and money laundering exacerbate the chronic poverty and disrupt effective governance in many West African states. Meanwhile, rebel groups and powerful crime syndicates are illicitly trafficking narcotics across West Africa and trans-shipment of illicit narcotics from Latin America through Africa to Europe, making small fortunes. But extremists are not the only ones taking part in drug trafficking. In regions where youth unemployment and poverty are high, the prospect of earning big money in short periods of time beguiles young Africans into drug trafficking.

Countries supposedly wealthier in natural resources or even emergent economies like the MANGANESE nations are not safe from corruption and crime crossing their territory. Map 4 illustrates the overall situation in Africa, especially delineating the southern drugs trafficking routes.

**Map 4: Drugs Trafficking in Africa**



Source: Riccardo Pravettoni (2010)

Map 4 shows that MANGANESE countries of Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa, Angola and Namibia are at the heart of drug trafficking activity. In 2007, there were sizable seizures of hashish and cocaine in Morocco and Algeria, and hashish in



Egypt. Marijuana is smuggled through Nigeria and South Africa, but also in Namibia and Angola. There have been cocaine seizures in Angola and Nigeria. Additionally, heroin and opiates have been seized in Nigeria.

## Conclusion

In 2013, Cissé wrote an article about the MANGANESE countries, an acronym identifying nine states in Africa based on the recent emergence of their economies. Even though these countries are clearly demonstrating positive growth, the contention of this article is to consider other areas of possible convergence by analyzing these countries together as a whole in order to assess the strength of the acronym. This article argues that even though there are socioeconomic and sociopolitical successes, there are radical problems that call the credibility of the acronym into question over the long run. Other variables must be considered besides current and predicted economic growth rates, like demographic growth rates, failed states index, terrorism and drugs trafficking to assess the future reliability of the so-called MANGANESE countries.

Algeria and Morocco, according to the IMF's previsions, may continue having significant economic growth rates, but international drug trafficking and terrorism routes cross their unsecured frontiers, which adds uncertainty to continued economic growth. Algeria and Ethiopia are within the Arc of Instability in the Sahel. Angola and South Africa are stable but have experienced violent episodes possibly classified as terrorist attacks in recent years.

Ghana and Namibia are the least vulnerable of the nine MANGANESE countries in a global evaluation that considers economic growth, demographic growth, failed state index, terrorism and drug trafficking. Meanwhile, South Africa and Angola will possibly gain more political and regional power in Africa if Nigeria disintegrates internally.

In general, when developmental policies fail to focus on health, family planning, and education, demographic growth can be a major threat to stability and sustainability of economic growth rates. At the same time, terrorism and drug trafficking create an insidious cultural cancer that seduce and bully starving, unemployed, and hopeless populations. Likewise, agendas of political/religious/ethnic rebel groups threaten the normal function of the rule of law, especially in states like Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt and Ethiopia. Corruption and violence are variables capable of undermining security in these territories and their borders; the type of environment that weakens the confidence of foreign investors and negatively affects progress of the markets, governments, and populations.

Therefore, this assessment concludes that a bright economic future is not guaranteed for, perhaps, all of the nine countries selected for analysis by Cissé (2013). Egypt, Ethiopia and Nigeria, are especially high in FSI scores undercutting their future potential despite past economic advances. South Africa probably comes closest to a definition of a MANGANESE country, but even this state faces socioeconomic and sociopolitical challenges that must not be taken lightly. On the other hand, Angola, Ghana, and Namibia are flourishing after several decades of conflict. They are hopeful prospects in the "upended world", where the main global powers are facing social and economic constraints pressured by the international economic crisis. Taking all of the African challenges into account, the final appraisal is that the MANGANESE countries



need to make considerable strides in security, development, rule of law, and good governance to guarantee the kind of stable economic future that Cissé (2013) foresees. They are not there yet.

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