



SECURITY AND AFRICA

**The Africa All Party Parliamentary Group's
submission to the
2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review**

August 2010



SECURITY AND AFRICA

**The Africa All Party Parliamentary Group's submission to
the 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review**

August 2010

Contents

Glossary	Page 3
Acknowledgements	Page 4
Letter to the Prime Minister	Page 5
Map of Africa	Page 6
1. Executive Summary	Page 7
2. Introduction	Page 9
3. Security threats emanating from Africa	Page 11
4. Instability in Africa that may demand an international response	Page 18
5. The record of UK military engagement with Africa since the last Strategic Defence Review	Page 23
6: Conclusions and Recommendations	Page 29
About the Africa APPG	Page 31

Glossary

APPG	All Party Parliamentary Group
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Sudan)
CPP	Conflict Prevention Pool
DA	Defence Attachés
DfID	Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EASBRIG	Eastern African Standby Brigade Coordination Mechanism
ECOBRIG	ECOWAS Standby Brigade
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
ICC	International Criminal Court
MoD	Ministry of Defence
SDSR	Strategic Defence and Security Review
SOCA	Serious Organised Crime Agency
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States

Acknowledgements

The Africa All Party Parliamentary Group would like to thank the Royal African Society for providing administration for the Group and for covering some of the expenses incurred by this report's preparation and publication.

The Group would also like to thank the all the people and organisations for submitting evidence and/or providing advice, including:

APPG on the Great Lakes Region of Africa
APPG on Sudan
Centre for Security Sector Management, Cranfield University
Chatham House - Yemen Forum, Middle East and North Africa Programme
Department for International Development
Professor Chris Cramer
Professor Stephen Ellis
House of Commons Library
Tom Hamilton-Baille
Knox Chitiyo, Royal United Services Institute
Saferworld
Andrew Tuggey, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
United States Congressional Research Service

The report was drafted by Alex O'Donoghue on behalf of the Africa APPG with editorial input from Richard Dowden, Director of the Royal African Society. The Africa APPG's Executive approved the final report.

Letter to the Prime Minister



HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Rt. Hon David Cameron MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

02 August 2010

Dear David,

Strategic Defence and Security Review – Submission from the Africa All Party Parliamentary Group

The Africa All Party Parliamentary Group welcomes your decision to create the National Security Council and to undertake a Strategic Defence and Security Review. We would like the Review to reaffirm the need for maintaining a strong military element in an integrated British Africa policy.

Following the announcement of the Review, the Africa APPG sought evidence and has written the enclosed report. We would like the officials conducting the Review to read our report and take account of our conclusions.

I am copying the report to your Secretaries of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Defence and International Development and to your National Security Adviser.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Hugh Bayley".

Hugh Bayley MP
Chair, Africa All Party Parliamentary Group

Map of Africa



1. Executive Summary

The Africa All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) welcomes the Government's decision to undertake a Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) and would like the Review to reaffirm the need for maintaining a strong military element in an integrated British Africa policy.

This report has two overarching aims: to make the case for continued military engagement with Africa and to provide a brief summary of the current range of UK military cooperation in Africa and its value. It is intended to provide a short, sharp overview of UK engagement in Africa. Produced within a strict timeframe, this report is by no means exhaustive but has cross-party support from both Houses of Parliament.

The Africa APPG has reached five broad conclusions:

(1) There must be better cooperation and collaboration between the three international departments. With the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) both facing budget cuts, it is inevitable that they will have to work more closely with each other and with the Department for International Development (DfID). They should consider pooling resources and perhaps even sharing staff. It is imperative that inter-departmental rivalries are not allowed to flourish or distract from the shared goals of reducing conflict and poverty and pursuing British interests in Africa.

(2) Funding for the Conflict Prevention Pool (CPP) should be maintained and that funding should be predictable and not fluctuate from year to year. Peacekeeping and state-building are expensive. Though UK involvement in Sierra Leone is used as a good example of both military and post-conflict intervention, it was expensive both in terms of human and financial cost. Effective conflict prevention is vastly preferable and much less exacting on the British public purse. Coordination between the three departments within the CPP should be strengthened to further improve effectiveness and value for money.

(3) Defence Attachés have an important role and must remain in order to advise on defence and security matters, including arms sales. Their numbers should not be reduced. However, their remit could be expanded to cover broader security concerns: police, customs and border patrols etc., even advising on development and food security. In some countries it may be appropriate to appoint a senior police officer as a civilian 'Security Sector Attaché' but not as a replacement of the Defence Attaché.

(4) The UK should continue to provide military training for African military personnel both in the UK and on the continent. Officers trained by the UK learn important political lessons about civilian control of armed forces as well as military skills and are usually well disposed to the UK throughout the rest of their military career. This is of long term value to the UK.

(5) The security risks emanating from Africa affect Europe and the western world, not just the UK. Our response to them needs to be coordinated with our allies in NATO and the European Union. NATO's new strategic concept should recognise the need for the Alliance to address these risks in Africa through interventions like Operation Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean and Operation Ocean Shield off the Horn of Africa. Likewise, the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy need an African dimension to provide the policy framework for initiatives like Operation Atalanta and civilian missions such as in the DR Congo and Chad.

2. Introduction

The Africa All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) welcomes the Government's decision to undertake a Strategic Defence and Security Review and would like the Review to consider the case for maintaining a strong military element within an integrated British Africa policy. The purpose of our submission is fourfold: firstly, to outline the threats to UK security and our national interests emanating from Africa; secondly, to highlight the regions of instability in Africa that may require an international response in which Britain could play a role; thirdly, to chart the record of UK military engagement in Africa since the last Strategic Defence Review in 1998 and finally, to draw conclusions.

The Africa APPG recognises that ongoing engagement in Afghanistan is stretching Britain's military capacity. However we ask the National Security Council not to abandon British engagement in Africa and to recall that directly and indirectly, the UK has improved the lives and livelihoods of millions of Africans in recent years. While the Department for International Development has taken the lead on this, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Ministry of Defence, Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) and other agencies, working both bilaterally and with international partners, have also played a vital role. The Africa APPG further reminds the Government that the right intervention at the right moment can transform the destiny of a nation, such as the action taken in Sierra Leone in 2000 and the deployment of British troops in Rhodesia - Zimbabwe in 1980. Historical links between the UK and Africa are weaker than they were but whether positive, negative or mixed, in the minds of many Africans they still exist.

Just over a decade ago Africa was considered by many to be poor, disease-ridden, violent and hopeless. In the mid-1990s 31 of Africa's 53 countries were at war or suffering violent civil disturbance. At the beginning of the new century, however, Africa began to change and, for differing reasons, the rest of the world began to take a greater interest. Britain drew world attention to its poverty and made it a popular cause. The Chinese began to buy up Africa's resources and build and repair infrastructure, pushing up the prices of Africa's raw materials. New oil finds were exploited. Diplomatic efforts ended many of the wars and a new professional middle class emerged in some African states capable of delivering to international standards. Aid to Africa increased hugely. Between 2000 and 2008 African economies grew at 5%, some countries at more than 7%, although population continues to rise so the net growth is lower. It has ridden the 2008 economic crash well, due in part to Chinese investment, with only South Africa's growth dropping below zero for a while.

Although the UK played an important role in this transformation, its Africa policy was not well connected between government departments. To build on its experiences, successes and failures, it needs coherent and integrated policies on Africa which link aid and development with business, trade and security. Above all it needs a better understanding and consistent approach to Africa's difficult politics – the root of many of its problems.

The UK is a particularly important trading and development partner for many African countries. The continent is an important source of mineral and agricultural produce and a growing export market for the UK.

There are an estimated 1.2 million Africans living in the UK today¹ and migration from Africa to the UK continues, driven by push factors such as conflict, insecurity, climate change and poor economic opportunity as well as pull factors such as having African friends and family already in the UK, historical links, a shared language and economic opportunity. Africans in the UK make a huge contribution to the British economy and society. However the Africa APPG recognises that forced migration from failing states can create a security threat, especially if vulnerable migrants are preyed on by organised criminal gangs, drug dealers or religious fundamentalists.

Conflict and insecurity are not only formidable barriers to development but can undermine societies and their values, presenting a direct security threat to the region as well as the rest of the world. Islamic fundamentalism threatens both the West and Africa. Piracy, kidnapping and drug dealing are indiscriminate in their damage. The Africa APPG recognises the importance of a comprehensive approach in Africa involving the FCO, DfID and the MoD working to a jointly agreed agenda, drawing on our experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan and pooling resources through mechanisms such as the Conflict Prevention Pool (CPP). The Africa APPG believes that the National Security Council can and should provide the necessary strategic leadership and urges it to make Africa one of its strategic priorities.

¹ Labour Force Survey, Q1, 2010. Number of people born in Africa legally living in the UK.

3. Security threats emanating from Africa

The debate about whether Africa needs stronger or weaker government continues but what is clear is that while democratic elections have given governments greater legitimacy, and governance has improved incrementally, many states in Africa are still vulnerable to sudden political earthquakes.

Manipulated elections, dictatorial leaders, corruption and poor delivery of services are now added to the ethnic and regional rivalries that have caused African states to fail in the past. At a deeper level, growing populations, climate change and an unfair global trading system will increasingly impact on the lives of Africans. This is no time for Britain's security sector to make Africa a lower priority.

3.1. Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa is the theatre of prolonged, overlapping and connected conflicts. It is also home to some of the world's poorest people and in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, perennial and protracted humanitarian crises. Somalia has seen 20 years of civil war, Sudan more than twice that. Ethiopia and Eritrea have also suffered civil war and conflict. Kenya erupted in violence following the 2007 election and remains fragile, and northern Uganda suffered from a vicious terror movement that has been displaced but not yet destroyed. The unwillingness of the region's leaders to negotiate and compromise means any one of these countries could be suddenly pitched into war again.

3.1.1. Somalia

The Africa APPG recognises that the country's piracy and terrorism result from the collapse of the Somali state 20 years ago. In the long term this can only be resolved by the establishment of a government in Somalia agreed upon by its leaders and people, legitimated and supported by the region and the international community. The only period of peace and prosperity in southern Somalia since 1991 was created by the Islamic Courts between June and December 2006 but this was brought to an end by the invasion by Ethiopia at the end of that year. Having failed to impose a government on Somalia, the Ethiopians withdrew – giving impetus to more extreme elements and a growth in piracy.

In the meantime, NATO and EU naval interventions against pirates and surveillance of the potential threat from extremist bombers should, and no doubt will, continue but this deals only with the symptoms of Somalia's problem, not the cause. Even without a violent anti-western fundamentalist movement, Somalia is still locked in a power struggle between its clans.

East African leaders continue to urge the UN to replace the 5,000 strong African Union peacekeeping mission in Somalia. Somali President Sheikh Shariff Sheikh Ahmed has also made impassioned appeals for a new international strategy to end the crisis. While the UN has agreed in principle to a UN peacekeeping force, few countries have come forward to send troops to the region. African Union (AU)

troops have long argued that a new mandate is needed, giving peacekeepers more powers to defend themselves.

The Somali based organisation al-Shabab and al-Qaeda have pledged mutual rhetorical support. At present evidence of operational links between the two groups is scarce but the relationship has the potential to develop.

There are also growing concerns about the presence of Western-born Muslims and converts in training camps in Somalia. Al-Qaeda is thought to be targeting US citizens, including converts and non-traditional recruits, to launch attacks against American targets within the Middle East and beyond. The prospect of US citizens being trained at al-Qaeda camps in Yemen and Somalia deepens concern and emphasizes the need to understand the nature of the evolving dangers².

Security is a key issue for every part of Somalia but the country has to be considered in terms of three separate entities: Somaliland in the north; Puntland in the north east; and central and southern Somalia, which is largely un-governed despite the aspirations of the Interim Federal Government.

Mogadishu and the food growing areas in its southern hinterland remain contested and insecure. Two interventions - by the US and the UN in 1992 and then Ethiopia in 2006 - emphasized that armed foreigners are unlikely to bring peace to southern and central Somalia. As in Afghanistan the problem is not that the fundamentalists of al-Shabab are strong, it is that the government is weak, protected by Ugandan and Burundi troops who hold only a part of the capital.

Puntland has had elections but regards itself as a regional government and is troubled by the activities of the pirates who operate mainly from its east coast. We have comparatively little direct knowledge of its current development or relations with the Interim Federal Government in Mogadishu.

Somaliland (the former British Somaliland) declared its independence from Somalia in 1991 after the collapse of Siad Barre's regime, but has not been formally recognised by any state or international organization. Nevertheless, for the last 18 years Somaliland has continued to develop and evolve its democratic institutions. In 1993 a new constitution established a bi-cameral legislature and independent judiciary, combining aspects of the democratic template whilst accommodating traditional tribal and clan structures.

Somaliland has an effective government and without addressing issues of recognition it is important for regional and international powers to support it in terms of its economy and stability in order to combat security threats. Since multi-party elections were permitted in 2003 Somaliland has held one parliamentary election and two presidential elections, the last of which took place in June 2010. In contrast to many elections held in the rest of the continent, the electoral process was almost free of violence (we understand that there was one isolated incident

² Chatham House, written evidence to the Africa APPG, July 2010

involving insurgents attempting to disrupt the election process) and the result was endorsed by international observers and was followed by an orderly transition from the outgoing President Dahir Kahin Riyale to the election winner Ahmed Mahmoud 'Silanyo', leader of the Kulmiye Party.

In view of its comparative stability and recently renewed democratic credentials through last month's successful election, Somaliland clearly represents an important piece in the puzzle of brokering a stable and sustainable alternative to the violence and uncertainty which currently blights Somalia and the wider region. The international community, including the UK, must strengthen the government in Somaliland while seeking to build peace and reconciliation between communities in Somalia as a whole in the interests of long term security and prosperity.

3.1.2. Piracy

The lack of effective rule in Somalia has meant that there is no government to restrain the Somali pirates who continue to expand their attacks on merchant shipping in the Gulf of Aden and the western Indian Ocean. But piracy itself grew out of the complete disregard for the protection of Somali waters from 1991 when its civil war began. Unrestricted fishing of Somali fishing grounds and the dumping of toxic waste destroyed the livelihoods of coastal Somalis. The resulting piracy was predictable. By the end of 2009 Somali pirates had carried out a record 214 attacks on vessels resulting in 47 seizures, a 200% increase from 2008.³ If peace and law were to return to Somalia, piracy would no doubt diminish.

3.1.3. Gulf of Aden

Human trafficking, smuggling and the regional arms trade represent multi-million dollar shadow business networks spanning the Gulf of Aden, which obstruct efforts to improve regional security using conventional counter-terrorism and counter-piracy strategies⁴. While the main purpose of such networks is to make money, they also have potential to support more sinister exchanges.

Established migration routes have also flourished in the Gulf of Aden for decades, encouraged by Yemen's decision to grant automatic refugee status to Somalis in 1991. However, for many refugees and economic migrants from the Horn of Africa, Yemen is simply a transit country, hosting efficient trafficking networks into Saudi Arabia.

3.2. Terrorism

The Kampala bombings on 11th July 2010 were almost certainly aimed at undermining the Ugandan peacekeeping role in Somalia and hitting at Ethiopians for their government's 2006 intervention in Somalia and illustrate the extent of terrorist activity in the Horn of Africa. In addition, many French speaking African

³ Pham, J. Peter 'African Hot Spots 2010' in *World Defence Review* Jan 2010

⁴ Chatham House, written evidence to the Africa APPG, July 2010

countries are used as rear-bases by terrorist groups (Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Mali, and Senegal in the past).

The root of this activity can be found in the fragile contexts evident in the region. Any counter-terrorist activity must focus on the underlying problems – political rivalry among powerful and undemocratic elites, poverty, social exclusion, lack of opportunity – in conjunction with a military approach. There is also a danger that if Africa is treated as a ‘target’ and a ‘threat’ in the global ‘war on terror’ it will start to fulfil that prophesy. In the past counterterrorist and stabilisation interventions have generated grievances and manufactured ‘radicalism’ in places that would otherwise have not become threats.

Nevertheless, regional cooperation and discreet aid from the West is essential for countries to regain control/defend their territory, monitor their international borders and prevent extremist organisations from gaining ground on the continent.

3.2.1. Emanating from the Horn of Africa

The events of 11th July 2010 in Kampala are a timely reminder of the extent of terrorist activity in the region. The scope of the Somali-related networks clearly goes beyond the Somali borders and could start dangerously targeting other African countries, such as Uganda and Burundi in the first place, as they are the main troop providers for the African Union mission in Somalia. There are indications suggesting that the network operating in the region (and probably behind the Kampala attacks) has a rear-base in the DRC. There are fears that they may aim to destabilise Kenya which is not only the West’s main ally and base in the region but also the gateway for almost all trade from much of east and central Africa.

3.2.2. Emanating from the Sahel Region

Lightly patrolled borders, sparsely populated areas and recent terrorist activity have raised fears that the Sahel Region is a fertile ground for terrorist movements, most notably al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

However, though AQIM does pose a security threat to governments, terrorist networks linked to al-Qaeda operating in Mauritania, Mali and Niger do not enjoy widespread popular support. This is partly because the ethno-racial divide within al-Qaeda means that African recruits have little chance of reaching more senior roles. AQIM has struggled to ‘Africanise’ jihad in the absence of senior Africans in the organisation. At present both al-Qaeda and AQIM remain essentially Arab, limiting their impact in the region.⁵

There is a threat of kidnapping to travellers and tourists in this area. Often the kidnappers are only interested in money and sell the victims to others, some of them linked to AQIM, who have a political agenda.

⁵ Filiu, Jean-Pierra ‘Could Al-Qaeda turn African in the Sahel?’ Carnegie Paper, June 2010

3.3. Migration to UK

One in four displaced people in the world are from Africa⁶. The bulk of these people are internally displaced or refugees hosted on the continent but much of the costs of this hosting and managing the spill-over effects of conflict (humanitarian crises, security, etc.) is carried by international donor countries including the UK.

There are currently an estimated 1.2 million Africans living and working in the UK. Overwhelmingly they contribute positively to Britain's economy and society. Furthermore, through remittances many Africans in the UK assist their families and in their home country injecting much needed capital into some of the poorest communities in the world. For sub-Saharan African countries, remittances increased from \$3.1bn in 1995 to \$18.5bn in 2007, according to the World Bank, representing between 9% and 24% of GDP and 80-750% of ODA.⁷

However migration is linked to security threats including organised crime - particularly human and drug trafficking - and political and religious fundamentalism. High levels of migration also places pressure on the UK's limited power to absorb large scale influxes of migrants – both socially and financially. This is particularly the case during times of economic instability and rising unemployment.

3.4. Organised crime and drug trafficking

Organised crime and drug trafficking, especially from West Africa, is a considerable threat to UK interests. According to a 2008 UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report, 50 tonnes of cocaine worth £1.4 billion pass through West Africa into Europe each year. As the second largest consumer of the drug in Europe (after Spain), much of this cocaine reaches the UK⁸. Interpol estimates as much as two-thirds of the cocaine sold in Europe in 2009 came via West Africa⁹. Overall between 2005 - 2008 46 metric tonnes of cocaine destined for the Western European market was seized by law-enforcement officials in or around West Africa, where only years before annual seizures of over one tonne for the entire African continent were rare.¹⁰ Most seizures occur by accident – meaning that they are probably just the tip of the iceberg.

The sheer value of drugs transported through West Africa, one of the world's poorest regions, dwarfs entire economies and corrupts security forces and politicians. The Executive Director of UNODC Antonio Maria Costa has warned that: "West Africa at risk of becoming an epicentre for drug trafficking and the crime and corruption associated with it...time is running out. The threat is spreading throughout the region, turning the Gold Coast into the Coke Coast". Similarly

⁶ Saferworld, written evidence to the Africa APPG.

⁷ Mbaye, Sanou 'Unlock Africa's migrant fortune' in *The Guardian* 30th January 2010

⁸ 'Drug Trafficking as a Security Threat in West Africa' UNODC, November 2008

⁹ McConnell, Tristan 'The West Africa Connection: how drug cartels found new routes' in *The Times* February 28th 2009

¹⁰ McGuire, Peter L. 'Narcotics Trafficking in West Africa: A Governance Challenge' The Frederick Pardee Center, Boston University, March 2010. p. 3

Antonio Mazzitelli, UNODC Regional Representative for West and Central Africa, warns that failing to adequately respond to the threat of trans-national organised crime in the region could “result in the emergence of a number of pariah states ruled under faked democratic processes and serving as safe havens for all kinds of fugitive criminals.”¹¹

The UNODC Chief has also stated that local police are ill-equipped to deal with the threat, and "prosecutors and judges lack the evidence or the will to bring to justice powerful criminals with powerful friends". According to UNODC in 80-90% of cases there is no conviction for drugs traffickers in Africa.¹² In some countries laws against drug trafficking are weak or non-existent. (see box one)

¹¹ Mazzitelli 2007. Taken from McGuire, Peter L. p. 3.

¹² Taken from McConnell, Tristan 'The West Africa Connection: how drug cartels found new routes' in *The Times* February 28th 2009

Box One: Sierra Leone, Latin drug cartels and the pivotal role of the UK

In February 2009 the biggest drugs trial in West African history opened in Freetown after the arrival of a light aircraft packed with cocaine worth £30 million. The smuggling flight, which probably crossed the Atlantic from Venezuela, was another sign that West Africa is becoming the crucial staging post for Latin American cocaine bound for Europe.

The twin-engined Cessna 441, carrying Venezuela's national flag beneath fake Red Cross insignia, landed at Lungi airport last July with 703kg of cocaine. All four men on board, including a Colombian pilot and Venezuelan passenger, were arrested, along with their alleged contacts in Freetown. President Ernest Bai Koroma's government hastily banned cocaine smuggling and pressed retrospective charges against the accused.

When drugs are seized in West Africa, police often sell the contraband back to the smugglers. This time, the cocaine has been kept safe. Police gathered enough evidence to try 17 men, including seven Latin Americans. Elsewhere, suspects have bought their way out of jail. This time the accused stood trial. "We are the first West African country to have arrested all those allegedly linked to a plane full of cocaine," said Inspector Samura. "The cocaine is still here, the alleged culprits are still here and the trial is underway."

Behind the scenes, however, British officials from the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) have quietly ensured that all of the above has happened. Evidence before the court stated that SOCA officers joined Sierra Leone's police to examine the plane five times, search premises, question the Latin American suspects and provide forensic analysis.

As for the seizure itself, the cocaine is effectively under British protection. Inspector Samura said the drugs were at the international military training facility in the capital. This fact, ruefully described by one diplomat as the "worst kept secret in Freetown", has already been reported in the local press. The training centre, commanded by a British officer, is where 58 British soldiers help Sierra Leone's army. The men received five-year prison terms and fines ranging from £1m to £3.4m. Trevor Pearce, SOCA's executive director of enforcement, hailed the outcome as a "cracking result" and said that a "huge haul" of cocaine had been seized, "some of which is certain to have been destined for the UK".

Mrs Zainab Bangura, Sierra Leone's Foreign Minister, said the cartels had not corrupted the government's senior levels. "But sooner or later, they will," she added. "Because they have millions of dollars and you need to be a saint to reject that."¹³

¹³ Blair, David 'Sierra Leone Targeted by Latin Drug Cartels' in *The Telegraph* 27th February 2009

4: Instability in Africa that may demand an international response

Occasionally the right intervention can transform the politics of a country such as was done in Sierra Leone in 2000. That said, the Africa APPG supports the move in recent years towards a 'soft power' approach in Africa, engaging the use of the military in much less prominent ways, subordinated to civilian-led justice and security objectives.

Should a situation arise where the Government considers an intervention, it is crucial that hard-headed analysis is conducted on the likelihood of success within a reasonable timeframe. A key determinant of whether an intervention has the potential to succeed is the extent to which it is supported by key actors within the country, such as politicians, civil society and the media.. Though there may be domestic pressure in the UK for an intervention, fuelled by media reports or political lobbying, where there is little chance of improving the situation in the country the Government should resist. Few interventions work without strong local buy-in.

Interventions aside, the 2008 National Security Strategy identified fragile states as a pre-eminent security challenge facing UK interests today. Given recent and ongoing events, the Africa APPG has identified the following fragile regions and countries as 'hot spots' in Africa that do not directly affect the UK's national security but do pose a threat to British interests and may require an international – though not necessarily military – response.

4.1. Great Lakes Region of Africa

The Great Lakes region of Africa comprises Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This region has experienced devastating and protracted war in the past two decades, including the Rwandan Civil War and 1994 genocide and the subsequent Congo War that killed an estimated 5.4 million people. All four states are considered fragile or failing according to Foreign Policy's 2010 Failed States Index.

Regional conflict has subsided markedly following the peace agreements secured by state actors including Rwanda, the DRC and Uganda. But it is not clear to what extent they have implemented those agreements. The 2009 rapprochement between the DRC and Rwanda has improved relations between the two governments but a definitive solution to the FDLR (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda), involving the return of remaining combatants to Rwanda, remains elusive. As the National Security Strategy acknowledges, such instability is often symptom of deeper problems related to governance and accountability.

While the risk of state-state conflict has decreased since the regional war ended, tensions over certain issues remain present. The lack of a clearly demarcated border between Uganda and the DRC has proved to be a source of conflict and tension, particularly following the discovery of exploitable petroleum reserves in the Lake Albert border area. In 2007, the DRC and Uganda clashed over the status of

an island in Lake Albert as well as the correct location of border posts.¹⁴ An incident where gunfire was exchanged between armed men on the Lake in the same year caused the death of a British oil worker.¹⁵ These incidents, and others, illustrate the continued presence of latent destabilizing conflict between countries in the region and the need for continued UK engagement.¹⁶

4.2. Sudan

With only a few months before the referendum on its unity, Sudan is on the brink of dividing into two countries. Experts on the region predict that while the referendum may take place peacefully, the separation of the North and South is unlikely to occur without turmoil and violence. Preparations by the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement for both the referendum and independence are weak and often contradictory. Yet nationally, five years after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) brought to an end more than two decades of fighting which killed an estimated 2 million people and displaced 4 million, a lasting peace may be within the country's grasp. However it is not yet assured.

The interim period of the CPA has faced many challenges. The will to make unity attractive has not driven the process, many of the most contentious political decisions still have to be confronted, elections were delayed to a point where they took place only nine months before the referendum, and the threat of violence in the South has increased.

President Omar Hassan al-Bashir was indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) in July 2008 for war crimes and crimes against humanity, the first time the court has issued a warrant for a sitting head of state. President Bashir has continued to defy the indictment supported by the AU who has told its member states not to cooperate with the ICC. The situation remains unresolved and could undermine the peace process.

The past year has seen rising tensions across all regions – increased violence in Southern Sudan, renewed conflict in Darfur, a state of unease and apprehension across in some border areas, and the continuing marginalization and neglect of eastern Sudan. Last year saw an increase in conflict in Southern Sudan, with clashes in nearly every state. The sources of conflict are multiple and interlinked. North-South political tensions, ethnic conflict, ill-disciplined security forces, and an abundance of small arms, all compounded by rumours of behind the scenes interference from both the North and South, have led to confusion and concern at the grassroots level.

The situation in the Three Areas – Abyei, Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan – is extremely complex and each area has its specific concerns which may impact on the process for the whole country. These include boundary rulings, confusion over

¹⁴ <http://allafrica.com/stories/200911090344.html>

¹⁵ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6948086.stm>

¹⁶ Much of this taken from the evidence submitted to the Africa APPG by the APPG for the Great Lakes Region of Africa, July 2010

popular consultations, and post-secession fall out. Eastern Sudan, long a victim of prolonged marginalization, is more than three years into a peace agreement but has little to show for it, and few of the development needs of some of the most deprived communities have been met. Much attention has been diverted towards Darfur over the past few years. However as attention returns to a wider Sudan approach, the region must not be forgotten – the risk of conflict across the whole country is still high and requires constant monitoring¹⁷.

4.3. Ethiopia – Eritrea

After the overthrow of the Soviet-backed Mengistu regime by a combined force of Tigrayan and Eritrean rebels in 1991, Eritrea negotiated its independence from Ethiopia and held a referendum which culminated in the peaceful creation of a new African state in 1993. But historical and personal rivalry alongside unresolved border, currency and trade issues between the two countries culminated in a clash between Eritrean and Ethiopian troops in 1998. This blew up into a major border war in which cost some 70,000 lives and billions of dollars for these two desperately poor countries.

The peace treaty depended on a border commission led by international legal experts which both countries agreed to abide by. However, when the experts issued their verdict, Ethiopia refused to accept it and has not implemented the agreement. When Western countries, with close ties to Ethiopia, did not pressurise that government to abide by its promise, Eritrea expelled the UN and refused to cooperate further. The dispute remains unresolved.

Since then Eritrea, which had already had wars with its other neighbours, Yemen and Djibouti, has given assistance to Ethiopian rebel movements and Somali factions fighting the Ethiopian government. Although it suits both governments for internal reasons to maintain a war footing, this state of affairs is not economically or politically stable. It also prevents development in the region and wastes resources.

4.4. Nigeria

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and second largest economy. Although considered a democracy, the 2007 election was marked by widespread fraud and other irregularities resulting in violence and further widespread disillusionment with Nigeria's political system and ruling class.¹⁸ President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's absence after the election and subsequent death earlier this year left a potentially dangerous power vacuum. The fragile ceasefire in the hydrocarbon-rich Niger Delta was neglected and collapsed and no effort was made to implement much needed reforms of the political system.

¹⁷ Much of this taken from the evidence submitted to the Africa APPG by the APPG on Sudan, July 2010

¹⁸ Pham, J. Peter 2010

Nevertheless this difficult transition was managed well and the inauguration of President Goodluck Jonathan appears to have strengthened the reformers. But the new President has brought new tensions. Both President Jonathan and his wife have been tainted by allegations of corruption, the latter being indicted by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission for money laundering.¹⁹ As a Christian southerner President Jonathan has also upset the informal power sharing protocol that allows for the presidency to alternate between the regions. President Yar'Adua, a northern Muslim, succeeded southern Christian Olusegun Obasanjo in 2007. His death has meant that northern Muslims have had less than their 'turn' at controlling the approximately \$100 billion in annual oil and gas revenue.

Chief Jonathan has announced his intention to run for president in next year's election. There will be powerful northern elements that will try to stop him at all cost. Next year's elections have the potential to further divide the country and to trigger yet more inter-ethnic violence. Nigeria is also a source of global criminal networks many of which are connected to top levels of government.

4.5. Kenya

Kenya's stability is crucial to the entire East Africa region and beyond. From Southern Somalia through Sudan to Eastern Congo, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania, the region depends on Mombasa's port and the region's road and rail links. The port is also important for the surveillance and control of the Indian Ocean and its islands. The entire region relies on Nairobi's financial, technical and professional resources. Kenya is the main ally of Europe and America in eastern Africa. Under a long standing agreement Kenya provides the British Army with two of its main training grounds.

In January 2008 much to the surprise of the western media – though not to those who knew Kenya well – parts of the country exploded following a deeply flawed election which could have led to a change of government. An estimated 1300 were killed and 650,000 displaced at a cost of \$1 billion²⁰. Rapid and powerful diplomatic pressure was brought on the politicians to make a deal and call on their supporters to stop fighting. At the insistence of the international community, the deal created a coalition government and paved the way for a new constitution. It also provided for measures which would address the root causes of the conflict and prosecute those responsible for the violence. The constitution will be put to a referendum this month (August 2010) but almost none of the other measures has been implemented. Meanwhile, Kenya's parliamentarians have voted themselves salaries and allowances of almost £10,000 a month with the prime minister receiving more than his British counterpart or the US President. Corruption is rife and little is left in the budget for spending on basic services to the Kenya people. With many displaced people still living in very poor conditions and unable to return home, continuing ethnic rivalries and political gangs armed and ready, the situation is clearly unstable.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre – Kenya
<http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/Kenya>

The shared border with Somalia further undermines Kenya's stability due to the flow of money, people and arms between the two countries. There are increasing signs that much of the ransom money paid to Somali pirates is being laundered through and invested in Kenya, leading to a sharp rise in Nairobi's property prices²¹ and contributing to the culture of corruption.

²¹ Associated Press/MSNBC 1st January 2010 <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/34661327/>

5: The record of UK military engagement with Africa since the last Strategic Defence Review

5.1. Sierra Leone

After nine years of brutal civil war the successful British intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000 led to the defeat of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), final peace accords, and brought order to a failed state.

After an initial deployment of 700 British troops to evacuate foreign nationals and support UN operations, 150 members of the Parachute Regiment and the SAS were subsequently deployed in a rescue operation after eleven soldiers from the Royal Irish Regiment were taken hostage by the West Side Boys in 2000. In 2003 a company from the 2nd Battalion Royal Gurkha Rifles also deployed to Sierra Leone for a period of one month as a demonstration of the UK's commitment to supporting the Sierra Leonean government.

Many consider the British deployment to Sierra Leone as a model example of a small but effective military operation. The effective post-conflict reconstruction and state building that followed [see box two] also illustrates how a soft power approach combined with political and development initiatives can reduce the likelihood of renewed conflict. Since the end of the UK military intervention, DfID has spent over £380 million on reconstruction and development in Sierra Leone.

Box Two: Example of state building - Political Party Training Programme

Over six months prior to the 2007 general election the FCO-DfID-funded Westminster Foundation for Democracy trained the Sierra Leone political parties in election campaigning. The programme ran role playing exercises before polling day with each of the opposition leaders, including the subsequently elected President Koroma, on what they would do in the immediate aftermath of the election, and with former President Kabbah on when he would hand over power if he was defeated. The election delivered the first peaceful change of government since the end of the civil war²².

The British intervention into Sierra Leone holds many lessons for military interventions and post-conflict state building, especially any potential interventions into Africa. Sierra Leone was a failed state. The government, while democratically elected, could not provide security, enforce the rule of law throughout the country, or provide essential services for the people of Sierra Leone. It shows that it is possible for a relatively small number of well-trained troops to play a decisive role in bringing a longstanding war to an end.

Today, though bottom of the UNDP Human Development Index, instead of being a war torn failed state, Sierra Leone has peace, has completed disarmament of

²² Westminster Foundation for Democracy website
http://www.wfd.org/pages/standard.aspx?i_PageID=12171

insurgent forces, ended the large scale human rights abuse, and ensured that democratic elections, not coups, determine the leadership of the country.

5.2. UK military commitments to other peacekeeping missions

Generally, the UK military commitment to African peacekeeping missions has been on a small scale (around 3-5 military personnel; up to 24 in Sierra Leone). Since 2000 the UK has sent military personnel to the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC); the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE); the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL); the UN operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and to missions in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL, UNAMSIL and UNIOSIL). It has also provided support to EUFOR TCHAD/RCA; African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and EUFOR RD Congo.

The UK currently has four military observers deployed in the DRC²³, three military personnel deployed in the UN Mission in Sudan and a small contingent involved in the EU Training Mission Somalia, established in April 2010. The UK is not providing civilian police personnel to any mission²⁴. This lack of support could be seen to significantly impair the UK's ability to provide leadership and good practice from within peacekeeping missions.

EU NAVFOR's Operation Atalanta in Somalia is commanded by the UK but no vessels are currently assigned to this operation. HMS Northumberland was deployed as part of this operation in 2009. The UK contributes one frigate as part of NATO Standing Maritime Group 2, which has rotational command of Operation Ocean Shield (previously Operation Allied Protector and Allied Provider), a NATO-led counter piracy operation off the Horn of Africa and in the Somali basin.

5.3. Role of Defence Attachés in UK diplomatic posts

The UK provides Defence Attachés to the following countries in Africa: Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe. They advise the Ambassadors/High Commissioners and frequently provide advice to diplomatic missions in neighbouring countries. Some DAs are engaged in military assistance activities and also play an important role in monitoring the end-use of UK arms exports.

Defence Attachés are vital to protecting our national interest. They perform certain distinctly defence oriented tasks: military observation and assessment, working on British defence specific interests such as over-fly rights, use of host country facilities for training and operations and certain ceremonial and protocol functions. However confining Defence Attachés activities to the military-to-military sphere may mean that police, security services, customs and border guards and other key

²³ UN Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), previously MONUC.

²⁴ According to FCO website: <http://ukun.fco.gov.uk/en/uk-at-un/thematic-issues/resolving-conflict/peacekeeping/uk-personnel-contributions>

security institutions are overlooked. In Africa the mandate of Defence Attachés should be broadened to include the entire security sector, even as far as working with development workers to bring food and social security. These 'Security Sector Attachés', with cross government responsibilities, could be funded by cross-departmental arrangements.

5.4. Training of UK military personnel in Africa and of African military personnel in the UK

The UK is involved in significant amounts of training, particularly in West Africa with ECOWAS/ ECOBRIG and in East Africa with EASBRIG. These are two of the five regional standby brigades planned to be established by 2010 for AU peace and security interventions. In the last 10 years the MoD's main effort and focus in Africa has been on peace support capacity building among African Armed Forces. This work has been carried out through the network of Defence Attachés, military advisers and a number of permanently deployed training teams. The Africa APPG is strongly in favour of maintaining current levels of training and capacity building in Africa as a long term upstream investment in conflict prevention and nation building.

There are three permanent UK army deployments to Africa: British Peace Support Team for East Africa (BPST) based in Kenya; British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK) and International Military Assistance Training Team Team in Sierra Leone (IMATT (SL)).

The UK also has advisory teams to three further countries in Africa: in Ghana, the British Military Advisory Training Team for West Africa, to provide support and training to the Ghanaian Armed Forces and support to the Ghanaian Armed Forces Command and Staff College and the Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Centre; in Nigeria, the British Defence Advisory Team for Nigeria, to support the development of a professional Armed Forces and the Nigerian Peacekeeping Training Wing and in South Africa, the British Peace Support Team in South Africa to provide training and advice on the development of concepts and doctrine and to support the South African National War College, the Tactical Peace Support Training Centre and mission readiness training for peace support operations in the DRC.

In addition, the British military has undertaken military training and assistance on a bilateral basis. For example, activity funded through the Conflict Prevention Pool for 2009-10 includes peace support operations training in the DRC and Ethiopia, and English language training for the Sudanese armed forces.²⁵

Overseas military personnel both train in the UK at military establishments or on ships, and attend courses at academic institutions such as the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. Military personnel involved in training in the UK in 2008-09 came from Algeria, Botswana, DRC, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya,

²⁵ House of Commons Library – Commons Debate 10 March 2010, c66-74W (Hansard)

Libya, Malawi, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, and Sierra Leone.²⁶ Members of the Sudanese armed forces also attended the UK Defence Academy.

The purpose of training foreign military personnel in UK military establishments has been justified by the MoD thus:

The principal objective of this activity is to use British Defence assets in peacetime to discourage hostility abroad, build and maintain trust between states, and assist in the development of democratically accountable armed forces; thereby helping to make a significant contribution to conflict prevention and resolution.²⁷

The Africa APPG is strongly in favour of continuing our commitment to train African military personnel in order to increase the capacity and professionalism of the African military so that they are better equipped to deal with national and regional instability, prevent conflict and encourage peaceful resolution.

5.5. Military and security advice given to AU and other regional bodies and national governments

The advice the UK gives to the AU is mainly carried out via the missions identified above. However, they are also involved in other programmes such as support for the defence transformation programme in Sudan. The Sudan People's Liberation Army is currently a divided force and as long as they fail to act as a cohesive and accountable institution, they constitute a threat to the population. Aside from the regional instability, humanitarian crises and refugee flows created by the subsequent insecurity, other funds spent by the UK government (DfID in particular) are also threatened.

The majority of UK military assistance and security advice is provided to national governments in Africa on a bilateral basis through the mechanisms outlined above. Assistance to regional bodies such as the AU has largely been through collective multilateral initiatives such as the NATO Assistance to the AU mission, the EU-Africa Joint Strategy and the G8 Action Plan to enhance African Peace Support Operation Capabilities.

5.6. The work of the Global Conflict Prevention Pool

The Africa APPG considers the work of the Conflict Prevention Pool (CPP) to be a vital part of HMG's work in conflict situations. There are two elements to this: firstly, the focus of the funding which enables action targeted at some of the root causes of violent conflict in Africa; and secondly, the way it encourages cross-Whitehall coordination of effort on conflict prevention issues.

Most security and conflict threats emanating from Africa cannot be addressed by military means alone. They have deep and often complex political roots so require

²⁶ HC Deb 30 March 2010, c869W

²⁷ HC Deb 23 May 2003, c34

Careful political and social analysis and comprehensive approaches that address the spectrum of causes behind insecurity and conflict. As such the SDSR should recognise that an integrated or collaborative approach should be promoted.

The Africa APPG believes that collaboration could and should be improved within the CPP between the three partners. Allowing the funds to be sliced three ways between DfID, FCO and MoD has led to departments pursuing separate projects without input from the other partners. Furthermore, the Africa APPG encourages the Government to ensure the CPP receives secure funding as the current uncertainty on budget allocation and the budgetary process has limited the CPP's ability to provide effective conflict prevention programming.

5.7. UK arms trade with Africa and its regulation

The UK operates a strict strategic arms export control system based on a number of criteria. It is not clear, however, that all those criteria are applied consistently and the risks involved are always fully assessed. Too often in the past the misreading of Africa's politics has resulted in British arms being used against British interests. Britain sold tanks and other weapons to the military governments of Nigeria and armed the murderous Okello regime in Uganda. The arms industry also played a nefarious role in the 1998 South African arms deal.

The application of the criteria on 'Sustainable Development' would have particular relevance for exports to Africa and yet the UK has never refused an export licence on the grounds that it would have a negative impact on the sustainable development of the recipient country.

There is also the question of the system used by the UK, based solely on pre-export assessments. The UK has little post-delivery verification and does not systematically monitor whether the equipment it sends actually ends up in the hands of those who it is intended for. Post-delivery verification mechanisms or possible spot checks after receipt of the equipment would improve the UK's export control system significantly in this regard.

As a co-author and leading proponent of the initiative to negotiate an international Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) the UK has an interest in promoting high transfer control standards in Africa. Robust domestic regulatory frameworks for controlling arms transfers and managing stockpiles will be vital if African states are going to comply with their obligations under the new treaty. Future signatory states should already start thinking about possible next steps in order to re-adjust their domestic control systems in accordance with the Treaty. In addition to reiterating HMG's support for an international ATT, the SDSR should recognise that assisting African partner states to improve their transfer control systems could be seen as an additional contribution by the UK.

5.8. UK cooperation with our allies (i.e. US AFRICOM; NATO) on African security questions

The security risks emanating from Africa affect the western world as a whole, and Europe particularly, so our response must be coordinated with our allies. The British military continues to engage in most multilateral organisations that have an interest in African security including the UN, NATO, EU and G8. For example, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Co-operation Initiative are key mechanisms through which the countries of North Africa have been engaged. British participation in various peace support operations on the continent has also been channelled through the EU, UN or NATO.

British military co-operation or dialogue with the United States' AFRICOM, thus far, appears to have been minimal and ought to be strengthened.

6: Conclusions and Recommendations

The Africa APPG recognises that the Coalition Government remains strongly committed to Africa and its development. However, conflict has been, and remains, a formidable barrier to development in many parts of the continent. As such the UK's involvement in Africa must involve all three international departments.

The Africa APPG has reached five broad conclusions:

(1) Africa demands a comprehensive approach involving the FCO, MoD and DfID. Nation building and development in Africa, especially in conflict and post-conflict situations, requires the three international departments to work closely and effectively with one another. There must be better cooperation and collaboration between the three international departments, particularly with the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office both facing budget cuts. It is imperative that inter-departmental rivalries are not allowed to flourish or distract from the shared goals of reducing conflict and poverty and pursuing British interests in Africa.

(2) Funding for the Conflict Prevention Pool (CPP) should be maintained and be predictable and not fluctuate from year to year. Peacekeeping and state-building are expensive. Though UK intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000 is used as a good example of both military and post-conflict intervention, it was expensive both in terms of human and financial cost. Effective conflict prevention is vastly preferable and much less exacting on the British public purse. Coordination between the three departments within the CPP should be strengthened to further improve effectiveness and value for money.

(3) Defence Attachés have an important role and must remain in order to advise on defence and security matters, including arms sales. Their numbers should not be reduced. However their remit could be expanded to cover broader security concerns: police, customs and border patrols etc., even advising on development and food security. In some countries it may be appropriate to appoint a senior police officer as a civilian 'Security Sector Attaché' but not as a replacement of the Defence Attaché.

(4) The UK should continue to provide military training for African military personnel both in the UK and on the continent. Officers trained by the UK learn important political lessons about civilian control of armed forces as well as military skills and are usually well disposed to the UK throughout the rest of their military career. This is of long term value to the UK.

(5) The security risks emanating from Africa affect Europe and the western world, not just the UK. Our response to them needs to be coordinated with our allies in NATO and the European Union. NATO's new strategic concept should recognise the need for the Alliance to address these risks in Africa through interventions like Operation Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean and Operation Ocean Shield off the Horn of Africa. Likewise, the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy need an

African dimension to provide the policy framework for initiatives like Operation Atalanta and civilian missions such as in the DR Congo and Chad.

In recent years British engagement in Africa has improved the lives and livelihoods of millions of Africans. Though the Department for International Development has taken the lead on this, the FCO and MoD – along with SOCA and other agencies – have played a pivotal role by providing crucial political analysis, security and training, among other things. A comprehensive approach drawing on the separate expertise of each international department is vital, as is the continued funding of joint mechanisms such as the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool. The Africa APPG urges the National Security Council to provide the necessary leadership and to make Africa one of its strategic priorities.

About the Africa All Party Parliamentary Group

The Africa APPG was established in January 2003. Its purpose is to raise the profile of African and pan-African issues at Westminster.

The current officers of the Group are:

President:	Lord Steel of Aikwood
Vice-Presidents:	Lord Avebury Baroness Chalker of Wallasey
Chair:	Hugh Bayley MP
Vice-Chairs:	Lord Chidgey Baroness D'Souza Lord Lea of Crondall Mark Pritchard MP
Treasurer:	Lord Brooke of Sutton-Mandeville
Secretary:	Mark Lancaster MP

The administration costs of the Group are covered by the Royal African Society (www.royalafricansociety.org)

Previous inquiries by the Group:

Averting Catastrophe: AIDS in 21st Century Africa (2004)

The UK Government and Africa: How joined up is Whitehall? (2005)

The Other Side of the Coin: The UK and Corruption in Africa (2006)

Strengthening Parliaments in Africa: Improving Support (2008)

Land in Zimbabwe: Past Mistakes, Future Prospects (2009)

For electronic copies of these reports please visit the Royal African Society website.

The Africa APPG can be contacted via:

G11 Norman Shaw South
House of Commons
London
SW1A 0AA
UK

Tel: +44 (0) 207 219 2485
Email: odonoghuea@parliament.uk