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Horn of Africa Bulletin (October 2008)

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HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

Analyses

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The long winding road to peace in Northern Uganda

Introduction

After twenty years of conflict in Northern Uganda, it had remained uncertain whether the two parties would ever engage in a meaningful peace process to resolve the conflict that had left scars and a dent on Uganda's development process and image. With all the hallmarks of contemporary civil wars, the conflict was atrocious on civilian life in Northern Uganda, including the abduction of children, burning of homes and property, looting of property, sexual enslavement and distortion of livelihood activities. The fear and trauma sustained by the people in Northern Uganda through the cult-like approach of the rebellion made the economic damages look secondary. However, unlike other civil wars on the African continent, the political agenda of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) had hitherto remained unclear or at the very least unelaborated, and this together with the targeting of civilians denied it the sympathy and support of the affected populations. Another feature of the civil war in Northern Uganda was the fact that the conflict had been geographically confined to the Northern region for its duration. This made it less of a threat to the national centre of state power. The irony of having significant growth and development recorded in other regions of the country amidst an appalling humanitarian disaster in Northern Uganda made the conflict a forgotten emergency.

The long road to peace

The initial attempts at peace talks between the Government of Uganda and the LRA, that were pursued by the former Minister the Honourable Betty Bigombe and later by religious leaders, did not yield much progress. At the cost of being labeled collaborators with the LRA, religious leaders in Northern Uganda had gained considerable access to the rebels. However, mutual mistrust between the parties and lack of an independent mediator in the early 1990's had rendered the attempts futile. While peace talks between the two parties remained elusive, a coalition of Civil Society Organisations working in Northern Uganda embarked on an advocacy campaign at

both the national and international levels for the peaceful resolution of the conflict. In May 2006, when the Vice President of Southern Sudan made an overture to the LRA offering to mediate peace talks, it was greeted with skepticism and eventually a wait-and-see attitude.

Yet, the peace talks that lasted from mid-2006 to April 2008 have been commended by analysts and the public in Uganda as presenting the best chance of ending the conflict. Given false starts to peace processes and the Government's preference for a military solution to the conflict, it was hardly anticipated that the Government of Uganda would appoint two senior Cabinet Ministers to lead the negotiations with the LRA. By so doing, the Government won a tactical war against the criticism that it was not interested in resolving the conflict peacefully. By appointing a sober-headed Minister to head its delegation to the peace process, and remaining committed to the process despite provocations, infighting and reshuffles in the LRA delegation, the Government has retained a moral high ground in the process.

While it is still too early to assess all the achievements of the peace process in Northern Uganda, there is a clear improvement in the human security of the people of Northern Uganda. The first breakthrough in the peace process came with the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement that made security possible. In this Agreement the parties agreed not to fight each other during the peace negotiations so as to allow for a credible process. In return the LRA, who had up until then scattered in Northern Uganda, agreed to assemble in designated areas in Southern Sudan, leading to a complete withdrawal of LRA combatants from Northern Uganda. To date, this withdrawal of the LRA from Northern Uganda has brought the calm and security that had been elusive to Northern Uganda in the previous twenty years. Scenes of the LRA marching hundreds of miles into Southern Sudan in honour of the Agreement were indeed historic. The Cessation of Hostilities Agreement may have been drawn in haste and violated several times by the parties, but it deserves to be credited with the relative calm prevailing in Northern Uganda. For two years now there has been no gun shot between the warring parties, and the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their original homes after more than ten years in camps is a testimony to the security that has been achieved.

Additionally, it is through the peace process that the Government of Uganda has embarked on a process of development and reconstruction in Northern Uganda. Marginalisation of the Northern Uganda region remained an important point of discussion during the peace process, the Government has, however, put together an ambitious recovery and development plan for Northern Uganda. This plan is important to the process for various reasons. First, it will help the Government in approaching the donors with this plan as a clear blueprint and demonstration of its commitment to rebuilding Northern Uganda, and a commitment to the peace process. Secondly, the plan provides good political capital for the Government to delve into a region where feelings of marginalisation have prevailed and been elaborately expressed against the ruling regime in recent elections. By extension, therefore, the plan will counter any LRA positions or claims of being a voice for the marginalised region. But more importantly, the plan provides a framework for the coordination of interventions in Northern Uganda, which had before been disjointed, duplicated, and inefficient. While this three-year plan will definitely not address all the challenges of developing and rebuilding Northern Uganda, it provides an important kick-start and a significant token. Its implementation will, however, need to steer clear of the corruption that has dogged previous interventions in the region.

However, notwithstanding the progress made in the peace process, important challenges to its conclusion remain. One sticky point in the negotiations remains the indictments issued against five members of the LRA Commanders by the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2005. Following a referral by the Government of Uganda in 2003, the ICC had investigated the Commanders for war crimes

and crimes against humanity, concluding that the five leaders had a case to answer before the ICC. Consequently arrest warrants were issued in 2005. Since then, the indictments have opened a debate about the merits and dangers of the ICC involvement. The view held by many in Uganda, and now being echoed by the LRA Peace Delegation, is that the indictments will obstruct the signing and implementation of the final peace agreement. Proponents of this school of thought maintain that pursuing justice when a conflict has not concluded jeopardises the safety of witnesses and victims, as well as compromises the interest of justice. They further maintain that it is redundant to expect forces that failed to defeat the LRA to execute the arrest warrants. Neither does a possible prosecution of the indicted leaders in their view answer the broader transitional justice issues that transcend the international criminal justice discourse. On the other hand, those supporting the ICC indictments argue that it was actually the indictments that drove the LRA Commanders to the negotiating table, only to attempt to circumvent the judicial process through the peace process.

One can be sure that this debate is not likely to be resolved or concluded soon. The one important thing that should not be lost, though, is that the ICC represents a resolve by the world through the United Nations (UN) General Assembly to end impunity against war crimes and crimes against humanity. As a court of law, the ICC has procedures and legal frameworks to contest any charges against those indicted. The LRA call for the ICC to withdraw charges against them is reminiscent of self righteousness and runs counter to the universal and age-old principles of justice. That said, the Government of Uganda as a party to the conflict had not exhausted its options before referring the case to the ICC especially given that the conflict was still ongoing, and it had not demonstrated that the legal processes in Uganda were deficient. On its part the ICC would have been more effective if it was sensitive to other transitional justice mechanisms in the Country and an appropriate timing of the process.

There is no doubt that the Northern Uganda peace process has made significant inroads in not only resolving the conflict, but also restoring security, albeit relatively in Northern Uganda. That all agenda items for the peace talks have been concluded with a signed agreement, save for the Final peace Agreement, in itself is a remarkable achievement. However, the continued delay, if not refusal by the LRA leadership to sign the final peace Agreement, puts to question their commitment to the peace process. In so doing they have fully exhausted the patience of all parties to this peace process, and the goodwill of the victims of the conflict, let alone the people of Southern Sudan who have hosted the LRA combatants during the peace process. Despite this uncertainty, it is important that the interest, commitment and participation garnered through this process are not lost so easily.

However, the recent attacks, killings and abductions of children in the north eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) demonstrate that they have not given up their old ways. The reasons for the recent wave of attacks remain unclear. While the LRA may have been successfully lured out of Northern Uganda during the peace process, they will continue to remain a menace to the region, especially in Southern Sudan and Eastern DRC. Even with a small force, history has shown that the LRA always rejuvenates itself into a formidable guerrilla group that thrives on abductions, as long as it has access to weapons. Logically, the Governments in the region as well as the Mission of the United Nations in the Congo (MONUC) are predisposed to take collective military action against the LRA should the current wave of attacks against civilians continue. Such a plan has its disadvantages, as it will leave in tatters an already fractured peace process.

Increasingly the LRA finds itself isolated and in need of space to survive, especially given the fact that during the Juba peace process it was denied the territorial leverage of Northern Uganda and Southern Sudan that it for so long had unrestricted access to. In addition, it is also possible that the LRA has read the

signals of a joint regional plan of military action against it, thereby making the attacks a pre-emptive effort, or attempts to dissuade the recent wave of desertions within its ranks. Whatever the reason, the recent attacks, abductions and killings in the North Eastern DRC re-echo the notoriety with which the LRA has hitherto been associated, but was attempting to shed during the Juba peace process. The systematic abduction of children, burning of villages and looting of property is a trademark attribute of the LRA that will return to haunt it.

The peace process has also provided an opportunity for the Government of Uganda to engage the Ugandans, especially the Acholi, living in the diaspora who, although important stakeholders in the peace process, had so far been at the periphery. While a majority of the diaspora has an interest in ending the conflict peacefully, there are also spoilers among them who will frustrate the process as long as the persistence of conflict satisfies their political or other interests. Anyone who has been following the peace process will note that the involvement of some of the diaspora, both as mediators and most importantly influencing the process behind the scenes, has been unprecedented. Although not proven, allegations of some elements in the diaspora providing moral and financial support to the LRA are not new, with the most recent being last minute advice to the LRA leader Joseph Kony not to sign the Final Peace Agreement. This development brings to light the need to engage the members of the diaspora directly, or through the Governments in their host states, in order to involve them more in the peace process and the development of Northern Uganda. It is important that key elements among the diaspora, mainly in the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries are identified, actively challenged and engaged in the peace process in Northern Uganda.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, the process that started in earnest and drew high expectations from the public within Uganda and the international community is now hanging in limbo regarding its logical conclusion. Whether through a conclusion of the peace agreement and the eventual odious process of implementing it or through a military intervention, finality in the conflict is needed to settle outstanding questions of reconciliation, justice and the reconstruction of Northern Uganda. It will be evident that the ghosts of the war will come to haunt the community and all parties to the conflict. Secondly, the challenge of rebuilding Northern Uganda remains huge; more than the economic costs, the social fibre that had broken down during the conflict will take a long time to mend. The reconciliation process between communities and individuals in the region is more complex than we can perhaps imagine, but there is the will to foster greater reconciliation in the region that is being spearheaded by the traditional chiefs and leaders of Acholi, Lango and Teso.

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Women of faith transforming conflict in the Horn of Africa – A reflection

The *Religions for Peace* Women Mobilization Program launched the African Women of Faith Network (AWFN) in January 2003, as the first regional sub-network of its Global Women of Faith network, to provide a mechanism for cooperation and coordination for women of faith interventions in Africa. The AWFN brings together over 500 organisations of women of faith, representing all of the diverse religions

and nations in Africa. The growing Network serves as an increasingly valuable resource for women of all faiths to communicate and learn from each other, and to build bridges between faith-based organisations and major international agencies.

In Africa, *Religions for Peace* works with the African Council of Religious Leaders (ACRL) to harness the power of multi-religious cooperation to advance peace and shared security. The ACRL and its staff in the Women's Mobilization Program support the growth of the AWFN by building the capacity of women of faith to assume increasingly visible leadership roles in efforts to transform conflict, promote peace, and advance sustainable development. It links, strengthens, validates and allows for the exchange of unique leadership practices, coping mechanisms and service provision approaches among women of different religions and in multi-cultural settings. As a result of capacity development and skills-building carried out by the ACRL/*Religions for Peace*, women of faith have gained visibility as religious leaders in very substantial terms and are moving to the forefront of faith-based action agendas.

In particular, women of faith possess valuable experiences and resources that, when mobilized, can strengthen community-based actions for peace and human development. As primary care-givers in families and communities, women of faith have a huge interest in community stability, and therefore take it upon themselves to ensure peacebuilding in unofficial ways. Some of the women connected to the AWFN are peace activists, advocating for non-violence; others are mediators, trauma healing counselors and practitioners addressing the root causes of violence; and still others are educators or facilitators of capacity-building in their communities. Through their established national networks in their countries, women of faith are bridging the gaps across traditional ethnic, religious and cultural divisions, coming together over shared concerns regarding the practicalities of life.

This was recently witnessed in Kenya following the violence after the December 2007 elections. The Kenya Women of Faith Network held a press conference and issued a press statement. The women were concerned about the plight of women and children in the camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in various parts of the country. The message that they passed to the politicians was summarised in a sentence, "*Let us unite Kenya, unite hearts, let peace and love prevail in Kenya.*" This was supposed to be a good reminder to Kenyans that they were one large family, guided by common spiritual values embedded in love as stipulated in scripture.

Conflict situations in the Horn of Africa have opened up unintended spaces for empowering women to create structural social transformations and produce new realities that redefine gender. As war escalates, women continue to move away from their traditional roles in order to meet the social and economic demands of war. Some women have become first-time sole breadwinners, active in politics and leaders in their own right. War as well as post-war situations, have dramatically changed women's roles. In Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda, where gender-based violence has been escalated by conflict, women of faith are running counseling and rehabilitation programmes and are taking care of people suffering from HIV/AIDS and war orphans. In Northern Uganda, women of faith were part of high-powered negotiation forums in Juba.

The challenge to survive in the absence of men has created the sudden expansion of women's private as well as public roles in conflict areas. They organise formal and informal small local groups with an aim of providing relief to vulnerable populations (primarily women), the elderly and children. Women of faith continue to use their traditional invisibility in the public sphere to create space for their activism. They have redefined traditional gender roles prescribed by society to empower themselves and other women. Women of faith are assuming leadership roles in the aftermath of war, leading successful delegations to seek audiences with rebel leaders, since the women are seen as doing God's work and untainted by politics and the posturing of war.

Women of faith networks' presence at the national level with a wide outreach in the communities and knowledge of local affairs make women effective early warning monitors, and alerters for increasing tensions and other signs of potential conflict. Their often extensive kinship relations and social prospects make women highly effective mediators. Moreover, their status as outsiders and the perception that they are not primary stakeholders in conflict also reveals a role of possibly better negotiators and originators of new approaches to peacebuilding. Due to their gender-specific experiences, women have a deep knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the local civilian population.

However, women of faith often do not have the political and social power to address their concerns. Furthermore, most peace processes lack the presence of women during the negotiations among conflict parties. Therefore, women's needs and concerns are often left out of final peace agreements that have a long-term impact on the future society. Women also lack resources to build their capacities and strengthen their networks for more pro-active involvement in issues of their concern. Their capabilities and endowments as religious leaders and actors are critical to mobilizing the collective action that is central to bringing about sustainable peace. Peace agreements are not just about establishing a cease-fire, but are also a framework for rebuilding and restructuring an entire war-torn society, and the involvement of women is critical at the decision-making level.

As part of the back-drop of this reality, the *Religions for Peace* AWFN continues to facilitate the involvement of women of faith in critical peacebuilding entities in the Horn of Africa. Women of faith are now members of the working group of the Great Lakes Inter-Religious Peace Network (GL IRN), whose other members are senior religious leaders from Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Tanzania and Sudan. We also endeavour to greatly increase women of faith capacities through training in conflict transformation, gender-based violence, poverty alleviation, HIV&AIDS, as well as mainstreaming of gender in the religious fraternity. It is through enhancing the role of women of faith as spiritual overseers that we can support communities as they struggle to establish sustainable peace in the Horn of Africa.

Emma Kangethe

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(Religions for Peace Africa)*

NEWS AND EVENTS

GENERAL

New Secretary-General of AACC appointed

Rev. Dr. André Karamaga will succeed Rev. Dr. Mvume Dandala as General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). Dr. Dandala's term will officially come to an end in December 2008. The election of Dr. Karamaga was revealed by the AACC General Committee. Dr. Karamaga will be inaugurated at the forthcoming General Assembly meeting of the AACC in Maputo, Mozambique (7 to 12 December). He was nominated for the position by his own church – the Presbyterian Church of Rwanda. He previously served the AACC as Programme Executive in charge of Theology (1990-1995) and as a member of its policy-making organs. Dr. Karamaga also served as the President of the Conseil Protestante du Rwanda (CPR), as Vice-

President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and as a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (WCC). He now rejoins the AACC from the WCC, where he was working as the Executive Secretary for the Africa Region”

DJIBOUTI

Parliamentarians complete workshop on legislative roles and functions

A two-day workshop for members of the Djibouti National Assembly, focusing on the Assembly’s legislative role and functions, was successfully completed in early October. The seminar was organised with the support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). According to the UNDP representative in Djibouti, Sunil Saigal, this workshop was another step in a process of capacity-building for the national parliament. The workshop will be followed by other training activities in thematic areas that are closely related to the constitutional competencies of the National Assembly and that are specially tailored for members and administrative staff of the National Assembly. The cooperation between UNDP and the National Assembly was initiated in 2003 and will continue in the coming years.

Agence Djiboutienne d’information

DJIBOUTI-ERITREA

Border tensions discussed in the UN Security Council

A United Nations Security Council (UNSC) meeting on 23 October heard calls for the peaceful resolution of the current border dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea. Representatives of Djibouti and Eritrea outlined their positions to a Council meeting that also heard statements from the Council’s 15 members, in which they stressed the need for restraint and backed existing international efforts to mediate a settlement. Djibouti’s President Ismail Omar Guelleh asked to call on Eritrea to meet its international obligations and move to end the dispute, which centres on an undemarcated border in an area known as Doumeira. If not, he said, sanctions may be needed. Guelleh emphasised that Djibouti pulled its forces back from the border area and has pursued a diplomatic and peaceful solution. Eritrea’s Permanent Representative to the UN, Ambassador Araya Desta, said his country had already dealt with Djibouti’s “unwarranted statements” at a previous Council meeting on the issue, adding that it was Djibouti that had provoked the conflict in June. Eritrea had exercised restraint and not taken any land belonging to Djibouti, and there had not been any new developments since the fighting four months ago.

Between 10 and 12 June, serious clashes were reported between the Djibouti Armed Forces (DAF) and the Eritrean Defence Forces (EDF) along the unmarked border between the two countries in an area called Doumeira. The fighting, which left over 35 dead and dozens wounded, sparked some internal displacement in Djibouti

UN News Service, Associated Press (AP), BBC

KENYA

Release of Waki-report: prominent culprits remain secret

The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence (CIPEV), headed by appellate Judge Philip Waki, was officially handed over to President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga on 15 October. The so-called Waki-report is based on five months of hearings and investigations. The report rules out amnesty for people accused of serious crimes during post-election violence. Instead it proposes the setting up of a “Special tribunal for Kenya” to prosecute suspects – both

civilians and members of the security forces. The report says impunity and lack of accountability were responsible for the chaos and that the language of “forgive and forget” would only help to breed more chaos in the future. During the post-election crisis, there were obvious and serious criminal offences committed under Kenyan law and international human rights law breaches. Another major finding of the Waki-report is that the National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) had predicted the violence in reports that were shared with Government officials.

A controversial aspect of the Report release is a list of prominent culprits from political and economic elites that will be kept secret until the “Special Tribunal for Kenya” is set up. If the Special Tribunal is not established within 60 days from the Report’s release, the list will be handed to the International Criminal Court (ICC) at The Hague. The list includes six current ministers, five current Members of Parliament (MPs), and former MPs and prominent business men from the Central and Rift Valley provinces. The names were withdrawn at the last minute in order to prevent the culprits from interfering with evidence.

The question of how the recommendations of the Report will be implemented remains open. While representatives of the international community, including Chief Mediator Kofi Annan, as well as majority of the general public and media urge for appropriate action and highlight the importance of justice, Kenyan politicians remain divided over the findings and their implementation.

The Nation (Nairobi), IRIN, Catholic Information Service for Africa (CISA), The Standard (Nairobi)

Clan clashes add to plight of displaced in northeastern Kenya

At least two people have been killed and scores wounded amid fresh inter-clan fighting in the northeastern region of Kenya in the Mandera district. According to the Kenyan Red Cross, fighting broke out on 16 October between members of the Garre and Murule clans over land that people displaced by flooding temporarily had settled on. At least 10,000 people were displaced after heavy rains in the region and in parts of neighboring southern Somalia. In addition, fighting has been reported at Gari hills, 130 km from Mandera town. As a response to the tensions, security patrols have been stepped up while local leaders have held peace meetings to facilitate humanitarian access. Thousands of people in the area are in need of food aid.

IRIN, Reuters

SOMALIA

Puntland opposition leader calls for election commission

Talking to Radio Garowe, Puntland’s leading opposition leader, Abdirahman Mohamed “Farole”, has called for the establishment of a nonpartisan Election Commission ahead of the January 2009 presidential elections. The Commission should be free from influence from Puntland government leaders or the presidential candidates. Furthermore, government resources should not be used to fund presidential campaigns. He also emphasised that “change is needed” in order to restore the region’s vision of being a strong provincial authority. According to Farole, his major priorities if elected president would include restoring security and drafting a new constitution that would then be subject to a public referendum.

Other presidential contenders like Gen. Abdullahi Ahmed “Ilkajir”, “Adan Mohamed “Gadale”, Nurradin Aden Dirie and Mohamed Abdi Nur have already begun on-the-ground campaigns. President Gen. Adde Muse has announced plans to run for re-election. The procedure and date of the elections is still being discussed in the regional state. While preceding presidents were chosen by the 66-member parliament, the people now demand general elections.

Garowe Online

SUDAN

Darfur civil society, tribal leaders discuss peace and reconciliation

Darfur civil society and tribal leaders met in early October at the Nyala University Center for Peace and Development Studies, for consultations in which to voice their opinions and views to achieve reconciliation in the region of western Sudan. The meeting was facilitated by the Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation (DDDC), an autonomous and non-politicised process that was established under Article 31 of the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) with a view to enabling all Darfurian stakeholders to discuss the challenges of restoring peace and resolving existing problems. The 45 members of civil society and tribal leaders present at the meeting discussed a wide range of issues during the two days of consultations.

In collaboration with the University Center for Peace and Development Studies in Nyala and El Fasher, and in coordination with the United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) Civil Affairs Department, the DDDC is facilitating consultations with specific stakeholders, including women, youth, and internally displaced persons (IDPs), in other areas of North and South Darfur throughout October. This process is supposed to feed Darfurian views into the peace process.

Sudan Tribune (ST)

UGANDA

Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda criticised

The Ugandan Government has allocated 97b Shilling to the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for the financial year 2008/09. PRDP is a three-year programme that aims at eradicating poverty in the northern part of Uganda. The Commissioner for budget policy, Kenneth Mugambe, said recently that the money would be given to the 40 districts falling under the PRDP programme. Additional funding from donors is expected, who pledged 300b Shilling for humanitarian and development assistance.

Meanwhile, the Acholi Parliamentary Group has agreed to seek a court injunction to halt the plan, claiming that its implementation is vague. More concretely, the concept of the recovery concept was confusing and captured a large geographical area. According to Member of Parliament Samuel Odonga Otto, “In the PRDP document, districts such as Kapchorwa, Busia, Arua, Mbale and Tororo among others have all been included as beneficiaries, one really wonders if some of these areas also suffered in the LRA rebellion.”

New Vision (Kampala), The Monitor (Kampala)

RESOURCES

GENERAL

Research Policy Forum: Greater Horn Horizon

The *Greater Horn Horizon* is an independent and autonomous Research Policy Forum, bringing scholars, intellectuals and other interested professionals from the Horn of Africa and the diaspora together to actively participate in the analysis and quest for sustainable responses to the regions’ root problems. Located in Djibouti, the Forum aims at supporting analysis of the current and future challenges of the Greater Horn Region (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda) through multidisciplinary policy research, as well as by reinforcing dialogue among researchers and with policy-makers.

www.greater-horn-horizon.org

MiniAtlas of Human Security

The MiniAtlas of Human Security, produced by the Human Security Report Project at Simon Fraser University, Canada, provides an at-a-glance illustrated guide to global and regional trends in human insecurity—focusing on wars, genocides, battle deaths, refugee flows and human rights abuses.

www.miniatlasofhumansecurity.info

Countering terrorism and human security in the Horn of Africa

In his article “Countering terrorism: human security solutions in the Horn of Africa”, Dr. Adrian Taylor examines war and terror in the Horn of Africa. The international, regional and humanitarian interests in the “war on terror” in the Horn of Africa, radiating from Somalia, are assessed to ascertain how the problem of terrorism can be countered and to develop some solutions in the region, as portrayed by the emergent human security discourse.

www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/TAYLOR_HumanSecurityAndCounteringTerrorism.pdf

KENYA

Website of Commission of Inquiry into the Post Elections Violence (CIPEV)

The Commission of Inquiry into the Post Elections Violence (CIPEV) is one of the commissions established after the post-election crisis in Kenya. This website has been established to enable greater interaction between the Commission and members of the public.

www.cipev.org/home.asp

The full text of the Commission report can be accessed at:

www.dialoguekenya.org/docs/PEV%20Report.pdf

People for Peace in Africa

People for Peace in Africa (PPA) is a voluntary ecumenical gathering of people committed to initiating and supporting peace activities throughout Africa. PPA came into being in 1989. Since then, numerous men and women have come together regularly to co-ordinate their efforts in promoting peace.

<http://peopleforpeaceafrica.org>

“Working for peace in conflict systems in Kenya: Addressing the post-election crisis 2008”

This text is the transcript of an interview with Dekha Ibrahim Abdi. The interview was conducted by Oliver Wils, Executive Director of the Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, on 14 June 2008.

www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/dialogue6_dekha_comm.pdf

SOMALIA

“Anatomy of a sanctions regime: failed efforts to implement sanctions in Somalia” (September 2008)

This report examines in detail the longest running UN Security Council sanctions measure still in existence (16 years). Somalia is quite possibly the least successful example of Council-imposed sanctions

www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.glKWLeMTIsG/b.4504111

“Piracy in Somalia: Threatening global trade, feeding local wars”

In this paper Roger Middleton, a consultant researcher working for the Africa Programme at Chatham House, outlines a number of options available to the international community to reduce the risks of piracy, but stresses that ignoring the problem is not one of them. Only a political solution in Somalia offers a long-term solution to piracy.

www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/12203_1008piracysomalia.pdf

SUDAN**“Opportunity in the midst of crisis”** (September 2008)

John Prendergast and Colin Thomas-Jensen, for the ENOUGH project, analyse three opportunities that in their view the international community must urgently seize.

www.enoughproject.org/files/reports/enough38.pdf

Report about opportunities and obstacles to the reintegration of IDPs and refugees

The Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) paper “The Long Road Home: Opportunities and obstacles to the reintegration of IDPs and refugees returning to Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Report of Phase II: Conflict, urbanisation and land” (September 2008), presents the findings from the second phase of an in-depth research project on the reintegration of IDPs and refugees returning to Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Research in Phase II was carried out in Juba town and Jonglei State.

www.odi.org.uk/hpg/papers/hpgcommissioned-reintegration-phaseII.pdf

New ICG Report: “Sudan’s Southern Kordofan problem: The next Darfur?”

(October 2008)

The latest report from the International Crisis Group examines the deteriorating situation in this strategic region between North and South.

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5738&l=1

“Surveying armed violence, arms and victimization in Southern Sudan: findings and challenges” (Household in Conflict Network Research Design Note 8, June 2008)

Drawing on the findings of three victimisation surveys, this paper by R. Muggah, R. Murray, R. Garfield and C. McEvoy considers the prospects for future disarmament in a particularly volatile region – Eastern Equatoria and northern Kenya.

www.hicn.org/research_design/rdn8.pdf

UGANDA**Kampala war crimes court under scrutiny** (August 2008)

By Rosebell Kagumire for the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), Africa Report No. 188, 29 September 2008

www.iwpr.net/?p=acr&s=f&o=346910&apc_state=henpacr

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Editorial information

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Editorial principles

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