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Horn of Africa Bulletin (January 2008)

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HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

Analyses

- ▶ **Somalia and the principle of proportionality**
- ▶ **The dynamics of refugee movements in the Horn of Africa – a reflection**

News and events

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Somalia and the principle of proportionality

Consider this scenario. A close ally of the US – Country X – is threatened by an expanding Islamist movement in a neighbouring failed state. The Islamists control and administer a strategic stretch of territory in that failed state, from which they sponsor armed insurgencies against Country X and make claims on its territory. While some observers consider the Islamists a legitimate liberation movement, others, including the US and its ally, view it as a terrorist organization and a proxy for regional rivals hoping to destabilize Country X. With intelligence and other support from the US, Country X launches a bold military strike against the “terrorists” and attempts to occupy the territory they hold. Whether by accident or design, the offensive and subsequent counter-insurgency produces enormous displacement and thousands of casualties among the civilian population, leading to a massive humanitarian crisis.

For observers of the Horn of Africa, this scenario is not hypothetical. It describes Ethiopia’s occupation of Mogadishu and year-long counter-insurgency against the remnants of Somalia’s Council of Islamic Courts (CIC) and other armed resistance groups. Ethiopia’s harsh campaign to expunge a radical Islamist movement from Somalia has produced what the UN describes as “the worst humanitarian crisis in the world.” An estimated 700,000 Somali civilians have been displaced by the fighting and are largely inaccessible to humanitarian aid groups.

International anxiety has mounted over the human costs of the Ethiopian counter-insurgency, but the debate it has provoked has generally been crude and sterile. On one side are those who justify Ethiopia’s offensive and counter-insurgency, invoking Ethiopia’s right of self-defence against a terrorist and irredentist threat and blaming the insurgents for the humanitarian crisis; on the other side are those who condemn the Ethiopian intervention as an illegal and unjustified invasion based on a paranoid misreading of a legitimate political movement.

By contrast, another variation on this scenario – Israel’s 2006 offensive against Hezbollah in southern Lebanon – elicited a very different, and in some ways much more nuanced, public debate. In that instance, Israel’s shelling of urban areas in

Lebanon and the massive population displacement produced by its attack generated a fierce debate *within* groups who, in principle, accepted Israel's right to defend itself against Hezbollah. That debate centred on the principle of proportionality, raising the question of whether Israel had violated the principle by launching a strike that was so disproportionate in response and that produced so many deaths and so much displacement among civilians in southern Lebanon. Israel's decision-makers were forced to confront these questions posed by its own citizens, which is as it should be when a democracy is at war.

The principle of proportionality and, by extension, just war theory is equally germane in the case of Ethiopia's counter-insurgency campaign in Mogadishu. In 2006, many of us watched with growing unease the creeping radicalization of the CIC and were especially alarmed at its bellicose rhetoric and actions toward Ethiopia, provocations that guaranteed a war the CIC could not win. Many reluctantly accepted Ethiopia's right to defend itself against a movement that was calling for jihad against Ethiopia, sponsoring armed insurgencies against the Meles government, and making irredentist claims on Ethiopian territory. The CIC hardliners leading this rash and foolish set of policies got the war they sought, and the Somali people have paid the price.

However, accepting in principle Ethiopia's right of self-defense did not give the Meles government a *carte blanche* to wage a counter-insurgency campaign that so clearly violates the principle of proportionality. The world would be hard pressed to find a just war theorist who would argue that the displacement of 700,000 civilians and the deaths of thousands more is an acceptable price to pay to oust a nascent Islamist administration that, for all its reckless rhetoric, presided over one of the poorest territories in the world and immediately collapsed in the face of an Ethiopian attack. If the Ethiopian counter-insurgency is now being waged for the sake of shoring up Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG), it is an even more egregious violation of the principle of proportionality; it is not at all clear that the hapless TFG is worth the loss of a single life.

Questions about the principle of proportionality in Somalia should be raised with the Bush administration as well, which has consistently backed the Ethiopian counter-insurgency and, ignoring a considerable body of evidence to the contrary, solely blames the insurgents for Somalia's horrific humanitarian crisis. In the Bush administration there has been a tendency to dismiss any discussion of ethics and proportionality in the "war on terror" by claiming that terrorism constitutes a "different kind of war" that is not amenable to what former US Ambassador to the UN, John Bolton, referred to as the "old thinking" about international humanitarian law. Still, the question remains: how many Somali civilians must die or be displaced in pursuit of three to five "high value" al-Qa'ida individuals? Can half a capital city be emptied of its people? Two-thirds? Where does it end? And where does the "responsibility to protect" begin?

For American and Ethiopian officials who reject the premise of the question – for whom "just war theory" is merely an exercise for academics who, as Orwell claimed, "sleep peaceably in their beds at night only because rough men stand ready to do violence on their behalf" – another question is worth pondering. How do you win a campaign for hearts and minds in a country where you in effect assign no value to the lives of the people whose hearts you are trying to win? Make no mistake – that is precisely the message Somalis are taking away from the past year of madness in Mogadishu, and no amount of humanitarian food relief from the West will make a dent in that perception. If we cannot demonstrate an active and consistent commitment to the value of human lives in Somali communities, those communities will respond in kind and assign no value to our lives. That is not a successful recipe for combating terrorism. If part of the "war on terror" is the waging of a war of ideas against a reactionary, violent interpretation of Islam, it would help to stand for some sort of ethical code besides "might makes right."

Nota bene: Israel's 2006 offensive into southern Lebanon was a disaster. The disproportionate use of force against civilian areas eroded Israel's moral standing in the eyes of its own citizens as well as outsiders, and the occupation failed. Israel withdrew its forces, and Hezbollah remains as active as ever in Lebanon although Israel's security is not immediately threatened. Are there lessons in Israel's ill-fated Lebanon experience for Ethiopia?

Ken Menkhaus,

Professor of Political Science at Davidson College, North Carolina, USA.

The dynamics of refugee movements in the Horn of Africa – a reflection

Of the many ties that bind the countries in a given region, refugees are an important one. The hospitality shown by Africans toward refugees from neighbouring countries is legendary, but no less remarkable. It puts to shame rich European countries that complain about tens of thousands of “asylum seekers” (which is apparently the new jargon word for refugees) when poor African countries are absorbing literally millions.

Those who think of Sudan as a net producer of refugees have a short memory. During the upheavals in Uganda over the last four decades, tens of thousands of Ugandans were welcomed into southern Sudan where they stayed for many years.

This period gives rise to one of my favourite anecdotes about the aid industry. I believe it is from Barbara Harrell-Bond's seminal study, *Imposing Aid -- Emergency Assistance to Refugees*, published in 1986. It tells of a refugee camp in southern Sudan where the European aid workers, in all sincerity and probably following the old adage that teaching someone to fish is better than giving them a fish, decided to give seeds and tools to the Ugandan refugees so that they could support themselves. As the bewildered refugees lined up to be handed their self-sufficiency packages by the keen young *wazungu*, the first in line said politely in impeccable English, “Well actually I'm an air traffic controller and I don't know how to farm”. Behind him were neurosurgeons, city administrators and all sorts of other people who could have run the refugee camp far better than the inexperienced young foreigners. Quoting from memory, I might have exaggerated a bit; however, the point is made.

Sudanese have certainly benefited from the hospitality of their neighbours. During the first civil war (1955-1972), refugees from Equatoria gained a first class education in Kenya and Uganda. During the second war (1983-2005), refugees from all over the south poured into Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire/Congo and the Central African Republic, and also found their way much further afield to other African countries and eventually to Europe, North America and Australia. Often the influx of refugees caused secondary humanitarian crises in the host countries, but despite local tensions, refugees have generally been accepted.

Sometimes the conflict that is creating refugees is mainly internal and does not spill into neighbouring countries. The excesses of Milton Obote, Idi Amin and other Ugandan leaders did not directly affect Sudan, and the civil wars in southern Sudan were fought almost exclusively in the south. However, other conflicts were cross-border by their very nature. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) was supported by the then Government of Sudan and operated in both Uganda and Sudan, and the conflict in Darfur is complicated by the fact that many of the ethnic groups straddle the border between Sudan and Chad. In these latter conflicts refugees are not safe – the very forces that they have escaped from may pursue them across the border. In yet other cases, refugees get caught up in the internal dynamics of their new host

country – this was particularly true when Mengistu Haile Mariam was overthrown in 1991 and Ethiopia suddenly became a very hostile environment for the huge number of southern Sudanese refugees who were living there. And host countries are not always subtle when hinting to refugees that they have overstayed their welcome. The sudden influx of over 110,000 returnees to Yei and Kajo Keji after the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) liberated the area in 1997 was not purely a sign of their joy at the military victory – harsh measures by Ugandan local authorities spurred them on their way.

That, incidentally, was one of the prouder moments in the recent history of the aid industry in southern Sudan. Realising the scope of the emergency when this huge number of people returned out of the blue, the humanitarian wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) called a coordination meeting of UN agencies and NGOs, and for a few short weeks we saw one of the best examples of cooperation that I have ever experienced. Different agencies took responsibility for different sectors and there was a general pooling of resources. Perhaps most importantly, it was the initiative of, and owned by, the local authorities.

Nowadays, the refugee situation in the region is changing yet again. Refugees are slowly contemplating returning to southern Sudan, although as long as there are better education opportunities in Kakuma than at home, it will be a slow process. The LRA conflict is quiescent and there is still hope of peace there. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) remains unstable and no doubt many Congolese still seek safety abroad. The Darfur situation is unlikely to improve for many years, despite whatever latest incarnation of peace keepers is being touted. And all of a sudden, Kenya has become a potential source of instability rather than a steady hand in a volatile region.

Refugee situations offer various economic opportunities for different actors. Towns such as Juba and Yei are now flooded with Ugandan and Kenyan entrepreneurs with an eye for a quick profit – in Europe they would probably be called “economic refugees”, or simply “dynamic business people”. Southern Sudan is a major source of employment for people from all over the region. Aid agencies are staffed largely by Kenyans, Ugandans and Ethiopians, although there still seem to be plenty of jobs for non-Africans at the higher levels.

Where will the next influx of refugees in the region come from? Let us hope and pray that it will not be Kenya, a country that has been remarkably stable, despite simmering tensions beneath the surface, for so long – until now. But wherever it is, it is likely that Sudan and other African countries will once again provide shelter to those forced to leave their homes due to violence.

John Ashworth

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NEWS

Kenya crisis

The post-election turmoil and widespread violence in Kenya have been both unexpected and shocking. While this issue of the Horn of Africa Bulletin will not cover or analyse these developments, we hope to be able to address this topic more thoroughly in a later issue. Here, we have compiled some of the initiatives that were taken up by a wide range of actors in order to call for a peaceful solution to the political crisis.

The *African Council of Religious Leaders (ACRL)*, for example, urged all Kenyan's to give peace and dialogue a chance and especially called for members and leaders of all religious traditions to work together for peace. The *National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK)* also urged an immediate restoration of peace and order as well as the political and religious leadership of Kenya to take responsibility for a peaceful and non-violent political solution.

The *World Council of Churches (WCC)* is also engaged and called on the political leaders, especially President Kibaki and Hon. Raila Odinga, to refrain from taking decisions that might frustrate the process towards dialogue for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The *Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)* also stated deep concerns about the post-election violence, and called on the political leaders to exercise restraint and urge their followers to seek a peaceful resolution.

Besides these organisations, high-profile individuals went to Kenya in order to mediate the conflict. Among them were Nobel Peace Laureate *Desmond Tutu*, the current African Union (AU) chairman Ghanaian President *John Kufuor* and US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Affairs, *Dr Jendayi Frazer*.

SUDAN

Incomplete hybrid force takes over

The UN-AU Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) took over from a purely AU mission on 1 January 2008 with the aim to stop the fighting between Sudanese government and rebel forces. In a briefing of the Security Council on 9 January, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, stated that the mission faced “probably the greatest risk” posed to a UN operation in more than a decade. “The violence in West Darfur presents a fundamental challenge to UNAMID, which is a peacekeeping force not designed to function in a war zone”, he continued. The mission still lacks essential logistics and equipment such as helicopters, and has only 9,000 troops out of its mandated strength of 26,000 on the ground.

The risks the hybrid mission is facing were illustrated by an attack with light weapons and rocket propelled grenades on a UNAMID supply convoy of over 20 clearly marked, slow moving white vehicles on 7 January. Later the same week Sudan's Government admitted that its troops had opened fire, contradicting an earlier denial by its ambassador to the UN.

UN News Service; Reuters; Security Council – Department of Public Information

Episcopal Church of the Sudan (ECS)

Archbishop Marona retires

Due to ill health, the Archbishop of the ECS, Dr. Joseph Marona, announced his retirement at the end of December 2007. In a farewell address held for the bishops in Juba on 29 December, the Archbishop thanked his fellow bishops for their good service and fellowship during his eight years of service. The Archbishop's successor will be elected in an emergency general synod to be held in Juba in February.

ECS

US Special Envoy for Sudan resigns

The US special envoy to Sudan, Mr. Andrew Natsios, resigned late December 2007. According to Mr. Natsios, he stepped down in order to devote more time to his teaching post at Georgetown University in Washington. Sources within the US

administration have, however, referred to Mr. Natsios' frustration with the slow pace of launching the joint AU- UN mission as an additional reason for his resignation. Mr. Richard Williamson will replace Mr. Natsios. He is a Chicago lawyer who currently serves on the board of the International Republican Institute, and who earlier worked as deputy to former US ambassador to the UN Mr. John Negroponte. *Associated Press*

SPLM rejoins GoNU and north Sudan troops leaves oil rich areas

On 27 December 2007, the SPLM rejoined the Government of National Unity (GoNU). This took place after agreements concerning several of the issues causing the SPLM to boycott the GoNU in October were reached between SPLM leader Salva Kiir and President Omar Hassan al-Bashir. The SPLM originally boycotted the GoNU due to allegations that the north was delaying the 2005 peace process by not withdrawing its troops from the oil rich regions of southern Sudan in accordance with the 2005 deal, and for a lack of transparency in the division of oil revenues between north and south Sudan. By the beginning of December, the two leaders agreed on both a transparent system for the management of the oil sector and a plan for troop redeployment. According to the Government of Sudan, the pullout of troops had been completed by 9 January. A southern official did, however, say that roughly 1,000 remained but were expected to trickle north over the next two days. *Reuters, Sudan Focal Point, Sudan Tribune*

ETHIOPIA-ERITREA

UN Mission calls on Ethiopia and Eritrea to show restraint after shooting incident

After a shooting incident in the border area observed on 26 December 2007, the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) called on both sides to show maximum restraint. The peacekeeping mission monitoring the ceasefire between Ethiopia and Eritrea reported that its observers heard firing sounds in the general direction of Gergera, southeast of Tsorena on the Eritrean side. Although denying it at first, Ethiopia acknowledged the incident and stated that "it may have been a result of an accidental encounter between the reconnaissance missions of the two parties."

UNMEE currently consists of 1,676 military personnel, including 1,464 troops and 212 military observers, as well as 147 international civilians, 202 local civilians and 67 UN Volunteers. UNMEE's mandate will expire on 31 January 2008. A meeting between the Security Council and the troop contributing countries will take place before the expiry of the mandate.

UN News Service; UN Security Council; Lutheran World Federation's Monthly Report Eritrea (December 2007)

ERITREA

Eritrean Government accused of deporting Eritrean refugees from Sudan

The Netherlands-based human rights group Eritrean Research and Documentation Center says that Eritrean security forces are illegally monitoring Eritrean refugees in Sudan, many of whom it says defected from the Eritrean Air Defense forces. In a letter to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Center says Sudan has allowed Eritrean intelligence agents to kidnap some of the refugees and return them

to Eritrea. According to a report published by *awate.com*, the abduction of Eritreans in Sudan is of a significantly bigger scale than originally reported. The report states that almost four thousand Eritreans, mostly those who escaped from the mandatory draft, have been picked up from Sudan, loaded in trailers and hauled back to Eritrea. *Voice of America; awate.com*

EU-Eritrean relations: European Commission discloses raise in aid

President Isaias Afewerki attended the 2nd Conference of African Countries and the EU held in Lisbon, Portugal. After a meeting with the President, Mr. Louis Michel, European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, said that the EU would enhance cooperation with Eritrea.

The European Commission disclosed that it will increase its humanitarian aid to vulnerable populations in five countries in the Greater Horn of Africa from 10 million € (\$14 million) to 30 million € (\$42 million). The funding will start from January 2009 and run until June 2009. All relief funds will be channelled through the Commission's Humanitarian Aid Department (Echo), which will disburse them to humanitarian organisations. The money will address pastoralist needs such as nutrition, health, water, sanitation, public health and hygiene in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti.

Lutheran World Federation's Monthly Report Eritrea (December 2007)

Member of U.S. Congress on a three day visit to Eritrea

US Congressman Donald M. Payne (Democrat), who is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health within the Committee for Foreign Affairs, went on a three-day visit to Eritrea in early January. He held talks with President Isaias to discuss US-Eritrean relations, the situation in the region and the Eritrean-Ethiopian border issue. Payne also met with different religious leaders, such as the Eritrean Mufti Sheikh Al-Amin Osman and His Holiness Abune Dioskoros, who is the 4th Patriarch of the Eritrean Orthodox Tewahdo Church. They informed him that Eritrea is a country where all religions coexist peacefully. According to Shabait, a news agency directly affiliated with the Eritrean Ministry of Information, Mr. Payne said after his visit that he has witnessed the Eritrean people's desire for peace and that he would strive to promote peace between the people of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Shabait

ETHIOPIA

National Forum Seminar in Addis Ababa

A seminar called "National Forum on Democratisation, Election, Constructive Dialogue and Peacebuilding in Ethiopia" was held 17-21 December 2007 at the UN ECA Conference Hall in Addis Ababa. The well-publicised seminar organized by the National Election Board of Ethiopia and Justice for All – Prison Fellowship Ethiopia brought together over 200 invited participants representing 52 political parties, members and staff of the Ethiopian National Election Board, and invited guests.

The Forum, which touched upon various topics, was, in the words of the organisers, "designed to stimulate constructive dialogue among Ethiopian scholars, the public and the political parties in search of the ideal path in this new Millennium for lasting peace, tolerance and robust economic development."

US aid team starts work in Ethiopia's Ogaden

According to the US embassy in Addis Ababa, a US team has started an assessment of the aid situation in Ethiopia's troubled Ogaden region. In 2007, the Ethiopian army launched a major offensive against separatist Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) rebels in the remote eastern region, which borders Somalia.

The US Embassy said the team, made up of experts from the US Agency for International Development and US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, would give an impartial assessment of the situation. Citing poor rains and restrictions on transport due to the conflict, the UN humanitarian agency OCHA said in early January that it was "increasingly concerned" about food security in the region.

In December 2007, Ethiopia expelled an Australian and a Briton working for the charity Save the Children UK after accusing them of diverting food aid to the ONLF. Several aid organisations were ordered out of Ogaden in July 2007. Since then the government has relaxed restrictions and has licensed the UN and 19 agencies to work there. *Reuters*

SOMALIA

Somalia among "top ten most underreported humanitarian stories" in 2007

For the seventh time, Somalia has appeared in the Médecins Sans Frontières' (MSF) annual list of underreported humanitarian crises. MSF began producing the list in 1998, when a devastating famine in southern Sudan went largely unreported in the US media. The list seeks to generate greater awareness of the magnitude and severity of crises not always reflected in media accounts.

Despite an escalation of violence in Somalia in 2007 that rose to some of the worst levels in over 15 years, both assistance for, and attention to, one of the most challenging and acute humanitarian situations in the world seemed to wane. The fighting between the combined forces of the TFG and the Ethiopian army and a complex insurgency, including remnants of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), caused an unknown number of civilian casualties and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people from Mogadishu.

MSF is among the few international aid organisations that managed to run effective independent aid programmes in Somalia. Present since 1991, MSF increased its operations in 2007 and is now running projects in 10 out of 11 regions of south and central Somalia.

MSF

Somalia's interim parliament approves partial new cabinet

Somalia's Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) has ratified a new cabinet announced by Somali Prime Minister Nur Hassan Hussein on 10 January. The Prime Minister had dissolved the former cabinet in December 2007 after five ministers and deputies quit, complaining that their clans had not been sufficiently represented.

Some 230 MPs were present for the ratification vote at the parliament hall in the trade town of Baidoa. The new cabinet is supposed to consist of 18 ministers; however, 3 positions still need to be appointed. It was downsized dramatically from the 31 ministers that had been part of the TFG since 2004. The slimmer cabinet includes many new faces, while renowned former government ministers are left out. In the hope of including more technocrats, a number of ministers are from outside the parliament, reflecting a push from western diplomats.

Prime Minister Nur Adde, who addressed the TFP after the vote, reiterated his government's policies, focusing on national security, reconciliation and the

facilitation of humanitarian aid. The new government has daunting tasks ahead, most importantly solving the country's security crisis with violence continuing in Mogadishu and spreading to other parts of south-central Somalia (Baidoa, Kismayu).

Reuters; Garowe online; Shabelle.net

UGANDA

LRA under pressure to leave hideouts in eastern DRC

Uganda and the DRC have agreed to pressure the LRA to leave Garamba National Park (DRC). In a meeting in early January between the chief of Uganda's Defence Forces, General Aronda Nyakairima, and the Congolese Chief of General Staff, Dieudonné Kayembe, it was agreed that the army of DRC and the UN mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) would exert pressure on the LRA to move to south Sudan.

The LRA leader, Joseph Kony, has been hiding in Garamba since the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) pushed him out of northern Uganda. Despite the signing of a truce with the Ugandan Government, LRA leaders have refused to quit their jungle hideouts in eastern DRC.

Institute of War and Peace Reporting, Africa Report No. 148; New Vision (Kampala)

Army warns IDPs against buying guns

The Ugandan army has warned the internally displaced persons (IDPs) living on the border of southern Sudan and Karamoja, currently returning to their homes, against the buying and selling of military hardware. There has been an influx of guns and other military hardware from southern Sudan and Karamoja into some parts of the Acholi sub-region. The UPDF 5th Division public relations officer, Lt. Deo Akiki, said in a press release on 2 January that it was illegal for civilians to carry guns. He added that troops had been deployed along the border to check arms trafficking.

According to Akiki, illegal arms in the hands of the IDPs may become another source of insecurity as some may use them to exact revenge against people whom they suspect to have killed loved ones during the conflict.

New Vision (Kampala)

RESOURCES

GENERAL

ICC outreach report 2007

The International Criminal Court's outreach report 2007 describes the progress in the implementation of its strategic plan in Uganda, Sudan (Darfur), as well as the DRC and the Central African Republic.

www.icc-cpi.int/library/OutreachRP2007-ENG.pdf

Documents from the EU-Africa Summit 2007 (Lisbon 7-9 December)

Lisbon Declaration: www.eu2007.pt/NR/rdonlyres/BAC34848-05CC-45E9-8F1D-8E2663079609/0/20071208LISBONDeclaration_EN.pdf

Joint Africa-EU Strategy: www.eu2007.pt/NR/rdonlyres/D449546C-BF42-4CB3-B566-407591845C43/0/071206jsapenlogos_formatado.pdf

ETHIOPIA

“Containing ethnic conflicts through ethical voting? Evidence from Ethiopia”

This article, written by French economist Marie-Anne Valfort, is based on a survey conducted among 331 students from Addis Ababa University. It poses the question of whether aversion towards inter-ethnic inequity induces citizens to vote for a party promoting an equitable allocation of national resources among ethnic groups.

www.hicn.org/papers/wp35.pdf

Updates and information on the humanitarian situation in Ethiopia provided by UN OCHA Ethiopia

www.ocha-eth.org

SUDAN

Facts and figures about the UN-AU hybrid mission in Darfur

<http://unamid.unmissions.org>

The deployment of UNAMID

As a joint report of more than 20 NGOs engaged in Darfur, the report “UNAMID deployment on the brink: the road to security in Darfur blocked by government obstructions” (December 2007) describes the difficulties behind establishing UNAMID.

www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/unamid1207web.pdf

Updated oil map

The European Coalition on Oil in Sudan’s (ECOS) oilmap is updated and is now available in size A4.

www.ecosonline.org

“Humanitarian action still under fire in Darfur”

This article, published by the humanitarian NGO Refugees International, outlines policy recommendations for different actors to ease the suffering of displaced persons in Darfur.

www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/10349

“South Sudan crisis over but war still possible”

This article written by Gill Lusk explores the threat of a return of war in south Sudan.

www.monitor.bbc.co.uk/gs911/background_briefings/sudan/analysis/south.htm

New Small Arms Survey papers on Sudan

“A Paramilitary Revolution: The popular defence forces” (December 2007)

Jago Salmon provides a historical review of the Popular Defence Forces (PDF) from 1989 until 2006.

www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP%2010%20PDF.pdf

“Violence and Victimization after Civilian Disarmament: The Case of Jonglei” (December 2007)

This working paper by Richard Garfield reports findings of a victimization survey undertaken in Jonglei State, south Sudan, where both coercive and ‘voluntary’ disarmament occurred.

www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP%2011%20Jonglei%20violence.pdf

Enough Strategy Briefing #10: “Democracy: A key to peace in Sudan”

John Prendergast and Roger Winter are exploring three critical electoral milestones to the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).
www.enoughproject.org/files/reports/sudanpeacekey_20080108.pdf

Protecting civilians in Darfur

The report “Protection of Civilians – Learning from Darfur” summarises an international seminar hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark and Danish Church Aid (DCA) in Copenhagen that took place in September 2007.
<http://r2p.eu/uploads/ConferenceDocFINAL.pdf>

The aid business in South Sudan

Elke Grawert: The aid business in south Sudan after the CPA, in: Bass et. al. (eds.), Economic systems in a changing world economy, Berlin/London/New Brunswick, pp. 387-402.

SOMALIA**UN Special Representative for Somalia briefs the Security Council**

In a UN Security Council briefing on 17 December 2007, the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Somalia, Mr. A. Ould-Abdallah, outlined three possible approaches for international involvement in Somalia.
www.un-somalia.org/UN_Special_Representative/Statements/SRSGStatement16.asp

Statement by the President of the Security Council on Somalia, 19 December 2007

www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=S/PRST/2007/49

Somalia NGO Security and Preparedness and Support Programme (SPAS)

This programme launched by the Somalia NGO Consortium aims to reduce the risks posed to programme personnel and assets of NGOs operating in Somalia through the provision of specialised, coordinated and focused security management support in the form of regular reports.
www.somaliangoconsortium.org/spas.php

UGANDA**The re-introduction of a multiparty system in Uganda**

The working paper “Turnaround: the National Resistance Movement and the re-introduction of a multiparty system in Uganda” (December 2007) published by the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) addresses the process of the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Uganda. CMI is an independent centre for research on international development and policy, located in Bergen, Norway.
www.cmi.no/publications/file/?2886=turnaround-the-national-resistance-movement-and

Attitudes about peace, justice and social reconstruction in Northern Uganda

“When the war ends. A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice, and Social Reconstruction in Northern Uganda” (December 2007) is the result of a population-based survey in northern Uganda conducted by the Human Rights Center, the Payson Center for International Development and the International Center for Transitional Justice.
<http://payson.tulane.edu/research/reports/pdf/When-The-War-Ends.pdf>

Addressing vulnerabilities in northern Uganda

The report “Returning to uncertainty? Addressing vulnerabilities in Northern Uganda”, conducted by Norwegian Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies on behalf of UNDP and the Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda, focuses on the issues and challenges thrown up by the return situation facing IDPs.

www.fafo.no/nyhet/return2uncertainty.pdf

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Editorial information

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Editorial principles

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