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HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

Analyses

- ►Piracy in Somalia and the response of the international community
- ►Struggle for education and development in Somaliland's eastern periphery

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Piracy in Somalia and the response of the international community

Introduction

Piracy along Somalia's coast has increased dramatically in the last years, with a rapid escalation between 2007 and 2009 during the Ethiopian presence of Mogadishu. The international community has reacted to this challenge, adopting various initiatives aimed at reducing the phenomenon and escorting naval vessels, without great result. As underlined by many analysts, piracy is strictly connected with the striking socio-economic contradictions on the ground: the only long-term solution to the issue is the end of the civil strife in Somalia and the economic development of the region.

The impact of piracy on the international trade

In 2008 only, 111 acts of piracy and armed robbery were registered off the Somali coast: this trend is increasing in 2009, in spite of the efforts undertaken by the international community[1]. This escalation, which is seriously threatening sea routes safety in the area, is even more important in consideration of Bab-el Mandeb's strategic location as a natural bridge between the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Aden (which is an extension of the Indian Ocean) and the Red Sea.

Each year 3.3 million oil barrels (12% of oil world traffic) directed to European markets are carried through this chokepoint: the alternative way, much longer, entails the circumnavigation of the African continent through the Cape of Good Hope[2]. The calculated damage to international trade provoked by piracy between the Indian and Pacific Ocean each year would amount to 15 billion dollars[3], because of the loss of cargos and the rise of insurance costs.

Reaction of the international community

The United States, whose military presence in Djibouti dates back to May 2003, have assumed a prominent role in the area through the deployment of Combined Maritime Force 150 and the institution of a Maritime Security Patrol Area. Since 8 December 2009, the European Union has deployed "Operation Atalanta", which is the first joint naval force in European history, and aims at escorting vessels of the

World Food Programme in Somali waters in support of Resolution 1814 and 1816 of the United Nation (UN) Security Council and under the umbrella of UN Charter's article 53[4].

At the same time, many other States, from Russia to China, have deployed their military forces in the area. At a multilateral level on 14 January 2009, under the auspices of the UN Security Council, the Contact Group on piracy off the coast of Somalia has been established to facilitate efforts and common actions among States engaged in enforcing safety of sea routes.

The institution of four sub-committees is aimed at strengthening cooperation in the military field, building a judicial framework to prosecute individuals and sustaining diplomatic efforts on the ground. With resolution 1851 the UN Security Council - after having approved five resolutions (1814, 1816, 1838, 1844, 1846) condemning the phenomenon of piracy and allowing states to react with the agreement of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia into Somali territorial waters - allowed states to intervene directly in Somali territory to pursue alleged criminals. Nevertheless, a mere military approach risks having a limited impact, if the international community does not attend to and address the underlying source of the problem.

Regional context and underlying factors

There are several factors behind the exponential increase of attacks in Somali waters in the last ten years: opportunity (presence of potential targets and geographic proximity to a chokepoint); strategic interests of extra-regional actors; social acceptability of the phenomenon; and the State's inability to enforce sovereignty over its territory[5].

Analysts agree in considering the presence of a "Failed State" the main factor underlying the business of piracy. The criterions employed to define a Failed State can be recognized in the Somalia context: absence of a central authority likely to impose the monopoly of force inside State territory; absence of a suitable welfare system which guarantees essential services for the local population; emergence of ethnic or clan-based entities, which integrate or replace the State in the government of territory; social acceptability of organized crime; as well as disowning of the constituted authority[6].

It becomes therefore a priority to move the attention on the dynamics of Somali conflict. The collapse of State structure and the deterioration (or disappearance) of a welfare-State able to ensure essential public services have produced collapse of the traditional authorities, stimulating new forms of fidelity directed toward "institutional" (mosques, Islamic courts) or "extra-institutional" (organised crime) subjects.

Pirates act as surrogate of the central State in the affirmation of national sovereignty over territorial waters. In the Somali context, the affirmation of sovereignty over national waters is an ancient question: the Somali law of 1972 considered territorial waters the whole area inside 200 miles (at the time, territorial waters were considered within a range of 6 miles from the coast).

The persistent presence of Japanese and European fishing-boats off the Somali coast during the years of civil war has in fact provoked the failure of local residual fishing activities, unlikely to face global competition, with an economic damage of more than 6 million dollars per year[7]. In particular, the lack of internal security and the increasing necessity of cash to finance clan militias' rearmament in a context of semi-anarchy.

Moreover, Somali pirates are often perceived as benefactors by Somali people: in fact, this lucrative business has provoked a monetary flow of strong currency, revitalizing economic activities and credit system. Because of the high returns, many Somali businessmen with important investments in the United Arab Emirates and in Western banks have financially backed piracy, recycling profits in their

legitimate trade business[8]. At the same time, part of the ransom has been invested in the city of Bossaso, main port of the semi-autonomous Puntland region, which has recently experienced a strong growth in the real-estate sector.

Piracy has also indirectly represented a fundamental source of financing for regional authorities, which lack international recognition, unable to attract foreign investments and to promote long-term economic development. According to testimonies[9], in the semi-autonomous Puntland State (during Adde Muse's administration) up to 30% of ransoms would be assigned to central authorities. However, these allegations were fiercely thrown back by the ex-Minister of Information Mohamed Bangah.

In the absence of a clear and internationally recognized legal arrangement for the Somali peninsula, foreign firms are reticent to invest in long-term economic projects: the 2006 dispute over mineral exploration rights in Sool and Sanaag regions, attributed by Puntland authorities to the Australian mining company Range Resource[10] and contested by the Mogadishu-based TFG of Somalia, has weakened the region's credibility as an affordable recipient for foreign capital.

Therefore, it appears necessary to correlate military presence on the ground with a stronger support to the peace process. Since the European Union has adopted a new policy aimed at strengthening Puntland's administrative apparatus through a plan of foreign direct investments and international developing aid, the new President Abdirahman Farole has promised strong efforts to enforce State law and eliminate the business of sea-robbery. Another option, paying no ransoms, has been suggested by the shipping industry and some Somali Ministers. Nevertheless, such solution would probably lead to an escalation of violence by both sides with dangerous consequences in the larger regional scenario.

Conclusion

The success of the peace process in central and southern Somalia is a key factor in the direction of undercutting local support to pirates. Since profits from piracy have been largely employed to arm the different Somali factions, the attainment of political stability and the return of Somalia in the international community as a legitimate actor would probably decrease the cost-opportunity of piracy.

The International Maritime Organisation database shows that the attainment of a minimum degree of political stability (what happened in 2006 with the Islamic Courts) contributed to drastically decrease attacks to foreign convoys.
Members of the International Contact Group for Somalia should increase their efforts to improve security and economic development in the region, pushing for a diplomatic solution to one of the underlying sources of tensions in Somalia: the frozen conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The attainment of sea-routes safety along Somali's coast passes through the resumption of a strong central authority and the creation of economic alternatives to organized crime for the Somali youth. Kenyan decision to tax Somali cattle traders, because of the absence of legal authority in the Juba Valley, should be reviewed to avoid another shock for Somali economy, after the quarantine on livestock imposed by Arab States. Resolving the Somaliland-Puntland conflict over Sool and Sanaag oil rich regions, promoting an international financed plan of shared sub-soil exploitation, should be another priority of the international community.

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Struggle for education and development in Somaliland's eastern periphery

Introduction

Visiting Somaliland once in a while shows the enormous progress made in the country, largely through people's private investments and some help from the international community. New shops, restaurants and even industrial plants open every year, schools and universities are built. NGOs and UN organizations carry out programmes ranging from water and sanitation to health care, support of local municipalities and so forth. These investments can be understood as 'peace dividend' since in Somaliland many projects can be implemented that are impossible to conduct in southern Somalia, due to ongoing war and violence there. Closer observation, however, reveals that most of these developments and investments in Somaliland are centred in the capital city of Hargeysa, in western Somaliland.

The other towns in the country seem increasingly marginalized –with regard to economic development and other infrastructure. In the long run, the centralisation of most resources in the capital city may even cause conflict, as the post-colonial history of Somalia (up to 1991) shows, where Mogadishu flourished to the detriment of Hargeysa and other places. This article is based on data gathered during a recent trip to the towns of Burco and Laascaanood in eastern Somaliland. It highlights observations about the 'centre-periphery' problem in the country, particularly with regard to education and development.

Burco – a marginal centre

Burco is the second largest town in Somaliland. A committee for the development

of Burco, formed in 2003 and including locals as well as Diaspora Somalis related to Burco and its surroundings was the driving force behind the development of the town. Burco University had been established in 2004. It started in a rented building and moved to the present location one year later. The committee for the development of Burco had strongly supported the university. Currently, about 200 students study here, taught by about 30 teachers, some of whom come from as far as Sudan and Uganda. Besides the more usual subjects such as Business Administration, IT and Islamic studies, the university offers a degree in veterinary medicine. This makes perfect sense since Burco, the capital of Togdheer region, is home to Somaliland's largest livestock market and livestock husbandry is the economic backbone of many families as well as the country (besides remittances and taxation on Khat and other imports).

Additionally, the university engages in an externally funded teachers' training programme that reaches out to the Haud region and the Nugaal valley. The yearly budget of the university is based on funds from the government of Somaliland, fees for the teachers training as well as the students, alongside some support from international NGOs. Recently, the vice-chairman of the university went to Nairobi, together with the heads of the universities of Hargeysa and Amuud (near Booroma in the far west), in order to establish some cooperation and possibly long-distance learning programmes with universities there.

Burco University is fully operational and financially stable. The most pressing need is equipment for establishing a scientific laboratory where the students of veterinary medicine can practice. In order to overcome this shortage, the fourth year students of veterinary medicine will have a chance to join their teacher at Khartoum University and use the laboratories there. Of course, the number of university students in Burco is still very modest, compared with about 3,000 at the University of Hargeysa. The job prospects of many graduates from Burco University may also not be the best, at least not in Burco itself. This is where the issue of marginality comes in. Burco is a centre of livestock marketing. But it does not offer much infrastructure and prospects to other businesses. Infrastructure in Somaliland develops often where international NGOs operate. But only one international NGO has its office in Burco. Very possibly, many graduates from the local university will try their luck in the capital city of Hargeysa or abroad. To go 'abroad' in a context where the old Somali passport is hardly working and the new Somaliland documents are not recognised often involves 'illegal' migration (in Somali: tahriib). This means that many of the possible future leaders and middle class of Somaliland will attempt to leave through the Sahara or on an overcrowded boat to Yemen and, if they survive and succeed, a possible future as migrants and refugees abroad rather than on a career in their own country will be the outcome.

Laascaanood – a pure periphery

Laascaanood is located towards the border between Somaliland and Puntland. The town and the surrounding areas are contested between both sides. Until five years ago no firm state administration was in place here. In January 2004 Laascaanood came under Puntland's control. It was retaken by Somaliland in October 2007.

Nugaal University was founded in 2004. The local committee for education and development of Laascaanood and Sool region instigated and supported the process of university-building. The Diaspora added to the endeavour and some teachers came from abroad to start teaching at home. Since then, however, Nugaal University had experienced difficult times. During Puntland's rule (January 2004 to October 2007) peace was not guaranteed in Laascaanood.

Revenge killings happened frequently, and by chance, a close relative of the first chancellor of the university got involved in those affairs, with the consequence that the chancellor had to leave the town for safety reasons. There was a conflict between his successor and some of the teachers leading to the closure of the university in

2006. Much of the equipment that had been donated by the Diaspora and the local community to the university was looted in those days. The local committee for education and development decided to start again from the scratch. As chairman a Somali from the UK was installed and a new building was rented. The replacement of the lost equipment is still in process.

Currently about 100 students are taught by around 10 teachers, some of whom come from abroad. The university offers degrees in IT and Business Administration. The human and financial resources for opening additional courses are lacking. The government of Somaliland started to fund the university. Besides that, student fees and some support from the local and the Diaspora community keep the institution running. Nonetheless, the budget is not enough to pay the salaries of all teachers, and some of them work on a voluntary basis for the university, while earning their living elsewhere. Moreover, there is still no appropriate building for the university. The President of Somaliland gave a plot of land belonging to the government to Nugaal University. But the university cannot afford to build a real campus. This, besides other issues, has to do with the drying up of Diaspora support after the takeover of Somaliland. While the majority of the local population has aligned itself with the new administration, many members of the local Diaspora refuse to accept the change of power. In their eyes 'home' has been taken over by a 'foreign power'.

Although Nugaal University functions, it faces difficulties. Its development is hampered by the 'front line' situation of Laascaanood. While some troops of Somaliland and Puntland are deployed to the region, this front line exists primarily in the heads of members of the Diaspora, local traditional authorities who have turned to politics and politicians in Hargeysa (Somaliland) and Garoowe (Puntland). These are the actors that effectively hinder the development in the town in general and of Nugaal University in particular and make Laascaanood a pure periphery. The Diaspora hardliners stopped their support because of the 'occupation'. For the same reason, most traditional authorities left the town to the countryside or to Garoowe. The government of Puntland hardly ever sent anything but soldiers and completely dropped out after Somaliland's takeover. Hargeysa gives a helping hand to the university since last year.

However, a university, particularly one for which funds are very limited, has to be embedded into a striving local economy in order to flourish. The latter is missing. No international organisations are present in the town that is considered an unstable place by both government officials and representatives of the international (NGO) community in the capital city of Somaliland. Most of the students of Nugaal University, who will graduate in late summer this year, will definitively have to look for 'greener pastures' either in Hargeysa (or Garoowe) or abroad.

Conclusion

In the towns of Burco and Laascaanood local developments, e.g. in the sector of higher education, are largely driven by (transnational) community initiatives. But these initiatives are extremely limited in scope and (financial) potential, compared with what is going on in Hargeysa, where Diaspora engagement and international aid have been centralized over the last few years. In the worst case, the continued centralization of these resources will lead to a massive brain and business drain from the peripheral regions to the capital city, which again will damage the overall economy of Somaliland and can lead to feelings of injustice among the population.

In order to avoid this, the government and the international organisations operating in the country should work out a plan how to support development in the various parts of the country. Regarding higher education, it is clear that most students in Burco and Laascaanood cannot afford to come to Hargeysa or Amuud in the west of Somaliland for studying. Their living expenses far away from home would be too high. Thus, local universities need support. In a second step, it has to be guaranteed that the graduates of the universities can be absorbed locally. This

can be achieved if the peace that has so successfully been built in Somaliland and the investments of the local and Diaspora communities are supplemented by a fair allocation of the international resources attracted by Somaliland, particularly in form of aid and employment by international NGOs and organisations.

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NEWS AND EVENTS

ERITREA

IGAD urges for sanctions against Eritrea

The United Nations (UN) Security Council has been asked to impose sanctions on Eritrea for calling for the ouster of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Council of Ministers further urged the Security Council to impose an immediate air and maritime blockade on Somalia to stop the inflow of weapons into the war-torn country. The decision was reached during the 33rd extra-ordinary meeting that had been called to discuss the prevailing political and security situation in the country held in Addis Ababa on 20 May 2009. The African Union (AU) expressed its "strong support" to the communiqué. It also strongly condemned the aggression perpetrated against the TFG, the civilian population in Somalia including "foreign elements" who it termed as "bent on undermining the peace and reconciliation process as well as regional stability". The AU also expressed concern at that flaunted and violated UN arms embargo by providing support to armed groups through training, provision of weapons and ammunition and funding by Eritrea and other external actors.
Daily Nation, Garowe online, African Union and IGAD

US express alarm over the Eritrean 'arms link'

The United States of America on 16 May said "it was seriously concerned" by reports that Eritrea is supplying arms to foreign fighters and Islamic hardliners fighting the government forces in Somalia. Jonnie Carson, the US Assistant Secretary for State for African Affairs said that there had been a number of reports of foreign fighters with links to al-Qaeda, fighting alongside the al-Shabaab and Hisbul-Islam. "There seem to be fairly serious and credible reports that al-Shabaab does have, amongst its fighters, a number of individuals of South Asian and Chechen origin," said Mr Carson. He also expressed concern about flights from Eritrea, which were carrying weapons and ammunition to Somalia to supply the al-Shabaab.

The United Nations (UN) Security Council has also unanimously approved a statement calling for opposition groups to end their offensive, renounce violence and join reconciliation efforts. The UN envoy to Somalia, Ahmedou Ould-Abdalla said that there was no doubt, from sources overt and covert that the attempted coup earlier in the month had significant involvement of foreigners, some from Africa and beyond. In response to the current suggestions that the Somali government might collapse, Mr. Carson ruled out the possibility of deploying the 2,000 American troops stationed in Djibouti into the country, terming the matter as an 'internal Somali matter'.
BBC

KENYA

President leads country in the seventh national prayer day
President Kibaki on 28 May led MPs and other dignitaries for the seventh National prayer day, which sought to divine intervention for challenges facing Kenya since last year's post-election violence. Among the dignitaries at the function was Rwandan President Paul Kagame who spoke of the genocide that had killed about a million people. "Monopoly of power played a role in the 1994 massacre, but consensus, power sharing and diversity transformed Rwanda into Africa's model of stability," he said. Aware of the consequences of unstable nations, President Kagame urged Kenyan leaders to confront root causes, "We learnt the hard way what other countries should not experience. Leaders should confront the root causes of instability. It is leaders and citizens who should arrest disintegration of their nations". In his speech, President Kibaki said that the Government was working hard to overcome the challenges in the reconciliation process. He called for Kenyans to individually promote justice and reconciliation in their communities. He added that in the next two months the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission would be in place to tackle some of the root causes of the post-election conflict.
The Standard, Daily Nation

MPs vote for military option in Migingo row
Kenyan backbencher MPs on 27 May defeated the Government in parliament managing to pass a motion pressurising the President to take a more hard-line position in the dispute over Migingo Island in the Lake Victoria. The motion calls for the President, Mwai Kibaki, to deploy the military should diplomatic efforts fail. They further urged for the matter to be referred to the United Nations (UN) Security Council if it "appears to threaten peace and security in the region". In Uganda, government spokesman Fred Opolot said that the country did not take the motion seriously because it was passed in the absence of many other MPs and the Ugandan government knew that Kenya was committed to solving the dispute diplomatically. Officially, Kenya does not consider military confrontation with Uganda as a viable option. The two countries are trading partners, where Uganda is the biggest importer of Kenya's products whereas Kenya is a significant source of investment and route for Ugandan imports and exports. Currently, the two governments are conducting a joint survey to establish ownership of the Island.
Daily Nation

SOMALIA

Somaliland celebrates Independence Day
Somaliland marked their independence day on 23 May, 2009 with the largest celebration taking place in Freedom Park in the capital Hargeysa. The President,

Dahir Rayale Kahin and the Vice-President Ahmed Yusuf Yasin among others all took part in the celebrations. In his nine - page address, the President warned against the fighting in Somalia spreading into Somaliland and alerted the people to be aware of groups of people that were using religion for 'evil purposes'. He also annonced that the presidential elections are to take place in September. The opposition also held a separate celebration at the Mansoor Hotel. At the celebration they were critical of the government in areas of foreign policy, economic policies and the ranking system in the military. Somaliland considers itself autonomous since 1991 although it is not recognised by other countries or international organisations.
http://www.somalilandtimes.net/sl/2009/382/4.shtml

IGAD's decision endorsed by Somali's cabinet

The Information Minister in the Somali government Farhan Ali Mohamud on 26 May said that the government has endorsed the decision by IGAD that all ports that are not under government control are closed with the exception of those used for humanitarian aid. He added that the Government had requested the United Nations to approve the decision made by IGAD states. The Minister also said that the cabinet condemned the suicide attack that had killed government soldiers. Heavy shelling has been reported in the capital in the recent past mostly by al-Shabab.
Shabelle News Network

45,000 Somali civilians flee Mogadishu

Intense fighting between government forces and the opposition al-Shabaab and Hisbul-Islam groups erupted in several areas of north-west Mogadishu on 8 May. A significant proportion of the displaced are heading towards the Afgooye corridor, south–west of Mogadishu. Many others that are unable to make the 30 kilometres journey have moved to relatively safer neighbourhoods of Dharkeynley and Deyninle in south-west of Mogadishu. Some of the displaced say they do not believe they will ever return to a peaceful Mogadishu. Others who had recently returned home after years of refugee life in neighbouring countries are deeply disappointed.
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Pirate attacks off Somalia already surpass 2008 figures

The International Chamber of Commerce's International Maritime Bureau (IMB) has reported a dramatic increase in the number of ships attacked during the first quarter of this year as compared to the same period in 2008. So far in 2009, there have been 29 successful hijackings from 114 attempted attacks. The Gulf of Aden alone has been the site of a total of 71 attacks in 2009, which resulted in 17 successful hijacks. The decrease in successful hijacks has been partly attributed to the presence of international navies in the region according to IMB Director, Pottengal Mukundan. The rise in the statistics is however attributed to be almost entirely due to increased Somali pirate activity off the Gulf of Aden and the east coast of Somalia. The surge of activity off the east coast is reported to be 43 attacks as compared to 19 in the whole of 2009.
ICC Commercial Crimes Services

SUDAN

Chad admits attacks inside Sudan

For the first time Chad has admitted sending troops into Sudan and launching air raids to pursue armed rebels it says Sudan had sent across the border. The Chadian defence minister, Adoum Younousmi said that his country was just

exercising its "right to pursuit". The confirmation came on 18 May; a day after Chad denied accusations that it had launched a series of air strikes on Sudanese territory, adding that there was no collateral damage. The Minister added that Chad forces had cleared out all rebel bases up to 30km inside Sudan destroying seven regrouping points. Earlier in the month, Chad's President Idriss Deby had vowed that rebels in the country would be dealt with accordingly including pursuing them into foreign territory if necessary. However, Haile Menkerios, the United Nations (UN) Deputy Secretary-General has urged the country to take the diplomatic course of action that could lead to a peaceful solution for the two countries. The two countries have long traded accusations of supporting rebels in each other's territory.
Al Jazeera, BBC, RFI (Radio France International)

Episcopal Church ammend to international and diplomatic community
The Archbishop and Primate of the Episcopal Church of Sudan has lead to deteriorated ethnic relations over cattle ownership and grazing rights. He expressed concern in the increasing incidences of insecurity in Southern Sudan. He said that a large number of civilians in Eastern Equatorial, Lakes and Jonglei states are suffering and that there is increased fear in the communities because of the ever increasing insecurity in the regions. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons has led to deterioated ethnic conflicts over cattle ownership and grazing rights. This has escalated conflict in the region.
Office of the Archbishop - Episcopal Church

UGANDA

LRA warned against regrouping
Gulu resident District Commissioner, Col. Walter Ochora has warned former Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels of regrouping to fight in northern Uganda. He said that he had received reports that two senior LRA commanders, Maj. Odong Kao and Maj. Santo Otto had been meeting rebels in Cerelendu, a suburb near Gulu town with the aim of promoting regrouping. The two rebel leaders are said to have benefited from the amnesty extended by the Ugandan Government in 2006.
allafrica.com, africancrisis.co.za

Conflict-ravaged districts to get support
The Ugandan Government has indicated readiness to spend 100 billion Ugandan Shilling on the rehabilitation of northern and eastern parts of Uganda in July this year. The developments were disclosed by the Commissioner for the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PDRP), Ms Betty Ochitti. The project is jointly funded by the Ugandan government and the European Commission and covers 40 districts. Critics of the Plan, however, say that it was introduced hurriedly without specific objectives and clear source of funds, fearing that there could be mismanagement. This has elicited resistance from the opposition politicians who say that the Plan will not benefit former Internally Displaced People (IDPs) mainly in Acholi, Lango, and Teso sub-regions that were most affected by the conflict.
The Daily Monitor

RESOURCES

GENERAL

"Eastern Africa: security and the legacy of fragility" (October, 2008)
This research from the Witwatersrand University analyses developments in Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania. It argues that state fragility is the root cause of most conflicts in eastern Africa. It highlights the regional issues that need to be addressed resulting in positive outcomes.
http://www.ipacademy.org/publications/policy-papers

"Horn of Africa crisis report" (February, 2009)
This is a report on the security situation in the region. Many parts of the Horn of Africa (HOA) continue to suffer under a precarious security situation coupled with susceptibility to harsh climatic conditions. An estimated 19.8 million people are in need of emergency assistance in the Horn of Africa. The report is compiled by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) and the World Food Programme (WFP).
http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/PSLG-7RXC8R?OpenDocument or http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/PSLG-7RXC8R-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf

"The state of the world's human rights report" (May, 2009)
This report by Amnesty International documents the state of human rights during 2008 in 157 countries and territories around the world. The report begins by giving regional overviews and is then followed by specific country reports.
http://thereport.amnesty.org/en/regions/africa

UGANDA

"Switching roles in pursuit of democracy in Uganda: the performance of civil society and medial in the absence of political opposition" (May, 2009)
This paper by Sam Mutabazi analyses how the civil society and media have shaped the political trend in Uganda in the absence of a official opposition. It is slightly over two years since multi-party democracy was introduced in the country and the impact of a vibrant political opposition is yet to be felt.
http://www.ifra-nairobi.net/resources/cahiers/Cahier_41/5Mutabazi.pdf

"Uganda: enabling peace economies through early recovery" (March, 2009)
The report on Uganda by International Alert identifies several elements and priorities for enabling a peace economy in the region. It is written with the aim of encouraging cross-cutting learning, and informs what has become international debate in the last few years on how to adapt economic development interventions to conflict contexts, to make them conflict sensitive, and able to support longer-term peace building. The report is written by Jessica Banfield with Jana Naujoks.
http://www.international-alert.org/pdf/LEO_Uganda.pdf

KENYA

"From horror to hopelessness: Kenya's forgotten Somali refugee crisis" (March, 2009)
This report by Human Rights Watch focuses on the country's forgotten refugee crisis. The 58-page report documents the extortion, detention, violence and deportation at the hands of the Kenyan police faced by Somalis entering Kenya.
http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/03/29/horror-hopelessness

"Report of the Special Reporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions" (May, 2009)
This report by Professor Philip Alston, Special Reporteur of the United Nations Human Rights Council focuses on the killings by police, violence in Mt. Elgon District, and killings in the post-election period. This report was compiled after a visit to the country in February, 2009.
http://www.nation.co.ke/blob/view/-/603988/data/80345/-/bdlk8hz/-/report.pdf

SOMALIA

"Developing a coordinated and sustainable US strategy towards Somalia" (May, 2009)
This paper presented by Ken Menkhaus before the committee on Foreign Relations, subcommittee on African affairs in the United States Senate. It offers possible scenarios for the coming weeks and months in Somalia and shares several observations and recommendations toward the development on a US strategy on Somalia.
http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2009/MenkhausTestimony090520a.pdf or http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/showRecord.php?RecordId=29431

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