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DECEMBER 2007

HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

Analyses

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Beyond border demarcation:

International peace organisations and the resolution of the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict

The Ethiopian region has been a theatre of war since the early 1960s. In the North of the country, Eritrean secessionists fought for 30 years to gain their independence from Ethiopia. The war ended in 1991, and there was a brief period of peace until it was definitely broken by the outbreak of full-fledged war between the two countries between 1998 and 2000. Fought along clear border lines with no civilians to complicate matters, the 1998-2000 war brought maximum damage in terms of lives and property.

In the East, Ethiopia was twice a victim of invasion from Somalia (1964 and 1977/8), where the latter sought to redeem Somali areas allegedly occupied by Ethiopia. However, since the beginning of 2007, Somalia could be considered a victim of Ethiopian invasion despite the endorsement of Ethiopia's actions by both the transitional government of Somalia and the African Union (AU). Many Somalis, if not the majority, believe that Ethiopia has invaded their country. The series of wars in the Horn of Africa is evolving into familiar patterns that can be observed in the Middle East. The warring parties are so engaged in demonising each other that there is very little scope (within the countries themselves) for the evolution of a culture of peace and dialogue. Left on their own, Ethiopia and Eritrea would certainly go to war until either both parties were completely exhausted, or one of them emerged victorious.

The failure of the Eritrea – Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) to persuade the parties to demarcate the border and the decision of the EEBC to wind up its mission at the end of November 2007 has led to widespread fears as well speculations of a new

outbreak of war (see International Crisis Group, Africa Briefing no.48). Yet, in spite of several similar threats, the two countries have so far abstained from war since the signing of the ceasefire in July 2000. I am of the strong opinion that the presence of UNMEE (the United Nations Mission to Eritrea and Ethiopia) has been a decisive factor. Now in its eighth year, UNMEE is undeniably a considerable cost for the UN and its member states. Its recurrent budget of more than 100 million USD could have been spent to revitalise the shattered economies of both countries. But in the absence of committed interest on the part of the international community, we have to be thankful for the continued presence of UNMEE in the region.

The question is now how long the UN will continue to allow UNMEE to remain in the border zone. I have agued ever since 2001 that UNMEE ought to stay in the region until such time (up to 25 years) that the political elites that came to power in 1991 (both in Eritrea and in Ethiopia) are no longer in power, since these leaders conceive their relationship to one another as an outcome of a military confrontation. There are cultural, political and historical factors that constrain them and their supporters from perceiving a neighbourly existence based on mutual respect. Yet in spite of such deep-seated mistrust and antagonism, I do not think that the countries would go to war as long as UNMEE (even at its current reduced size) remains in the area. Therefore, the withdrawal of UNMEE would be the best formula for a long drawn-out war in the Horn of Africa.

One of the great weaknesses of the analysis of the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict is the importance given to the border issue as a cause of war. The experience of the Boundary Commission is a good example, as its failure to arbitrate signifies that the conflict is much more complex. Explaining the war in terms of a border dispute has led us to ignore or underestimate the broader issues between the two countries. Hence, international peace NGOs have a great role to play in laying down the foundations for a sustainable peace in the region. Here I shall mention three areas.

Most of the analysis on the Horn of Africa is focused on geopolitics. We need to balance that dominance and stress at least equally with the economic benefits of peace. One could argue that such analysis would certainly fall on deaf ears, but it has to be pointed out that in the long run it is not only the political leadership that impacts peace, but also the civil society.

A challenge for international peace NGOs is to bring the political and humanitarian crisis of the Horn to the attention of the international community. Here, it is worthwhile to mention that there is no shortage of geopolitical material of varying qualities. Networking is obviously a method that international peace organisations can further explore and use to draw synergic effects. This is, however, easier said than done. Networking is time as well as resource intensive. Moreover, the impact of networking is not easily and readily measurable.

A second area that could eventually prove its worth is peace education. Here concerted efforts are needed to put in place a wide variety of programmes to educate and enlighten the young generation on the benefits of peace and on post-conflict scenarios. Studies, seminars and reading materials on post-conflict scenarios are virtually non-existent in the region.

A third area that merits a far greater attention is the production of peace education materials in African languages. Although former colonial languages enjoy official status in many African states, the foreign language proficiency of the majority of African citizens is far too low and limited to very few people in each country. There is a growing recognition of the importance of African languages in the cultural, social and political revival of the sub-continent. This is definitely an area where international peace organisations can be pioneers, and thus contribute to the growth of meaningful knowledge on peace and peace benefits in languages readily understood by the majority of the people concerned.

Tekeste Negash,
Dalarna University, African Studies Programme

Between victimhood and agency – Somali women's role in conflict and peacebuilding

One relatively unnoticed aspect of Somalia's political and social development is the significance of women. Grasping their place within political dynamics presupposes a better understanding of the position of women in the Somali society. This has undergone tremendous change due to almost two decades of violent conflicts and the lack of central governance structures. Traditionally, women's roles in Somali society were limited to the private sphere where they fulfilled key functions for the survival of the family. Owing to the patriarchal societal organisation in patrilineal clans, political decision-making and public life was solely male-dominated. Women, therefore, were also barely involved in conflict management. An indirect role in that area arose from the practice of exchanging brides, and thereby establishing relations between different clans (*xidid* – blood relation through marriage).

During the years of the Siyad Barre regime, inequalities regarding the legal status, public visibility and political participation of women were slightly diminished. However, only some groups of women benefited, namely those in urban centres and close to networks of the regime. Since the collapse of the Somali central government in 1991, women have been subject to ambiguous forces. On the one hand, the disappearance of state structures entailed a setback for women as traditional societal structures were strengthened. On the other hand, the devastating effects of warfare on Somali communities created new roles and responsibilities for them, such as becoming the sole breadwinner of the family, solving community problems and organising humanitarian aid.

Though more Somali men have died as a consequence of direct fighting, women have borne the brunt of the conflict's devastating consequences. They have been victims of direct and structural violence. Rape has become very frequent, both as a criminal act and as a tool used by fighting parties to target their enemies. Beyond being victims, however, Somali women are also agents in the conflict and in the search for peace. Though the percentage of female fighters is low, ignoring them entails the risk of marginalising them in reintegration efforts. Somali women have also been involved in funding and supporting armed factions, especially in earlier phases of the conflict.

Women were almost completely marginalised in the various peace negotiations during the 1990s, which were focused on the leaders of armed factions. Therefore, women's engagement in the peace process was limited to the grassroots level. The practice of cross-clan marriage has put some women in a precarious position. The fact that they have ties to their clan of birth and their clan of marriage, however, also carries peacebuilding potential. In local conflicts, women have been sent to mediate between communities in conflict.

A considerable number of women's NGOs have emerged that are working on issues related to the protracted nature of the Somali conflict. In many cases they receive support from international donors. An important aspect of their work has been the formation of cross-community alliances. In fact, the willingness to go beyond clan affiliation has very much determined their success in tackling conflict issues. However, such cross-clan alliances also run the risk of reflecting asymmetries in power and influence that are inherent in the conflict.

Women's peacebuilding efforts

Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC) was established in 1992, driven by women in cross-clan marriages. It gathered women from different clans, political affiliations and socio-economic backgrounds in an effort to unite women beyond clan boundaries in order to establish a women's identity. Based on that, SSWC's ambition was to give women a voice in national peace negotiations. When the Somali Na-

tional Peace Conference in Arta was launched in 2000, women were excluded due to the fact that only clan representatives – traditionally male – were granted the right to participate. In order to give more weight to their claim to attend as well, SSWC initiated the formation of the Sixth Clan, i.e. the clan or party of Somali women. Women's participation was finally achieved as a result of pressuring the Government of Djibouti, clan elders, and religious leaders.

Asha Hagi, elected chair of the *Sixth Clan*, joined the five male clan leaders at the negotiating table. This historic success was even taken one step further at the Somali National Reconciliation Conference in Kenya (2002-2004), when Asha Hagi Elmi was among the nine leaders that signed the final agreement (on 29 January 2004). Another achievement was the inclusion of a 12% women's quota for seats in the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) in the Transitional Federal Charter.

Current political dynamics show that the national agreement reached in 2004 is now more than fragile. In this light, the significance of community-based peacebuilding efforts becomes obvious. Reflecting this, two interregional conferences for Somali women were held in July 2006 and 2007 in Baidoa. As a result of the second conference in 2007, which was facilitated by the Life & Peace Institute's (LPI) Baidoa office, the *Somali Women Contact Committee* (SWCC) was established.

SWCC is a network of local organisations that work in eight regions of southern Somalia. Its purpose is to facilitate interaction and coordination among these organisations in order to increase their impact on peacebuilding. Furthermore, the 2007 conference represented a training and capacity-building opportunity for the participants, as the staff of the LPI office in Baidoa held a seminar that lectured on key aspects of conflict transformation. Though it is to early to assess the impact of SWCC, its creation across clan and regional boundaries can be considered an important achievement.

As can be seen from the aforementioned examples, Somali women have taken major steps towards a greater participation in the political process both on the local and national level. A comparison of their current activities and visibility to the pre-war situation is astonishing, and illustrates that protracted armed conflict entails social transformations that can – albeit causing immense human suffering – also create new opportunities for women.

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The UN and the AU in a marriage of necessity:
UN standards, AU peacekeeping aims and Darfur's civilian protection needs

The rationale behind the United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) – known as the 'hybrid mission' – is to protect civilians in Darfur better than the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS) was able to. Civilians in Darfur may be forgiven for hoping that this largest and most expensive mission in history is going to make a positive difference for their security situation. Their expectations have been fired up by the media reports on AMIS that have been simplistically critical of its efforts in this area, and that have consistently called for a UN takeover. Bringing in the world's most legitimate and experienced peacekeepers sounds like a good idea – but will UNAMID meet the expectations of the civilians of Darfur?

UNAMID is framed as a response to the human suffering of non-armed civilians in Darfur. This is most clearly put in the UNAMID's Concept of Operations document: protecting civilians is mission task number one. One might have expected this and the unanimously adopted Security Council resolution 1769 (authorising the deployment of UNAMID) to translate into an adequate operational capability. An ostensible political consensus to act in Darfur and an estimated budget of $2.2 Billion for UNAMID's first year ought to count for something. However, recent developments indicate that there is much more at stake in UNAMID planning than protection needs in Darfur. Debates revolve around UN standards in peacekeeping, member states' political will to contribute to peacekeeping, as well as uncertain host state consent to various aspects of UNAMID.

UN peacekeepers can only be deployed after a list of standards – developed through experiences in various types of mission theatres – has been met. Interestingly, these issues –for example concerning equipment, logistics, medical facilities and accommodation – were not given anywhere near the same attention when AMIS was deployed and enhanced in 2004-2005. African peacekeepers by default had to accept a lower standard because they were not funded through the UN's assessed contributions. With time it became abundantly clear that there was a limit to how much and for how long international partners would assist AMIS. It speaks volumes how – now that AMIS' roughly 7,000 personnel are being incorporated into UNAMID's 26,000 strong force – these same contingents apparently need a higher set of standards to be able to carry out their work.

For better and for worse, UNAMID represents a compromise between the UN and the AU. The UN needs the AU to ensure that the deployment will achieve the Government of Sudan's (GoS) consent. The AU needs the UN to provide their peacekeepers with secure and consistent financial support. Furthermore, the AU is awarded this dignified partner-role in an acknowledgement of its valiant efforts in Darfur.

With UN Security Council resolution 1769 already passed and mission planning documents drafted at the UN Secretariat in New York, what now unravels is the fickle political will for UNAMID's successful deployment. Though various actors, among them the US, European Union (EU) and Canada, have advocated for a robust response to human suffering in Darfur, none of these actors are stepping up to the challenge of securing UNAMID's force requirements. Worse than that, leaders of powerful states have voiced options including imposing no-fly zones and sanctions. Confrontational attitudes towards the GoS will unhelpfully make troop-contributing countries more vulnerable in the field. UNAMID must secure a reasonable level of consent, both strategic and tactical, by the GoS or prepare itself for the risk of sustained combat.

Meanwhile, the GoS has been delaying and obstructing UNAMID's deployment. Without any doubt, it is guarding its sovereign rights with greater fervour than its sovereign duties towards its citizens. Despite UN mediation and consultation, the GoS is simply not convinced that western states are more interested in human suffering in Darfur than they are in regime change in the Sudan or in resource extraction. The GoS knows all too well about double standards and hidden agendas in foreign policy making. It engages the US over intelligence sharing, arms trade and debates on oil concessions. Other important states such as Russia and China also have significant agreements with the current Sudanese regime. While the UN could not possibly "conquer" – as alleged by the GoS – Sudan's huge territory with 26,000 personnel and 24 helicopters, Sudanese arguments still pose an important political lever on those states that above all do not want to engage in combat on the ground.

Interestingly, the UN Secretariat has felt forced to back-peddle with respect to its ambitions for UNAMID. It is downplaying UNAMID's role in the area of civilian protection in an attempt to lessen the world's, and Darfur's, expectations. It has declared that unless UN member states come forward and provide the necessary logistical and military support, there will be limits to UNAMID's protection capability.

Little time and energy is invested in clarifying UNAMID's primary task. The finer details of how, or if, peacekeepers will be given the commensurate training, equipment and political support to protect civilians are left unclear. Certainly, many of the AMIS personnel have valuable experience from their initiatives to reduce the vulnerabilities of civilians using water and firewood patrols etc. Certainly, having 26,000 men on the ground instead of 7,000 would make a difference in terms of deterrent capacity. Nonetheless, by January UNAMID will have at most total 9,500 troops on the ground. The questions of how UNAMID will act as an effective deterrent and also defend itself adequately within these constraints remains unanswered.

Linnea Bergholm
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NEWS

GENERAL

Church leaders from more than 70 countries meet at Global Christian Forum

The Global Christian Forum 2007, which took place in Nairobi from 6 to 9 November was a unique gathering, because it brought together the Catholic Church, the Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant churches, and the Evangelical, Pentecostal and Independent churches to sit at one table. This was in order to move beyond the separations of the 19th and 20th centuries and engage in common witness for the sake of God's mission in the world. After four days of meeting guided by the leitmotif of "Our Journey with Jesus Christ, the Reconciler", some 240 church leaders from over 70 countries agreed to carry forward what they call the "Global Christian Forum process" – an open platform for dialogue whose goal was to "foster mutual respect, explore and address common challenges". In their final statement, church leaders expressed the commitment to press on in promoting greater understanding and cooperation among Christians "while respecting the diversity of our identities, traditions and individual gifts."
World Council of Churches (WCC), Ecumenical News International (ENI)

UN Humanitarian Chief on four-nation Africa Tour

Towards the end of November the UN Under-Secretary-General (USG) for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. John Holmes, conducted a nine-day mission to Africa visiting Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya and Somalia. Mr. Holmes' first stop was Ethiopia, were he met with the Prime Minister and other senior government officials and shared his concerns about the humanitarian situation in the Somali region. During his stay Mr. Holmes also met Mr. Azouz Ennifar, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for UNMEE, in order to discuss issues pertaining to the Ethiopia-Eritrea border situation, and the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, Mr. Said Djint, to discuss mechanisms for a closer cooperation with the AU.

Sudan was the second stop for Mr. Holmes, and the USG visited both northern and southern Darfur. During his stay the USG met with both local and senior government officials, the special representative of the Secretary General, Mr. Ashraf Qazi, and Ms. Ameerah Haq, the Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator of Sudan. In his meetings

with senior government officials, Mr. Holmes was assured that there would be no problem with the extension of the "Moratorium on restrictions" enabling international NGOs to continue to operate as smoothly as possible in Darfur. Mr. Holmes said that an extension of the Moratorium was "vital considering that on December 11, the Sudan Workplan 2008 requesting $2.2 billion to address humanitarian, early recovery and recovery and development needs will be launched, including $825 million for Darfur. NGOs are the main implementing partners on the ground".

The final stop on the trip was Kenya, from which Mr. Holmes made a one-day mission into Somalia to visit some of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) settlements recently erected outside the capital of Mogadishu. Mr. Holmes also met with the newly appointed Prime Minister, Nur Hassan Hussein, with whom he discussed the international community's concerns regarding the humanitarian situation in Somalia and the need to prioritise the protection of civilians, particularly in Mogadishu.
OCHA Press releases

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopian PM says no plan for war with Eritrea

Three days ahead of the EEBC deadline for a physical demarcation, Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi said Ethiopia had no plans for another round of fighting with Eritrea over the border stalemate. "Ethiopia has no reason to launch another war against Eritrea. Our intention has always been to resolve all outstanding border problems with Eritrea through peaceful means," Meles told the Ethiopian Parliament. He did, however, also say that that Ethiopia would crush any invasion attempt by Eritrea.
The Daily Monitor Addis Adeba 28 Nov

ERITREA

On the border issue

On 21 November, 9 days ahead of the EEBC deadline, Eritrea said Ethiopia had "long since declared war" on Asmara by refusing to implement a five-year-old border ruling marking their shared frontier. "In undermining the values of international agreements and refusing to withdraw from sovereign Eritrean territories, the TPLF [Tigray People's Liberation Front] regime has already launched an aggression against the Eritrean people. It is significant that the TPLF clique should now declare war or refrain from doing so, because the regime has long since declared war on Eritrea."

On November 9 Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki met UN Assistant Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations Edmond Mulet. "The greatest abuse and accountability squarely rests on the Security Council and the secretary-general, and not Ethiopia per se. The silence and the unjustified stance of the United Nations including the Security Council has been and continues to be an encouraging factor for this situation," Isaias told the UN peacekeeping head.
Lutheran World Federation Monthly Report

SOMALIA

Horn of Africa Religious Leaders commit to peace

Meeting in Hargeisa, the capital of the self-declared Republic of Somaliland, for two days, religious leaders from Somaliland, Puntland and South-Central Somalia have emphasized their will to contribute to peace building in their country. Their gathering was facilitated by delegates of the Religious Leaders Peace Initiative on the Horn of Africa – a working group set up by the African Council of Religious Leaders (ACRL)-Religions for Peace. Delegates were religious leaders from Rwanda,

Uganda, Sudan and Kenya, who aimed to show their solidarity with the people of Somalia and to underscore the role of religious leaders and their active engagement in peacebuilding in Somalia. In their concluding common statement, the Somali religious leaders stressed that "Islam is a religion of peace" and committed themselves to "have this message supported by concrete actions". Furthermore, they pledged to become more active peacemakers, to advocate for the vulnerable and to advance open dialogue within Somalia.
Catholic Information Service for Africa

Pope appeals for peace as violence worsens

Pope Benedict XVI has launched an appeal for peace in Somalia asking "all those who with political responsibility, at both local and international level, to find peaceful solutions and bring relief". In mid-November, Bishop Giorgio Bertin of Djibouti, who is also the apostolic administrator of Mogadishu, issued an urgent call for humanitarian aid. According to Bishop Bertin, renewed fighting between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and Islamic militia groups have produced chaos in the capital city resulting in thousands of people fleeing the city.
Catholic Information Services for Africa (Nairobi).

UN Delegation visits while more people flee

A nine-member UN delegation including representatives from the World Health Organization and the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, visited the Somali town of Afgoye towards the end of November. The goal of the mission was to assess the humanitarian situation and see first-hand the conditions of internally displaced families. The delegation met with aid workers at several camps in Afgoye and toured a local clinic run by Médicins sans Frontières (MSF).

Nearly 1 million Somalis have been displaced throughout the country so far this year, according to the latest UN figures. Most of the displacement was disproportionately centred in Mogadishu, where guerrilla attacks have raged since January when Ethiopian troops entered the country. The Ethiopian-backed transitional government does, however, deny the high figures, arguing that such estimates are exaggerated by the media and international aid agencies.
Garow online 27 Nov

European development ministers discuss Somalia

Towards the end of November the European Development Ministers discussed the emergency in Somalia. Dutch Development Minister Bert Koenders urged the EU to take a more active stance in order to help end the conflict. The Netherlands will donate an additional €3 million to the UN's emergency fund for Somalia. "The international community is focused on Darfur, and rightly so, but we must not forget Somalia," the Minister said.
Government of the Netherlands, Nov 27

Appointment of Somali Prime Minister should spur reconciliation

On 23 November UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said that the appointment of a Colonel Nur Hassan Hussein as Prime Minister of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia should spur efforts to promote reconciliation in the country. In a public statement, Mr. Ban applauded the concerted efforts of members of the Transitional Federal Institutions that led to the appointment, and voiced hope that it would "increase the momentum among Somalis to unite their efforts and complete the implementation of the key tasks of the Transitional Federal Charter."

Furthermore, Mr. Ban welcomed Mr. Nur Hussein's background and experience in humanitarian operations in Somalia and his unique understanding of the challenges confronting Somalia.
UN News Services 23 Nov

UGANDA

Different opinions voiced regarding the LRA peace Tour

While some voices have expressed confidence that the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) peace tour has resulted in a sincere will from the people of northern Uganda to forgive and reconcile with the LRA, others argue that the conditions in which the consultations have taken place have been unevenly dictated by the LRA, with little room for victims to really voice their concerns.

Now church leaders in Uganda have demanded emissaries of the LRA produce a recorded apology from Joseph Kony for the atrocities committed on civilians during the 20-year insurgency. Bishop Zac Niringiye of the Uganda Joint Christian Council, who chaired a consultative meeting with the LRA peace delegation in Kampala, recently said a direct contrite statement from Kony would give assurances to the doubting public that indeed the LRA is genuine and committed to the ongoing peace talks.

Replying to the demand that seemed to take the team by surprise, Dr James Obita, a member of the delegation, said, "We would be foolish not to take any realistic and practical proposals from the clergy." The clergymen also told the team that the church would only sanction forgiveness pleadings when parties involved unequivocally confessed their transgressions and asked for true pardon from offended parties.
Africa reports, IWPR Africa Reports and The Monitor, Kampala

SUDAN

UNHCR resumes repatriation of Sudanese from Kenya

The UN refugee agency has resumed the repatriation of Sudanese from the Kakuma refugee camp in north-west Kenya after poor weather, difficult road conditions and insecurity in return areas had halted the operation for three months. More than 8000 of the 50000 Sudanese refugees in Kakuma have registered to return from Kenya despite political tensions between the Khartoum Government and the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS). UNHCR hopes to help some 3000 to return home by air and land between now and the end of the year. Since launching an assisted voluntary repatriation programme for South Sudan in December 2005 UNHCR has supported the return of some 70000 refugees, including 6000 from Kakuma.
UNHCR

Salva Kiir tells Southerners not to sell votes for forced unity of Sudan

In a speech held in Juba on 25 November, the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and vice President of the Republic, Salva Kiir Mayardit, warned southern Sudanese not to sell their votes for forced unity. "My advice is that if you are given money take it but vote for what southern Sudanese stood and fought for even before Sudan became independent on January 1st 1956." said Kiir. He added that it remains the responsibility of the citizens of Southern Sudan, including other marginalized Sudanese, to embrace and protect the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) up to the time of the forthcoming referendum to be held in 2011. Kiir also reassured his listeners that SPLM ministers and presidential

advisors would not resume working in the Government of National Unity until key provisions of the CPA, as demanded by SPLM, were implemented as scheduled.
Sudan Tribune Nov 26

Sudanese oil company angers Human rights organisations at UK oil summit

The presence of the Sudanese oil company Sudapet at the UK National Oil Companies summit has angered Human Rights groups. Sudapet sought increased investment during the oil summit, which was held in London during 4-5 December. Before the event Mr. Hamish Falconer, from the UK based advocacy organisation Sudan Divestment, called on the event's organisers, its sponsors, the conference venue, and other participants in the summit to object to Sudapet's role in the summit. "The presence of a company so closely linked to a genocidal regime at this conference reflects extremely poorly on the commitment of the oil industry as a whole to a serious human rights agenda" according to Mr. Falconer.
Sudan Divest press release 2 Dec

RESOURCES

GENERAL

The new United States military command for Africa
This article by Daniel Volman suggests reasons and explanations for why Africa has suddenly risen in importance on the US national strategic agenda.
www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=16418

Africa special addition of "IFOR in action"
The International Fellowship of Reconciliation's (IFOR) special autumn edition of the newsletter "IFOR in action" focuses on Africa.
www.ifor.org/articles/PUBLICATIONS/IFA/IFA_44_English_web.pdf
www.ifor.org/articles/PUBLICATIONS/IFA/IFA_44_French_web.pdf

Berghof Report
The report, "Surviving the Peace Challenges of war-to-peace transitions for civil society organisations" by Veronique Dudouet seeks to address the question "what happens to protagonists for change once that change has been achieved?" Using case studies from South Africa and Colombia, it brings together the theories of conflict management/transformation and democratisation, arguing that in many protracted social conflicts transitions to peace and democracy are concomitant, interdependent and mutually reinforcing processes.
www.berghof-center.org/uploads/download/br16e.pdf

"Private Security in Africa: Manifestation, Challenges and Regulation"
This volume, edited by Sabelo Gumedze and published in the Institute for Security Studies' (ISS) Monograph Series (No. 139, November 2007), represents the current debate around the subject of the private security industry operating in Africa. The chapters are derived from a conference hosted by the ISS on the regulation of the private security sector in Africa in April 2007.
www.iss.co.za/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/MONO139FULLPDF.PDF?link_id=3&slink_id=5219&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmpl_id=3

SOMALIA

Report of the Secretary General on the situation in Somalia 7 November
www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep07.htm

Situation report from ISS
The latest situation report on Somalia, published on 13 November, analyses recent political developments in the war-torn country.
www.iss.co.za/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/SITREPSOMALIANOV07.PDF?link_id=3&slink_id=5142&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmpl_id=3

SUDAN

Root causes of conflict and the making of the Darfur tragedy
The paper "The root causes of conflicts in Sudan and the making of the Darfur tragedy: a country case study" by Eltigani Seisi. M. Ateem was presented at a policy workshop arranged by the Wilton Park conference centre (November 2007).
www.wiltonpark.org.uk/documents/wp889/Ateem-Causes%20of%20Conflicts%20in%20Sudan%20the%20case%20of%20Darfur%20Region.pdf

Implementation of the CPA
The Assessment and Evaluation Commission (AEC) was established on 30 October 2005 by Republican Decree No. 36, as per Section 2.4 of the Machakos Protocol. Its purpose is to monitor the implementation of the CPA. It has now delivered its 2007 Factual Report on the status of CPA implementation.
www.aec-sudan.org/docs/aec_factual_report.pdf

"A strategy for success in Sirte"
This new "Enough" strategy briefing paper (#10 November 2007) includes analysis and recommendations for a successful continuation of the Sirte peace talks.
www.enoughproject.org/files/reports/sirte%20final1.pdf

"Darfur's new security reality"
The latest Sudan report from the International Crisis Group (ICG) examines the need to reformulate the peace process, with negotiations that are more inclusive and address the conflict's root causes.
www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5180&l=1

ISS Situation report on latest developments in Eastern Sudan (13 November 2007)
This paper looks at challenges facing the East Sudan Peace Agreement (ESPA) concluded in Eritrea in October 2006.
www.iss.co.za/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/EASTERN%20SUDAN%20SITREP%20FINAL5.PDF?link_id=3&slink_id=5242&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmpl_id=3

"Armed Groups Along Sudan's Eastern Frontier: An Overview and Analysis"
This article by Sudan expert John Young, published within the Small Arms Survey's Sudan project, examines armed groups along Sudan's eastern frontier, analysing them both in historical terms and in the context of rapidly changing governments and inter-state relations.
www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP%209%20Eastern%20Frontier.pdf

Challenges for civil society organisations in South Sudan
The KOFF (Centre for Peacebuilding) online newsletter of December 2007 reports on a recent KOFF roundtable addressing the challenges of civil society in South Sudan.
www.swisspeace.ch/typo3/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/KOFF/Newsletter/2007/63_e_1.pdf

CHAD

"A race against time in Eastern Chad"
This "Enough" strategy briefing paper #7 (November 2007) highlights the risk of escalated violence in Eastern Chad and advocates an overarching political solution taking both Sudan and Chad into account.
www.enoughproject.org/reports/chadrace_20071107.php

UGANDA

Situation report from ISS
This report (13 November 2007) analyses merging threats to the peace talks in Northern Uganda.
www.iss.co.za/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/SITREPUGANDANOV07.PDF?link_id=3&slink_id=5143&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmpl_id=3

Gender-based violence: Lack of access to justice for female victims
According to a recent Amnesty International report "Uganda: Doubly Traumatised – Lack of access to justice for female victims of sexual and gender-based violence in northern Uganda", women in northern Uganda suffering sexual and gender-based violence face insurmountable difficulties in trying to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to justice.
http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAFR590052007

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