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HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

Analyses

- **A nascent peace and security architecture in the Horn of Africa: prospects and challenges**

News and events

Resources

A nascent peace and security architecture

Seasoned observers of the Horn of Africa have been sceptical about the emergence of a viable supra-national organization that will realize the building of a regional peace and security architecture in the not too distant future. Most of them however, insist that the Horn has to be approached as a 'Regional Security Complex' where security threats to any one state of the region has serious security repercussions on the rest. On this analysis, external relations between the states of the region support and sustain the conflicts within the states of the region in a systemic way. The different conflicts interlock with and feed into each other, determining regional external relations that exacerbate conflicts.¹

Alex de Waal writes, "the political conditions for . . . the building of a robust sub-regional architecture for peace and security have not existed and do not appear imminent." He points out that "credible democratization in the largest states of the region, a resolution to internal conflicts, a stable sub-regional inter-state order, autonomous and capable multilateral institutions, and benign engagement by the dominant superpower, namely the United States of America"² as necessary political conditions absent from the region.

Prospects

The emerging IGAD peace and security architecture promises a lot more mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in non-violent ways. Although the Strategy lays down a framework for the emerging regional peace and security architecture and details will be developed in the course of its construction in the coming five years, however, it can safely be said that the architecture will be well-proportioned for human security, as the Strategy has at least recognized the problem of human insecurity.

A properly structured and well endowed regional peace and security architecture should include a mechanism by which member states can collectively anticipate and respond to external challenges to their maximum advantage. In this regard, even if the Strategy puts great emphasis on Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanisms (CEWARN), it unfortunately fails to provide for measures designed to expand Eastern Africa Standby Brigade's (EASBRIG) mandate and boost its defence and/or peacekeeping capability. The proposed IGAD Protocol on Conflict Prevention,

Management and Resolution (CPMR Protocol) should allow EASBRIG to intervene in the internal affair of a member state on behalf of IGAD in the event of a serious and massive human rights violations; an unconstitutional change of government; or any other situation as may be decided by the concerned body.

Since the region has served as a theatre for proxy wars both during the Cold War and more recently in the US War on Terror, the region's statesmen should not lose sight of the fact that external powers have good reason enough to engage in acts aiming at frustrating the attainment of the peace and security architecture as well as regional integration. The looming international competition over natural resources – such as fish in the waters off the coast of Somalia, the strategic waterway of the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, oil in the Sudan, and the Nile River – promises a continued strategic interest and challenge from powers external to the IGAD states.

Within the emerging architecture, room must be made for anticipating and meeting the security challenges of the future. Recently, serious, gross, and systematic human rights violations, including genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, electoral violence, transitional justice, on- and off-shore terrorism, and the unlawful use of marine resources have emerged as key threats to human security in the Horn of Africa. Thus, the emerging peace and security architecture can provide powerful and effective tools for addressing these problems.

Despite the challenges, IGAD, in its efforts to contribute to regional peace and security, managed to broker peace processes for Somalia, leading to the formation of the Transitional Federal Government, in October 2004 and for Southern Sudan, leading to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), in January 2005. All peace processes undertaken by IGAD, however, stalled when regional tensions came to play.

Whatever else will happen in the long run, IGAD's proposed peace and security strategy would seem to have realized the fact that it cannot afford to overlook the modern approach to security that emphasizes the security of people and the non-military dimensions of security; the creation of forums for mediation and arbitration; the reduction in force levels and military expenditure; and the ratification of key principles of international law governing inter-state relations. In other words, they have been endeavouring to understand security in ways that incorporate political, social, economic and environmental issues.

Challenges

First and foremost, it has to be borne in mind that the conflict-prone nature of the region is sufficient to frustrate endeavours to implement and complete the regional peace and security architecture.

Second, as Alex de Waal rightly identified, there are six major political obstacles in the way of building a robust peace and security architecture for the Horn of Africa. To wit: (1) the lack of internal peace in most countries, (2) the fact that internal conflicts are rarely contained within the borders of one country, (3) the absence of a stable and consensual regional power order, (4) the disputed legitimacy of states and governments and the inability of democratic processes to provide that legitimacy, (5) dependency on foreign financiers and especially the US [and EU], and (6) the lack of autonomy of the key multilateral institutions.³

In a recent talk, de Waal pointed out the absence of a sub-regional hegemon as a further obstacle to peace and security in the Horn of Africa, as opposed to other African sub-regional communities that have role models such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which have found their regional hegemons in South Africa and Nigeria, respectively. These states can single-handedly support and drive the creation of new sub-regional institutions and even military interventions to create conditions conducive to peace and security. The fact that no single state in this region can command undivided hegemony, in terms of both hard and soft powers, over the rest of

the region gave IGAD member states a disincentive for greater cooperation among themselves.

In other words, IGAD member states represent a split hegemon, with each possessing different forms of power, whether hard or soft. For example, Ethiopia has an edge in military power while Kenya has a comparative advantage in its economy. Sudan, being the largest country in the continent, recently tapped its oil reserves. Even tiny Djibouti has an advantage in its strategic location for the trans-shipment of seafaring cargo. No single IGAD state can overwhelm its neighbours through the use or threat of use of its hard power. Over time this balance of relative strengths may be an advantage if interdependency and cooperation can be mustered for a robust peace and security architecture that is not subject to the whims of a single hegemon.

In addition, the absence of prior experience in uniform securitization exercises among states of the Horn that would help determine involvement in collective security frameworks and balancing or bandwagon behaviours further complicates the effort to appraise the probable prospects and challenges facing the emerging regional peace and security architecture.

Moreover, the emphasis on early warning in a stronger IGAD peace and security architecture in a way points to a serious problem that pervades early warning systems. While there are always many situations that send up warnings that could lead to a crisis, it is impossible to know in advance which warnings will actually result in a crisis. Good intelligence must be married to competent analytic capacity situations or being stymied in responding can compound failure rather than build support for IGAD.

The emerging peace and security architecture can only be as good as the on-the-spot decision-makers from the member states and their willingness to agree on political objectives to guide activities, including humanitarian and military operations in the Horn. “The prospect of a shift to a new regional security order in the Horn of Africa is slim. Conflict is normal and deeply etched in the minds of the various leaderships. At the ‘centres’ of the stronger states – Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea – perceptions of security threats are largely the preserve of military and intelligence circles and remain set in traditional political and military moulds.”⁴

Furthermore, a robust and comprehensive regional peace and security architecture calls for the formulation of a Common Security and Foreign Policy for the Horn which delineates the member states’ collective responses to both internal and external security threats. Member states are expected first to harmonize their respective national security and foreign policy before they can reach a Common Security and Foreign Policy for the Horn. In order to ease the stresses and strains involved in exercises at working out the planks of such a regional policy and to make the transition smooth, the common policy can be worked out and agreed as between the ‘Core States of the Horn’, namely Ethiopia, Djibouti, and the Sudan.

Financial constraints on the IGAD Secretariat and its member states have resulted in worthy initiatives that are articulated but not funded, as IGAD is mainly dependent on external donors to fund its activities. While outside donors have often come to the rescue, to maximize ownership and participation, IGAD must find ways to be self-supporting as well as self-initiating.

IGAD is not the only REC involving member states that is working on commitments and mechanisms for peace and security. There are overlapping mandates of RECs such as the East African Community (EAC), which embraces the eventual establishment of a political federation of its member states, but does not include all IGAD states, and Common Market of East and Southern African States (COMESA). Dr. Girmachew Alemu states: “the overlapping membership of states in the various sub-regional communities weakens the ability of states in sub-regions to pull together their resources in building up relevant security institutions. It also causes potentially conflicting political commitment of states to opposing objectives of the

various sub-regional organizations. Moreover, it can also be used by states to evade the responsibility to address specific security problems by claiming that responsibility lies with one or another sub-regional organization.”⁵

The Sudan, Djibouti, and Somalia, are members of the Arab League whilst such major states of the region as Uganda and Kenya, being members of the East African Community (EAC), seek to circumvent the regional integration scheme that would be dominated by Ethiopia. In this connection, Buzan and Wæver have described Kenya as an insulator that separates the Horn of Africa region and its security concerns from the southern regional frameworks, although they admit that the conflicts from the region blur the lines distinguishing the Horn of Africa from the Central African region.⁶

Scholars recognized that a well articulated IGAD peace and security strategy, based on human security, would not, in and of itself, provide a panacea for the complex and entrenched conflicts in the Horn of Africa. But, if properly structured, this strategy could catalyze and generate incentives for non-violent conflict resolution and disincentives for violent solutions, not only for states but for non-state actors as well.

Conclusion

IGAD is credited with playing an instrumental role in both the Sudan and Somalia peace processes. The prospects for a successful IGAD peace and security architecture rest with the ability of member states to increase incentives to abandon their hitherto strategy of conducting national security and foreign policy through war and to more adequately meet the basic needs of their citizens. In this regard, the role that a harmonized national security and foreign policy that offers a well-proportioned human and state security framework cannot be overemphasized.

IGAD’s unfinished project of constructing a peace and security architecture, representing what Alex de Waal calls a “third concept of security community” which is “brought about by the democratization of the sub-region”, is no doubt, formidable. For de Waal, this is the only viable security community for the Horn, even though “currently a dream.” What it takes to make it real and effective is “the incremental establishment of a network of institutions and initiatives that between them represent a significant force for peacemaking. The components of this include building common understanding on norms and procedures between the different levels of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), governments, African inter-governmental organizations, and the international community; building the capacities of peace-related institutions at all levels; and building up powerful constituencies for peace throughout the region.”

This architecture in a sub-region such as the Horn of Africa must necessarily be inclusive, indigenous, modest and evolutionary, and embedded with incentives for positive behaviour; it must encompass bilateral relations within a multilateral context, cooperate with international actors of good will, and hold the promise of resolving conflicts without violence. Besides, it should recognize the rights and roles of women in peacemaking and peacebuilding.

Overall, IGAD’s initiative to build a regional peace and security architecture for the Horn of Africa is commendable, not least because the potential benefits are so great and security is, after all, a precondition for economic development. Besides, it lays down the foundation for further regional economic and political integration. Despite the prevailing pessimism, the peace and security strategy has come too long to fail.

Alemayehu Fentaw (LLB, MA, summa cum laude, Salzburg Global Fellow) is a researcher affiliated with the International Law and Policy Group, an Oslo-based independent Think Tank. He focuses on Horn of Africa and the AU Peace and Security Architecture.

- 1 Sally Healy, "Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel," *A Horn of Africa Group Report*, Chatham House, 2008, p.42; See also Alex de Waal, "In Search of a Peace and Security Framework for the Horn of Africa," in *Report of the Conference on the Current Peace and Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa*, Organized by CPRD and IAG; Medhane Tadesse, *Turning Conflicts to Cooperation: Towards an Energy-led Integration in the Horn of Africa*, Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2004.
- 2 Alex de Waal, "In Search of a Peace and Security Framework for the Horn of Africa," in *Report of the Conference on the Current Peace and Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa*, Organized by CPRD and IAG, p. 1
- 3 Alex de Waal, *In Search of a Peace and Security Framework for the Horn of Africa*, in *Report of the Conference on the Current Peace and Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa*, Organized Jointly by CPRD and IAG, March 12-13, 2007, Sheraton Addis Hotel, Addis Ababa, p. 12
- 4 Sally Healy, *Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa: How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel*, *A Horn of Africa Group Report*, Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2008, p.42
- 5 Ibid, p. 151
- 6 Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 230, 243

NEWS AND EVENTS

KENYA

Construction of dam will devastate local communities

According to an independent environmental impact assessment (EIA) done by the Africa Resources Working Group (ARWG), a cluster of eight scholars and consultants from the United States, Europe and Eastern Africa, the building of Gibe III upstream of the Omo River, Ethiopia will cause a radical reduction of inflow of water into Lake Turkana in Kenya. This is because the Omo River provides up to 90 percent of the total water flowing into Lake Turkana. The assessment states that up to 500,000 people living around the lake will be adversely affected by the building of the dam. The result of this will be increased salinity conditions in the lake waters, rendering them unfit for human and livestock consumption. Also facing risk of destruction will be hundreds of aquatic species, which are unique to Lake Turkana and which residents rely on for food this was reported on 23 March.

Despite the economic viability of building the dam for Ethiopia, with 500 MW (slightly over a fifth of the country's electricity needs) expected to be sold to Kenya, critics of the dam including environmentalist Dr Richard Leakey argue the plan is flawed. The Ethiopian government argues that they need the dam as it will provide 1,800 MW of electricity, which will provide more than double the country's current electricity-generating capacity. It will solve the country's energy crisis and allow a surplus for export. However, Leakey argues the dam will produce far more electricity than the country is capable of consuming, and most will be exported to neighbouring countries of Sudan, Kenya and Djibouti.

According to the EIA commissioned by the Ethiopian Government, the dam will not cause any significant harm. The report states that the dam is necessary in order to preserve Lake Turkana and restore the region's biological integrity and diversity. The report further states there are no people or ethnic minorities around the dam and reservoir area whose traditional lifestyles could become compromised through the implementation of the project. In February 2010 during an African Union conference, Kenya's president Mwai Kibaki and Ethiopia's Prime Minister Meles Zenawi signed a deal for a power-grid connection that would enable Kenya to benefit from the surplus electricity generated by the Gibe III dam.

IPS

Arms purchase queried

The Kenyan government was on 21 March on the spot over its massive expenditure on military hardware. According to a report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Sh27 billion (\$348 million) was used to buy combat aircraft, helicopters, grenade launchers and other light arms in a single year. It says Kenya came fourth behind South Africa, Angola and Sudan in a group of 23 east and southern African countries in the 2008 weapons purchases.

Transparency International (TI) has termed Kenya's expenditure as "gross mis-carriage of justice for a country that is not at war". "Kenya is not at war with any country, yet our military expenditure compares with Ethiopia, which has a larger army and is at war with two countries," Mr Job Ogonda, the executive director of TI Kenya chapter, said. The money, he added, should instead have been used on urgent needs like free primary education, buying farmers' maize or milk that is going to waste. "Why do we need all that military hardware, yet we don't have money for the referendum or for the interim electoral commission to begin voter registration?"

It is noted that in several cases, small volumes of arms supplies to sub-Saharan African countries have had "a major impact on regional conflict dynamics." According to the report, Kenya's expenditure on weapons has been rising steadily over the years from Sh16.7 billion in 1999 to Sh27 billion in 2008.

Daily Nation

Police stop protest over by piracy victims

Protesting relatives of 10 Kenyans being held hostage by pirates were dispersed on 23 March as they marched to demand that the government intervene. They complained that they had been kept in the dark about the security of their relatives aboard the fishing vessel Sakoba, which was seized by pirates in the Indian Ocean three weeks ago. Police stopped them as they marched to the Kenya Maritime Authority (KMA) offices. The officer commanding the unit ordered them to disperse, saying their protest was illegal. KMA officials told journalists that they had the names of the 10 crew members and that the authority had reported their capture to the government. Fv Sakoba was hijacked between Kenyan and Tanzanian waters and has since been anchored at Haradheere port, referred to as the pirates' headquarters. The pirates have not communicated any demands, according to Mr Andrew Mwangura, the East Africa Seafarers Assistance Programme coordinator.

Daily Nation

SOMALIA

Al-Shabaab Commander is killed

A senior top Al-Shabaab commander was gunned down at close range at Somalia's southern port of Kismayo on March 19, sources say. Reports say that Sheikh Daud Ali Hassan was reportedly shot several times on the head and the chest by unidentified gunmen within the region regarded by many as an Al-Shabaab stronghold. Hizbul Islam denied having a hand in the killing, but said it would step up attacks on Dhobley after a raid in which it said it killed a number of Al-Shabaab militants.

Al-Shabaab said that it treats the incident as a planned assassination. It has arrested many suspects in connection with the incident and the investigation is still ongoing. Hassan had led the Al-Shabaab in the war against their rival groups in the border town of Dhobley, near Kenya.

Newstime Africa

Security Council votes to expand mandate of monitoring group for sanctions

The Security Council on 20 March agreed to extend the United Nations panel of experts monitoring compliance with sanctions related to the conflict in Somalia for another year and to expand its mandate to try to maintain the arms embargo

imposed in the region. Council members voted unanimously to adopt a resolution re-establishing the Monitoring Group for 12 months and to add three members to the five-member panel so that it can handle its extra workload.

The panel, which has monitored compliance with embargoes on the delivery of weapons and military equipment to Somalia and Eritrea, is now also tasked with probing activities - financial, maritime or in another field - which generate revenue used to violate those embargoes.

It is also now required to investigate “any means of transport, routes, seaports, airports and other facilities” used to break the embargoes, and to also identify ways in which the capacities of the region’s States can be strengthened to better implement the resolution, which condemns the politicization, misuse and misappropriation of humanitarian assistance by armed groups, follows a report from the Monitoring Group claiming that some local contractors used by the UN World Food Programme (WFP) have diverted aid for military use. WFP has said it is ready to provide full assistance to any independent investigation into its food distribution operation in Somalia, and today the Council called upon Member States and the UN “to take all feasible steps to mitigate” any misuse of humanitarian aid.

UN News Service

EU Increases Efforts in Somalia

In early March the European Peace Building Liaison Office (EPLO) and the European Commission co-organised a civil society consultation meeting on Somalia. The meeting is part of the EU’s Peacebuilding Partnership (PbP), and aimed at discussing the role of the EU in Somalia with the help of EU policy-makers, member states and civil society representatives, for example Life & Peace Institute and Somali Peace Line. At the meeting, civil society actors provided their analysis of the situation in Somalia, demonstrating civil society’s peace building role in the country. Together the participants also explored the range of likely future scenarios for Somalia and how all actors can support positive developments. In the discussions space was primarily given to the Somali participants.

This is one of several involvements in the Somali context that the EU has undertaken recently. In February the EU announced that it will set up a military mission in Uganda designed to train 2 000 Somali troops from the beginning of May this year. The mission has approved funding for six months and aims to improve Somalia’s own security force. 2008 saw the EU launch its first maritime mission, EU-NAVFOR operation “Atlanta”, to protect World Food Programme vessels and combat piracy off the coast of Somalia. The mission is part of the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). Both of these issues were addressed at the civil society consultation meeting.

LPI

UN shows Kenya links to both sides Somalia

Kenya serves as “a major base” for Islamist groups battling Somalia’s Transitional Federal Government (TFG), the United Nations says in a recent report that also details the Kenyan government’s training of TFG forces -- in apparent violation of a UN embargo. Kenyan nationals account for about half of all foreigners fighting in Somalia under the banner of the Al Shabaab insurgency force, the report says.

Leaders of Al Shabaab and Hizbul Islam, the other main insurgent group in Somalia, “travel with relative freedom to and from Nairobi, where they raise funds, engage in recruitment and obtain treatment for wounded fighters,” the Monitoring Group finds. Some African and European diplomats based in Nairobi meanwhile engage in visa fraud that enables the smuggling of illegal migrants into Europe and other destinations for fees of about USD 12, 000 for a man and USD 15,000 for a woman, the UN says.

The Monitoring Group criticises the Kenyan government for its failure to co-operate with UN investigations of breaches of the arms embargo established by the Security Council in 1992. “One notable exception,” the report adds, “was the Kenya Police Criminal Investigations Division, which provided valuable assistance to the Monitoring Group.” The Monitoring Group points in particular to military training that Kenya conducted last year on behalf of the TFG for some 2,500 youths recruited from inside Somalia and from north-eastern Kenya, including the Dadaab refugee camps.

Kenyan officials have acknowledged training TFG police officers, but “initially denied any other type of training,” the Monitoring Group notes. In the absence of authorisation from the United Nations, such training initiatives are in violation of the arms embargo.

In detailing connections between Somalis in Nairobi and insurgent fighters in Somalia, the Monitoring Group names several mosques in the Kenyan capital.

“The networks organised around these institutions have long provided both ideological leadership and a resource base for Somali militants,” the UN report states. Somali’s president reacted angrily to the report terming it as not true.

The East African

UGANDA

10 killed and dozens kidnapped in the Central African Republic

Ugandan Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) rebels killed at least 10 people and kidnapped more than 50 in attacks on three villages in the eastern Central African Republic at the weekend (20 – 21 March), local officials said on Monday 22 March. The attacks were the latest in a series in the remote corner of the Central African Republic (CAR), where local authorities have little presence and the Ugandan army has sent elite units to hunt the rebels who have been active for more than two decades.

“Our population has, once again, been subjected to the atrocities of (LRA leader) Joseph Kony’s rebels,” Remy Semdoutou, the senior official in the eastern prefecture of Haut Mbomou, told Reuters by telephone. “The village of Agoumar was attacked and 10 people were killed and more than 50 others were taken prisoner by the rebels, who used them to transport the goods they looted,” he added.

Uganda has sent soldiers to track the group through Congo, Sudan and the CAR and says the operation has been a success. However, scattered fighters have killed hundreds of civilians, arousing criticism from international organisations and local officials. “Following multiple attacks by the LRA, our population has organised themselves into self-defence units, who resisted the rebels using machetes, axes, clubs and guns” Semdoutou said. “I don’t understand the role of the Ugandan army, which claims to be chasing the LRA on our territory, when the rebel that was killed by the population was wearing a brand new Ugandan army uniform. What does that mean?” he added.

Reuters, the Daily Monitor

10,000 people at risk as new cracks emerge on Mt. Elgon

The government on 22 March ordered settlers on Mt. Elgon slopes to evacuate following discovery of 5-kilometre uphill fissure likely to trigger landslides that could kill some 10,000 people. Disaster Preparedness Minister Tarsis Kabwegyere, said: “Let people run away from the dangerous situation to safer places now. Please, let’s not have another catastrophe.” The Uganda Red Cross Society (URCS), in a statement warned that staying in upper parts of Mukoto and Bupoto sub counties in Manafwa District is a gamble on life because 33 hamlets there could be buried by landslip anytime. URCS says three villages in Nabulalo parish in Bukalasi Sub-county - where most-at-risk villagers around the area affected by the March

1 mudslide had been relocated - are within the fault line. "The villages have 834 households with an estimated population of 4,788 people," read part of the statement, calling for increased humanitarian aid.

The Daily monitor

SUDAN

Don't break away from Sudan, West tells the South

Donor circles are in favour of Southern Sudan dropping its bid for independence in the referendum next January, as concerns grow that a rushed secession could trigger turmoil and instability beyond Sudanese borders. It has been learnt on 22 March that Western democracies and institutions, fear that independence for the South in its present state could see the area slide into anarchy, and have quietly urged President Salva Kiir's government to go slow on secession. The West is apparently scared by the prospect of sudden independence for a fragile state whose collapse would draw them into a costly intervention to rebuild a state that few countries want to underwrite in the current economic climate. With new discoveries of oil in both Uganda and Sudan and the likelihood of further discoveries in the northeast of the Democratic Republic of Congo, peace in the region is essential to the exploitation of these resources.

Western strategists believe that even under the best of circumstances, the absence of institutional infrastructure in the South and independent communication links to the outside world mean Juba would remain hostage to Khartoum, making it difficult to get energy and other exports to outside markets. They would like to see some allowance factored into the timeline for Juba's independence ambitions, while the shaky alliance between the North and South Sudan is propped up until such a time that institutional capacity and critical infrastructure have been developed in the South.

The EastAfrican

IGAD calls for peace in Sudan during elections

The 14th Extra Ordinary Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Heads of State and Government opened in Nairobi on 9 March with Kenya's President Mwai Kibaki calling on IGAD member states to candidly and honestly assess the challenges facing the implementation of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (C.P.A.). The President said it was only by being candid that IGAD could assist both the National Congress Party and the SPLM implement the remaining phases of the C.P.A. The President, at the same time, urged the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) to maintain dialogue, high level contact and to cooperate in order to ensure the complete implementation of the C.P.A. He said that continued engagement of IGAD and the international community at the critical and adding that the final phase of the Sudan Compressive Peace Agreement was crucial. The President, however, pointed out those issues of the agreement on post-referendum arrangements, completion of the demarcation of the North/South border and those of Abyei, completion of the redeployment of the military forces and dealing with the intermittent skirmishes in the South still call for urgent attention and continued collaboration. The summit was attended by Heads of States and governments from various countries in the region, including Sudan President Salva Kiir, Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi who is also IGAD's chairperson and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda.

APA-Nairobi (Kenya)

Sudanese church leaders issue a press release

More than 60 Sudanese Church leaders from 14 churches throughout Sudan gathered in Juba with their international partners from 23-26 March to review the current situation in Sudan and to prepare for the future. Church leaders from Kenya,

Uganda, Malawi, Rwanda, South Africa and partners from the international community were present in solidarity with the Church and people of Sudan. Representatives of the Muslim community attended part of the meeting.

The Sudanese Church is concerned at increasing violence within the south and Darfur, at delays in implementing the CPA, and at the lack of an international political consensus on the next steps. The Church cares about the freedom, dignity and human rights of all the people of Sudan, whether in the north or the south, and encourages a spirit of good neighbourliness and cooperation. It expressed fears that failure to address the aspirations of the people of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states could derail any peaceful post-2011 transition. The statement also called for an end to violence between ethnic groups and political factions within southern Sudan, and other conflicts within Sudan.

In response to a request from the Sudanese Church, the All Africa Conference of Churches and the World Council of Churches have jointly appointed an Ecumenical Special Envoy to Sudan to accompany the process. The Sudanese Church committed itself to speak the truth fearlessly, and to continue its Gospel-led mission to give a voice to the voiceless, the poor and the marginalised, and addressing issues of national concern.

RESOURCES

GENERAL

“Africa election calendar 2010 – 2011” (March 2010)

This is a tentative elections calendar that is provided by the African Union and is based on past poll scheduling patterns. It includes countries in the Horn of Africa.
http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/AUC/Departments/PA/ELECTION_UNIT/AU_Election_Unit.htm
<http://www.ndi.org/electionscalendar>

“Building an inclusive security sector: how the EU can support gender-sensitive security sector reform in conflict – affected contexts” (August 2009)

This research by Karen Barnes of International Alert, underlines the importance of understanding the insecurities experienced by both men and women from different groups at the local level, which are too often ignored by security sector policy-makers who tend to concentrate on national security concerns. Marginalised groups often find it difficult to access security services or the justice sector, articulate their security concerns, or to feel represented by the reform processes that are being administered by the government or international community. The seeds of violent conflict are sown at the community level, and understanding and addressing the various forms of violence and insecurity being experienced by men and women at this level is crucial to the rebuilding of sustainable peace.
<http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/publications/index.php>

“Oil, minerals and the militarisation of globalisation” (March 2010)

This article highlights a study that has linked conflicts in Africa with the continent’s oil and mineral resources that Western powers are fighting to control through the militarised foreign policy of the United States in Africa, and geopolitical wars. The study, *Globalisation in Africa: Commercial Wars and State Failure in Uganda* is a University of Malaya PhD thesis by Ugandan scholar Yunus Lubega Butanaziba.
<http://allafrica.com/stories/201003220021.html>

“Trends in international arms transfers, 2009” (March 2010)

This Fact Sheet describes the trends in international arms transfers that are revealed by the new data in the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. It lists the main exporters and importers for the period 2005–2009 and describes the regional trends.

http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/SIPRI_

[TrendsinInternationalArmsTransfers2009.pdf](http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1003.pdf)

<http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1003.pdf>

UGANDA**“Peacebuilding across Lake Albert: reinforcing environmental cooperation between Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo” (February 2010)**

The role of the environment and natural resource management in the above context is important, as it can facilitate trust-building and benefit sharing. The analysis of the case of Lake Albert, shared by Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), shows that peacebuilding opportunities exist when initiatives integrate and rely on local stakeholders, even in cases of lacking high-level political agreements. The report is written by Meike Westerkamp and Annabelle Houdret and is a publication of Aldephi research.

http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/peacebuilding_lake_albert.pdf

“Trail of death: LRA atrocities in North Eastern Congo” (March 2010)

The 67-page report is the first detailed documentation of the Makombo massacre by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Congo in 2009 and early 2010. The report, based on a Human Rights Watch fact-finding mission to the massacre area in February, documents the brutal killings during the well-planned LRA attack from December 14 to 17 in the remote Makombo area of Haute Uele district.

<http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2010/03/29/trail-death-0>

SOMALIA**“Report of the independent expert on the situation of human rights in Somalia, Shamsul Bari” (March 2010)**

The report assesses the grave violations against women and children which have been reported throughout the country, including the recruitment and use of children by all parties to the conflict. It also reports of killing, maiming and sexual and gender-based violence as a result of the conflict are also rife. It is written by the United Nations Humanitarian Council.

http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/HRC_AHRC1365_

[ReportOfTheIndependentExpertOnTheSituationOfHumanRightsInSomalia.pdf](http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/HRC_AHRC1365_)

“Somalia: a new approach” (March 2010)

In this Council Special Report, sponsored by Council of Foreign Relations Centre (CFR)’s for Preventive Action, Bronwyn E. Bruton proposes a strategy to combat terrorism and promote development and stability in Somalia. She first outlines the recent political history involving the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) formed in 2004 and the armed oppositions, chiefly the al-Shabaab. She then analyzes U.S. interests in the country, including counterterrorism, piracy, and humanitarian concerns, as well as the prospect of broader regional instability.

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/21421/somalia.html>

“Whose peace is it anyway? Connecting Somali and international peacemaking” (March 2010)

This policy brief is based on the findings of Accord 21: Whose peace is it anyway? Connecting Somali and international peacemaking, Accord 21 seeks to inform better

understanding between indigenous Somali and international peacemaking policy and practice. Edited by Mark Bradbury and Sally Healy, it includes 30 articles, from interviews with Somali elders and senior diplomats with the AU, IGAD and the UN, to contributions from Somali and international peacemaking practitioners, academics, involved parties, civil society and women's organizations, and other experts. The project has been undertaken in collaboration with Interpeace, drawing on their peace mapping study.

<http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/somalia/policy-brief.php>

“Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to Security Council resolution 1853 (2008) (S/2010/91)” (March 2010)

This is a report by the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia. Somalia has undergone significant political change in 2009/10, but the security situation has remained largely stagnant. The conflict remains a grim example of “hybrid warfare”: a combination of conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, as well as indiscriminate violence, coercion, and criminal disorder — compounded in the Somali case by the interference of regional powers.

<http://reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/MUMA-83N2WN>

[http://reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2010.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/MUMA-83N2WN-full_report.pdf/\\$File/full_report.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2010.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/MUMA-83N2WN-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

SUDAN

“Handbook for polling staff: the Sudan General Elections – April, 2010”

(March 2010)

The handbook is a guide for polling officers outlining their mandate in the upcoming elections.

http://nec.org.sd/new/books/po_en.pdf

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Editorial information

The media review Horn of Africa Bulletin (HAB) was published by the Life & Peace Institute between 1989 and 2006. The re-formatting of HAB as an e-bulletin 2007 is done in close collaboration with the Nairobi-based All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) and the Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa (FECCLAHA). The electronic base of HAB is LPI and the editor is Olivia Kibui, olivia.kibui@life-peace.org. For subscription matters contact: Selin Amirthalingam, selin.amirthalingam@life-peace.org. For a link to HAB and more information see www.life-peace.org

Editorial principles

The Horn of Africa Bulletin (HAB) is an international newsletter, compiling analyses, news and resources primarily in the Horn of Africa region. The material published in HAB represents a variety of sources and does not necessarily represent the views of the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) or the cooperating partners, the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) and the Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa (FECCLAHA). Writers and sources are normally referred to, although in exceptional cases, the editors of the HAB may choose not to reveal the real identity of a writer or publish the source.

