



# HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

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### Sudan

#### Between brinkmanship and war

Ever since the signing of the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the National Congress Party (NCP) has been undermining the Agreement by acts of omission and procrastination. In September 2007, however, there were a number of incidents that look like proactive provocation.

A Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) unit in Kordofan was surrounded by Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) troops and besieged for several days. It seemed that these were Misseria troops trying to join SPLA units south of the 1956 border, but there is a lot of uncertainty – they may have been a militia that chose to join the SPLA rather than the SAF. Under the CPA they have the right to do this, but it must have been annoying for the NCP to see northern militia choosing to join the SPLA. Around the same time, Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) offices in Khartoum were raided by security forces. Then there was a rumour that General Salva Kiir was dead. Obviously there is no proof that this rumour came from the NCP, but that is what southerners chose to believe. It was not the first rumour calculated to cause unrest. Indeed, there were unconfirmed reports of some trouble in Khartoum, but the rumour was quickly scotched in the south. Then at the end of September, a Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) official announced that Khartoum had taken USD 6.51 million from the south's oil revenues, saying it was for custom exemptions granted to vital aid meant to rebuild the south.

At around the same time that these events took place, General Salva made a speech at the opening of the Southern Assembly in Juba on 10 September 2007, in which he warned of the danger of reverting to war. A risk felt by many, if not most, southerners. Sudanese churches that met in Juba with their international partners took the warning very seriously indeed, as their own analysis also pointed to severe threats to the CPA. As a result, they issued a statement calling a return to war “unacceptable”.

Khartoum's stance then appeared to soften. President Omar Hassan al Bashir assured everyone that war was not an option. The stand-off in Kordofan ended peacefully. The NCP “regretted” the raids on SPLM offices, but stopped short of apologising.

The list of problems that cause southerners to believe that the CPA will fail is long. Key problems include the impasse over Abyei and the 1956 north-south border. International expert Douglas Johnson recently warned that the current north-south border is incorrect, and that many important documents may be missing or damaged. The failure of the SAF to withdraw its troops and security organs from the oil fields, and the delays in the census which will probably lead to a delay in elections, are also major concerns. Other concerns, perhaps less visible and urgent, include the Civil Service Commission (the Government of National Unity will continue to be an unchallenged NCP fiefdom until some SPLM appointees get into it) and the issue of oil revenues, as nobody believes the south is getting its fair share as laid out in the CPA. There are also unconfirmed reports of mobilisation by both sides along the north-south border.

General Salva, like most other senior figures, probably does not believe that war is imminent. In Juba there is a feeling that the SPLM is beginning to worry about the lack of international community engagement in the south. The fragile CPA is not being implemented, and promised funding from donors has been slow to materialise. The international community is still focused on Darfur, a focus that will be reinforced by the recent killing of African Union (AU) peacekeepers. This rhetoric may be a shock tactic to try and draw the attention of the international community back to the south. The fact that war may not be imminent does not, however, mean that it will not come eventually, and there will be no peace in Darfur if the CPA is allowed to fail in the south.

If SPLA and SAF troops really are facing each other in large numbers near the border, then there is always the danger that war will start by accident, or that hotheads or manipulators on either side might engineer a return to war. Some church leaders living in the region certainly believe that the NCP is trying to provoke the SPLA into a conflict. Whichever side cracks first and starts the third civil war is likely to receive a fair amount of international blame.

The incidents mentioned above might not themselves be part of a premeditated and organised conspiracy by the NCP. Rather, it could be said that the NCP creates a climate wherein certain people feel they have impunity to do certain things that fit in with a vague general policy but that nobody necessarily ordered them to do. The security organs in the north still reign supreme, and it increasingly appears as if a de facto state of emergency is in effect. Whether organised conspiracy or not, it is a worrying trend.

The NCP is probing, delaying and undermining the CPA where it can, then drawing back where tactics demand it. Pushing to the brink is dangerous – a misjudgement can very easily push the situation over the edge. But even without a sudden calamitous miscalculation, tensions are being raised and trust-building is not taking place. The stakes are too high for either party to engage in brinkmanship.

*John Ashworth*

*Freelance journalist and consultant and earlier coordinator of Sudan Focal Point Africa, a peace and advocacy ministry of the Sudanese Churches*

## **Somalia in Freefall: Is a Soft Landing Possible?**

The mounting crisis in Somalia has reached a point where even the paid optimists are acknowledging that we face worst-case scenarios. Somalia is in free-fall, hurtling toward levels of armed violence, renewed anarchy, and humanitarian crisis that would have been unthinkable a year ago. The immediate question for international actors is stark: what can be done to facilitate a soft landing for the people of Somalia?

The details of the Somali crisis make for a grim portrait. Over the course of 2007 the armed insurgency in Mogadishu against Ethiopian occupying forces and the deeply unpopular Transitional Federal Government (TFG) has grown in intensity and shows no signs of abating. A heavy-handed Ethiopian counter-insurgency attack

in late April, which included use of white phosphorous bombs, temporarily reduced insurgency activity, but produced a shocking humanitarian crisis when an estimated 400,000 Somalis were displaced from parts of the capital. The United Nations (UN) now estimates that a total of 700,000 Somalis are displaced inside the country, an enormous number for a country with an estimated population of nine million people, of which over a million now live abroad as refugees and economic migrants. Worse, many of the 700,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) have fled to the Shabelle river valley, where the lack of facilities and livelihoods, poor humanitarian access, and heavy flooding are producing very serious levels of food insecurity.

Due to extraordinary levels of insecurity in the capital, a return to their Mogadishu homes is out of the question for most IDPs. A combination of insurgency and counter-insurgency violence, a rash of political assassinations, predatory behaviour by the TFG security forces, and revived levels of general violent crime has left the residents of Mogadishu shell-shocked. The local economy is crippled by both the violence and the extortionate levels of “taxes” demanded of traders by top TFG officials.

Diplomatic efforts to broker a political solution have run aground. Vigorous attempts to encourage African governments to contribute peacekeeping forces to an AU force in Somalia have failed; only 1,600 Ugandans have been deployed. Ethiopia has not withdrawn its troops from Mogadishu as many had hoped; the continued presence of Ethiopian forces serves as a lightning rod for the insurgency. External efforts to convene a National Reconciliation Congress, with the aim of making the TFG more inclusive and thereby defusing the insurgency, produced a conference in the summer of 2007, but one in which the main opposition groups were absent. The opposition in exile met instead in Asmara, Eritrea in September, where it created its own Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia (ALS). Most recently, deep divisions within the TFG leadership exploded in an open rift when the Chief Justice was jailed by the solicitor general, leading to a war of words between the rival camps of President Yusuf and Prime Minister Ghedi.

The growing armed violence, discord, and displacement in and around Mogadishu appears to be pointing to a meltdown of the TFG. Prospects for turning the TFG into a minimally functional and legitimate administration are now, in the eyes of most observers, a pipe dream. Whether the TFG’s denouement plays out as a slow meltdown or a sudden collapse is unknown, but virtually no serious student of Somali affairs believes the TFG has a very long shelf-life left.

Somalis and international actors alike must begin to think hard about what should come next for Somalia – the proverbial “Plan B” for a post-TFG Somalia. In the meantime, the international community has a strong ethical obligation to do what it can to help Somalia achieve a soft landing in the months and year ahead. The immediate future is undoubtedly going to be violent, messy, and very troubled for Somalia, but it need not spiral into catastrophic levels of armed conflict and human suffering.

First, the international community must devote energy and resources to a sustained and effective humanitarian response to the widening emergency unfolding in much of southern Somalia. This response must be coupled with forceful humanitarian diplomacy aimed at all local actors – the Ethiopian forces, the TFG, the insurgents, and clan militias – that humanitarian space must be expanded and safeguarded. At the same time, Ethiopia and the TFG must be pressured into taking steps to improve the security of neighbourhoods where IDPs wish to return. The sooner these households can relocate back to their homes, the sooner the humanitarian crisis will abate.

If a soft landing can be forged for the humanitarian crisis, then energies can turn toward a soft landing for the political crisis as well. Ethiopia will need to be convinced to pull out of Mogadishu, with or without African Union troops to replace them. The TFG is likely to follow suit, regrouping back in Baidoa. At that point, international peacekeepers may have a valuable role to play, perhaps as a force separating Baidoa and Mogadishu to minimize the possibility of the kinds of skir-

mishes that led up to the war of December 2006. At the same time, the international community could engage in talks designed to help Mogadishu residents broker the establishment of a city administration that will not threaten Ethiopia or the US.

These are unattractive options that are sure to generate their own set of headaches and tensions. But getting Ethiopia and the TFG out of Mogadishu, and working to reduce the risk of clashes between the TFG, Ethiopia, and the opposition, is essential if our aim is to de-escalate tensions and give the people of Mogadishu a soft landing. The alternative – heavy, sustained, and multidirectional fighting in Mogadishu, producing levels of displacement and refugee flows akin to what the capital experienced in 1991-92 – must be avoided. Things are going to get worse before they get better in Somalia, but they need not get a lot worse. For all of the despair and helplessness one hears from Somalis these days, there are still interventions that can help to promote outcomes that are less disastrous than others. That we are even having this discussion about mitigating a worst-case scenario in Somalia is itself a powerful indictment of the misplaced and destructive policies – by the Islamists, the TFG, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the US, among others – that got Somalia into this unthinkable nightmare.

*Ken Menkhaus*

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

## **Focus on the International Day for Peace Transforming Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: The Need to Focus on Shared Security**

Every year, 21 September marks the day in which the world community takes time to commemorate the International Day of Peace. Marking this day stemmed in part from the fact that the human race had just closed the most violent and bloody century in human history, in which more than 200 million people were killed in more than 250 conflicts.

Unfortunately, we started the new decade (and the new century) in the most violent of ways after a disturbing terrorist act and subsequent military (mis)adventures. A shocked world realized that nations could no longer depend on elaborate defence systems and full-spectrum domination for security. The concepts of collective and shared security gained currency. To advance sustainable peace and guarantee security, socio-economic and political vulnerabilities faced by the human race had to be equally addressed as critical security issues.

### **Arms trade and national security**

With global military spending surpassing the \$1 trillion mark in 2006 (an equivalent of approximately \$162 dollars for every man, woman and child alive today), pundits are now questioning whether this level of spending on this kind of security really assures humanity of the security it needs.

Between 1906 and 2006, more people were killed by their own governments or rebel groups within their own countries than by foreign armies. National security focuses on protecting nations ‘from physical external threats’ militarily. In light of the emerging challenges, this conception of national security is therefore being tested.

In the Horn of Africa – a region awash with these weapons - more violent conflicts occur within states than between states. There are an increasing number of resource-based wars fought by non-state actors. To allocate so many resources to purchase arms and maintain standing armies and security agencies, while the threat to security has dramatically shifted from external threats to internal strife mostly related to socio-economic and political injustices, is therefore an aberration.

### Shared security in the Horn of Africa

By its very nature, the concept of a shared security goes beyond national security. This approach is multi-dimensional and holistic. The broadened and all-inclusive definition of shared security takes into account socio-economic, political and cultural threats to security, including but not limited to health, the environment, education, culture, general well-being and sustainable livelihoods. It requires that all sectors of society acknowledge their common vulnerabilities and the shared responsibility to address them.

Comprised of Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea and Djibouti, the Horn of Africa Conflict System has defied nearly all prescriptions for the resolution of its conflicts. This failure is partly attributed to the fact that actors have not employed the shared security approach to resolve these conflicts.

Either the military solution has taken precedent (for example, the invasion of Somalia by Ethiopia and the Ethiopia–Eritrea ‘unfinished’ war (perhaps now being fought in Somalia) thus militarizing the region) or the conflicts have been treated individually (for example, in the Greater Horn of Africa, the Burundi and Rwandese conflicts were resolved without necessarily paying due attention to their impact on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)).

*Religions for Peace* is collaborating with the Helsinki Process to develop a multi-stakeholder approach to shared security. This is in recognition of the complexities surrounding the issues of security. Shared security will address the root causes of endemic conflicts in the Horn of Africa and will focus on the ‘interrelatedness’ of the populations now or previously embroiled in these conflicts.

A multi-stakeholder approach to security indeed takes into consideration the fact that shared security may never be achieved by a single sector acting independently. This approach calls for diverse sectors, including the faith communities, which can expand the analysis of conflicts. In times of violent conflict, religions become ‘identity markers’ and almost always ‘mobilizing’ tools.

The armed conflict between the Ethiopian Armed Forces and the Islamic Courts Union, with the suspicious participation of other actors from outside the region, has taken a ‘religious twist’; indeed religion is now increasingly becoming an ‘identity marker’. As such, peaceful transformation will have to involve religious leaders and faith communities in the region, especially from Somalia and Ethiopia. Certainly, sustainable shared security will be advanced if, simultaneously, stakeholders from the countries comprising the Horn of Africa Conflict System are involved.

In this regard, the faith communities can be critical entities in complementing what other stakeholders are doing. For example, by working in cooperation with other stakeholders, including governments, faith communities are well placed to analyze basic ‘anthropologies of vulnerabilities’, which is crucial for governments in determining the security needs of its citizens. Somalia is a critical country in which traditional and religious leaders can help to assess and analyze the ‘anthropologies of vulnerabilities’ facing the Somali citizens.

### Globalization and other challenges

Increasing globalization calls for a wider and multi-stakeholder approach to resolve the conflicts in the Horn of Africa region. In collaboration with the Helsinki Process, *Religions for Peace* underlines these challenges faced by those affected by – and those trying to address – the conflicts.

Challenges such as increasingly unjust societies occasioned by economic inequalities, looming ecological disaster, and the ‘widespread militarization of nations, cultural, religious and ethnic polarization of peoples and nations that threaten life both at the local and global levels’ are in deed security issues that must be addressed.

A multi-stakeholder approach to these issues positions the countries in the Greater Horn of Africa to achieve a higher-quality and sustainable security that is

shared by all. Faith communities possess unique spiritual, moral and social assets which, when mobilized, can greatly contribute to the attainment of sustainable shared security and peace. Nowhere is this more urgent and needed than in the Horn of Africa.

*Mustafa Y. Ali, PhD*

*Secretary General of the African Council of Religious Leaders ACRL-Religions for Peace and the Africa Representative of the Religions for Peace–International. His views do not necessarily reflect those of the ACRL-Religions for Peace or Religions for Peace–International.*

## NEWS AND EVENTS

### KENYA

#### **Kenyan faith leaders launch campaign for violence-free elections**

Nairobi. Christian, Muslim and Hindu groups in Kenya have launched a campaign to urge political leaders to sign a peace charter and pledge to avoid violence ahead of presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for December. "While politicians adopt the strategy of divide and rule, we are called to adopt the strategy of peace and unity," Anglican Archbishop Benjamin Nzimbi told religious leaders in Nairobi. The launch of the campaign on 21 September coincided with the UN International Day of Peace, which the World Council of Churches also marks as an international day of prayer for peace (ENI).

#### **Ecumenical organisations voice concern over arms trade during 3rd ecumenical conference**

The Third Ecumenical Conference on Arms Trade (8-10 October) was hosted by the Christian Council of Sweden, the Life & Peace Institute (LPI), the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Swedish Mission Council. The conference was part of the Gothenburg Process within which churches and church-related organisations are working together ecumenically, with the aim of raising the understanding and knowledge of the ethical challenges posed by the arms trade. The process also encourages an inclusive and constructive dialogue with the defence industry, control authorities and armed forces. In order to broaden the participation of churches and organisations in Africa in the Gothenburg Process, this third conference took place in Nairobi, Kenya (in the facilities of the All African Council of Churches in Nairobi). African churches have considerable experience of how armed violence affects communities, and some of them are deeply involved in community-based disarmament.

The focus of the conference, which gathered 30 church leaders and experts on the arms trade from 14 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America, was the churches' responsibility to work for a legally binding global arms trade treaty. Such a treaty is already being discussed within the UN, and during the conference it was clear that the churches can and should contribute much more to this process. The last day of the conference was devoted to strategizing and planning for a more profound response from the churches to the ethical challenges posed by the arms trade. This process was conducted in a dialogue with other faith communities, including the Muslim community whose representatives included among others Mr Mustafa Y Ali from the World Conference for Religions for Peace, Africa.

*Press Release Gothenburg Process, October 9 2007*

## ERITREA

### The EU declares concern over political prisoners

In a Declaration released on 20 September, the Council of the European Union (EU) expressed extreme concern regarding Eritrean political prisoners that were arrested in September 2001. To date no charges have been brought against the prisoners nor have they been brought before a court of justice. The declaration stated that the EU is deeply concerned about the violation of basic human rights that the imprisonment entails, and urged the Eritrean government to bring proper charges and disclose where the prisoners are held. The EU also pushed for permission for the prisoners to receive visits from family members, legal representatives, medical doctors and the Heads of the EU Mission in Asmara.

*EU Press office*

## SUDAN

### The UN Secretary-General, the Special Envoys to Sudan and the African Union (AU) condemn attacks on international peacekeepers in Darfur

The Secretary-General of the UN, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, the UN special envoys to Darfur Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim and Mr. Jan Eliasson, and the AU condemned the recent attacks on international peacekeepers in Haskanita, South Darfur. The attacks took place in the evening of 29 September and, according to the AU, 10 personnel from the AU peacekeeping mission in Sudan (AMIS) were killed while several more have been wounded and many remain missing. The UN Secretary-General called on all parties to immediately end the violence and recommit to the peaceful resolution of the conflict, as both the Government and the rebel forces prepare for peace talks in Libya on 27 October.

*UN press office, AMIS and AU Joint Mediation Support Team*

### Attacks on Humanitarian relief workers increase

Attacks against humanitarian personnel in Sudan have increased by 150 percent in the past year, according to the UN office for Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). In the last fourteen days, two cars belonging to NGOs operating in the Darfur region and one UN vehicle was hijacked while two NGO workers were forcibly taken and detained by armed hijackers. Currently, around 13 000 relief workers attempt to assist the almost four million people affected by the violence in the region.

*UN News*

### Official inauguration of Sudan's first prison training centre

A training centre aimed at the re-orientation and training of former officers within the SPLA into prison wardens was formally opened on 13 September. The training will focus on Human Resources development and will be implemented by trainers from the Sudanese Prison Service and the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) Rule of Law/Corrections team. The Lologo Regional Training Centre is going to be one of two Prison Centres in South Sudan, the second to be located in Rumbek, Lakes States. The project is the first in a wider strategy implemented under the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) aimed at the rehabilitation of Sudan's Prison Service that has been adversely affected by the war.

*UNDP*

### UK accountancy firm hired by Government of South Sudan

The UK-based accountancy firm PKF has been hired by the government of South Sudan as part of a newly launched corruption investigation. Murray Ross, a partner at PKF, said that the three-year deal will be worth about \$8 million (£3.9 million) and will be funded by the World Bank. South Sudan's Auditor General Mr Majok is currently

investigating how \$500 million of reserves for the semi-autonomous oil-rich region, which was formed after a peace deal in 2005, was spent without parliamentary approval last year. The sum amounted to just under half of that year's budget. An investigation by South Sudan's Anti Corruption Commission in June found "dramatic over-expenditure". Mr Majok said: "The Ministry of Finance was operating without procedures. There were incidences of some ministries contracting more than was in their budget."

South Sudan pumps about 500,000 barrels per day of crude oil, which accounts for about 95 per cent of its revenue.

*Reuters and The Times UK*

## **Sudan's Darfur aid pledge 'not enough' says Christian leader**

A Christian leader in the Horn of Africa has welcomed a Sudanese Government pledge of US\$300 million in aid for Sudan's Darfur region, but said it is insufficient and should not distract attention from the underlying causes of the conflict. "It is a positive step but it is not enough," the Rev. Fred Nyabera, executive director of the Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, told Ecumenical News International (ENI) in Nairobi.

## **"Golden Throat" gives Sudan's Nubians a voice**

The famous Sudanese singer Mohammed Wardi – called the "Golden Throat" – raises his voice for Sudan's Nubians. Talking to journalist Dan Morrison (San Francisco Chronicle), he drew attention to the plan of the Khartoum government to build a hydroelectric dam at Kajbar that would eliminate 26 Nubian towns. Almost unrecognised by the West, this could become another point of conflict between the government and its people. This year, six people have already been killed by the police and more than a dozen imprisoned for opposing the project.

*San Francisco Chronicle, 21 September 2007*

## **International Responsibility to Protect Applies to Darfur According to World Council of Churches**

In a "Minute on Darfur" approved at the World Council of Churches (WCC) meeting in Armenia from 25-28 September, the WCC Executive Committee affirmed that the international Responsibility to Protect applies to the Darfur situation. The WCC Executive Committee furthermore asked its member churches to bring the responsibility to the attention of their governments and to provide humanitarian aid to Darfur through Action by Churches Together (ACT) International. Since July 2004, the joint Act International and Caritas Internationalis Darfur Emergency Response Operation has channelled resources from some 60 Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant organisations around the world into one of the largest humanitarian programmes in South and West Darfur.

*WCC Press office*

## **Sudan Ecumenical Forum Assembly calls on parties to accelerate implementation of CPA**

The Sudan Ecumenical Forum (SEF), which brings together the Sudanese church and its international ecumenical partners under the auspices of the World Council of Churches, held its Assembly in Juba from 10-12 September 2007 with the theme of "Building a spirit of unity, forgiveness and healing". More than 50 delegates from many different denominations, from sixteen nations on four continents including representatives from the All Africa Conference of Churches and other regional ecumenical bodies, discussed issues relating to advocacy and peace.

In a communiqué issued on the last day of the assembly, SEF expressed its concern over the failure to implement parts of the CPA as well as its dismay at the

reported mobilisation of armed forces on the border between southern and northern Sudan, and strongly affirmed its opinion that a return to war is unacceptable. In the communiqué the SEF also called on the NCP and the SPLM to accelerate the full implementation of the CPA and to maintain accountability. With regard to its own work, the SEF chose to prioritise work related to support for the implementation of the CPA, address the conflicts in Darfur and in other areas of Sudan, and reconciliation.

SEF also urged governments and inter-governmental bodies, including the UN, AU and IGAD, to have a more coherent and balanced approach to all of the interconnected conflicts and peace processes in Sudan and for the international community as a whole to honour its financial commitments to Sudan.

## **Dallaire and ENOUGH raise concerns that UNAMID risks failure**

In an open letter, Roméo Dallaire, who was commander of the failed 1994 UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda, advises the newly appointed force commander of the United Nations and African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), General Martin Agwai, to demand a clear chain of command, a broad mandate, proper resources and a rapid deployment. The UNAMID force is supposed to include 26,000 military personnel and civilian police, and is an experimental hybrid. In particular, the division of responsibilities between the UN and AU is still vague. A recently published Strategy Briefing issued by the ENOUGH project further underpins Dallaire's concerns. The paper describes a number of significant obstacles that threaten to derail the rapid deployment of the hybrid UN/AU mission to Darfur. According to the authors, in order to prevent UNAMID from failing before it launches the international community must accompany the push for a peace agreement with more support for, and closer monitoring of, its deployment.

## **SOMALIA**

### **New police recruits graduated from Armo Police Training Academy in Puntland**

Nearly 600 police recruits, whereof 50 are women, have graduated from a UNDP-sponsored training programme aimed at the creation of a professional civilian police force in Somalia. Recruits for the programme had been selected taking regional balances into consideration. This is the second batch of police officers to graduate from the training programme, which focuses on issues such as human rights principles. It is part of an UNDP initiative aimed at strengthening the rule of law and security within Somalia.

*UN News.*

### **Somalia – A nation without a state: Series of lectures on Somalia organised by LPI, The Nordic Africa Institute and ABF Stockholm**

In this lecture series, the Nordic Africa Institute, the LPI and ABF Stockholm aim to enhance understanding of the nature of – and possible solutions to – the Somali crisis. Identifying ways of reconciliation and conditions for peaceful coexistence is the underlying motive of this series of seminars. The first lecture, given by the world famous Somali writer Nuruddin Farah on 9 October, attracted around 100 people and outlined the historical background of today's Somalia. On 16 October Roland Marchal, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales Paris, discussed the role of religion in the Somali conflict. The contribution of Somali women to peacebuilding was the topic of a lecture by Asha Hagi, member of Somalia's Transitional Federal Parliament, on 30 October. In a concluding panel

discussion on 17 November, different voices shall be heard in order to reach a better understanding of how the international community can promote sustainable peace building in Somalia. The lectures take place at ABF-huset Stockholm and are open to the public. For more information go to [www.life-peace.org](http://www.life-peace.org).

## Somali “multipliers” trained in Switzerland

Rajo, an association of Somali Diaspora in Switzerland, has launched a new two-year training program for young people from different Somali regional groups within the *Rajo – Integration, Peace & Development of Somalia* (Rajo IDPS) organisation. A first weekend of training was held in July and conducted by Ueli Wildberger from the *Forum for Peace Education*, in which participants learned how to deal with conflicts in a non-violent way. The goal of the project is to train people who will then train others in their regional groups. In this way it is hoped that the Somalis in Switzerland will acquire a better understanding of how to deal with integration problems and their fellow countrymen. This can ultimately contribute to the peace building process in Somalia. The project is financially supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Caritas Switzerland and the “Stiftung zur Förderung von Randgruppen” (Foundation for the promotion of marginalised groups).

*KOFF-Newsletter Nr. 60*

## UGANDA

### International community asked to step up pressure on LRA

The international community must step up the pressure on the rebel Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) to meet its commitments under the agreement of cessation of hostilities, Uganda’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sam K Kutesa, told the UN General Assembly on 1 October. Mr. Kutesa said that the LRA had not yet met any of the terms of the agreement, which is aimed at ending the long-running civil war in the north of Uganda. He stated that the international community now must put pressure on the LRA to follow these terms and to put a time frame on peace talks. The Foreign Minister gave his speech to the General Assembly only a few days after the official spokesperson for the LRA, Godfrey Ayoo, said life was returning to normal in northern Uganda on 20 September. Mr Ayoo also told journalists in Juba that the LRA and the Ugandan government’s delegations had undertaken consultations among the people in Uganda in order to come up with mechanisms for the implementation of a number of protocols signed as part of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement.

*UN News Service and Sudan Tribune*

## RESOURCES AND LINKS

### GENERAL

#### Resource Book for Human Rights Defenders

*The East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Network* seeks to ensure maximum protection for human rights defenders. “**Defending Human Rights. A Resource Book for Human Rights Defenders**” (2007) provides relevant and practical information for human rights defenders in their daily struggle.

[www.yorku.ca/crs/AHRDP/Defending%20Human%20Rights%20-%20A%20Resource%20Book.pdf](http://www.yorku.ca/crs/AHRDP/Defending%20Human%20Rights%20-%20A%20Resource%20Book.pdf)

#### African Security Review – New Issue on “Conflict Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect in Africa”

This issue explores themes that highlight the nexus between conflict prevention and

the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) by means of specific case studies.  
[www.iss.org.za/dynamic/administration/file\\_manager/file\\_links/ASR16NO3FULL.PDF?link\\_id=3&slink\\_id=5035&link\\_type=12&slink\\_type=13&tmpl\\_id=3](http://www.iss.org.za/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/ASR16NO3FULL.PDF?link_id=3&slink_id=5035&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmpl_id=3)

### **Manual on ‘Advancing Justice and Reconciliation in relation to the ICC’**

The Faith and Ethics Network for the International Criminal Court (ICC) has drafted a manual for African religious leaders and faith-based communities on the advancement of justice and reconciliation in relation to the ICC. The manual has been translated into French, will be translated into other local languages and is to be disseminated among African faith-based networks. In 2006 ‘Training of Trainers’ workshops were organised in Uganda. In 2007, more training will be given in Uganda, the DRC and Sudan, and possibly in some other strategic African countries. For more info check [www.cjr.nl](http://www.cjr.nl) or email [info@cjr.nl](mailto:info@cjr.nl)

### **Latest report from Freedom House**

The non-profit organisation Freedom House has released its 2007 version of “Countries at Crossroads”. The report is an annual survey of government performance in 60 strategically important countries worldwide that are at a critical crossroads in determining their political future. The report contains in-depth comparative analyses and quantitative ratings that examine government accountability, civil liberties, the rule of law, anticorruption efforts and transparency. This years report makes special mention of Eritrea and Somalia as countries that are not free.

[www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)

## **ETHIOPIA**

### **Times interview with President Meles Zenawi**

For an interview with President Meles Zenawi regarding democracy, the Ethiopian forces in Somalia and the current situation in Ethiopia see

[www.somalilandtimes.net/sl/2007/294/2.shtml](http://www.somalilandtimes.net/sl/2007/294/2.shtml)

### **The Ogaden Conflict – Chatham House report**

The Chatham House report “Conflict in the Ogaden and its regional dimension” provides a short assessment of the humanitarian, political and economic situation in the Ogaden followed by a set of relevant policy conclusions. The report is a condensed synthesis of a conference.

[www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/download/-/id/530/file/10382\\_310807ogaden.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/download/-/id/530/file/10382_310807ogaden.pdf)

### **Report from the UN Humanitarian Assessment Mission to the Somali region**

A UN inter-agency mission to Ethiopia’s Somali Regional State observed that humanitarian conditions within the conflict areas have deteriorated substantially over the past several months.

[www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2007.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/EGUA-777MV7-Full\\_Report.pdf/\\$File/Full\\_Report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2007.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/EGUA-777MV7-Full_Report.pdf/$File/Full_Report.pdf)

## **SOMALIA**

Homepage of the Somali Women Contact Committee; includes reports on local peace meetings as well as information on women’s groups within Somalia.

<http://swccsom.org/>

## **SUDAN**

### **Report on the Lord’s Resistance Army in Sudan from the Small Arms Survey**

“The Lord’s Resistance Army in the Sudan: A History and Overview” by Mareike Schomerus, The Small Arms Survey, September 2007.

This study examines the military history of the LRA in Sudan, the current prospects for ending the conflict, and the main challenges facing the peace talks.  
[www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan\\_pdf/SWP%208%20LRA.pdf](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP%208%20LRA.pdf)

#### **Darfur's bitter ironies**

Analytical article regarding the events in Darfur during the past weeks written by Eric Reeves  
[http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/eric\\_reeves/2007/10/darfurs\\_ironies.html](http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/eric_reeves/2007/10/darfurs_ironies.html)

#### **Communiqué issued by the Sudan Ecumenical Forum**

For the whole communiqué issued by the SEF at the meeting in Juba in September, see John Ashworth's mailing list.  
[http://groups.google.co.za/group/sudan-john-ashworth/browse\\_thread/thread/5b2f38f70b0cf650](http://groups.google.co.za/group/sudan-john-ashworth/browse_thread/thread/5b2f38f70b0cf650)

#### **Dallaire and ENOUGH raise concerns that UNAMID risks failure**

##### **Roméo Dallaire's open letter to General Martin Agwa**

[http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/romeo\\_dallaire/2007/09/a\\_daunting\\_mandate.html](http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/romeo_dallaire/2007/09/a_daunting_mandate.html)

#### **ENOUGH Strategy Briefing No. 6: How to get the UN/AU hybrid force deployed to Darfur**

Report by John Prendergast, Colin Thomas-Jensen and Julia Spiegel (October 2007)  
[www.enoughproject.org/reports/pdf/darfurhybrid.pdf](http://www.enoughproject.org/reports/pdf/darfurhybrid.pdf)

## **UGANDA**

International Crisis Group: Northern Ugandan Peace Process. The Need to Maintain Momentum, Africa Briefing No. 46, 14 September 2007.  
[www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/central\\_africa/b46\\_north.\\_uganda\\_peace\\_process\\_\\_\\_need\\_to\\_maintain\\_momentum.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/central_africa/b46_north._uganda_peace_process___need_to_maintain_momentum.pdf)

## **Horn of Africa Bulletin, Volume 19, No.7, Oktober 2007**

### **Editorial information**

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### **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.

