



HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

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Somaliland vs. Puntland over the future of Somalia

Introduction

Today's regions of Sool, Sanaag and Togdheer were part of the former British Protectorate. In 1991, Somaliland seceded from Somalia within the borders of the former Protectorate, but it still lacks international recognition. The government in Hargeysa (Somaliland) claims all regions incorporated by the former colonial boundary as state territory. Sool and eastern Sanaag, however, are inhabited predominantly by the Dhulbahante and Warsangeeli. These clans belong to the Harti clan-confederation, which forms the constituency of Puntland. The latter was founded in 1998 as autonomous regional state, and continues to work towards the rebuilding of a united Somalia. Since 1998, the Harti-inhabited regions in northern Somalia have been contested between Somaliland and Puntland.

In October 2007, Somaliland captured Lasanod, the capital of the Sool region, and almost pushed Puntland out of Sool. Thus, it reversed the developments that began in early 2004 when Puntland troops took over the administration of Lasanod. Beyond the local conflict dynamics, comprised of momentary individual and group interests, what is at stake is the future of the Somali state.

The background to Somaliland's capture of Lasanod

As borderlanders, the Dhulbahante and Warsangeeli occupy positions in both Somaliland and Puntland. One of the prominent Dhulbahante politicians in the region is Ahmed Abdi Habsade. In the mid-1990s, he was speaker of the House of Representatives in Hargeysa, Somaliland. Later he turned his back on Somaliland and finally became Minister of the Interior in Garowe, the capital of Puntland. Over the summer of 2007, Habsade entered into open disagreements with the current President of Puntland, Mahamud 'Adde' Muse. Habsade perceived the policy of the Puntland government towards Lasanod and the Sool region to be mistaken and of no benefit to the local communities. While visiting some places in the territory of his clan in September 2007, Habsade initiated the establishment of a local administration, which was supposed to be independent from Somaliland and Puntland. Behind this step was not only his personal discontent with the general policy towards the Dhulbahante inhabited area, but also the looming tensions between two large Dhulbahante sub-clans, Mahamud Garaad and Farah Garaad. Many of the Farah Garaad branch

felt that the new vice president of Puntland, Hassan Daahir 'Afqura', who belongs to the Mahamud Garaad group, distributed important positions under his authority exclusively to members of his own sub-clan. Habsade, who by descent is a member of Farah Garaad, tried to counter these developments by initiating a kind of Farah Garaad administration in some places in Togdheer and Sool. Puntland's President 'Adde' Muuse reacted by calling Habsade back to Garowe. The minister delayed his return, allowing the President to dismiss him for defying orders.

Following his dismissal, Habsade went to Lasanod and elsewhere in order to mobilise members of his Dhulbahante/Farah Garaad sub-clan against the Puntland authority. Finally, the dismissed minister approached Somaliland for support. The government in Hargeysa was more than willing to give him a helping hand. Consequently, Somaliland troops, aided by some Dhulbahante, advanced towards Lasanod and pushed Puntland out of its positions in and around the town.

Reactions of the Dhulbahante

The Dhulbahante community was split over the conflict. Some parts of the clan seemed to side with the presence of Somaliland troops in and around Lasanod, and Habsade became Hargeysa's 'special envoy for Sool'. However, the majority of the Dhulbahante traditional authorities condemned the military occupation of their homeland by Somaliland forces. In the so called 'Bo'ame Declaration' of 22 November 2007, the clan leaders informed the international community and the Somali people that their community was not part of Somaliland, and called upon Hargeysa to withdraw its troops. They warned against further bloodshed and stressed that the people in northern Somalia were connected by ties of culture, co-residence and blood relations. Those ties demanded respect, but were cut by the aggression of Somaliland.

Somaliland's (possible) motives

For the government in Hargeysa, Habsade's moves represented a golden opportunity to recapture Lasanod. The Somaliland administration's reasons for a renewed push against Puntland were two-fold. First, since January 2004, Hargeysa has been increasingly humiliated by the advance of Puntland in Sool. Moreover, the establishment of a more effective Puntland administration in Lasanod seriously challenged Somaliland's claim for internationally recognised (ex-colonial) borders. Second, the President of Somaliland, Daahir Rayaale Kahin, faces upcoming presidential elections in spring 2008. Since 2007, he has been involved in several internal conflicts over issues related to freedom of speech, electoral legislation, and so forth. The clashes with Puntland provided an opportunity to divert the attention of the voters away from internal problems and toward an external threat. The possible extension of his term of office in a time of crisis and 'state of exception' might also be part of the President's agenda.

Conflict of state formation

On a higher political level, the fighting between Somaliland and Puntland can be understood as part of a conflict of state formation. For years, both political entities in northern Somalia claimed nominal control over the contested regions without enforcing their claims. However, this contest might now enter a politically decisive and possibly violent phase. Two factors are currently accelerating tensions and enmity between Somaliland and Puntland. First, the institutional developments, particularly in Somaliland, reached a certain maturity with the successful political transition from clan to multi-party democracy since 2002. Consequently, and also in the face of upcoming presidential elections, the government in Hargeysa pushes hard for recognition. Second, Puntland, oriented towards the 'one state vision' for Somalia, is strongly linked to the fighting in southern Somalia. There the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) under Interim President Abdullahi Yusuf struggles against a complex insurgency of Islamic and clan militias for control over Mogadishu and

South-Central Somalia. Depending on the outcome, Puntland might either unite with the TFG against Somaliland, or be 'left alone'.

The stance of the international community

Apart from concerns about international terrorism gaining a foothold in Somalia, international law and politics seem to be either overstrained by the situation, or indifferent. This indecisive position arguably contributes to conflict escalation in the Somali settings. On the one hand, the legal fiction of Somalia as a state is maintained, and the territorial integrity and 'identity' of the collapsed state is protected. On the other hand, the international community tolerates the massive military intervention of Ethiopia at the invitation of a domestically illegitimate and ineffective TFG, which is causing human rights violations on a gross scale. On top of this, the international community now watches the rather effective and peaceful political entities in northern Somalia sliding into a violent conflict, which might lead to a new civil war in the region.

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For a more in-depth account of the conflict between Somaliland and Puntland see: Höhne: Puntland and Somaliland Clashing in Northern Somalia: Who Cuts the Gordian Knot?, 7 November 2007, at: <http://hornofafrica.ssrc.org/Hoehne/>

Advocating for education for peace in the Horn of Africa

Introduction

As the world was celebrating with glamour the end of 2007 and ushering in the New Year of 2008, Africa was once again in the news due to violence, loss of life and the destruction of property. Indeed, the announcement of the election results plunged Kenya into a cycle of violence never seen before in the country. One heard in disbelief that people had been shot dead by the police, and it was shocking to see a church where women and children had taken refuge being set ablaze. This brought back the terrible images from the Rwandan genocide when scores of people were being killed in churches that they thought to be safe.

Election periods are always times of tensions, contradictions and often violence. The magnitude of the current events in Kenya, a country long seen as a stable and generally peaceful nation in the troubled Horn of Africa and Great Lakes region, raises again the question of how best to prevent such events. It appears that many of the approaches to conflict prevention, management and resolution come in the aftermath of events. Indeed for the Kenyan case, the African Union (AU), regional leaders and the international community are now pressing the parties to call for calm and to refrain from deepening the crisis. However, once again this comes too late, at a time when the tragedy has already occurred.

While these efforts are crucial in bringing Kenya back to peace, the events stress the necessity to reflect more on the search for ways to entrench within our societies the culture for sorting out our differences without reverting to violence. In stipulating that "Since wars begin in the minds of people and it is in the minds of people that the defenses of peace must be constructed", UNESCO advocated strongly for the preparation of generations mindful of peace, through education for peace and respect for each other. This paper advocates along the same line for the promotion of education for peace in Africa in general, and in the Horn of Africa in particular, with the view to mobilise societies for peace.

Education for peace endeavours

In June 2006, the AU and the Africa Programme of the University for Peace (UPEACE) co-organised an international conference on the theme “Strategies for Peace with development: The role of education, training and research”. It recommended, *inter alia*, the necessity to enshrine education for peace in national education systems, as it is now well established that there cannot be development without peace and vice versa. In pursuit of these recommendations, UPEACE has embarked on the task of taking stock of the existing undertakings and initiatives of education for peace in Africa. The aim is to use this information as a guideline for the conceptualization of an action plan on how to implement a Peace Education Programme within the school systems in Africa. An initial analysis of curricula in Sierra Leone, Togo, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Mozambique indicated that countries do already recognise the importance of education for peace, as the education systems include components of peace education. In fact, Mozambique is implementing a programme on peace education. This finding strengthened the conviction that it would be beneficial for Africa to develop a broad curriculum capturing essential components of education for peace for each of the education levels (pre-primary and primary, secondary and tertiary). This could constitute a basis on which countries could develop their own curricula according to their own needs and peculiarities. A meeting was convened in early December 2007 to review the proposed curriculum. It is anticipated that by March 2008 a draft would be ready for submission to a wider audience. The next step would then be to initiate a pilot phase in a limited number of countries, and later to convene an international conference to share the outcomes and reflect on perspectives. Approaches to reach out to the three levels might include peace education training at teacher training institutions and departments of education with the view to enable teachers to train the lower levels of pre-primary, primary and secondary, while exploring the possibility of introducing all students attending these institutions to peace and conflict studies.

Along this initiative and as part of the mission to stimulate and strengthen the capacity to teach, train and conduct research in peace and conflict related studies, UPEACE has undertaken a programme, sponsored by the Government of the Netherlands, to train faculty members in universities in the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and Southern Asia in an effort to build a sustainable basis for education for peace in these regions. In the Horn of Africa, the project would be working with universities in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Sudan. It is anticipated that the participating institutions would develop or consolidate graduate programmes in peace and conflict studies. The aim would be to widen the knowledge base in this area and to create the capacity for graduates to continuously engage their community in peace initiatives and efforts. In the long term this can promote and sustain conditions for a stable Horn of Africa in particular, and the continent at large.

Conclusion

Achieving sustainable peace is often the confluence of a number of strategies and undertakings. It is nevertheless essential that the foundation for such undertakings is solid, since it will determine how long the structure stands. Education has been recognized to provide such a solid foundation for life. This was rightly emphasized by John Dewey when he stated:

“(...) Education has been closely connected with the development of civilizations and has always been viewed as a way of bringing better life into existence (...) The evolution of the society depends upon it. This is as true today as it has ever been (...).” (Dewey, 1943).

The statement still stands more than sixty years later. For a society that aspires to solid and lasting peace, it is crucial that education for peace becomes part and parcel

of the upbringing of generations that respect human rights, accept the differences that make humanity, and strive continuously to maintain stability and peace and hence contribute to ensuring sustainable development.

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NEWS

GENERAL

AU summit in Addis Ababa dominated by Kenya and Chad

The 10th AU Summit, gathering African leaders in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa (1-2 February), expressed deep concern and pain about the situation in Chad and Kenya. The new AU Chairman, Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete, told the Summit closing session: “It is even more sad to see new wounds opening up with blood flowing in Kenya and now Chad.”

Preceding the Summit, Sudan had expressed its intention to once again try to run for the AU presidency; however, Sudan withdrew its candidacy before the Summit was launched. Sudan had already failed in its attempts to assume the AU presidency in 2006 and 2007 due to intensive international pressure resulting from the alleged human rights abuses in Darfur, and a threat from Chad to withdraw if AU members endorsed the nomination.

Sudan Tribune; Reuters

KENYA

WCC international ecumenical delegation to Kenya meets political and religious leaders

The World Council of Churches (WCC) sent an international ecumenical delegation to Kenya. This was part of the WCC’s “Living Letters” initiative that aims to express solidarity with churches facing situations of violence. The group of church representatives stayed in the country from 30 January to 3 February. Among others, it met with top-level leaders of both political parties, namely the country’s Vice President Kalonzo Musyoka and with ODM leader Raila Odinga. These meetings allowed for frank and in-depth discussion of the current crisis. The delegation made a strong case for those suffering the brunt of the crisis.

The general secretary of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), Canon Peter Karanja, briefed the delegation on the peacemaking efforts of Kenyan churches. According to him, the churches are getting engaged at different levels “as the country is on the verge of genocide”. Peacemaking bids are being conducted both through an inter-religious forum and face-to-face encounters between Christian leaders belonging to different ethnic communities.

World Council of Churches, Ecumenical News International (ENI)

Kenyan Cardinal John Njue calls for truth and reconciliation commission

Kenyan Cardinal John Njue has made a plea to President Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga to engage in talks without any preconditions in order to save their embattled country. His call came on a national day of prayer for peace, and as some religious and political leaders suggested the formation of a truth, justice and reconciliation commission, similar to that in South Africa, to bring long-term closure to Kenya’s political crisis. *ENI*

AACC pleading with Kenyans for a solution to the crisis

In a statement signed by Secretary General Rev. Dr. H. M. Dandala, the Nairobi-based All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) called on the Kenyan leaders “to sit down together and resolve this problem”. Moreover, the statement emphasised the significance of the freedom of speech as an integral part of a democracy. Calling Kenya “the steward of Africa’s collective hope”, the AACC also pointed out that the current crisis is not only a national one, but that the whole of the African continent is looking at the once peaceful country in sorrow. Dandala also highlighted the contribution of Kenya to peace and stability in other countries, such as South Africa, Sudan and Somalia.

AACC statement, 21 January (for the full text of the statement see www.aacc-ceta.org/en/default2.asp?active_page_id=321&id=67)

SOMALIA

New wave of violence, relief efforts severely hampered

Somalia has been shelled by a new wave of violence in recent weeks. Clashes between Ethiopian/TFG forces and insurgents have occurred on an almost daily basis. Mogadishu remains the epicentre of the violence; however, the regions of Bakool, Bay, Hiiraan and Juba Hoose (in and around Kismaayo) have seen a rise in fighting and targeted killings. In Baidoa, the regional capital of Bay and seat of the Transitional Federal Parliament, and Beledweyne, the regional capital of Hiiraan, a number of individuals related to the interim institutions were killed by unidentified gunmen allegedly linked to remnants of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC).

Violence also extended to the northeastern regional state of Puntland. Explosions in the port of Bosasso on 5 February killed more than 20 people and injured some 70 others. The victims were mainly Ethiopian migrants coming to Boosaaso to make the dangerous crossing to Yemen. Al Shabaab, the militant wing of the former UIC, claimed responsibility for the attack in an Internet posting, calling it “a warning to the Puntland administration”.

According to the United Nations (UN) Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), efforts to help Somalis who have been forced to flee their homes due to violence have never been as restricted as now. Roadblocks, attacks in Mogadishu and rising threats against, and the targeting of, aid workers have severely limited the humanitarian community’s ability to operate. Médecins Sans Frontière (MSF) is withdrawing its entire international staff from Somalia after three of its aid workers were killed in a roadside bomb near Kismaayo in late January.

BBC, Reuters, Garowe, Shabelle, IRIN, UN News Service

Top US diplomat for Africa meets Somaliland leader and political opposition

US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Jendayi Frazer paid a visit to the breakaway Republic of Somaliland on 3 February. Ms Frazer told reporters that Washington would “continue working with Somaliland authorities on stability and peace”. The US has long perceived the Horn region as strategically important and as a breeding ground for militant Islamists. The visit was, in the words of Miss Frazer, also “an acknowledgement of the democratic process made by Somaliland”. The US delegation held meetings with Somaliland President Daahir Rayaale Kahin and representatives of the political opposition. The discussions with the President, government officials and political parties concerned issues related to strengthening the ties between the US and Somaliland and the upcoming general elections, which is to be held in six months.

On the issue of Somaliland's claims to sovereignty, the diplomat stated that the US would continue to work with the AU leaders and would recognize their decision on Somaliland's independence.

Reuters

SUDAN

Delegation of Sudanese women presses for Darfur action at the AU Summit

The steering committee of the African Women's Consultation on Darfur pleaded African leaders to put pressure on the Sudanese government to resolve the Darfur conflict and monitor UN troops for sexual offences. The delegation, consisting of five Sudanese women's leaders from Darfur, the north and the south, had travelled to the Summit to "meet leaders who have influence on our government". The delegation also aimed to make sure that "women are represented at the decision-making level for peace in Sudan". The women's delegation met with foreign ministers from various countries, including China and South Africa. The delegation was assisted by Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), a non-governmental organisation working to engender peace processes in Africa.

Inter Press Service (Johannesburg)

Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) signed by Sudan and UNAMID

Sudan has agreed to give the UN/AU Darfur peacekeeping force freedom of movement and communications, thereby removing major barriers to the deployment of the 26,000-strong force (9 February). The two sides had spent many weeks negotiating the final draft of the agreement and reached a deal only after intervention by UN Secretary General Ban-Ki-Moon.

Sudan's UN ambassador, Abdalmahmood Abdalhaleem, said at the signing ceremony that there would be no curfew on the force in Darfur. "The document resolved all the differences," he told reporters. Doubts over the composition of the force remain however. President Omar Hassan al-Bashir has said he will not accept non-African troops. However, Sudanese Foreign Minister Deng Alor, who signed the agreement, appeared to depart from this position when he said that Sudan would agree to non-African troops in UNAMID.

Reuters

Darfur bandit attacks threaten aid to two million people in Darfur

According to the World Food Programme (WFP), armed robberies and bandit attacks on aid convoys are threatening deliveries to more than two million people in Darfur. In a statement, WFP country head Kenro Oshidira urged the Sudanese Government to make sure that roads are safe. Due to attacks on trucks, abductions of drivers, and looting of WFP supplies and drivers' personal property, trucking companies are now refusing to send in more vehicles. The WFP representative fears that if this situation continues "we'll be forced to cut rations in parts of Darfur by mid-February."

Reuters

Notorious Janjaweed leader promoted by the Sudanese government

Musa Hilal, a notorious "Janjaweed" leader, has been appointed as the Senior Advisor to the Sudanese Ministry of Federal Affairs. This ministry coordinates the

regime's relations with Sudan's regions as well as with the country's myriad tribal groups. According to different international voices, such as the US government and Human Rights Watch (HRW), Hilal and his men played an integral role in the campaign of ethnic cleansing by the Sudanese army and the Janjaweed militia. The UN Security Council imposed travel bans and asset freezes on Hilal in April 2006.

Human Rights Watch Press Release; Sudan Tribune

UGANDA

LRA leader Joseph Kony confirms Vincent Otti's death

The leader of the Ugandan rebel movement, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), has confirmed that his second-in-command, Vincent Otti, is dead. It has so far been widely reported that he was killed by Kony in October. The Vice-President of South Sudan, Riek Machar, confirmed Otti's death following a conversation he had with LRA leader Joseph Kony on 23 January. Otti was regarded as the main force within the LRA behind the current peace process. Kony would not discuss the manner of Otti's death, saying only that his former deputy's demise would not derail the peace process.

IWPR

ERITREA

Eritrean opposition meeting in Addis Abeba

The eleven Eritrean opposition organisations that make up the Eritrean Democratic Alliance (EDA) adjourned their 5-day meeting in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, agreeing to admit two more opposition groups and to hold a congress by 30 March 2008. The two additional opposition groups are the Eritrean People's Movement (EPM), which is led by Mr. Adhanom Gebremariam, and the Islamic Congress Party, led by Mr. Hassen Salman, who is also known as Abul Bera'a. The EDA has re-stated its policy that membership is open to any Eritrean organisation that has already held a congress and has a recognized leadership. The umbrella group decided that the Secretariat that managed the meeting between 15 January and 19 January would continue to hold a leadership position until the 30 March congress. "The formation of the large alliance is a big blow to the Eritrean regime" says one of the leaders for the Eritrean federal democratic front, Bashir Ishaq.

Awate, Sudan Tribune

Reporters sans Frontières claim at least nine political prisoners have died due to torture in Eritrean prisons

On 30 January, Reporters sans Frontières (RSF) said that at least nine political inmates have died in a secret Eritrean prison where prisoners are routinely tortured using plastic whips. The media rights groups said an anonymous source detailed how detainees, including four journalists, were kept day and night under lights. It further said some were manacled and tortured. Asmara routinely denies criticism from foreign-based rights groups, accusing them of acting on behalf of some world powers. Eritrean Information Minister Ali Abdu says the government will not respond to "each stupid comment" by groups such as RSF.

RSF calls on the member governments of the AU and the leading democratic nations to express their revulsion at the inhuman treatment of political prisoners to the Eritrean ambassadors present in their countries, and to request the release of the prisoners. RSF also calls on the EU to implement targeted aviation ban sanctions for Eritrean officials in charge of repression and prison camps.

Reuters and RSF

ETHIOPIA

UN provides 600,000 USD to help feed conflict-affected in the Somali region

The United Nations Central Emergency Fund (CERF) has allocated nearly 600,000 USD to provide Ethiopians in the country's Somali region with food aid. The money will be used by WFP to help Ethiopian authorities deliver food to the region, where conflict between Government forces and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) has intensified this year. According to UN OCHA, the humanitarian situation in the region has been compounded by poor rains and the decreasing availability of pasture and water, while food prices are being pushed up by restrictions on the cross-border movement of goods.

UN News Service

ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

Expressing its deep concern over the ongoing dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the UN Security Council voted unanimously for a sixth month extension of the mandate of the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) on 30 January. The resolution urges both sides to "show maximum restraint and refrain from any threat or use of force against each other, avoid provocative military activities and put an end to the exchange of hostile statements." It also called on Eritrea to withdraw all of its troops and heavy military equipment from the Temporary Security Zone (TSZ), and on Ethiopia to decrease its military forces in areas adjacent to the TSZ.

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon had proposed to extend the mission for only a month, because he said a fuel cut-off by Eritrea had crippled the force's activities and troops might have to be withdrawn. The resolution therefore demands that Eritrea resume fuel shipments or allow UNMEE to import fuel without restrictions. The fuel stoppage came the day after the independent boundary commission "virtually demarcated" the border between Ethiopia and Eritrea (30 November 2007). This step was accepted by Eritrea, but was rejected by Ethiopia. Eritrea wants UNMEE to pressure Ethiopia to withdraw its forces from Badme. However, as recently stated by UN spokesperson Yves Sorokobi, UNMEE's mandate does not include imposing the decision but only monitoring. Though Eritrea ignored a UN deadline to grant fuel access, UN troops are reluctant to leave fearing the eruption of war.

UN News service, Reuters, BBC

RESOURCES

GENERAL

UPEACE Africa Programme

The UN-mandated University for Peace (UPEACE) established its Africa Programme in 2002. The website provides background information and resources for peace education. www.africa.upeace.org/

World Association for Christian Communication's (WACC) webpage

WACC has members in 120 countries and is genuinely ecumenical in its membership. The webpage contains information about WACC, online publications and descriptions of its programmes, among them "Communication for peace". www.waccglobal.org/wacc

The European Institute of Security Studies: new webpage

www.iss.europa.eu/index.php?id=103

KENYA

Articles analysing and commenting the current situation

Ali. A. Mazrui: The Post-Election Crisis in Kenya: In Search of Solutions
www.royalafricansociety.org/

Stephanie Hanson (Council on Foreign Relations): Understanding Kenya's politics,
25 January 2008
www.cfr.org/publication/15322/understanding_kenyas_politics.html

Mildred Ngesa (Journalist with The Daily Nation, Nairobi): The roots of Kenya's
crisis, in: Development + Cooperation, No 01/2008
www.inwent.org/ez/articles/065121/index.en.shtml

Jacqueline M. Klopp (School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University): The real reason for Kenya's violence, 14 January 2008
www.csmonitor.com/2008/0114/p09s02-coop.html

Joel D. Barkan (Center for Security Studies): Breaking the Stalemate in Kenya, 8
January 2008 <http://forums.csis.org/africa/?p=82>

Anders Sjögren and Per Karlsson: From dream to nightmare: The Kenyan 2007 elec-
tions, 18 January 2008 www.nai.uu.se/articles/sjogren_and_karlsson/index.xml

David Anderson (African Studies Centre, University of Oxford): Kenya's Agony
www.royalafricansociety.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=443

Pambazuka News 343: Crisis in Kenya: Call for justice and peaceful resolution
This issue of Pambazuka news, a pan-African electronic weekly newsletter and plat-
form for social justice in Africa, focuses on the current crisis in Kenya.
www.pambazuka.org/en/issue/343

Background information

Facts and figures about inequality in Kenya

The report "Pulling apart: facts and figures about inequality in Kenya" was produced
by the Society for International Development in 2004. It aims to report on the various
types of inequality in Kenya. [www.sidint.org/files/africa/pulling-apart\[1\].pdf](http://www.sidint.org/files/africa/pulling-apart[1].pdf)

Book on Kenya's struggle for democracy

Godwin R. Murunga and Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o (eds.): Kenya: The struggle
for democracy, Dakar 2007.

SUDAN

"Confederation for South-Sudan a betrayal to self-determination"

This article by Southern Sudanese James Okuk, a PhD student at the University of
Nairobi, explores the implications of a confederal system for South Sudan's right to
self-determination. www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article25617

Gurtong Peace Trust Project

The Gurtong Peace Trust Project is an independent, not-for-profit, community-based
project that aims at removing all ethnic, political or personal obstacles on the way to
unity, peace and mutual respect among South Sudanese. The website provides infor-
mation on a variety of topics related to South Sudan and also includes a news update
and a platform for opinions. www.gurtong.org

"Abyei – Sudan's 'Kashmir'"

In their paper, Roger Winter and John Prendergast focus on the political crisis re-
garding the oil-rich region of Abyei that lies astride the boundary between North and

South Sudan (ENOUGH Strategy paper #11, January 2008).
www.enoughproject.org/files/reports/anevi%2029-1.pdf

The international failure to protect in Sudan

The report “Six months since 1769. An overview of conflict in Sudan and the international failure to protect (August 2007-January 2008)” produced by the US-based organisation Africa Action summarises the main events since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1769 (31 July 2007).

www.africaaction.org/resources/docs/6monthssince1769Report.pdf

“Making sense of Chad”

Alex de Waal discusses the current situation in Chad, and its links to Darfur.

www.ssrc.org/blog/2008/02/04/making-sense-of-chad/

“Displaced in Darfur: A generation of anger”

This Amnesty International report focuses on the situation of displaced people in Darfur. It makes recommendations to the Sudanese Government, the armed opposition groups, the international community, and to UNAMID in Darfur.

www.amnesty.org/en/alfresco_asset/f2b06a31-caa3-11dc-b181-d35374267ce9/afr540012008eng.pdf

SOMALIA

UN OCHA weekly situation reports

<http://ochaonline.un.org/somalia/SituationReports/tabid/2715/Default.aspx>

Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on Somalia to the AU Peace and Security Council, 18 January

[www.africa-union.org/root/au/Conferences/2008/january/PSC/PSC%20Report%20on%20Somalia%20\(eng\).doc](http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Conferences/2008/january/PSC/PSC%20Report%20on%20Somalia%20(eng).doc)

“Attacks on the press 2007”

According to the annual report of the Committee to Protect Journalists, Somalia is the second most dangerous country for journalists.

www.cpj.org/attacks07/pages07/index.html

MSF press release following the killing of its aid workers in Kismayo

www.msf.org/msfinternational/invoke.cfm?objectId=D45AE41F-15C5-F00A-25FA38BD021FCE9A&component=toolkit.pressrelease&method=full_html&mode=view

UGANDA

The Uganda conflict action network homepage provides daily monitoring and analysis of the latest news from war-affected Northern Uganda.

www.ugandacan.org

“Forgotten Children – the outcome of children born of the Lord’s Resistance Army, Northern Uganda” 2008

This qualitative study by Eunice Apio, commissioned by the Coalition to Stop Child Soldiers, reviews the social, emotional and psychological outcome of 69 Ugandan children born to mothers captured by the LRA.

www.child-soldiers.org/psycho-social/Linked_Apio_2008.pdf

“From Violence to voting: war and political participation in Uganda”

Chris Blattman presents evidence for a link between war, violence and increased individual political participation and leadership among former combatants and victims

of violence, and uses this link to understand the deeper determinants of individual political behaviour in Northern Uganda.

www.cgdev.org/files/15221_file_Violence_to_Voting.pdf

Newly published book: “Living with bad surroundings: war, history and everyday moments in Northern Uganda” (February 2008)

Sverker Finnström draws on fieldwork conducted in northern Uganda between 1997 and 2006 to describe how the Acholi understand and attempt to control their moral universe and material circumstances.

www.dukeupress.edu/cgi-bin/forwardsql/search.cgi?template0=nomatch.htm&template2=books/book_detail_page.htm&user_id=25103021356&Bmain.item_option=1&Bmain.item=17040

ETHIOPIA

“The Political Roots of the Current Crisis in Region 5” (21 September, 2007)

Tobias Hagmann explores the political background of the crisis in the Ogaadeen region of Ethiopia. <http://hornofafrica.ssrc.org/Hagmann/index1.html>

“Making exceptions” (30 January 2008)

Tom Portueous, the London director for HRW, looks into why Western governments are making exceptions for Ethiopia.

http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/01/31/ethiop17947_txt.htm

“US Engagement in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa”

In her paper, Lahra Smith, Assistant Professor at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, provides a reassessment of US policy towards Ethiopia. <http://forums.csis.org/africa/?p=81>

ETHIOPIA – ERITREA

Report of the Secretary General on Ethiopia and Eritrea

www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep08.htm

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Editorial information

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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.

