



HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

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Restorative Justice: truth commissions and use of the healing memories

Countries emerging from conflict often have to face the challenge of addressing past wounds and holding the individuals responsible to account. How should the needs for truth and justice be balanced against each other and against the need for national healing and reconciliation? These and related issues are embodied in the principle of Restorative Justice – a theory of justice focusing on crime and wrongdoing as acted against the individual or community rather than the state. Restorative Justice emphasises on repairing the harm caused or revealed by criminal behaviour and is best accomplished through cooperative processes that include all stakeholders. This article considers two forms of Restorative Justice: Truth Commissions as well as the Healing of Memories methodology and their application in South Africa, Uganda as well as in Zimbabwe.

Truth Commissions

These are ‘bodies set up to investigate a past history of violations of human rights in a particular country - which can include violations by the military or other government forces or armed opposition forces.’¹ Generally, Truth Commissions are officially authorised or sanctioned by the state to investigate a pattern of abuse perpetrated in the past, over an established period of time. Truth Commissions are temporary in nature and result in the submission of a report upon completion.²

Truth Commissions offer survivors and perpetrators the opportunity to tell their story, which is healing – though this has not been proven beyond doubt. It is also argued that talking about the past can result in the prevention of the same or similar mistakes in the future at a national level. South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1995 to look at crimes perpetrated under the Apartheid regime from 1960 to 1994. It is an example of the benefits of Truth Commissions – though it nevertheless had limitations. Advocate George Bizos who sat on the TRC recently said, “We considered, and there were many South Africans who believed the criminal trial was necessary to punish perpetrators. A choice had to be made. If one side insists that members of the other side have to be brought to the criminal court and punished you are not likely to persuade their supporters that it is a

viable solution. Very often compromise that is necessary in order to create unity and however strong the calls for justice, punishing the guilty, may be one that we have to understand is of importance. In fact the reconciliation route, unsatisfactory as it may be is the better route to follow”.³ He was speaking in the context of what Zimbabwe, which is recovering from a political crisis of close to ten years, should do. Many civil society groups in Zimbabwe advocate for a Truth Commission however, when one considers the failure of a previous one in 1985 which looked at disturbances in the Matabeleland and Midlands regions from 1980 to 1988, one questions whether this would lead to healing or reconciliation. The failure of the previous commission has partly to be attributed to the lack of political will and expedience. Indeed, this is a problem facing all Truth Commissions: its results are vulnerable to manipulation by Governments.

This could also be seen in countries such as Uganda where the 1986 Commission of Inquiry into violations of human rights was created to investigate all aspects of human rights abuses committed under previous governments from the time of independence on October 9, 1962, until President Museveni came into power on January 25, 1986. The Commission was to pay attention to arbitrary arrest, detentions and killings. Its broad mandate also included forced displacement. Through out the course of its work, the Commission lacked political support which led many people to assert that it was a political strategy to provide legitimacy to the new government.⁴ Also in 1974 Commission of Inquiry into the disappearances of people in the country was to investigate and report the disappearances in the first years of the Idi Amin government from January 25, 1971 until 1974. The report of this Inquiry was never published and a confidential copy was handed over to Idi Amin.⁵ This process was also seen as not a “sincere attempt to rectify the past, but rather a flimsy effort to placate international pressure”.⁶ Finally, it cannot be guaranteed that the participants tell the truth. George Bizos gives this example: “One of the results of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is that there were denials. The regime said that there were no hit squads. The people said yes there must have been hit squads because the leaders of the liberation movement were killed within the country and in the neighbouring countries and in the rest of Africa where they had taken refuge.”

Healing of Memories

The Healing of Memories workshops were developed when it became clear that South Africa’s TRC would enable only a minority of the population to tell their stories. Developed by the Institute for Healing of Memories, such workshops aim to assist in dealing with the past. Entirely voluntary, they bring participants of varied racial/ethnic, political and cultural backgrounds together to tell their stories in an atmosphere of deep listening and mutual respect. Strong feelings such as anger, hatred and guilt as well as joy, love and hope often emerge. This is because emphasis is placed on dealing with issues at an emotional, psychological and spiritual level, rather than an intellectual one. Although workshops, which typically take place over three days, emphasise individual healing, mutual understanding and reconciliation can also arise from the opportunity to listen to those with different experiences. The methodology used is deceptively simple comprising stories, crayons and clay - but small group facilitators need skills and wisdom to ensure the process is effective. Towards the end of the workshop, participants work together to create a celebratory liturgy often including poetry, dance, song, drama, prayer and readings. This ritual functions as a symbolic release from destructive memories, whatever the religious background of the participants. Although Healing of Memories workshops were initially developed to help people overcome the trauma of Apartheid, the methodology has been used to deal with ethnic and other conflict, violence, poverty and HIV/AIDS not just in South Africa but in many other countries. In Uganda, the programme was launched in 2002 by the Institute of Healing Memories in South

Africa but wasn't sustained until recently.

Healing of Memories workshops and facilitator training resumed in May, 2009 through the Diocese of Northern Uganda's Okweyo Project. Operating in Northern Uganda, where the 20-year insurgency of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has left thousands of all ages maimed and disabled, as well as emotionally and spiritually scarred, the Okweyo project will:

- Offer a journey of healing through listening and reclaiming their lives by letting go of anger and resentment
- If asked, help seminar participants form small support groups, with regular meetings and volunteer leadership. Victims will benefit from long-term monitoring of and provision of health care needs (including prosthetics).
- In order to help counter the lost livelihood that disability can bring – and thus the added, long-term resentment – victims and their children will receive scholarships and vocational training.
- With survivors' permission, invite former LRA soldiers to listen to victims' stories in seminars or small groups, and tell their stories.

In Zimbabwe, Healing of Memories workshops were first held in 2002 in Mutare and Harare as well as Bulawayo in 2003. The workshops were resuscitated recently when a Healing of Memories workshop was held in Bulawayo through the Zimbabwe Christian Alliance. It is hoped that this umbrella faith-based organisation is able to sustain the programme. The effectiveness of Healing of Memories workshops was the subject of an 18-month evaluation of the methodology completed in 2007 in South Africa's Western Cape Province. Findings supported the assumptions that having one's pain acknowledged was a healing experience and that listening to the stories of others different from oneself fosters empathetic understanding.⁷ Others have a different view on the therapeutic benefits of telling one's story arguing that the truth is already known to participants and that it would be better to "let sleeping dogs lie" instead of waking them. It is further argued that telling one's story can trigger post-traumatic stress and re-victimisation. However, according to the evaluation conducted by the Institute for Healing of Memories, some respondents described taking concrete steps to forgive or reconcile with persons from whom they had been estranged when they returned home after the workshops.⁸ Thus, as a method of Restorative Justice, the methodology has been found to have merit in terms of truth, healing and reconciliation. One limitation of the Healing of Memories methodology, however, lies in the follow-up. In some countries sustaining the programme has been difficult. This is, however, largely due to lack of administrative capacity, funding and on-going training of facilitators rather than failure of the methodology itself.

Lessons Learned

Despite the limitations of truth commissions and Healing of Memories methodology, countries in the Horn of Africa can still draw positive lessons from the South African experience. South Africa's TRC fulfils to some extent what Margaret Popkin and Naomi Roht-Arriaza⁹ describe as the four main goals of truth commissions, namely:

1. To contribute to transitional peace by "creating an authoritative record of what happened"
2. To provide a platform for victims to tell their stories and obtain some form of redress
3. To recommend legislative, structural or other changes to avoid a repetition of past abuses
4. To establish who was responsible and provide a measure of accountability for the perpetrators

This success is in part due to genuine commitment by the Government. Other stakeholders, such as the Institute for Healing of Memories, have also played their

part by assisting individuals and communities tell their stories. They have also engaged in taking their methodology to other countries such as Uganda. Countries in the Horn of Africa who are considering establishing a truth commission, e.g. Kenya, should avoid what happened in Zimbabwe in the 1980's by ensuring the Government has enough political will to see the process through and to act on the findings. In Uganda, it is positive to see the church not waiting for the Government to take the lead, but launching its own process of Healing of Memories to bring about healing in the North of the country.

Conclusion

Truth Commissions are instituted by the State to transition/recover from conflict and while individuals get to tell their stories, the issues at stake are national as opposed to individual. Truth, justice, healing and reconciliation may or may not be achieved to the extent desired but this route, if not politically manipulated or ignored, can be useful in the journey of a nation. The Healing of Memories methodology acknowledges the merit of Truth Commissions (in particular the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa) but seeks to make an opportunity available for those who do not get to take part in such a process to tell their story. It reaches the individual, with the hope of transforming a community and a nation through a ripple effect. Neither Truth Commissions nor Healing of Memories guarantee a country will move on from its past but both merely attempt to do so. Each nation must travel its own path but it is likely that not just one method of restorative justice will be adequate – but a combination depending on the needs of the people involved.

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Notes

1. Priscilla B. Hayner, "Fifteen Truth Commissions - 1974 to 1994: A Comparative Study"; Human Rights Quarterly, Volume: 16 Issue: 4. 1994, p. 558.
2. Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 14.
3. Reconciliation, Justice and National Healing Debate: 17 April, 2009 12:54:00 SW Radio Africa Transcript: George Bizos, Sekai Holland, Glen Mpani, Mary Ndlovu with Journalist Violet Gonda.
4. "Truth Commissions: Uganda 1986". <http://www.usip.org/resources/truth-commission-uganda-86>
5. "Truth Commissions: Uganda 1974" <http://www.usip.org/resources/truth-commission-uganda-74>
6. Brahm, Eric. "Truth Commissions" *Beyond Intractability* eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: June 2004 http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/truth_commissions/
7. "Reflecting on Journeys to Healing and Wholeness: Toolkits for facilitators" Conference Report, Cape Town 12-14 October 2007, ed. Stephen Karakashia.
8. "Reflecting on Journeys to Healing and Wholeness: Toolkits for facilitators" Conference Report, Cape Town 12-14 October 2007, ed. Stephen Karakashian.
9. Goals Quoted in: Brahm, Eric. "Truth Commissions" *Beyond Intractability* eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder Posted: June 2004 http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/truth_commissions/

Peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo:

what role for regional organisations in the Horn of Africa?

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has many actors some of who are members of regional organisations committed to dealing with Peace and Security concerns in their respective regions. This paper will address the involvement of countries from the greater Horn of Africa namely Rwanda and

Uganda in the conflict in DRC with a special focus on what regional organisations can do towards their members involved in conflict outside the region. Should the mandate of these organisations in peace and security be confined to the region represented by their members or should they also widen their scope to deal with member countries behaviour outside of the region? In other words, is it morally right for countries in the Horn of Africa to strive to establish peace in their respective region, but continue to exacerbate (directly or indirectly) conflict in another region (or turn a blind eye to the involvement of their members)? In the spirit of global responsibility and regional integration, regional organisations in the Horn of Africa should establish policy on peace and security to deter their members from being means or causes of conflict in other parts of Africa. One of the main challenges in overcoming the conflict in DRC is weak governance. This situation continues to undermine peace efforts in the country that has experienced violent conflict since the fall of former President Mobutu Seseko who was responsible for the economic, social and political deterioration of the country in 1997.¹ Elections held in July 2006 had raised the pedestal for peace regardless of the political uncertainty and violence experienced in certain areas of the country such as Bas-Congo, Kivu and Kinshasa several months after, marked by hostility between the new government and the opposition parties. The result is proliferation of insurgency groups seeking to confront the government's security agents. The enmity continues to undermine the establishment of democratic institutions through transparency and accountability structures and is further depriving the citizens access to sustainable basic human rights.²

Horn of Africa's involvement in the DRC conflict

Looking back at the profile of insurgency in the DRC, the militias continued presence has been enabled by collaboration and support from partners within the proximate areas. Countries neighbouring the country have formed alliances and provided support to different groups and in different phases of the conflict. For instance, the coalition that ousted President Mobutu which was known as Alliance of Democratic Forces for Liberation of Congo (AFDL) received military support from neighbouring Rwanda in exchange for the perpetrators of genocide. Rwanda was in an alliance with Uganda, who provided a base for the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). The collaboration occurs usually in exchange for political favours, such as national security concerns when the insurgents are supported by state actors.³ When the expectations of the Rwandese were not met by the newly formed government of President Laurent Kabila, a dissident group emerged that was again supported by Rwanda and clandestinely Uganda. Attempts by the DRC to disentangle from the dependence of Uganda and Rwanda upon ascendance to power of President Kabila's party by asking the two countries to withdraw their troops, was met with disappointment as it threatened the "security and economic interests" of these two countries. In the DRC conflict it seems that the friends of today are the foes of tomorrow and this trend constantly undermines peace efforts because shifting alliances prolong the conflict.

Regional peacebuilding efforts

In Africa there has been a proliferation of regional organisations including peace and security in their mandates in response to the cross national insecurity challenges.⁴ Such organisations should address the insecurity challenges especially where intractable conflicts remain and continue to cause suffering to the citizens of Africa. The African Union (AU), which is the umbrella body of all the regional structures in Africa, established a framework of peace and security. To complement the efforts of the mother organisation, regional organisations adopted a similar stance and established peace and security dockets specifically targeting the regions that have been curved out. The Inter Governmental Authority on Development

(IGAD) initially established to address food security issues (then Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development) in the Horn of Africa diversified to address insecurity concerns in Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda, Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan; and the same countries are members of yet another regional body – the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). COMESA draws its membership from countries in the northern and southern part of the continent. Undoubtedly, IGAD represents the northern sphere while the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) represents the southern sphere.

As intergovernmental organisations, these regional bodies face the challenge that the principles of sovereignty and non-interferences (included in the organisations statutes) – while important – also undermine the ability of regional organisations to deal with member countries. The principle of non-interference with affairs of a country is open to abuse or exploitation by member countries who engage in activities resulting to conflict in regions beyond. Conflict transformation and sustainable peace can successfully be achieved if all actors at different levels are engaged and committed. The actors include both state and non-state actors. The participation can be enhanced and achieved in various ways such as the carrot or the stick methods and constructive peacebuilding measures that impress upon the actors to act responsibly. The imposing of sanctions by regional organisations in the Horn of Africa to members should deter their participation in conflict in the central Africa region. Collaboration between organisations such as COMESA and AU (as evidenced by the results of the SADC intervention in Zimbabwe) could provide a supporting framework for the resolution of some of the conflicts in central Africa. With the exception of Somalia (where IGAD has tried regional bodies have had a substantial level of success in reconciling political adversaries in specific countries. Even within the Great Lakes region the rise in the number of hitherto insurgency groups in Burundi now laying down arms and seeking integration into the political mainstream attests to the success of country-specific peacebuilding within the region. The on-going misunderstanding between Ethiopia and Eritrea (both of whom are IGAD members) over each other's role in the Somali conflict without any visible and effective sanction from IGAD may explain why Uganda which is a member of IGAD and Rwanda, which sits with Uganda in the East Africa Community can continue their military adventures in the DRC without any fear of censure.

Conclusion

In recent years, African initiatives have applied creative measures in securing understandings and accommodations between political adversaries in some countries. An example is the intervention by AU in Kenya and SADC in Zimbabwe; the panel of eminent persons appointed by the African Union after the post-election violence in Kenya and the mediation process under SADC in Zimbabwe to end the prolonged post elections squabbles. The same kind of creativity is required to contain the expansionist appetites that have driven some states into other states with dire consequences. If African conflicts are to be solved by Africans as reiterated by leaders from the continent, then regional organisations should decisively deal with their errant members who cross borders to cause discontent in other regions.⁵ The Horn of Africa regional organisations should establish a system that ensures its members uphold peace and security not only in their respective regions but also that they do not cause conflict in other regions especially in countries neighbouring them. The enforcement for trans-regional peacebuilding policies with focus on members who digress will complement the transnational efforts as implemented by local non-state actors and international bodies and intervene to end conflicts.

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Notes

1. *Congo at War: A Briefing of Internal and External Players in the Central African Conflict*, Africa Report No.2, 1998, International Crisis Group <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=1423>.
2. *Congo: Consolidating Peace*, Africa Report No. 128, 2007, International Crisis Group <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4933>.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Hussein Solomon, “Towards Regional Security Integration in Southern Africa: Prospects and Challenges” see in *Perspectives on the OAU/AU and Conflict Management in Africa*, Ed. Abdalla Bujra and Hussein Solomon (ACARTSOD-CENSAD, DPMF, Addis Ababa: 2004), 197–198.
6. Adams Oloo, *Regional Institutions and the Quest for Security in the Horn of Africa*, see in *Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa*, E.d. Makumi Mwangiri (Nairobi: Africa Peace Forum, 2008) 178 – 179.

NEWS AND EVENTS

GENERAL

New threats to children in conflict need new responses, UN Says

A report by the Office of the UN Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict says that the changing nature of conflict, including the use of children in terrorist activity, poses new threats to children and international actors must do more to respond. The 16 June communiqué that accompanied the report says that, “armed conflicts today often feature small, ill-trained and lightly armed groups; benefit from the proliferation of small arms; can be fuelled and prolonged through exploitation of natural resources and economic motivations; and often involve shifting landscapes of trans national organized crime or forms of terrorism”. The Special Representative, Radhika Coomaraswamy also highlighted the increase in direct attacks on girls’ schools and female teachers. She added that actors in conflict must abide by international humanitarian and human rights laws, and must take special measures to protect children. She noted that, governments, international community and non-state actors have made progress in the last 13 years and are more aware of protection concerns for children in conflict. Legal frameworks have also been passed to protect children’s rights. Coomaraswamy noted with concern that awareness and better mechanisms and legal tools do not necessarily translate to change on the ground and there is need for implementation.

IRIN

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia rejects Somalia’s request

Ethiopia has refused a request by Somalia for military support to fight insurgents, saying such an intervention would need an international mandate. The Ethiopian government spokesman Bereket Simon also added that the international community, not just Somalia’s neighbours should assist the transitional government. On the 20th of June, Somalia’s parliamentary speaker Sheikh Aden Mohammed Nur urged the neighbouring countries; Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Yemen to intervene as fierce fighting continued in Mogadishu. There were also killings of high-level government officials, including the MP for Karan district, the country’s security minister and Mogadishu’s police commander.

BBC

KENYA

VP rules out sending military to Mogadishu

Kenya's Vice President has ruled out military intervention in resolving the Somalia conflict. He however stated that Kenya would guard its borders against aggression from any quarter. Mr. Musyoka said that the country would intensify its diplomatic efforts to end the crisis. President Kibaki while passing out a parade for Administration Police in Gilgil, acknowledged that the situation in Somalia is 'still fluid'. The president pointed out that the flow of illicit arms, foreigners and contraband into Kenya was still a major challenge. He added, "for our country to remain safe, we will need to diversify our approaches and get more involved in regional security initiatives to assist neighbouring states, especially Somalia achieve stability".

Daily Nation

Thousands displaced in ethnic conflict in southwest Kuria district

According to the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS), 6290 people have been displaced by inter-clan fighting and 765 homes burnt in the south-western district of Kuria East on the Tanzania border. The worst affected areas include Wagirabosi/Targai location in Ntimaru Division, inhabited by the Buirege clan; and Girigiri sub-location, and the villages of Nguruna, Getongoroma and Kebaroti in Kegonga Division. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA Kenya), relief agencies are planning further aid to Kuria East in addition to the emergency assistance by the Kenya Red Cross. Fighting between the Nyabasi and Buirege clans of the Kuria ethnic community began in late May following a cattle rustling incident where two people were killed. The retaliation attack that followed resulted in the death of two other people and the torching of several homes. According to the deputy secretary – general of KRCS, political differences arising from the division of the larger Kuria district in 2007 into Kuria East and Kuria West district also underline the latest conflict.

IRIN

UGANDA

UPDF officer urges Kenya to disarm Pokot warriors

The Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) 3rd Division Commander has urged Kenyan leaders to follow Uganda's example and disarm Pokot warriors to end cross-border cattle raids. The UPDF is currently disarming Pokot and Karimojong warriors. Addressing the Pokot from both sides of the border at Karita in Nakapiripit on 20 June, Brig Patrick Kankiriho said, "whereas inter-ethnic cattle raids among the Karimojong have reduced, new reports indicate that the armed Pokot from Kenya sneak into Karamoja and rustle cattle". The Brigadier also added that for peace to prevail in the pastoral areas along the Kenya-Uganda border, it was important that both countries united to rid the area of illegal arms and cattle rustling. On several occasions he said that the Kenya Pokot have crossed into Uganda, killed people and rustled animals and then crossed back into Kenya where they are given security by their leaders. According to Ugandan reports, armed Kenyan Pokot have for the last two months sneaked into Nakapiripit and Bukwo districts and made off with about 1,820 head of cattle despite the heavy deployment of security personnel along the Kenya- Uganda border. The Kenyan government is yet to respond to the remarks made by the UPDF 3rd Division Commander.

The Monitor, New Vision

LRA accused of DR Congo killings

A United Nations (UN) official said on the 26th of June, that about 1200 Congolese civilians have been killed and around 1500 abducted by Ugandan rebels in the last six months. Ross Mountain, the UN secretary general Special Representative said that the violence had taken place in the remote Haut-Uele region in the northeast of the Democratic Republic of Congo. He said most of those abducted were children. In the past, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has traditionally recruited children in Uganda but they are now taking action against the civilian population and spreading through a very large area in small numbers. Mountain added that 600 Congolese were killed in attacks in two villages on 25 December 2008 as part of a "reprisal" for a military offensive launched by the DR Congo, Uganda and southern Sudan. "This has put enormous fear amongst the population – if even a handful of LRA combatants are approaching, or even the rumour that they might be approaching -leads them to empty the village," he said.

Aljazeera.net

SOMALIA

U.S. ships small arms, munitions to government

The United States has shipped about 40 tonnes of small arms and munitions to Somalia in the last two months to help the country's transitional government fight off a challenge from Islamist militants, a senior American official revealed in a press briefing to journalists at the U.S State Department in Washington, DC. Reporters present said that the briefing was held with the ground rules that the official remains anonymous. The official told those present that the assistance was being provided through Uganda and Burundi AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The official said, "We have provided funds for the purchase of weapons; and we have also asked the two units that are there, particularly the Ugandans, to provide weapons to the TFG, and we have backfilled the Ugandans for what they have provided to the TFG government." In the last two weeks of this month there has been renewed fighting in Mogadishu thousands fleeing northern Mogadishu to other parts of the country.

allAfrica.com

SUDAN

United Nations reports on progress in disarming ex-combatants

The United Nations (UN) reports that progress is being made in the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of soldiers in north and south Sudan, a key component of the 2005 agreement that ended the country's 21 year old civil war. The Chief of the Sudanese DDR Unit in the UN Mission in the country, Mr. Adriaan Verheul, told a news conference on 17 June that the Sudanese DDR programme is unique and potentially the largest and most complex ever undertaken. He added that more than "5000 soldiers have now gone through the demobilization process, which was launched in February". "Some 180,000 members of the armed forces and women who have helped the armed forces will be given the possibility to make a living as a civilian. Any child soldiers will be reunited with their families," he also stated. The DDR process is a key component of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which was signed by the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). Mr. Verheul also noted that the goal of the reintegration was twofold, one being to provide for people who have fought

for their country with an exit from military life with a degree of dignity, while the other is to contribute to stability, which in itself will help generate greater trust and provides for the foundation of peace and development. UNMIS is tasked with the task of assisting the parties and the people of Sudan in fulfilling their commitments under the CPA.

United Nations News Agency, Reuters

African Union Panel on Darfur concludes its mission

The African Union Panel on Darfur (AUPD), chaired by former South African President Thabo Mbeki and including former Burundian President Pierre Buyoya, former Nigerian President Abdulsalami Abubakar and other African dignitaries, concluded its third mission to Sudan. During the 10 days mission that began on June 20, the AUPD held public hearings on the Darfur conflict to determine how best to expedite the peace process to urgently create conditions to promote justice, healing, and reconciliation in Darfur. The Panel met with Sudanese stakeholders who included; political parties, civil society representatives, rebel movements, Arab nomads, administrators, ethnic leaders, internally displaced persons (IDP), women, youth, and others in Khartoum; En Siro, North Darfur; El Fasher, North Darfur; Nyala, South Darfur; El Geneina and Zalingei, West Darfur. The AUPD will conduct several additional hearings and consultations and draft recommendations to be presented to the AU before making them available to the public.

African Union and United Nations Mission in Darfur website, allAfrica.com

RESOURCES

GENERAL

“Arms control in a rough neighbourhood: The case of the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa” (February 2009)

This paper by Dominique Dye examines the processes leading up to the adoption of the Nairobi Protocol and the establishment of a regional coordination body to oversee its implementation. It also attempts to assess regional and national progress made in implementing the protocol, including the development of National Action Plans (NAP) and marking of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the region, as well as factors hindering progress.

<http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/showRecord.php?RecordId=28899>

“Assessing progress on the road to peace: planning, monitoring and evaluating conflict prevention and peace building activities” (Issue Paper No. 5) (May 2008)

Written by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) the issue paper brings together the experiences of academics and practitioners dealing with planning, monitoring and evaluating conflict prevention activities.

http://www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Programmes/PM_L/Issue%20paper%205.pdf

“Development assistance and refugees – towards a North-South grand bargain?” (June 2009)

This policy briefing by the Refugee Studies Centre and written by Dr. Alexander Betts examines the role that development assistance can play in enhancing refugee protection and overcoming protracted refugee situations. It argues that an integrated development approach, supporting both refugees and local host communities

can be a 'win-win' solution for both Northern donors and Southern hosts, while simultaneously benefiting refugees.

http://repository.forcedmigration.org/show_metadata.jsp?pid=fmo:4961

"Global Peace Index 2009"

The 2009 Global Peace Index (GPI) by the Institute for Economics and Peace have been released and seeks to measure nation states propensity to conflict and insecurity. Which countries are the most peaceful? Which states favour non-confrontational international relations rather than engaging in 'military diplomacy'?

<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/images/content/GPI-2009/2009-GPI-ResultsReport-20090526.pdf>

"Security and Post-conflict reconstruction: dealing with fighters in the aftermath of war" (January 2009)

This book by the Small Arms Survey, edited by Robert Muggah, provides an analysis of the changing discourse and practice of post-conflict security interventions such as disarmament, demobilization and re-integration (DDR) and security sector reform (SSR). The book also aims to fill in the evidentiary gap, drawing on statistical and qualitative findings from war-torn areas including Afghanistan, Sudan, and Uganda among others.

"Statelessness" (April 2009)

This issue of the Forced Migration Review with articles from academic, international and local actors offers a forum for debate on the challenges faced by stateless people and the search for appropriate responses and solutions. The issue also includes 17 articles on other aspects of forced migration in three countries in the Horn of Africa and beyond.

<http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR32/FMR32.pdf>

UGANDA

"Building a peace economy in Northern Uganda: conflict sensitive approaches to recovery and growth" (September 2008)

This is one in a briefing paper series by International Alert known 'Investing in peace' in Northern Uganda. The report presents an overview of the political economy of war in Northern Uganda, before proceeding to review the different interventions being proposed for the region's economic recovery.

<http://www.eldis.org/assets/Docs/39807.html>

KENYA

"The Water's Edge: Mediation of violent electoral conflict in Kenya" (June 2009)

This book launched this month, analyses different stages in the mediation process of the post-election violence in Kenya. The book records the process of the negotiations that took place in Kenya over the conflict resulting from the presidential elections of 2007. It is written by Professor Makumi Mwangi.

"Bring the gun or you'll die: torture, rape and other serious human rights violations by Kenyan security forces in the Manderu triangle" (June 2009)

On 25 October 2008, the Kenyan government launched a joint police-military operation aimed at disarming warring militias in the Manderu region of northeastern Kenya. Evidence suggests that this operation was in fact planned as less a law enforcement action than a deliberate and brutal attack on the local civilian population that unfolded systematically over the course of several days. In this operation, the

Kenyan army and police targeted 10 towns and villages, rounding up the population, beating and torturing male residents en masse, and indulging in widespread looting and destruction of property. Members of the security forces raped women in their homes in at least some of the targeted communities while the men were being tortured in the streets.

<http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/06/28/bring-gun-or-you-ll-die>

SOMALIA

“Understanding the al-Shabaab” (June 2009)

This situation report briefly examines the nature of al-Shabaab’s ideological stance, their political ambitions and why this movement is a threat to the Transitional Federal Government. The author argues that the movement presents the single gravest threat to the survival of the Djibouti peace process. It is written by Paula Cristina Roque and published by the Institute for Security Studies.

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0C54E3B3-1E9C-BE1E-2C24-A6A8C7060233&lng=en&id=101556>

“The scarcity of land in Somalia: natural resources and their role in the Somali conflict” (May 2009)

The scarcity of natural resources, in particular land, has played a significant role in fostering conflict and in the collapse of the government in 1991 and has not drawn much scholarly attention. The argument advanced in this paper is that in the fertile riverine areas of southern Somalia, natural resources and especially land has become a key driver of armed conflict.

<http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900sid/AMMF-7S7LFJ?OpenDocument>

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/AMMF-7S7LFJ-full_report.pdf/\\$File/full_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/AMMF-7S7LFJ-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

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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.

