



# HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

## ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

---

### Analyses

- ▶ **The huge struggle for redemptive history in Kenya**
- ▶ **Rights based approach in the church context**

### News and events

### Resources

#### **The huge struggle for redemptive history in Kenya**

A concerning observation about the aftermath of Kenya's post-2007 polls violence is the heightened interest in and assertion of subjective historical recollections among communities. The development is amplifying ethnic identity consciousness and widening inter-ethnic divisions. Communities in hotspots of violent conflicts are generating tales justifying their sense of victimhood (from past injustices) and entitlement (to resources, especially land). But this logic of suffering and privilege threatens to feed cycles of violence in Kenya. This is posing a challenge to the conflict transformation process, and practitioners in the field need to urgently model appropriate responses to this fact.

An important question to pose is, "why are certain events remembered and not others?"<sup>1</sup> In seeking to trace their historical migratory and settlement patterns, communities are so engrossed in giving testimonies slanted to validate their exclusive claims to resources. While there are truths in these narrations, they altogether erase facts about the dynamics of ancient settlement patterns and more importantly (for this paper), are silent about evidence of coexistence.

This exploratory work endeavours to make foundational arguments for more focus on the historical proof of Kenyan communities' coexistence as a basis for reframing people's perceptions towards each other. Further, it submits that experts' efforts should be directed towards highlighting the distortions in history that form the basis for lethal propaganda used to mobilise ethnic groups against each other. Two districts in two Kenyan provinces are used as case studies, given the fact that these areas have been centres of violent conflicts.

#### **Revisiting history**

The importance of acknowledging our past has been elevated for various ends – keenness on justice and accountability to resolve historical injustices, the need to assert exclusive claims to land and even the attempt to validate current realities of land ownership, and the subtle attempt to glorify particular ethnic identities at the expense of others.

With the pain of the post-election violence, communities' historical memories have especially become emphatic on the exclusive existence of particular groups in

particular areas, without an acknowledgement of the dynamism of identity.

Kenya's pre-colonial history is awash with as much incidence of inter-community warfare as there are experiences of inter-community harmony, coexistence and integration (through assimilation). When it comes to questions of land ownership, historical accounts demonstrate that inter-communal warfare (and conquests) and alliances provided the means of land acquisition and expansions of territories (kingdoms and chiefdoms). Through these migrations and conquests, control over territories oscillated between and among different communities over time. Historical evidence demonstrates that indigenous African communities' territories were never permanent, but ever so dynamic. This reality was, however, (permanently) interrupted with the advent of colonialism <sup>2</sup>.

Neither was ethnic identity exclusive. As a matter of fact, historians observe that there were no pure ethnic groups. Each group was a dynamic and living unit whose continuity depended less on its purity or single origin than on its ability to accommodate and assimilate diverse elements. In everyday discourse ethnic identity was constantly being negotiated and defined, renegotiated and redefined <sup>3</sup>.

Appreciating this perspective helps underscore the cooperative and non-violent nature of many of the inter-ethnic interactions in Kenya prior to colonialism. Indeed, the colonial divide-and-rule policy of administering the Kenyan territory and her population caused the heightening of ethnic identity consciousness among many groups. This was through creation of boundaries that perpetuated segregation, and confined indigenous Kenyan communities to native reserves (along ethnic lines). This is what invented 'colonial tribes' – halting the inter-relationships among communities and their gradual integration that might have created bigger units <sup>4</sup>.

In post-colonial Kenya, with the re-introduction of pluralist democracy in 1991, political elites' exploitation of distorted historical facts has made it difficult for communities to highlight a history of age-old inter-relationships and coexistence with others. This propaganda – based on tales of dispossession (e.g. that particular groups took their land) and entitlement (e.g. that they have a right to political power and/or land) – triggered cycles of electoral violence that have been experienced in times around every general election since 1992 <sup>5</sup>.

### **Brief illustrations: Molo and Mt. Elgon Districts**

Two districts that have been centres of violent and murderous identity-based conflict are Molo and Mt. Elgon in Rift Valley and Western provinces respectively. While these two represent different conflict scenarios, both have identity at their core.

#### *i. The case of Molo District*

The Molo district population is dominated by the Nilotic Kalenjin and the Bantu Kikuyu communities. It has become an epicentre of ethnically-targeted electoral violence since 1992. While political differences <sup>6</sup> between the two communities have fuelled the cycles of violence, the conflict is informed by Kalenjin grievances about Kikuyu occupation of what was previously Kalenjin land.

The Kikuyu (on the basis of historical account) seem to have had earlier association and contacts with Bantu peoples from Western and Nyanza provinces before their entry and sojourn in Mt. Elgon, Lake Baringo, Lake Nakuru, and Mt. Kenya area settlement <sup>7</sup>. Colonial settlers found the Kikuyu in Central Kenya, from where they were massively displaced (to native reserves), with the creation of White Highlands.

The Kalenjin dominance of the Rift Valley was made possible by the aftermath of a past Maasai inter-clan warfare – between the Uasin Gishu Maasai (who had dominated western Kenya) and the pastoral Purko Maasai. The subsequent dispersal of the Uasin Gishu paved the way for Nandi warrior bands to penetrate into western Kenya. The colonialists equally created buffer zones in Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia separating the Nandi, Luhya, Elgeyo, Marakwet, Pokot and Tugen groups <sup>8</sup>.

It should be equally appreciated that the greatest colonial injustice in Rift Valley was committed against the Maasai. While the Nandi did push the Purko Maasai further into the Rift Valley from the Lessos area, the colonialists dispossessed the Maasai of vast tracts of land in Naivasha province and herded all of the Maasai groups in to one 'closed area' <sup>9</sup>.

The current cycles of violence in Molo, played out between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu, are rooted in grievances generated by the colonial resettlement schemes of the 1940s that favoured Kikuyu as well as post-colonial government and private settlement efforts from which the Kikuyu are seen to have benefited more <sup>10</sup>. The advent of pluralism, and the ethnic nature of politics, therefore provided an opportunity for the modelling and popularisation of divisive ethnic ideology, on the basis of which the Kalenjin clamour for "their land" increased <sup>11</sup>.

#### *ii. The case of Mt. Elgon District*

Mt. Elgon is mainly populated by the Kalenjin-speaking Sabaot group (a cluster of groups mainly consisting the Pok, Bongomek, Kony, and Ndorobo) <sup>12</sup>, the Bukusu (sub-group of the Luhya) and the Teso. It is believed that the Kalenjin were all initially settled in Mt. Elgon, before they dispersed. The history of inter-marriage and assimilation among the Kalenjin (including the Sabaot) and the Luhya is well documented.

In fact, research has shown that between thirty to forty per cent of the Luhya sub-groups were originally Kalenjin such as the Abatachoni and Kabras who were originally related to the Bongomek and Bukusu. It is observed that were it not for colonialism, the evolution of the Luhya into bigger units integrating their neighbours – the Teso, Kalenjin Maasai and Luo – would have been possible <sup>13</sup>. The Sabaot grievances are rooted in their displacement from Trans Nzoia to Mt. Elgon by the colonial settlers. Their subsequent economic marginalization in post-colonial Kenya has fed their deep resentments towards the Bukusu (who are a minority in Mt. Elgon but are dominant in then Bungoma district (now split in to four districts) and also found in greater Trans Nzoia region.

The advent of multiparty politics ruptured identity politics in Mt. Elgon, with violent ethnic clashes between the Sabaot and Bukusu in 1992-1993. But the identity-based conflict in Mt. Elgon is more complex than that. After the inter-ethnic clashes, there emerged an intra-Sabaot conflict that was even more violent. Due to contested provincial administration land allocation efforts, conflict broke out with the 2006 formation of a Pok-dominated militia group – the Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF). The SLDF targeted the Ndorobo – most of who were already settled in earlier allocation efforts – in their fight. This dimension of the conflict, which is yet to be completely resolved despite a military operation in March 2008, has led to an unlikely intra-Sabaot schism <sup>14</sup>. The Ndorobo are keener to assert their identity independent of the larger Sabaot ethnicity, and have gone as far as seeking a separate district and constituency of their own (shared with the Kony sub-group with whom they are close) <sup>15</sup>. The general Sabaot feeling is that the Bukusu belong in Uganda and there is the misplaced hope among a number of them that the Bukusu will someday relocate to eastern Uganda (where their kin, the Bagisu are). It is observably hard to argue that the advent of pluralist politics is the main driver of discord in Mt. Elgon – the causal factors are more than just the nature of electoral politics. The struggle for land, laced with divisive propaganda, the growth of armed militias (who have easy access to guns), and the commission of atrocities (both by the militia and security forces) erased communities' historical memory of their commonality and/or coexistence that would form part of the basis for reconciliation.

#### **Case for coexistence**

The rationale for going back in (past and current) history has been to demonstrate that there is as much evidence of inter-community conflicts as there is of inter-ethnic

coexistence and integration.

Communities were not static but dynamic, ever changing their values, language and culture on the basis of active inter-cultural exchange with others. Where the Kikuyu enriched their language with Maasai loan words, the Luhya expanded in numbers through the assimilation of Kalenjin and some Maasai groups, and all these aspects can be observed in all Kenyan communities. Presently, in Mt. Elgon, the Sabaot community are said to rely on Bukusu (a Luhya sub-group) circumcisers when the latter learnt the rite of passage from the former. Hence the two have areas of interdependence and cultural exchange.

This underscores the centrality of history in peace building. Revisiting history plays a part in the process of transforming conflict affected people's attitudes and perceptions of other parties through elucidating the fact of beneficial aspects of the relationship. This process of reframing the minds of parties to a conflict implies facilitating communities to humanize their neighbours, and creating bonds among them necessary for problem solving.

The basic thrust of coexistence, as implied in its own definition, is to achieve a relationship between persons and groups in which none of the parties is trying to destroy the other. It is to interact with a commitment to tolerance, mutual respect, and the agreement to settle conflicts without recourse to violence <sup>16</sup>.

### Conclusion

Revisiting historical facts to pinpoint the dynamism of culture – that it wasn't all closed to others – and to highlight the common destiny of Kenyan communities is critical to generating a sense of inter-community solidarity and unity. Similarly, revisiting history to illustrate the shared pain drawn from colonial injustices collectively experienced by Kenyan communities can be vital in creating an empathetic process of inter-community healing. A major challenge of going back in history as a basis for peacebuilding is that the past is not all a rosy picture. It is an acknowledged fact that the post-colonial government squandered an opportunity to unite communities in the country as one Kenyan nation. The pursuit of partisan and ethnic land settlement policies exacerbated ethnic conflicts. <sup>17</sup> Further, the elite became the biggest beneficiaries of land redistribution at the expense of Kenyan communities.

The test lies in using history to forge a sense of inter-community solidarity that is necessary to spur social change (as part of conflict transformation) – to get communities to acknowledge each other as comrades in efforts to rid Kenya of structural violence.

### Manasseh Wepundi

*is a specialist in peace and security research in Eastern Africa and is also involved in facilitation of community-level dialogue efforts in Kenya. He's also a Research Associate with the Institute for Human Security (mwepundi@yahoo.com).*

1. See Bethwell A. Ogot, *History as Destiny and History as Knowledge: Being Reflections on the Problems of Historicity and Historiography*, Kisumu: Anyange Press Ltd., p.8-65.
2. For example, Bethwell A. Ogot, *History of the Southern Luo Vol I, Migration and Settlement – 1500 – 1900*, Nairobi: E.A. Publishing House, p.140, demonstrates how settlement in the now Western Province oscillated between the Kalenjin and Luhya groups.
3. See Bethwell A. Ogot, *History as Destiny and History as Knowledge*, Op. Cit., p.273.
4. *Ibid.*, p.269. Historical research shows the Maasai-Kikuyu, Kalenjin-Luhya, Luo-Luhya, Maasai-Luhya etc inter-related to points of assimilation of some clans of each of the groups in to either. See also Muriuki, G. *A History of the Kikuyu, 1500 – 1800*, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974.
5. For information on electoral violence in Kenya see Nyukuri, K. B., *The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenya's Stability and Development*, Conference Paper, USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa, 1997 and Oyugi, O. W., *Conflict in Kenya: A Periodic Phenomenon*, Unpublished Conference Paper, 2002.
6. Since multiparty politics was reintroduced, the Kikuyu and Kalenjin have always supported different political parties apart from 2002, when their respective leaders (Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto) contested on the same ticket (in the Kenya African National Union, KANU) against the National

Rainbow Coalition's (NARC) presidential candidate Mwai Kibaki. Both Kenyatta (KANU's presidential candidate) and Kibaki belong to the same ethnic community.

7. See Wanguhu Ng'ang'a, *Kenya's Ethnic Communities: Foundation of the Nation*, Nairobi: Gatundu Publishers, 2006, p.108. See also William R. Ochieng, *A Pre-Colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya c. A.D. 1500 – 1914*, Nairobi: E.A. Literature Bureau, p.70.

8. Bethwell Ogot, *History as Destiny and History as Knowledge*, Op. Cit., p.284-285.

9. *Ibid.*, p.282.

10. Africa Policy Institute, *The Lie of the Land: Evictions and Kenya's Crisis*, Policy Brief No.2, 2008.

11. For a detailed analysis of the Mt. Elgon conflict see NCKK, *Tackling Discord in Kenya: An Analysis of Recurrent Conflicts in Molo and Mt. Elgon Districts*, Unpublished, 2008.

12. The Ndorobo, because they have historically settled higher up the mountain ranges (an area called "mosop" in Sabao, are erroneously called the Mosop clan, while the rest of the sub-groups, who have historically settled on the lowlands around the mountain (also called "soy") are erroneously referred to as the Soy clan.

13. *Ibid.*, p.268-269.

14. See the chapter on Security in UNDP/OCHA, *Mt. Elgon Conflict: A Rapid Assessment of the Underpinning Socio-economic, Governance, and Security Factors*, Unpublished, 2009 for a discussion on the debate around the security interventions in the district. While human rights organizations decried human rights violations, a section of the community in the district hailed the military operation in the district as successful in restoring calm.

15. For a detailed analysis of the Mt. Elgon conflict see NCKK, Op. Cit. and UNDP/OCHA, Op. Cit.

16. See Angela Nyawira Khaminwa, *Coexistence*, [Online:<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/coexistence/?nid=1009>], July 2003, (Accessed on 23rd April 2009).

17. Bethwell A. Ogot, *History as Destiny and History as Knowledge*, Op. Cit. p.291.

### **Rights based approach in the church context**

At its inception, many faith communities expressed concern that allegiance to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) did not explicitly acknowledge that all rights are derived from God, and that God is not mentioned in the document as the creator and ultimate guarantor of all rights. In other words, the document does not recognize explicitly the sovereignty of God. This may be explained by the notion of a neutral jurisprudence i.e. the claim of rights as universal applies equally to those who believe in God and those who do not. Here we have a very basic principle that all human beings must be treated of equally before the law regardless of religious belief. This is strongly related to the separation of powers between the Nation-State and Religion. Churches are bequeathed with a great moral power to care for the weak and vulnerable lives. It is called to be a peaceable community in which the strong are willing to surrender their power for the sake of common humanity. God then becomes part of such a community because it mediates justice and the saving grace of the Spirit. Everyone is drawn into the safe and inclusive space that does not discriminate on the basis of power alone. Only through restoration of human rights that have been denied can there be the establishment of justice that is acceptable to all and hence peaceful and harmonious living among and between all people.

### **Redressing abuses of human rights**

The transformation of weapons of war into plough shares of life must be accompanied by a process redressing abuses of human rights in order to bring about healing of memories and eventual forgiveness. In African spirituality the struggle with the memory of violence and abuse of human rights must lead to repentance and seeking anew, the face of God. All human beings, creation included, are called to be part of the community in which everything is subordinate to the reign of God in history. All are to be subjected in horizontal rather than vertical ways of relating to one another. Political will of those in power must be transformed by a greater power that reigns over everything else in the universe. This is necessary in order to restore harmony and peace among all peoples of all races and every life form in the world. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights therefore remains a beacon to the world, a powerful instrument that expressed the aspiration of human beings to live in dignity with one another. Yet the Declaration's hope and promise of "freedom from fear and freedom from want" remains an unrealized vision for too many. Human beings are consumed by acts that continue to outrage the conscience of humankind.

All people must know their human rights in order to live together in justice and dignity; to become agents of transformation and establish human rights as a way of life. Humanity is standing on the brink of devastation, with millions of people mired in poverty, environmental destruction, violence and oppression. Yet many aspire to live in a world of human dignity, freedom, and social and economic justice.

### **Learning peaceful and harmonious coexistence**

In the Horn of Africa there have been major efforts in developing new constitutional dispensations that affirm the integrity of the State and yet even the attempts to introduce Islamic Law, in Somalia for example, could not guarantee the protection of the basic rights of citizens in the absence of political will to do so. Further, without independent institutions that promote human rights education and mainstreams the rights based approach in their culture and value systems, it would be extremely difficult to create an environment of peaceful and harmonious coexistence between communities in the region.

Learning together means unlearning the inhumanity, violence and injustice that plague the human condition. Further, it means learning from the experiences, of people is as valuable as traditional teaching to embed the qualities of humility, empathy and mutual respect that underlie human rights. The voices of people deprived of human rights, and thus of their human dignity, are indispensable guides to learning our shared duties to the community, and to constructing a world where every individual and all organs of society secure universal respect for human rights for all. Through dialogue, interaction and learning we move from information to knowledge to realization of the imperatives of social and economic justice within a human rights framework. It harnesses the energies of all people to develop a shared global culture of human rights. In the context of civil society and churches, it bridges the chasm of despair. It liberates us from the prison of ignorance, and empowers us all to know, claim and make real our universal and inalienable human rights. In defining the values for the Millennium Declaration, the world's leaders have affirmed that, "men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice." Human rights are the articulation of these universal human values. The United Nations was founded with a vision of a world order built on the recognition of the inherent dignity, equal and inalienable human rights of all. To secure this vision, all people must learn and act according to our universal human rights, which define a shared moral and legal framework for living in dignity within our varied communities.

### **The Right Based and Biblical Justice Approach**

No culture or society can truly claim monopoly of the ideas behind human rights and freedoms. Elements and practices not consistent with modern ideas of human rights have existed (and continue to exist) in Western societies while, on the other hand, traditions from which human rights have developed can also be found in non-Western societies <sup>1</sup>. The Right Based Approach (RBA) just as Biblical Justice Approach (BJA) exposes the roots of vulnerability and marginalization and is focused on clear legal and prophetic responses i.e. empowering people to claim and exercise their rights and fulfil their responsibilities in society. The RBA recognizes the isolation of the poor in society, the victims of war and their inherent rights essential to livelihood and security. Rights that are validated by just law, how ever, as Mahatma Gandhi once said, 'there are unjust laws as there are unjust Men'.

Rights based approaches make the connection between social injustice and poverty. Accepting this connection leads to a more holistic analysis that includes an examination of the structures, systems, and social norms or traditions that perpetuate poverty and marginalization of specific groups of people. It enables a deeper understanding of the causes of poverty and social injustice and therefore opens

up the possibility of longterm changes than do more conventional development approaches. Christian identity is increasingly engaging in dialogue with civil society and social movements on the Rights' Based Approach (RBA) derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is the aspect of universality and particularity of rights that can be equally engaged from an African, humanistic and theological perspectives. The Rights Based Approach provides a common basis on which both churches in Africa and also Christian development agencies can share a common vision of intervention on the plight of poor and excluded peoples and communities. Again, this provides for a common platform upon which various religious faiths and traditions including Islam can dialogue on how to affirm the dignity of African person hood.

### **Mechanisms of the inter-faith framework**

There ought to be mechanisms within the inter-faith framework of dialogue especially between Christianity Islam and African Traditional Religions to focus on human rights can be rooted in the core values and ethos of the communities. In this context programmes of Ecumenical organisations such as Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Laes and the Horn of Africa, FECCLAHA and other civil society actors in the region have a duty to facilitate the right to be heard of ordinary citizens, marginalized and excluded groups in the Horn of Africa. The Church and the Islamic community must engage together in the discernment of societal problems from the perspective of marginalized groups. Then they can initiate a process of concretization i.e. conducting participatory pedagogies which accompany the afflicted in society to further discernment and collective action.

At a time when people from other parts of the world are struggling with faith in the institutional Church, it is not surprising that the language for human rights is increasingly becoming secular rhetoric for a new ethic of a just and free World. During the enlightenment, divine authority was replaced by human experience of the observable universe. The world then became one of self necessity. Absolute freedom became the essence of human nature as and therefore the will of the 'self' was privileged with unconditional autonomy. But this gradually led to the idea that autonomy includes self negation and contentedly doubting what was once considered theologically to be the ultimate object of freedom. Hence free rebellion against God was considered a virtue and as a validating and humanizing experience.

One can trace this increasingly secular ethic as a running thread through history from the renaissance to the French revolution. Therefor language of rights in the manner in which it has been coded may appear alien to the Bible and the Theology in general. However, our quest for a just World, our yearning for a new humanity and a definitive future cannot be without God. There is this story about abuse of human rights by Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu: 'A Nazi guard was taunting his Jewish prisoner, who had been given the filthiest job, cleaning the toilets. The guard was standing above him looking down at him and said: "Where is your God now?" The prisoner replied: "Right here with me in the muck." And the tremendous thing that has come to me more and more is this recognition of God as Emmanuel, God with us, who does not give good advice from the sidelines. The God who is there with us in the muck'. (Desmond Tutu, *God has a dream*, p17).

**Nicholas Otieno**

*is the recipient of Martin Luther King Award for non violence and social justice. He is a graduate in Ethics from Yale University and holds degrees in Philosophy and Theology from the Pontifical Urbanian University of Rome. He has been editing an ecumenical newspaper in Kenya and has worked as a consultant for the World Council of Churches and the all Africa Conference of Churches. During the world social forum he was the co-ordinator of Caritas/AACC ecumenical platform. He is also the author of several books and publications.*

1. Quot, DanChurch Aid policy document 'Acting on Human Rights' cited in the authors book *Human Rights and Social Justice in Africa*, published by AACC, 2008, Nairobi.

## NEWS AND EVENTS

### ETHIOPIA

#### **Ethiopia destroys mines stockpile**

Ethiopia says it has destroyed its stocks of anti-personnel mines, in line with the Ottawa Treaty. The government said it disposed of more than 54,000 mines, comfortably ahead of the deadline of June this year. It has retained just over 1,000 of the devices to train de-miners. The country however, still uses other types of mines in its border zones, notably along its still tense boundary with Eritrea. The mines along the border are triggered by vehicles, unlike the anti-personnel devices which are triggered by footfall, whether of an animal, adult or even a child. Although the stockpile may have gone, some of Ethiopia's border areas are heavily mined and it has till 2015 to clear anti-personnel mines already in place.

Adapted from BBC News Africa, 13 April 2009.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7996440.stm>

### KENYA

#### **Kenya to commence survey over the disputed Migingo Island**

Kenya is set to conduct a survey that will put to rest claims over who owns Migingo Island in the Lake Victoria. The dispute between Kenya and Uganda has caused much debate among politicians and local residents in both countries over ownership. Recently, Uganda hoisted its flag over the Island, an act interpreted by the local Kenyan residents and politicians as one of aggression. However, the Kenyan government has reiterated that the matter will be handled diplomatically and there is no cause for alarm. Foreign Affairs minister Moses Wetang'ula, who is chairing the team of experts trying to resolve the issue, and his Ugandan counterpart Sam Kutesa are expected to flag off the work on 28 April 2009.

More information can be found by following the links below:

<http://www.nation.co.ke/News/-/1056/592204/-/u65k61/-/index.html>

[http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/news/Migingo\\_Uganda\\_offers\\_Kenya\\_truce\\_83999.shtml](http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/news/Migingo_Uganda_offers_Kenya_truce_83999.shtml)

### SOMALIA

#### **Somali parliament endorses Sharia Law**

Somalilaw makers unanimously endorsed a proposal to implement Islamic Law. The parliamentarians say that they hope the vote will help exhaust support from Islamic insurgents battling the United Nations backed government. Implementation of the Sharia Law has been one of their demands. Information minister, Farhan Ali Mohammed says, "Scholars and imams will be invited to review the country's constitution and suggest amendments". Any changes, will however, be approved by two-thirds of the parliament.

Adapted from [allafrica.com](http://allafrica.com) and Shabelle Media Network.

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200904200803.html>

#### **Piracy symptom of a bigger problem**

While the US President Barack Obama has said that Somali piracy must be brought under control, the world's attention for most part remains on the ocean; the real challenge lies ashore. Roger Middleton states, "what is being seen in the Gulf of Aden and western Indian Ocean is just the visible tip of a complex web of chal-

lenges inside Somalia, a web that reaches across the country, the region and the world”.

Adapted from BBC News Africa, 15 April 2009.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8001183.stm>

### **Thirtyfive drown in latest smuggling tragedy in the Gulf of Aden**

Thirtyfive people drowned after one of two smugglers’ boats carrying more than 220 passengers across the Gulf of Aden from Somalia capsized off the coast of Yemen’s Abyan region. Leila Nassif, the head of the UNHCR office in Aden described it “as one of the worst incidents to occur in the recent months.” She added that, “unfortunately, more and more people are so desperate in their countries of origin that they are ready to put their lives in jeopardy to change the situation”. So far this year, 387 boats and 19,622 people have arrived in Yemen after making the perilous voyage across the Gulf of Aden from the Horn of Africa. A total of 131 people have died and at least 66 presumed missing at sea since the beginning of the year.

Adapted from UNHCR news stories.

<http://www.unhcr.org/news/NEWS/49f07bfa2.html>

## UGANDA

### **Who is re-supplying the LRA?**

Ugandan rebel movement the Lord’s Resistance Army, now based in the far north of the Democratic Republic of Congo, is continuing its attacks on civilians in the DR Congo and southern Sudan, despite a three-month campaign ‘operation lightening thunder’ that is now left to the Congolese government. This article looks at how the LRA has survived and considers who might be re-supplying it.

Adapted from BBC News Africa, 4 April 2009.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7983143.stm>

### **Uganda investigates foreigners supplying rebels**

The Ugandan army is investigating a number of foreign nationals allegedly providing logistical and military supplies to rebels of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) currently in the DRC, an army spokesman said. Major. Felix Kulayigye, added that those being investigated were Belgian nationals said to be supplying food, military uniforms and arms to LRA rebels in DRC. The Belgium embassy in Uganda is yet to get in touch with the Ugandan authorities to find out the details.

Reported by Xinhin News Agency.

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

## RESOURCES

### GENERAL

#### **“From conflict to peacebuilding: the role of natural resources and the environment”**

(February 2009)

Intrastate conflicts are likely to drag on and escalate without a greater focus on environment and natural resources in the peacebuilding process, according to a report launched by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

[http://postconflict.unep.ch/publications/pcdmb\\_policy\\_01.pdf](http://postconflict.unep.ch/publications/pcdmb_policy_01.pdf)

#### **“Just peace? Peacebuilding and rule of law in Africa,”** (January 2009)

This is a policy paper that contains the findings of a research project undertaken by

the Centre on Human Rights in Conflict (CHRC) of the University of East London School of Law. Country studies examined in depth are Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Sudan.

<http://www.uel.ac.uk/chrc/documents/CHRCJustPeaceAfricaFinal.pdf>

**“Migration and displacement in sub-Saharan Africa”** (April 2009)

Contrary to the still prevailing belief caused by sometimes one-sided media coverage that a large share of African migrants relocate to Europe or developed countries in the North, research shows that this is not the case. Only 1.5 percent of all sub-Saharan Africans, living outside their country, live in the European Union. More than two-thirds of all migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, however, migrate to other countries within sub-Saharan Africa (approximately 16.3 million). This brief focuses on states like Tanzania, Chad and Uganda that are transit countries and host countries that include; Cameroon, Sudan and Kenya.

Brief 39 of the Bonn International Centre for Conservation.

<http://www.bicc.de/uploads/pdf/publications/briefs/brief39/brief39.pdf>

**“Pursuing just peace: An overview and case studies for faith-based peace builders”** (2008)

This publication done by the Catholic Relief Services deals with various case studies of faith-based approaches to peace building, it also includes an essay on faith-based peacebuilding. Available both in English, Spanish and French.

<http://crs.org/publications/list.cfm?sector=8>

[http://crs.org/publications/showpdf.cfm?pdf\\_id=56](http://crs.org/publications/showpdf.cfm?pdf_id=56)

**“Report to the UN Secretary- General on enhancing mediation and its support activities”** (April 2009)

The report examines the challenges faced by the United Nations and its partners in providing professional mediation assistance to parties in conflict. It discusses the importance of building local, national and regional capacity for mediation and the need for coherent partnerships between the UN, regional and sub regional organizations.

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,UNSC,,,49e6f2880,0.html>

**“UN report on children and armed conflict”** (March 2009)

The Annual Report of the United Nations Secretary-General to the Security Council on Children and Armed Conflict was issued on 22 April. And examined by the Security Council during an Open Debate on Children and Armed Conflict in April.

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/EGUA-7RCRRX-full\\_report.pdf/\\$File/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/EGUA-7RCRRX-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

## ERITREA

**“Service for life: state repression and indefinite conscription in Eritrea”** (April 2009)

This text by Human Rights Watch documents human rights violation in the country and analyses the difficult situation faced by Eritreans who succeed in escaping to other countries such as Sudan, Libya, Egypt and Italy.

[http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/eritrea0409webwcover\\_0.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/eritrea0409webwcover_0.pdf)

## KENYA

**“Blowback: Kenya’s illicit ammunition problem in Turkana North district”** (June 2008)

The research presented in this paper by James Bevan provides evidence of a systematic unofficial initiative to supply the Turkana pastoralist groups with Kenyan

government ammunition. It finds that the Kenya Police supplies almost 50 per cent of the ammunition that circulates illegally in Turkana North, ostensibly to provide them with some defense against rival groups in Sudan and Uganda.

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2008.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/ASIN-7GJSLL-full\\_report.pdf/\\$File/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2008.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/ASIN-7GJSLL-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

**“The power of theatre in transforming conflicts at the Kakuma refugee camp”**

(January 2008)

The major theoretical approaches to peacebuilding provide for the systemic dimension in the peacebuilding process. However, the cultural dimension — which carries with it local indigenous knowledge — has not been well integrated into the system; nor have practical indigenous methodologies been well integrated with theory. To understand these shortcomings, we need to look at John Paul Lederach’s widely applied model. This article is written by Maurice O. Amollo.

[http://www.beyondintractability.org/case\\_studies/transformation\\_kakuma.jsp?nid=6804](http://www.beyondintractability.org/case_studies/transformation_kakuma.jsp?nid=6804)

<http://fm-cab.blogspot.com/2008/11/kakuma-continued.html>

## SUDAN

**“Shots in the dark: the 2008 South Sudan civilian disarmament campaign”**

(January 2009)

In an effort to consolidate its authority, eliminate rival bases of power, and reduce inter-ethnic violence, the president of the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) authorized the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) and state authorities to conduct a six-month civilian disarmament campaign across South Sudan from June through the end of November 2008. The campaign followed previous local ad hoc civilian disarmament initiatives in Lakes and Jonglei States in 2006 and elsewhere before that. This Working Paper reviews the implementation of the 2008 civilian disarmament campaign, with a special focus on three states: Lakes, Western Equatoria, and Unity. Each of these states presents a different set of security concerns and dynamics. The paper is written by Adam O’Brien.

[http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan\\_pdf/SWP-16-South-Sudan-Civilian-Disarmament-Campaign.pdf](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP-16-South-Sudan-Civilian-Disarmament-Campaign.pdf)

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/PSLG-7QEH87-full\\_report.pdf/\\$File/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/PSLG-7QEH87-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

## UGANDA

**“Open secret: Illegal detention and torture by the Joint Anti-terrorism Task force (JATT) in Uganda”** (April 2009)

This report documents the task force’s response to alleged rebel and terrorist activity by unlawfully detaining and torturing suspects.

<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/uganda0409webwcover.pdf>

[http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/HRW\\_IllegalDetentionTorture\\_JointAntiTerrorismTaskForce\\_Uganda.pdf](http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/HRW_IllegalDetentionTorture_JointAntiTerrorismTaskForce_Uganda.pdf)

**“Conflict, justice and reconciliation in Teso: obstacles and opportunities,”**

(December 2008)

The paper begins with a short overview of the history and impact of violent conflict in Teso. It then explores the history and contemporary relevance of traditional justice in Teso, as well as people’s perceptions of formal dispute resolution processes.

The ultimate aim is to better understand the contrasts between traditional justice practices used in Teso and those used in the Acholi and Lango sub-regions. Finally, the practical implications for any implementation of the Juba Peace Agreement and potential reforms in the Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS) - an inter-agency body constituted of the judiciary, the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, correctional services, the police, the office of the Attorney General and the office of the Public Prosecutor, among others - in a local and national context are also highlighted. This research is part of 'Beyond Juba' - a transitional justice project of the Faculty of Law, Makerere University, the Refugee Law Project and the Human Rights and Peace Centre.

*[http://www.refugeelawproject.org/briefing\\_papers/RLP.BP0801.pdf](http://www.refugeelawproject.org/briefing_papers/RLP.BP0801.pdf)*

*[http://www.beyondjuba.org/briefing\\_papers/Teso\\_Briefing\\_Note.pdf](http://www.beyondjuba.org/briefing_papers/Teso_Briefing_Note.pdf)*

## Horn of Africa Bulletin, Volume 21, No. 4, APRIL 2009

### Editorial information

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

### Editorial principles

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

