

Society for International Development (SID)

Greater Horn Outlook

Rockefeller Foundation
Horizon Scanning and Trend Monitoring Report
Greater Horn of East Africa – April 2010



The Election Train (2010-2012)

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Editorial

The voting season is here once again. Between 2010 and 2012, voters in 10 out of the 11 Great Horn of East Africa (GHEA) countries will go to the polls. The only place where the election train will not stop is Eritrea where elections have been postponed indefinitely since 2001.

Who is riding the election train? Will it arrive at a place of increased citizen engagement in the development process? Will it lead to political and economic maturity? Or will the region end up with heightened conflict and polarized politics?

This month's *Greater Horn Outlook* presents the complete regional elections calendar to December 2012 and shows the expected number of voters in each country. It summarizes the assessments of the recently concluded elections in Sudan and the state of affairs ahead of forthcoming elections in Burundi and Rwanda, and gauges the political mood and sentiment in the region as reflected in the mass media. It concludes with a special focus on Rwanda by reproducing a published interview with that country's Foreign Affairs Minister.

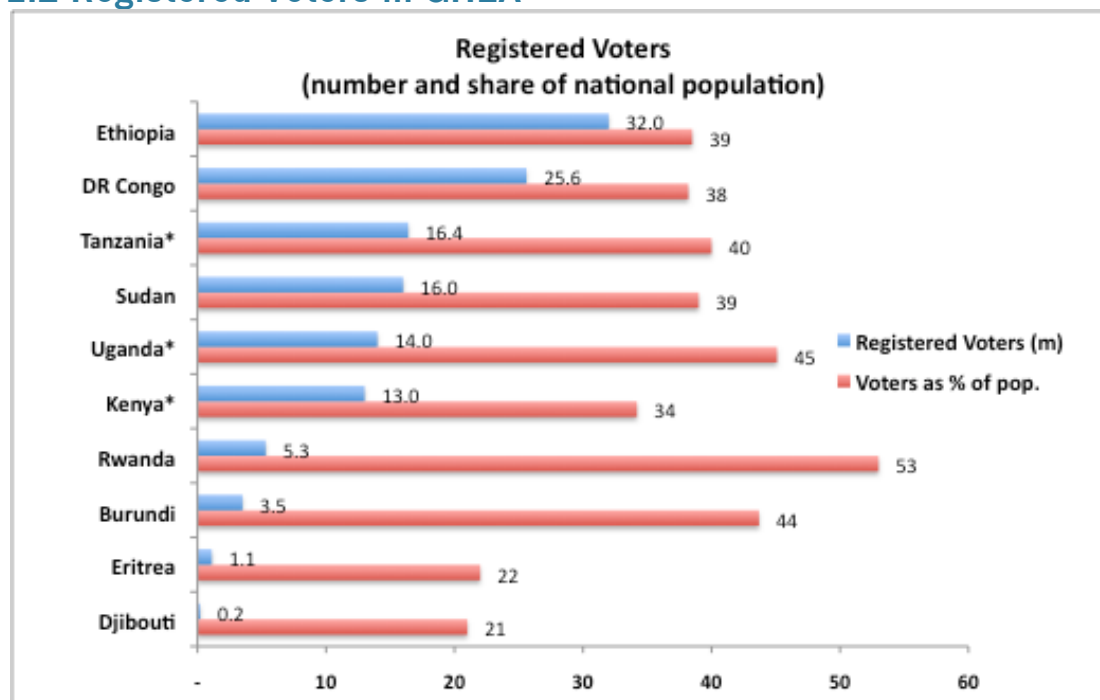


PART I – ELECTION CALENDAR, VOTER REGISTRATION AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

1.1 The Greater Horn's Election Calendar (2010 – 2012)

Country	Description	Date
Sudan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential 2. National Assembly 3. Council of States 4. Southern Sudan Presidential 5. Southern Sudan Assembly 6. State Legislatures 7. State Governors 8. Local Government 9. Southern Sudan Referendum 	<p><i>April 2010 (completed)</i></p> <p>January 2011</p>
Burundi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Communal 2. President 3. National Assembly 4. Senate (indirect) 	<p>21 May 2010</p> <p>28 June 2010</p> <p>23 July 2010</p> <p>28 July 2010</p>
Ethiopia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House of People's Representatives 2. Regional State Councils 	<p>23 May 2010</p> <p>23 May 2010</p>
Kenya	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Constitutional referendum 2. Presidential and Parliamentary 	<p>August 2010</p> <p>December 2012</p>
Rwanda	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential 2. Local & Senate 	<p>9th August, 2010</p> <p>2011</p>
Somaliland (semi-autonomous part of Somalia)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential (<i>postponed repeatedly from 31 Aug 2008</i>) 2. House of Representatives 3. Local Government 	<p>June 2010</p> <p>September 2010</p> <p>Late 2010</p>
Tanzania	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Union President 2. National Assembly 3. Zanzibar President 4. Zanzibar House of Representatives 5. Local Government 	<p>October 2010</p>
DR Congo	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential 1st round, National Assembly 2. Presidential 2nd round, Provincial Assemblies 	<p>September 2011</p> <p>October 2011</p>
Djibouti	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential 2. Regional Assemblies 3. Local Government 	<p>April 2011</p>
Uganda	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential 2. Regional Assemblies 3. Local Government 	<p>12th February -</p> <p>12th March 2011</p>

1.2 Registered Voters in GHEA

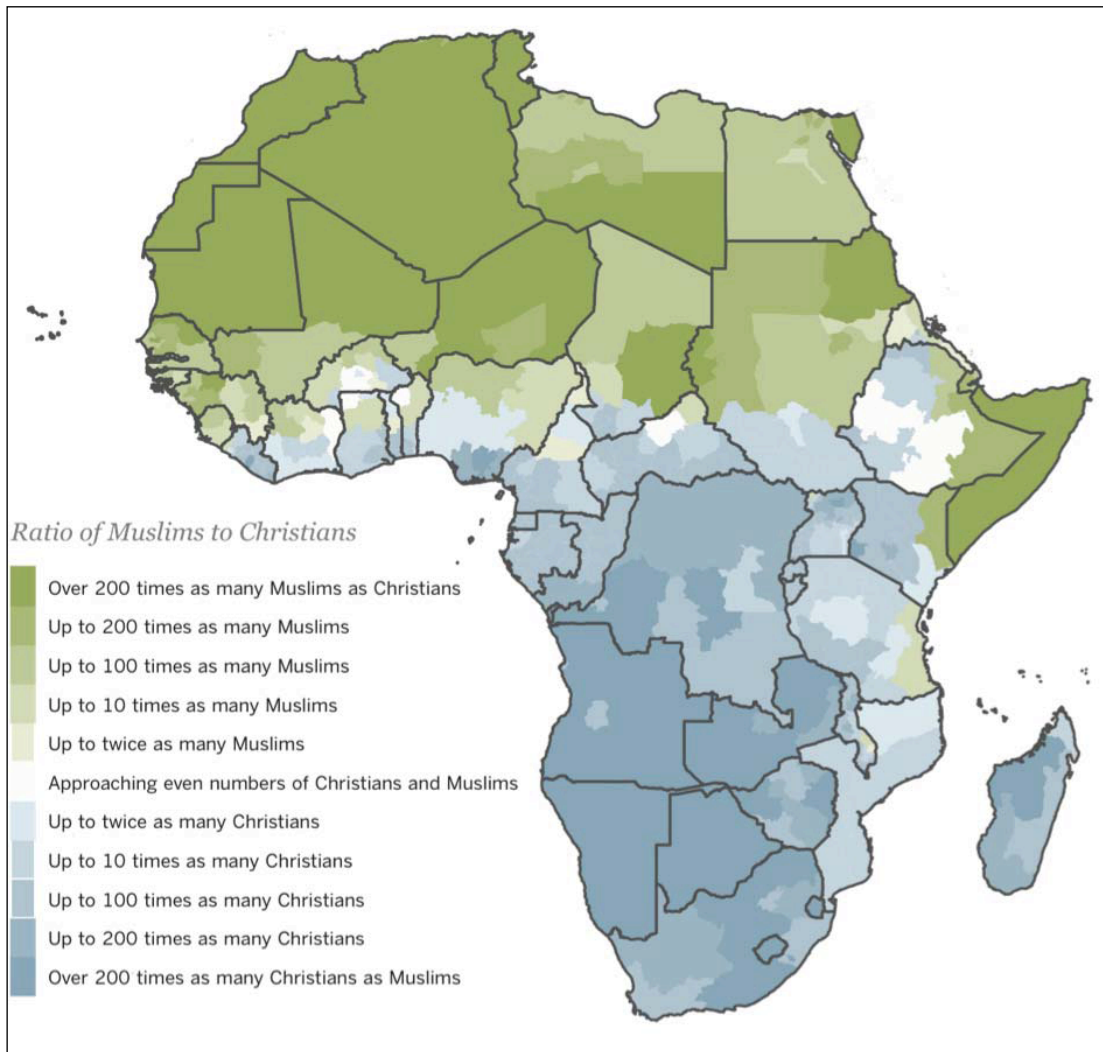


*Voter registration was ongoing at the time of collecting the data, figure based on previous election
There was no data available for Somalia. Source: africanelections.tripod.com

The available data shows that there are at least 127 million registered voters in the region, representing approximately 40% of the population. Ethiopia has registered the largest number of voters (32 million) but at 53%, the largest share of the population that is registered to vote is in Rwanda. This suggests that Rwanda may have succeeded in registering large portions of youth and women, two groups that tend to register in smaller numbers.

1.3 Does religious affiliation affect campaigns, elections and results?

In Uganda, for over two decades the rebels in north have been seeking a state governed on the basis of the Bible's 10 Commandments. Armed militants in Somalia seem to want to establish a state under Sharia law. The 1994 Rwanda Genocide took place among a population that was almost overwhelmingly Catholic. Conflict between the predominantly Muslim north and the Christian south ravaged Sudan for decades. Kadhi court discussions have animated electoral debates in Kenya and Tanzania. What role might the different faiths play in the coming campaigns, elections and results? The map below illustrates the distribution of Muslim and Christian populations across Africa.



Map source: *Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, April 2010.*

Part 2 – Summary of reports on elections and political contexts

2.1 Sudan (elections completed in April 2010)

The preliminary statement of the Carter Centre Election observation mission in Sudan declared that the election fell short of meeting international standards but met the benchmark set in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) due to increased political and civic participation in the run-up to the elections. The statement recommends that though there was little competition in the race the limited opening around the elections should be expanded to ensure respect for Sudan’s constitution, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The European Union observed that the election process was ‘flawed but a vital step towards peace’. The head of its Election Observation Mission in a

statement made after the elections noted the significant logistical challenges that had to be faced up to in the rundown to the elections.

2.2 Burundi (elections due in May 2010)

A report by Human Rights Watch entitled '*Pursuit of Power - Political violence and Repression in Burundi*' recommends that firm action to be taken to stop political violence and to create the conditions in which Burundians are able to freely exercise their civil and political rights by voting in the upcoming election. The reports notes that the high stakes in the upcoming elections have led to mass recruitment of new party members. This has the potential of increasing the level of uncertainty to a rocky peace process that has already been marred by cases of political violence and intimidation. It concludes by asserting that 'violence and repression are deeply rooted in the country's political culture'.

2.3 DR Congo (elections scheduled for 2011)

A report by Human Rights Watch entitled '*"You will be punished" - Attacks on Civilians in Eastern Congo*' state that attacks against civilians, including rape, have been vicious and widespread. This is despite the launch of the joint military operation by DRC and Rwanda in Eastern Congo against an abusive Rwanda militia. The report asserts that in addition to killings and rape, thousands of civilians have been abducted and pressed into forced labour to carry weapons, ammunition and other baggage across the treacherous terrain by both sides in the conflict. It concludes that the joint military operation has had some positive impact and if successful, may stabilize the region and foster economic and political dynamism. However, the insurgency currently retains the ability to conduct attacks on civilian populations. It recommends that proper investigations be carried out on those accused of crimes against humanity and that efforts to protect civilians and end impunity for serious crimes be hastened.

Part 3: The political mood and sentiment as reflected in the media

Immediate

No change in Sudan

Dream election result for Sudan's President Bashir

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8645661.stm>

Al-Bashir's supporters are presenting his re-election as the Sudanese people's response to the ICC's indictment.

Sudan elections 'failed' to meet international norms - election monitors

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8626677.stm>

Election irregularities mar the Sudan election

Uncertainty and clampdown in Rwanda ahead of the elections

Rwanda Charges Opposition Leader in Court

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004220001.html>

The government has arrested top military officials, shut down two newspapers for the duration of the presidential campaign and arrested an opposition party leader over the last two weeks.

Ingabire Accomplice to Appear in Gasabo Court Today

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005060560.html>

Army general arraigned in court on treason charges

Kagame and Mugabe Among Violators of Press Freedom

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005031703.html>

List of shame in terms of press freedom violations is published on World Press Freedom Day

There's something rotten in the state of Rwanda

<http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/opOrEd/comment/Something%20rotten%20in%20the%20state%20of%20Rwanda/-/434750/906078/-/40o4hy/-/index.html>

Columnist Charles Onyango-Obbo is perplexed about what to make of the recent grenade attacks, political arrests and military sackings in Rwanda.

Nay, sire, there's naught rotten in the state of Rwanda

<http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Nay%20sire%20theres%20naught%20rotten%20in%20the%20state%20of%20Rwanda/-/2558/910694/-/12paigw/-/index.html>

A Rwandese journalist enlightens Charles Onyango-Obbo and argues that Rwanda is right to be cautious.

There is no political crisis in Rwanda, it's the rules

<http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/There%20is%20no%20political%20crisis%20in%20Rwanda/-/2558/910496/-/11co8jwz/-/index.html>

Rwanda's foreign minister declares all to be well in the country.

Sympathy for the Devil Who's 'Tightening His Grip' on Us

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005031655.html>

A journalist puts the Rwandese state into perspective.

Tensions in Ethiopia ahead of the election

Electoral Board Allocates Over 7 Million BR to Parties

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005040743.html>

Election financing for political parties in Ethiopia.

Foreign Aid Subsidizes Repression, Says Expert

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004280880.html>

Suggestions that foreign aid helps support dictatorship in Ethiopia

Electoral Punch: Fear of Unknown Grips Addis Abeba Ahead of National Polls

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004270496.html>

Everyone seems jumpy in Ethiopia ahead of the election.

Somali's 2.7 Million Voters Bring National Count to 32 Million

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004220608.html>

The National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) discloses the number of voters

Electoral Punch - National Debt to Buy Citizens' Votes

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004220589.html>

Claims that the Ethiopian ruling elite is 'buying votes' by providing youth employment in regions where the government is unpopular, while plunging the nation in more debt.

Kenyans debate the draft constitution

Referendum Question Out

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100004.html>

The Kenyan constitutional review process approaches is now in the final stretch as the Interim Electoral Commission releases the referendum question that Kenyan voters will be required to respond to.

Ruto's 'No' Team Appointed

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005060795.html>

Cabinet split, as higher education minister does not support the draft constitution

Rival Teams Gear Up for Change

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005060975.html>

The draft constitution published, passionate appeals to Kenyans to successfully end a two-decade old clamour for change.

Burundi's mixed signals ahead of the election

Returnees Find a New Place to Call Home

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004261298.html>

Settling of ex-refugees back home in Burundi

Stop Pre-Election Violence, Hold Perpetrators Accountable

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004141113.html>

Calls for the Burundi state to contain pre-election violence.

EAC Security Meeting Opens in Burundi

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004150103.html>

East African officials meet to 'pacify not only Burundi but the whole region.'

Burundi's 'Smallest' Military Budget Highest As Fraction of GDP in Region

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004130823.html>

Burundi military expenditure of \$36m in 2008 is dwarfed by Kenya's \$260m.

Ensure Justice Over Activists Killing A Year After Stabbing Death of Ernest Manirumva, Anti-Corruption Advocate, Truth Elusive

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004080781.html>

Calls for justice for a dead human rights activist

DR Congo's army atrocities

Kinshasa Rejects Report of Congolese Army Atrocities

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005040005.html>

Government troops reject the report that it summarily executed fifty civilians in early April.

UN Has Suspended Cooperation With Army Units Accused of Rights Abuses

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200912150032.html>

UN peacekeepers in DRC have suspended logistical and other support for army units accused of human rights abuse.

'You Will Be Punished': Attacks on Civilians in Eastern Congo

<http://allafrica.com/view/resource/main/main/id/00011986.html>

The UN Security Council should urgently act to protect civilians in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo from further atrocities.

Sexual Violence in the DR Congo

<http://allafrica.com/view/group/main/main/id/00011276.html>

Estimates show that tens of thousands of women have been systematically raped by combatant forces in DRC.

Uganda starts preparing for elections

Museveni Hits Back At Clinton Over Elections

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100011.html>

Ugandan president says the country's constitution guarantees a credible election.

We Need a Clean Voters' Register

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100656.html>

New Vision newspaper editor calls for a credible voters register in Uganda

Why Entrepreneurship is Good for Democracy

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100322.html>

Michael Madill, political science professor believes that lack of job opportunities for Ugandan graduates will inspire entrepreneurship and foster middle class growth and engagement to the development processes.

Muliika Elected to Popularise Federo

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100317.html>

Dan Muliika elected to lead an organisation that advocates for Uganda to adopt federalism.

Tanzania's subtle soul searching

Mkapa Advises On African Leadership

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100381.html>

Former Tanzanian president argues that African creativity will groom better African leaders.

Mkapa's Position on Zanzibar Unity Vote

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005070216.html>

Former Tanzanian president believes Zanzibar's referendum might stabilize the isles

The fighting continues in Somalia

As Crisis Rocks Somalia, Policy Debate Intensifies

<http://allafrica.com/view/group/main/main/id/00011314.html>

The UN Envoy calls for a new approach in crisis rocked Somalia.

Islamist Militia Seize Pirate Haven

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005030002.html>

Somalia's militant group Hizbul Islam captures the strategic northern pirate lair of Haradhere without a fight, as pirates flee.

Parliament Denounces Explosions in Mogadishu

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005030178.html>

Speaker of the Transitional government's general assembly denounces violence.

Al-Shabab Spokesman Explains Blasts in Mogadishu

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005030177.html>

Al Shabab blames the west for blasts in Mogadishu.

Govt Troops Desert to Insurgents

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004300697.html>

Somali trained soldiers seek greener pastures by joining the militants.

Sentiment about the short-term

Rwanda: 'Its the economy, stupid!'

Rwanda elections moves to economy

<http://www.africareview.com/News/-/825442/883388/-/v0cv9cz/-/index.html>

Voters in Rwanda's presidential election this year are expected to have the economy at the top of their minds when they cast their ballots and violence is unlikely, according to the Foreign Minister.

Kenya: Church vs Constitution and a chance for lasting stability again.

Kenya - Church Dares State to a Duel As 'Red Card' Campaign Launched

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005100031.html>

Church leaders launch their campaign against the draft constitution. Will their flock listen?

Coming Poll Presents a Noble Task for Us All

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201005060955.html>

Daily Nation editor call for Kenyans to engage responsibly in the political process ahead of the Constitution referendum.

Burundi: Sick man of East Africa?

C'mon, Bujumbura, Show Us Your Legs

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201004050612.html>

Charles Obbo argues that the forthcoming election is an opportunity for Burundi to repaint its image of the "sick man" of the EAC.

Sentiment about the long term

Sudan takes centre stage as its division into two countries in 2011 seems likely

Democracy in the desert, a case of camels vs. cows

<http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/opOrEd/comment/Democracy%20in%20the%20desert%20a%20case%20of%20camels%20vs%20cows/-/434750/901520/-/ck3192/-/index.html>

Charles Obbo argues that following the shambolic elections in Sudan, it is the environment that shapes democracy, not race, tribe, or religion.

Sudan: Regional Perspectives on the Prospect of Southern Independence

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/sudan/159-sudan-regional-perspectives-on-the-prospect-of-southern-independence.aspx>

The International Crisis Group explores what a new state of South Sudan means for the East African region.

Ruling party splits present opportunity for real reforms in Africa

For Africa to be free, its political fathers must die

<http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/opOrEd/comment/-/434750/914966/-/c9vIh2/-/index.html>

Charles Onyango-Obbo argues that ruling party splits presents the only practical opportunity for reforms in African elections.

PART 4 - Interview: Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs Louise Mushikiwabo.

“There is no political crisis in Rwanda, it's the rules”

<http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/There%20is%20no%20political%20crisis%20in%20Rwanda/-/2558/910496/-/11co8jwz/-/index.html>



Louise Mushikiwabo, Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs

The EastAfrican: Do you agree there is a crisis in Rwanda?

Minister Mushikiwabo: My answer is no. Reading international and regional news, you clearly see the story has no substance. We are in election time and this is Rwanda and therefore people believe something wrong has to happen. Why would people think that elections in Rwanda have to be accompanied with violence? The reportage is using different sources quoting each other without really scratching the surface.

Q. Time magazine recently published an article, 'Is Rwanda's Hero Becoming Its Oppressor?' What is your take on that article?

A. It was a very biased story, particularly picking on the arrest of self-imposed political aspirant Victoire Ingabire and the suspension of Umuseso and Umuvugizi (two local newspapers) by the Media High Council. It is those two facts that Time took as its basis. Maybe the article is not actually biased but it is inaccurate. Umuseso's troublesome nature is not new at all in Rwanda. From 2004, the newspaper has been involved in controversy. The editor has been to court. He has boycotted and been suspended from attending government activities. He has been warned very many times.

Q. What about Madame Ingabire?

A. Ingabire is not working diligently to become a presidential candidate. She is back to Rwanda after 16 years to create social unrest. Her being taken to court didn't surprise anyone here. She has a criminal history as documented by the prosecution. She has clear ties with genocidal forces that have wreaked havoc in this part of Africa and this is tied into her own ideology. The fact that she is in bed with this terrorist organisation is only a result of her genocide ideology. There is no place for people like Ingabire in Rwanda. Not now and not in many years. If Rwandans let one person come and erase their success in the name of pluralistic democracy, it would be foolishness. We don't want divisionism, incitement, disunity and genocide denial.

Q. How do you measure "genocide ideology"? Don't you think there are flaws in the genocide law?

A. People say the law against Rwandans engaging in "genocide ideology" was put in place by President Paul Kagame's regime to keep them from talking. Rwandans have talked about genocide and what has happened in this country for the past 20 years non-stop. How does one create a law that fights racism, genocide and bigotry that is precise?

There is no precision in "ideology" whether you are in France, the United States, Poland, Holland or South Africa. I have looked at 15 other countries with these laws and they are as vague as they can be. I have seen similar laws about the Holocaust and I have seen people from these countries saying we have vague laws. They have things as vague as, "insulting the memory of the dead," or "offending a group of people because of their sexual preference." What precision is there in that law? How do you interpret it? How do you think a Rwandan judge will interpret it in a way that will stop people from expressing themselves?

Q. Maybe it is the usage of the words "genocide denial," "negating the genocide," "divisionism" and "genocide ideology?"

A. But it is the same with these other laws. What we are looking out for in our society are those things that could take us back to what we witnessed in this country. In some of these other countries, it was the Holocaust, bigotry, and racist behaviour. You can't make a difference in measuring the degree of these things, it is all vague. People outside the country should know that Rwanda has moved on in terms of political concepts and mindsets.

Q. Don't you think the recent throwing of grenades in Kigali and the arrests of the two military generals is creating some kind of panic?

A. Again, this is the psyche we are talking about. With our history, Rwanda has enemies. When the leadership stopped the genocide, it didn't stop people who think genocide. All is not that fine in Rwanda. Though we have been a very secure country, we have people outside the borders who want to come back and finish the work of the genocide; we have people internally, too, who are

unhappy and disgruntled with the current leadership. This government has fired people because of failure to account and people linked to the genocide. Why would it be surprising that someone can plant a grenade? This country still has enemies. Rwanda's military has high standards of discipline, shouldn't it be surprising that generals are arrested on counts of misconduct?

The Rwanda Defence Forces is made up of human beings, but still there is almost no tolerance for certain behaviour in our army. To me it is not surprising and alarming. It is the timing that makes people bundle everything together to create a situation of panic.

Q. Won't the refusal to grant a human rights researcher permission to work in Rwanda be interpreted as a clampdown on freedom of expression?

A. Human Rights Watch sent a worker who exhibited very suspicious behaviour. Submitting pre-dated documents with signatures that don't match... it is only normal that immigration services would find something wrong with that. If you want to do your work properly, please don't send fraudulent people. HRW is an American NGO. American immigration laws say that a consular will deny anybody a visa just because of the way they feel about his or her motive. They have no obligation to explain to you why. HRW has to abide to what everyone else abides to. Rwanda is not a banana republic where we can be blackmailed.