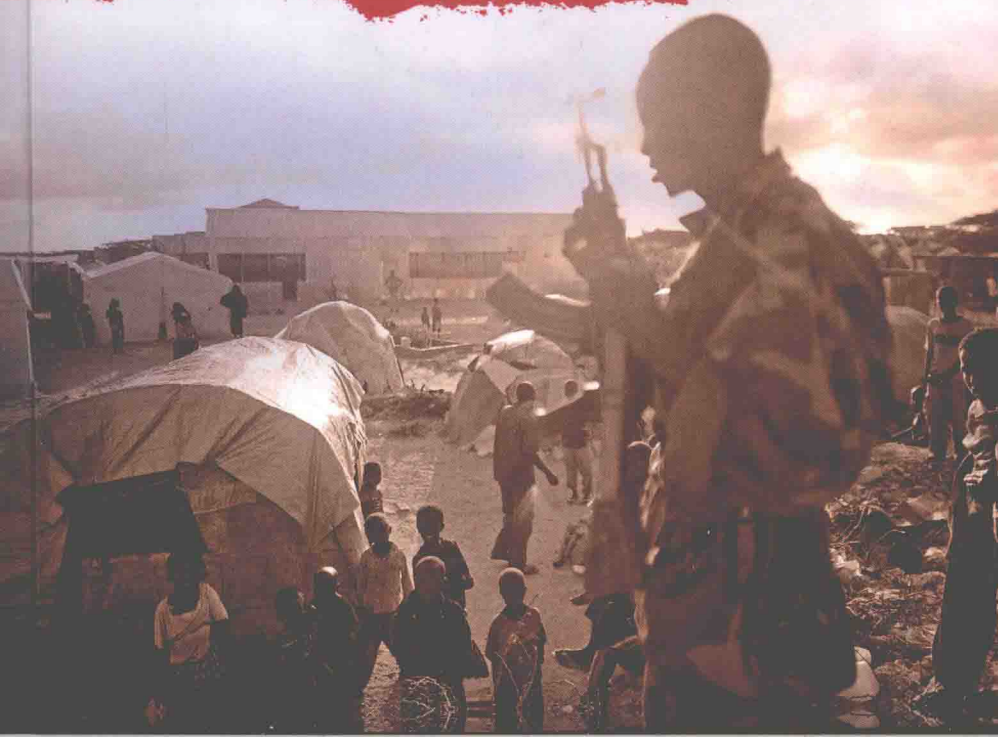


EDITED BY REDIE BEREKETEAB

THE HORN OF AFRICA

Intra-State and Inter-State
Conflicts and Security



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Abbreviations

ABC	Abyei Boundaries Commission
ABY	Abyei
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AFP	Agence France Presse
AIAI	Al-Ittihad Al-Islamiya
AL	Arab League
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
ARDU/F	Afar Revolutionary Democratic Union/Front
ARPCT	Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism
ARS	Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia
ATP	Abyei Territory Puzzle
AU	African Union
BLB	Borderline Belt
BNR	Blue Nile River
BNS	Blue Nile State
CAR	Central African Republic
CDO	Closed Districts Ordinance
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DMLK	Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Kunama
DoP	Declaration of Principles
DPA	Darfur Peace Agreement
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
EBBC	Ethiopia–Eritrea Boundary Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDU	Ethiopian Democratic Union
EEZ	exclusive economic zone
ELF	Eritrea Liberation Front
EPDM	Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPPF	Ethiopian People's Patriotic Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
ESPA	Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement

EU	European Union
FRUD	Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy
GNU	Government of National Unity
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
ICU	Islamic Courts' Union
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGDD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development
ICPAT	IGAD Capacity Building Programme against Terrorism
IDPs	internally displaced persons
IPF	IGAD Partners' Forum
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
JIUs	joint integrated units
LJM	Liberation and Justice Movement
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NCP	National Congress Party
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NFD	Northern Frontier Districts
NSDB	North Sudan Dragon Belt
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PCA	Permanent Court of Arbitration
PFDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice
PRP	People's Rally for Progress
RSADO	Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization
RSS	Republic of South Sudan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SDS	South Darfur State
SINS	Sinnar State
SKS	South Kordofan State
SLM	Sudan Liberation Movement
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council
SRRC	Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front

SYL	Somali Youth League
TAP	Two Areas Protocol
TBC	Technical Border Committee
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TFI	Transitional Federal Institutions
TFP	Transitional Federal Parliament
TNG	Transitional Government
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
TRS	The Republic of Sudan
TTAs	Three Transitional Areas
UIC	Union of Islamic Courts
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations African Mission in Darfur
UNMID	United Nations Mission in Darfur
UNS	Upper Nile State
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UP	Umma Party
UPDA	Uganda People's Democratic Army
USC	United Somali Congress
UWSLF	United Western Somali Liberation Front
WNR	White Nile River
WNS	White Nile State
WNSB	White Nile Sugar Bowl
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front

Selected Chronology

SUDAN

- 1955 Emergence of Anyanya I
- 1956 Independence of Sudan
- 1958 Military coup by General Aboud
- 1964 Popular uprising, General Aboud deposed, civilian government
- 1969 Military coup by General Ghaffar El Nimeiri
- 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, end of first civil war
- 1983 Collapse of Addis Ababa Agreement, second civil war, SPLM/A
- 1985 General El Nimeiri deposed by popular uprising
- 1986 Introduction of civilian government
- 1989 Military coup supported by National Islamic Front
- 2003 Darfur war breaks out
- 2005 Signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement
- 2011 9 January, referendum in South Sudan
- 2011 9 July, South Sudan independence

SOMALIA

- 1941 Defeat of Italy, Four Powers to decide fate of Somalia
- 1948 Four Powers refer Somalia to UN
- 1950 Italy and Somali Trusteeship
- 1960 Somalia becomes independent
- 1964 War between Ethiopia and Somalia
- 1969 Military coup by General Siad Barre
- 1977–78 War between Ethiopia and Somalia
- 1981 Outbreak of civil war
- 1991 Collapse of the Siad Barre regime
- 1991 Somaliland declares independence
- 2000 Formation Transitional National Government
- 2004 Formation Transitional Federal Government

ETHIOPIA

- 1935 Italian invasion
- 1941 Return of the emperor from exile

- 1973 Foundation of OLF
- 1974 Fall of the monarchy
- 1975 Foundation of the TPLF
- 1977 The Dergue allies itself with the Soviet Union
- 1984 Foundation of the ONLF
- 1989 Foundation of the EPRDF
- 1991 Demise of the Dergue. EPRDF takes power
- 1992 OLF second armed struggle

ERITREA

- 1890 Colonized by Italy
- 1941 Defeat of Italy, Four Powers take over
- 1950 UN decides to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia
- 1952 Federation begins
- 1961 Launching of armed struggle by the ELF
- 1962 Eritrea Annexed by Ethiopia
- 1970 Formation of the EPLF
- 1972-74 First civil war
- 1980-81 Second civil war
- 1991 Eritrea gains independence
- 1998 War breaks out between Eritrea and Ethiopia

DJIBOUTI

- 1977 Djibouti becomes independent
- 1991 Foundation of FRUD
- 1994 Peace agreement with faction of FRUD
- 2001 Peace agreement with remaining faction of FRUD
- 2008 Conflict with Eritrea
- 2010 FRUD launches armed rebellion

Foreword

The Horn of Africa continues to hold the attention of many strategic thinkers and commentators, leaders, scholars, policy makers and citizens of the countries in the region. While some note that it has remained one of Africa's most conflicted and unstable regions, others draw attention to the emergence of some unique experiments in managing diversity, state formation and governance, and forms of engagement with outside cultures and influences. Whether seen from the perspective of state, intra-state and inter-state conflicts, the absence of peace in the Horn has its roots in a long and complex history, political economy, state formation processes and struggles, international intervention, identity conflicts and environmental change. Untangling the complex web of conflicts, understanding the connections at the local, sub-national, national, regional and global levels, engaging in deeper reflections and proffering viable options for promoting participatory, sustainable people-centred peace and development in the Horn remain compelling challenges.

In the days of the East–West Cold War, the Horn was one of the spaces within Africa where the superpowers fought proxy wars which were always to the detriment of the peoples of their client-states and neighbouring regions. The end of the Cold War and the impact of global transformations on the Horn have been as complex as they are far-reaching. Intra-state wars have mutated either in response to the collapse of central authority as in the case of Somalia, or to the survival, splintering or emergence of rebel groups, leading to immense suffering, international intervention and the emergence of new conflict actors. It has also contributed to the birth of new states such as Eritrea, and most recently South Sudan, and the unrecognized states of Somaliland and Puntland. The brief war between Ethiopia and Eritrea reminds us of earlier cases of inter-state conflict in the Horn, but it is important to note that beyond being conflict actors or sites of conflict within national borders, states can be conflict actors in intra-state conflicts in other countries. However, the conflict dynamics in the Horn have not been limited to within state borders or limited to state actors, but have drawn in non-state actors. Non-state actors, such as militias, rebel groups and armed bands, have proliferated in some of the countries,

operating within and across borders, with violent conflict assuming cross-border and regional dimensions. This scenario is further complicated by the involvement of diasporas, trans-territorial actors and the world's established and emerging powers in the festering conflicts.

As this study of the Horn aptly demonstrates, the local, sub-national, state and inter-state levels of the conflicts in the Horn are feeding the securitization of the region and higher levels of international intervention and indeed military presence, driven by the 'new international scramble for markets and natural resources', the global war on terror and the war on piracy in the coastal waters of the Horn. The emerging paradox is a scenario of growing concern about the risks and insecurities that the higher stakes portend, as well as a lingering hope that peace and development lie somewhere beyond the war-scarred horizon, regional-institutional responses and the conflicting interests of hegemonic national, regional and global interests.

In a region and continent where the stirrings of an Arab Spring and episodic outbursts of various 'Springs' sit cheek by jowl with the challenges of everyday survival, the contributors to this compelling volume challenge us to imagine that the people of the Horn as sovereign actors can, through everyday struggles, in the future negotiate a new social contract with the states and regional institutions, and perhaps open up radical pathways to peace and development in a highly conflicted region.

Cyril Obi
Social Science Research Council
New York, 2012

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Part I

Causes of Conflicts

Redie Bereketeab

This book explores perspectives on intra-state and inter-state conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Comprising Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, this is the most conflicted region in the African continent. The recent major expressions of these virulent conflicts are manifested in the second North–South civil war (1983–2005) in Sudan and the intra-state war in Darfur (Johnson 2003; Deng 2010; Barltrop 2011); as well as the inter-state Ethiopian–Eritrean war of 1998–2000, which devastated the region (Jacquin-Berdal and Plaut 2004). Since 9/11, the region also has become one of the theatres of the global war on terror, driven principally by factors related to the collapse of the Somali state and the emergence of al-Shabaab, and the escalation of piracy off the Somali coast.

The conflicts ravaging the region are underpinned by historical, socio-economic and environmental issues and can be classified into two categories: intra-state and inter-state. Furthermore, they have been compounded by intra-regional and international intervention. Ostensibly, such interventions have been driven by competing national interests and a multitude of factors – economic, political, security-related and strategic – linked to the war on terror and international alarm about piracy (Sörenson 2008; Zeleza 2008). International interventions, therefore, have contributed to the intractability of the conflicts and insecurity of the Horn (Cliffe 2004; Woodward 2006).

The strategic importance of its location has always attracted outside interest, notably the proximity of the Horn of Africa to the highly sensitive region of the Middle East, where two factors – oil and the Arab–Israeli conflict – interface. In addition, Bal el Mandeb and the Red Sea are the main shipping route for goods from the Middle East and the Far East to Europe and the Americas (Sörenson 2008: 8). The discovery of natural resources, highly coveted by transnational corporations and states alike, also makes the region of strategic interest to external actors, with the result that the global

war on terror and the recent explosion of piracy have seen naval forces converging off the coast of the Horn.

All these factors feed into the crisis of the state, which has become a characteristic of the region. Equally, the crisis of the state feeds into the conflicts and insecurities there. All these factors require more scientific and critical studies of the conflicts and their regional dynamics. This volume seeks to contribute to the provision of tools that scholars, policy makers and concerned actors need in their search of scientific and critical, context-sensitive studies, relevant and well-formulated policies and regional outlook, making concerted and rigorous efforts to find viable and durable solutions to these extensive and intractable conflicts and insecurities.

The intra- and inter-state conflicts besetting the Horn of Africa are intimately connected. Intra-state conflicts very easily spill across international boundaries triggering conflict between states, resulting in inter-state conflicts. Inter-state conflicts also tend to spawn national cleavages, that is to say intra-state conflicts. In recent decades inter-state conflicts have been steadily waning, while intra-state conflicts have increased (Goor et al. 1996, Fearon and Laitin 2003; Smith 2004; Zeleza 2008).

The contributors to this volume reflect on and analyse various dimensions and cases of intra-state and inter-state conflicts and security in the Horn of Africa. They examine a variety of aspects that exacerbate conflict situations. A focus on conflicts and security is the integrating theme. The problem of intra- and inter-state conflicts and security and how to promote peace, stability, security and development are addressed. This first chapter offers an overview of the chapters by focusing on the types and forms of the conflicts, and international intervention and politics of conflict resolution.

DEFINING INTRA-STATE AND INTER-STATE CONFLICTS

Conflict as a social phenomenon is widely perceived to be part of daily life (Axt et al. 2006: 19). Its manifestation, however, varies, contingent on a number of factors – contestation, the actors involved, duration, accessibility to conflict-sustaining technology, and so on. Concerning the origin of conflicts two approaches are provided (Axt et al. 2006): the subjective and the objective. While the objective approach traces the origin of conflict to the socio-political fabric and structure of society, the subjective approach attributes the origin of conflicts to the perceived incompatibility of goals and differences (Deutsch 1991). According to the latter