THE HORN OF AFRICA: REGIONAL SECURITY CRISIS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A SECURITY FRAMEWORK

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my loving father Sheikh Ali Nur, my mother Addie, and my maternal uncle Geedi Dhilow. May Allah bless them.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE HORN OF AFRICA:

THE POSSIBILITY OF A SECURITY FRAMEWORK IN THE FUTURE

4.1. Definition of Cohesion Security Approach

4.2. The Levels of Analysis

4.3. Community-to State Relations

4.4. State-to State Relations

4.5. Domestic-to-Regional Organization

4.6. Domestic-to- International Relations

CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIXES
ABSTRACT

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This research deals with the regional security crisis in the Horn of Africa and the possibility of a security framework. The study gives more details of the two leading schools in international security analysis that is the Realist and the Transnationalist schools of thought. The study shows how the traditional approaches failed to identify and address the most pressing current security concerns of the poor states. The study also traces the history of the Horn of Africa's current security situation and existing regional security cooperation structure. The study suggests "Cohesion Security Approach" as a new guideline in thinking about security studies in the third world. The analysis is based on system versus unit analysis, which is more suitable to integrate all levels of analysis. The security model here is conceptualized as a function of a complex set of interactions between the different dimensions and the different level of social organizations and interaction that is personal, communal, national, regional and global level. The cohesion security approach may be successful if free elections were held at the community- to- state level to root out the sources of insecurity. At the state-to-state level the principles of non-interference has been suggested to root-out the interstate conflict. At the states-to-regional level, regional organizations must be established, as a mechanism to solve all forms of
conflict and at the international-to-domestic level, third world countries should be given the chance to manage their own affairs.
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INTRODUCTION

The Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa conventionally has been understood as including the states of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan. However due to the forces of the spillover of economic and security interdependence in 1986, two states from East African, Uganda and Kenya joined the original states in Djibouti, to form the sub-regional organization called at that time, the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Desertification (IGADD). After Ten Years, in 1996, at the recommendation of the heads of states and governments, the organization was restructured and changed its name to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The IGAD council of ministers identified three priority areas of cooperation; conflict prevention, management and resolution, and humanitarian affairs; infrastructure development; and food security and environment protection. IGAD seeks also to foster regional security and sustain economic development. IGAD headquarters is in Djibouti.

The region is certainly facing a multitude of problems, exacerbated by cyclical inter-state and intrastate wars. Somalia has been entangled in an intractable internal conflict for the last decade. Ethiopia-Eritrea remain locked in the biggest war in the African Continent in the last four years. Uganda and Sudan are both trying to weaken each other by attempting to foment internal conflict in each other’s country. The Ugandan government has encouraged and supported the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement Army (SPLM/A). In retaliation, the Sudanese government is encouraging Uganda dissidents called the Lord Resistant Army to operate from Sudan against the Uganda government. Djibouti-
Eritrea has border disputes in the last four years, which created a great political and military tension between them. Kenyan officials fear that the hundreds of millions of dollars spent by Ethiopia and Eritrea could create a regional arms race even if the war ended tomorrow. In addition, Kenya also has border disputes with Somalia and Ethiopia since her independence in 1963.

The consequence is that the political instability characterized much of the Least Developed Countries, that is the group of the poorest countries in the world as officially designated by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The criterion that define LCD's included the quality of life index such as per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of under US$ 800; physical quality of life, health, nutrition and education; economic diversification (share of manufacturing in GDP, share of industry in the labor forces, energy, consumption, and merchandise export concentration) and the population size. The number of countries categorized as LCD's is 49. In addition, the growing incidence of interstate conflict and the emphasis on a military resolution of political differences have provided third parties as well as the former colonial powers with opportunities for direct and indirect intervention in the region to achieve their national interests. Sometimes the military regimes become powerless and resort to ethnic warfare. This often leads to state oppression and separatist movements in the region. The question to ask is: why is there so much insecurity than ever before in the Horn of Africa? It is therefore necessary to attempt and evaluate and try to understand why and to suggest how the regional security crises can be managed.

1 United Nation's Conference on Least Developed Countries, Brussels, Belgium, May 12, 2001. (LDC, all regional states in the Horn of Africa are members of this group in other words, the third world refers to the African and Asian colonies that became independent after World War II in contrast to the western and the former communist worlds.)
Research Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate the prevailing insecurity in the Horn of African states and the possibility of establishing a regional security framework.

Research Methodology

Method is a way of organizing theory for application to data. Thus, methods are known by the name of conceptual schemes. They may be of many types like Comparative, Historical, and Simulative. In addition, method can either be Inductive or Deductive. However, both Plato the founder of the Deductive Method and Aristotle who also founded the Inductive Method saw Athens is decline; they attempted to understand why and to suggest how it could be prevented. They began a tradition that is still at the heart of the political science; a search for the source of political peace and stability. Here, the Aristotelian method is preferred because this method is both descriptive, explaining what is and normative explaining what ought to be. Aristotle used the facts he and his students had collected (data) to prescribe the desirable political institutions. Political scientists have been doing the same ever since, both describing and prescribing. To fulfill the above-mentioned goals, it would be necessary to conduct research to collect the necessary sources and data, both primary and secondary from libraries and Internet official web-sites.

Research Sub-questions

So, as both Plato and Aristotle say Athens decline; they attempted to understand why and to suggest how it could be prevented. The Horn of Africa offers a similar scenario. However, we must ask ourselves why is there more
regional security crises in the Horn of Africa? Can we understand? And can we suggest the possibility of a regional security framework?

Objective of Study

This study will attempt to locate the sources of insecurity in the Horn of Africa and will examine the forces that are sponsoring and perpetuating conflict in the region. The aim of the study is also to contribute to the sum of human knowledge and to suggest the possibility of security framework to overcome or reduce the sources of insecurity. And finally, regional security often acts as the connecting link between the global systems and the state; it therefore fills an important gap between the individual states and the “seamless web” of the whole system. Although, the study is region specific, it does have a theoretical perspective. The Horn of Africa is to a significant degree representative of the states or regions classified as “Least Developed Countries”. Thus, the understanding of Horn of Africa’s security crisis should provide useful insight into the analysis of the regional security of the other least developed regions.

Literature Review

Not much has been researched or written on this subject. This topic will therefore make a fresh and significant contribution to security analysis in the Horn of Africa. Then, this study will try to analysis nature of the regional security crisis and possibility of security framing relying on different literatures that focus on the third world security weaknesses and challenges facing them both at internal and external dimensions. A survey of the sources on the Horn of

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2 Ranjit Singh, "International security framework of Analysis", (topic 3, Security Analysis at the Regional Level), He presented to the seminar classes (MA students for Defense and Strategic Studies) at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2001
Africa’s regional security crisis reveals that very little has been written on the subject the analysis is also inadequate. This is because the data which are supposed directly and indirectly to analyse particular areas of the security crisis failed to discuss the roots and the real causes of the insecurity in the Horn Africa and possibility of the security management at the regional level. Some studies are micro in perspective and analyse the affairs of particular states such as Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia, or specific issues such as food security, border disputes, civil wars and so on. On the contrary, the present study is intended to analyse the regional security crisis as the interconnecting link between the global system and the state. So, the concept of security employed here is considered comprehensive and broad based starting from the local community - to- regional and through to international communities. Some of the relevant works are reviewed below.

For example, *African Security Issues; Sovereignty, Stability, and Solidarity* by Bruce E. Arlingenhaus. The author expressed that there is a pressing need to examine the African security concerns from both African and global perspective. Bruce E. Arlingenhaus examined these three concepts. *Sovereignty*, the ability to achieve economic and political self-sufficiency free from foreign or domestic interference. *Stability*, the creation and maintenance of viable political environment in which orderly and progressive social and economic change may take place. *Solidarity*, the development of intraregional interdependence and

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3 Except one report: Towards a Conflict Early warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) for Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) by Forum for Early Warning and Early Response Consultancy Team, the report has taken feedback received at the Consultancy workshop in Nairobi from 4-5 July 2000. This report completes the first stage of a commissioned feasibility study on the design and implementation of CEWARN for the IGAD region. The participatory and interactive methodology employed in examining the problem and developing the proposal has been as important as the substance of the recommendations. If fact, those recommendations would not have taken the form they have taken the form they have without wide consultations and the in-depth involvement representatives from the region. However, in this study we are looking the roots of regional crisis intrastate and interstate conflict, challenges and the possibility to find reasonable solution in the regional security framework.
cooperation to foster sovereignty and stability as well as more significant and beneficial role for Africa in the world affairs. The study showed its uniqueness and the context given detailed security issues in an African context such as African security complications, the Soviet Union and Superpower rivalry in Africa, Africa and the West, emerging patterns of civil military relations in Africa: radical coups de’ Etat and political stability, security and stability implications of ethnicity and religious factors, cooperation among African states and security issues from an African perspective. However, there are some weaknesses on the study. The author and his collaborators discussed the conditions of sovereignty, stability and solidarity in Africa, but they did not touch sufficiently on the possibilities and challenges heading of a Continental or sub-regional security frameworks in Africa through the constitutional structure and comprehensive security approach as we are willing to do for this work. Another relevant work is African Armies and Civil Order by J.M. Lee. The aim of his book is to explain why the new states of tropical Africa are vulnerable to subversion by the armies created to protect them. The author assumed the actions taken by members of the security forces in the political life of African countries is a direct consequence of the fact that when power is transferred peacefully from colonial powers to independent African governments, states are more likely to be organizations, which cannot easily establish acceptable rules for the conduct of public business. He also mentioned in his study the chief interest of studying African politics in recent years has been the regularity with which soldiers and policemen have undertaken to use their weapons in an attempt to resolve some of

*The majority of the chapters in this volume originated in a panel on “inter-African security issues” held at the annual meeting of the African studies association in Washington, D.C., in November 1982.*
the stubborn conflicts which follow the transfer of power. Also the study contained these issues: state and society, the colonial inheritance, the problem of independence, the military in the political community, new function and rules, and comparisons in military actions and possible sources of conflict. We consider this work as a useful attempt to analysis African security crisis because these common features make it possible to explain the problems of government and military rule in Africa by reference to a single basic idea- the absence of 'civil order'. On the other hand, the work doesn't recommend any analytical communal, state, regional or international security framework to avoid these subversions taken by the security forces. In our side we accepted his assumptions partially but we could be ask why there is absence of civil order in Africa the? And can military sustain civil order? If yes, why there is still absence of civil order while the military regimes are still in power? If not, then there is nothing to be debated. Also another close relevant work to regional security analysis was the report entitled. *Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and United States Policy* by John H. Spencer the purpose of this report was to explore the causes and consequences of the American abandonment of the Horn of Africa (in the seventies) and the Soviet succession to predominance in the area. However, John H. Spencer examined these factors: the success of Moscow in transforming Somalia into client state. the prospects for the Kremlin achieving the same result in Ethiopia and the possibility that Ethiopia might lose some of her present territory. He also traced the growth of American influence in the region in the postwar period and the relations of Ethiopia with her neighboring during the regime of Haile Sellasie. Moreover, he touched on the United States options in the Horn of Africa and Red Sea (in the early eighties) and the directive of
president Carter to "move in every way to get Somalia to be our friends" and the offer of arms assistance. The report contained useful data including these issues United States- Ethiopian relations, the greater Somaliland problem and Djibouti territory, Soviet objectives and options, United States in the Horn of Africa and Red Sea. The author discussed the real problems and the major causes of the regional insecurity issues but he described only the problem and he did not integrated it to each other to show their relations and how the regional security interconnected by all levels and dimensions also. Besides, the study consulted and studied a number of works, which analyzed the methods, models, the theoretical perspectives and the ways related to the study of the international security issues. For example, *International Relations and Politics (Theoretical Perspectives)* by J.C. Johari, *Understanding International Conflicts An Introduction to Theory and History* by Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *International Relations* by Joshua S. Goldstein and *International Relations: Conflict and Cooperation at the Turn of the 21st Century* by Conway W. Henderson.

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