CHAPTER FOUR: THE HORN OF AFRICA:

THE POSSIBILITY OF A SECURITY FRAMEWORK IN THE FUTURE

"Cohesion Security as a Alternative Approach to a Regional Security Framework"

4.1 Definition of the Cohesion Security Approach

Principally, the definition of this term simply means to live together without hostility or living side by side in mutual toleration despite differences, as in a political system where there is social faith and economic development. Living together peacefully and with tolerance are the major challenges facing the international community at the present time at all levels such as from community-to-state, state-to-state and even regions and into international levels like south-to-north, rich-to-poor, or even amongst civilizations. So in this security model is conceptualized as a function of a complex set of interactions between the different dimensions of society, political, economic environmental, and the different levels of social organization and interaction that is personal, communal, national, regional and global. As Ivanica Vodanovich pointed out:\textsuperscript{65}

Traditional military or politico-strategic concerns are one of these sets of interactions. Security is multidimensional, multifaceted and inclusive. It refers not only to states but also to individuals in their every daily life and their ability to participate in the routine of their community. Security issues can emerge at the level of the community, nations, sub-region or regions. Equally Conflict at one level can have wider ramifications at other levels.

The concept of cohesion security approach seeks to facilitate consensus building and formulation of strategies, processes, institutions and

measures to manage security. The approach can be defined as pursuit of sustainable security pertaining to all needs such as personal, political, economic, social, and military issues in both the domestic and external spheres, essentially through cooperative means. The approach is formulated through the selection and combination of several theories such as System, Realist, Integration and Interdependence theories. The idea combines the basic elements of these theories. The approach assumes that in the third world countries the term security chiefly refers to such issues as boundaries, institutions, and governing regime security. According to Muthiah Alagappa many of the developing states belong to the category of weak states. Their degree of internal vulnerability is high, and they are susceptible to both internal threats and external interventions.

Thus internal security is an important dimension of national security in these states. The object of internal security is primarily the idea of the survival of state and by extension the territorial integrity of the state and the survival of the regime in power. The approach therefore will consider these issues that are the state, territorial integrity and the regime in power as an indivisible issue. The Objectives of the Cohesion Security Approach. There are fundamental questions that we believe should be asked here: why do we choose, cohesion security approach? What are the objectives? The approach is basically chosen on the assumption that in the age of globalization peace can only be achieved on the basis of co-existence of nations, and their communities, and fear, and misapprehension or misunderstand have caused major wars. To avoid such wars there must be openness and transparency at all levels. The cohesion security approach is formulated to provide the basis for “co-existence of nations” and to
remove the "fears and all forms of misunderstanding that can cause war and conflict both intrastate and interstate". The cohesion security approach proposes these objectives as ends:

-To promote free elections and the adoption on of the democratic system

-To promote peace and stability in the third world states,

-To eradicate all forms of crisis and insecurity issues among states, communities,

-And to promote regional and international cooperation, and harmonize member states economic, health, education, and diplomatic and defense policies management.

Principles of the cohesion security approach

Another fundamental question could be asked also: what are the major principles of this approach? For the attainment of the objectives above mentioned, the approach provides these principles as major elements for peace and security in the third world in general and in the Horn of Africa in particular.

-The sovereign equality of all members either in the regional or sub-regional level

-Non-interference in the internal affairs of others

-Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence

-Peaceful settlement of disputes through the mechanism of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration.

-Unreserved condemnation of all forms of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring or member states.

---

These principles explicitly advocate an active approach to security rather than a purely defensive approach based on negating or defusing actual threats.

**The Nature of the cohesion security approach**

To understand well, the formation of the cohesion security approach as a new direction in thinking about the third world security states, it is be necessary to raise here several questions such as; how will cohesion security approach be achieved? What is the nature of the cohesion security approach? What is the format of the cohesion security approach? Why does cohesion security approach take place? And what indicators or measurements should be used? In the first place, the cohesion security approach will be achieved through general agreement and there is no threat or force. Security can be achieved today only when rival nations hold it in common and only when people take a comprehensive view of security threats to include demographic, economic, environmental, political, and psychological as well as military problems that jeopardizes their future. Secondly, the nature of the cohesion security approach could be based on political, military, and economic cooperation to sustain peace and security between and among opponents. Thirdly, at the first stage it must be a pluralist system where the separate governments retain their sovereignty and work together. Fourthly, the cohesion security approach will take place in the light of international developments, trends, process, economic and security needs.

---

The conditions and procedures of peace process

The approach assumes that the international security couldn’t be managed well and conflict will continue to persist until the domestic and international communities change their mindset toward perpetual conflicts.

Then, if international community need to enjoy peace and security at each stage of community, state, regional and international level and to avoid perpetual conflict among all rivals and the consequence of anarchical international security structure, they must ask themselves where the sources of security and insecurity originated. To find acceptable answers that inquiry it could be necessary first to think new direction of security study and new ways to analyse deeply one by one at the each level of analysis starting from society, state, regional to the international level of analysis. It could be argued that, to encourage each stage to act in a positive manner to strengthen security and to avoid negative behavior acts, which weaken security among rivals at the each level of analysis. One of the more promising trends in the direction of a new organizing concept of regional security is the work on comprehensive security undertaken by governments in the Horn of Africa. The concept of comprehensive security seeks to facilitate consensus building and the “formulation of strategies, processes, institutions and measures to manage security”. The concept is defined as the “pursuit of sustainable security in all fields (personal, political, economic, social cultural and military environmental) in both domestic and external spheres, essentially through cooperation means. In the third world states to achieve peace and security in all level (both domestic and international) these conditions should be achieved first as a preliminary. The approach assumes the existence of free
elections, the principle of non-interference, the prevention of conflict, and the management of security problems. Here, the approach’s main demonstration is to achieve peace and security in the third world countries at the following levels:

**Community level**—at the community-to-state level should be held free elections and the democratic system must be adopted to root-out the sources of intrastate security.

**State level**—at the state-to-state levels the principles of non-interference and respect for each other, as equal sovereign states must be accepted to root-out the interstate conflict.

**Regional level**—at the states-to-regional level there should be established a regional organization, which has the means to prevent, manage, and to get solutions to all forms of conflicts among members.

**International level**—at the international-to-regional and domestic level it should be recognized by developed countries that the third world security is weak and the third world countries should be given the chance to manage their own affairs.

Therefore, to foster peace and security in the third world countries it would be necessary to follow these procedures and conditions.

Otherwise, there will be insecurity and cycle conflict among all forces at the all levels (intrastate, interstate, regional and international).

### 4.2 The Level of Analysis

There are several traditional questions, at the level of analysis. For example, when do we begin? Where to focus? Micro or macro? And top-down or bottom-up?

---

However, international relations scholars have proposed various level-of-analysis schemes, most of them adopted mainly three levels. For example, Barry Buzan adopted the idea of a three level of analysis centered on individuals, states, and the international system. Also according to Joshua S. Goldstein these three levels of analysis will contain these issues: the individual level of analysis concerns the perceptions, choices, and actions of individual human being. The domestic (or state or social) level of analysis concerns in the international arena. The interstate (or international or system) level of analysis concerns the influence of the international system upon outcomes. He said also these three levels can be added a fourth, the global level of analysis. It seeks to explain international outcomes in terms of global trends and forces that transcend the interactions of states themselves. Also, according to him at each level should be discussed such major issues as he discussed below. After identifying the issues we would ask each the following questions: How the forces at each level work together? What level we will consider as a


90 Goldstein, p.19

91 Global Level: At this level, should be discussed such issues as the North-South gap, world environment, global telecommunication, UN, world regions, worldwide scientific and business communities, and so on. The interstate Level: At this level, should be discussed for example these issues power, balance of power, alliance formation and dissolution, Wars, Treaties, IGOs, diplomatic summit meetings, bargaining and so on. The Domestic Level: At this level, should be also discussed such issues as nationalism, ethnic conflict, type of government, political parties and elections, economic sectors and industries, foreign policy bureaucracies, and so on. The Individual Level: He also suggested at this level should be analysis of such issues as great leaders, crazy leaders, psychology of perception and decision, assassinations, accidents, history, and so on. In the reality Goldstein’s level of analysis has nothing tell us how the international security could be managed. He counted only the major actors at the each level. It can be argue that way it isn’t enough to analysis and study international security complex. For further see p. 18, under Chapter 1, Table 1.1 level of analysis and understanding international Relations.
major one? Or who are the major players for international security? Individuals?
Or domestic leaders, or interstate organizations, or what kind of global system?

The approach and model suggested by Goldstein however are inadequate in many respects. They did not analyze well the linkages and processes or how the system will function from level-to-level. They just mention the forces at the all levels and do not analyze their interactions. In contrast, the cohesion security approach adopted the idea of geographical system of analysis. Or the unit versus the system approach. These levels will be referred too respectively as levels 1, 2, 3, and 4, they provide the framework organized at the each level of analysis.

**Level one: community-to-state**, we begin by looking at how individuals and groups security relates to the state.

**Level two**: we concentrate on state-to-state relations by looking at the security of one related to the security of another states.

**Level three**: is between the states and region (i.e. sub-system) here we concentrate on states-to-regional organizations establishments by looking at how states collectively enhance their regional security to prevent conflict and manage their disputes through the diplomatic means to avoid military confrontations.

**Level four**: we concentrate on communities, states, and regional authority-to-multiple states and international organizations interacts (i.e. state actors, non-states actors), by looking to how does each level’s security related to other level)

The first and second levels introduce the contradictions between individual and state security. Levels three and four introduce the contradictions between state and international security. How do the states enhance their national security when the international security structure is based on an anarchical system? It could be argued that to avoid these contradictions the approach suggested the
general principles and sub-operating principles at the each level to reduce the causes of insecurity and to promote peace and harmony. Under the sub-operating principles the approach will provide further recommendations for positive behavior actions, which strengthen security, and negative behavior actions, which weaken security at the each level.92

Graphically the levels of analysis may be represented as below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Arrival point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>States and Communities</td>
<td>System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Four</td>
<td>TD -BU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple States and Inter Org.</td>
<td>Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple States and Inter.Organizations</td>
<td>TD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Three</td>
<td>Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States and Regional organization</td>
<td>BU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States form Regional org.</td>
<td>System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Two</td>
<td>BU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State A and State B</td>
<td>Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States and Communities</td>
<td>System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level One</td>
<td>Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>BU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Departure point

For example, at real practice the International Relations structure will be look like these steps

92 At the beginning, we use the unit verses system and the "bottom-up" method, for the first three levels, community, state and regional and the last top-down method for the international level of analysis. Therefore, we can focus on these levels of analysis or have a possible scenario of the four major actors: the community, the state, the regional system, and the international system
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Arrival Point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti Community and their government</td>
<td>System-Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Four</td>
<td>Multiple States and International Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multiple States and International Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Three</td>
<td>Communities, Government and IGAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IGAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Two</td>
<td>Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea, Kenya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Djibouti Community and their Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level One</td>
<td>Djibouti Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Departure Point</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The approach can be applied to avoid misunderstanding and intrastate and interstate conflict in the Horn of Africa or other regional organizations in the third world countries like ASEAN. The approach suggested the possibility of practicing this interaction by all forces. Community-to-state, State-to-State, communities and states-to-regional organizations, communities, states, regional organizations-to-multiple states and international organizations. International organizations and multiple states will give feedback to the states and communities through the legal channels. In addition, the cohesion security approach were articulated through the imagination of the picture of international relations as look like spectrums working together from the society to society as a major cornerstone not from the society to international level or global system as one way function. Therefore, the departure and arrival points both at the beginning and at end are from community to the community. Therefore, the cohesion security approach toward third world security studies will provide a
manageable framework of analysis, which will cover in sequence, unit versus system level of analysis at the each level.

Sub-questions

First, the approach tries to underline the relationship of security at all levels: the community, state, region, and international levels are all involved. This means that to stop conflict in all these levels we have to unite throughout the cohesion security approach which means the contact (working together) first between, community-to-state, state-to-state, regional community and their states seeks a truly regional peace and co-existence among them. And finally into international community. To fulfil that co-existence also we will discuss on more for these sub-questions at every level.

At all levels; the community, state, regional, and international

- What are the sub-operating principles?
- What are the steps?

- And where are the sources of security and insecurity at all the levels? Or which features will strengthen security as positive behavior actions or which features will harm security as negative behavior actions at the each level? At the same time, the approach will assume in each level there is possibility of eight cases and they are classified into two features, asking which features or positive actions will strengthen security and which features have negative acts which will weaken or harm security.
4.3 Level one: Community-to-State Relations

In this level, we account for the working of the community and state through reconciliation and recognition without enquiring into the regional and international system working because we assume the community and state are supreme. The third world countries started to focus more on their sovereignty for security reasons because they are weak in certain levels of state-making. So, the purpose of this approach is that the community and state must work together to achieve their nation-building through compromise. The state must take into account the needs of the masses, such as economic, education development and also infrastructure development. Furthermore, there are actors other than the state, which play a central role in international events. Therefore, the state must accept the role of non-state actors' role and international economic interdependence. In the developed countries the states is on its way out, because of economic integration for example in the European Union. There is greater regional harmony in the developed world. In contrast, third world countries have just started to focus more on their nation-building and they need more time to strength their national security framework. So, that assumption was considered as key element to understand the diversities between the developing and developed. Muthiah Alagappa pointed out and analyzed further the diversities between the developing and developed world according to him he said:93

While in theory all state are prone to external threats, the reality is that the weaker states are more susceptible than the stronger ones. The greater susceptibility is a consequence of their own weakness as a state, their relative low power capability, and the rather loose connection of their security to the security and stability of the international political system. As pointed out earlier, their weakness as states makes them vulnerable to external intervention. Moreover, the ill definition of their physical base (population and territory) frequently makes for interstate conflict as witnessed by the numerous border conflicts and clashes among the developing states.

93 Muthiah Alagappa, p.11
To maintain peace and security in the third world is not only a cornerstone in the community and state level but also for regional and international security. For that reason, the approach assumes, if there is no conflict between the community and state or ruling group, then, nothing will happen between the states. This is because in the third world countries, most conflicts start between the community and the ruling group first and later spill over into the other states. In that particular assumption in the developed countries there is little conflict between community and ruling group. The simple reason is that most conflicts in the developed countries are resolved through negotiation between the conflicting sides. Also According to Muthiah Alagappa as he emphasized in his thesis.94

If the idea of the state and its institutional expression enjoy broad societal consensus, then the legitimacy of state authority is established and the subordination of individuals and groups to state authority poses only a few minor problems that that do not merit consideration under the label of national security. If the idea of the state, however, lacks broad societal consensus, then the physical base of the state and its organizing ideology and the legitimacy of the incumbent regime are frequently contested, and internal security becomes a primary concern. In many of the developing states there is no close fit between nation and state.

For that assumption, most regional and international security crisis started from the conflict between the weak states and their communities and this should be eliminated. Take for example at the freshest conflict in the Southern Philippines.95 The easiest way to understand that conflict is there is no close fit between the state and nation or between the Manila and Mindanao. That doesn’t mean that the international forces have nothing to do or did not influence the their internal issues. Yes, they can do it but when? Only after there is internal

94 Ibid., p.5
95 At the present time, whatever the machinations behind the Nur Misuari revolt- both manila and the Moro National Liberation Front accuse the other of treachery – the fact should remain clear. Without the resolution of the root causes of Moro separatism, there can no lasting settlement to the anarchy in southern Mindanao. Throwing in more troops there, as Manila has done could well make thing worse- and the worse the spillover into Malaysia. (Editor, The Sun, Sunday, November 25, 2001.)
disruption due to the conflict between the community and state. For that reason, the major inquiries of this study are; why are security and policy crisis in the third world not are resolved through peaceful means as it is in the developed world in order to avoid intrastate and interstate conflicts? How can third worlds' communities and their states reconcile and recognize each other? What tools they have to use to overcome their disunion? How can they unite to preserve their national security and to protect the foreign elements or outside forces which working together to control them? Our point of view it is not easy to analyze and to get solutions of these questions and we are not going to claim that. But we have to try first to identify the sources of security features that strengthen security as a positive behavior action and also the sources of insecurity features that weaken security as a negative behavior action and second we will encourage to act the positives and to avoid the negatives.

Sub-operating Principles

First, democracy, or establishment of government in which the people hold the ruling powers either directly or through elected representatives; majority rule; political, social and legal equality are major factors in maintaining peace and security at the domestic level. Also, the ruling group or elite and the community must believe and practice the principles of equality of rights, opportunity and treatment. In addition, both state and community must adopt the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of their neighbors. Another suggestion is that the state will manage and take charge of the responsibility of what we termed national core values such as boundaries, institutions and governing regime security. While the community will manage and take charge of responsibility of
what we termed also community security such as economic, education, health, and all social issues development. We choose this classification between the state and community's responsibilities because in the third world security measures should be carried out by the state. Whereas, social development should be carried out by the community in coordination by the state also. We can take good example, in Malaysian, national security is taken care of by the state, while businessmen and social organizations are free to manage their economic and social issues. And that is why Malaysia is more peaceful and developed than most of the third world countries. The most important lesson that we can learn from Malaysia is the combination of efforts between the state and community. For the third world countries we hope they will follow the same process to safeguard their national security through the combination of efforts between the community and state leaders. However, what are major positive actions that can strengthen security and what are major negative actions that can weaken security in the community-to-state level? The approach finds that there are five positive actions that strengthen the security and three negative actions that will harm security in the community-to-state relations. (See appendix 1)  

Positive behavior actions that could strengthen security at the community-to-state level

In the community-to-state level there are five acts as a positive behavior that we think are very important to maintain peace and security in the developing

---

96 The steps, at the community-to-state relation the states and communities focus more on their internal issues and adopt the non-interfering policy into the internal affairs of another states.
countries. Meanwhile, the approach encourages these contacts, as they are means to prevent intrastate conflict and to reduce the hostility, both in interstate and intrastate, and also to promote greater cooperation between the community and state.

1-As a positive behaviour there should be direct cooperation and mutual understanding between the community and their state leadership in order to avoid third parties to disrupt between them. Without that, it could be difficult to maintain peace, nation building, economic development and national security. Because of the possibilities of conflicts and the sources of insecurity are very high.

2-As a positive step the community and state must work together to neutralize and reduce the hostility between/ among neighbours’ communities to harmonies their relations with them.

3-As a positive behavior action If there are direct contacts (in the state) between the local community and international community (INGOs non-profit) they must work together under state security guideline to avoid the possibility of state security being sabotaged.97

4-As a positive behavior action If there are direct contacts between the local community with different communities from the same intergovernmental organization such as ASEAN member states to achieve desirable agenda they must take care that their actions and demands would not harm their own state security.

97 For example, if there direct contact between the Malaysian community and international organizations (non-profit) working in Malaysian soil. Malaysian community must follow their national security guideline not what the organizations asked them.
5-As a positive behavior actions if there are direct contacts between the local communities from different states within an international organization (non-profit) such as the Human Rights Organization, the weak state communities must respect their states' security guideline and not accept the demands from International Organizations to avoid the possibilities of their state security being sabotaged and to avoid conflict with their ruling group. For example, if Malaysian Human Rights Commission and other International Human Right Agencies held a meeting to discuss the Human Right issue in the world. The Malaysian Human Rights Commission must not accept from the others' demand to emphasizing in Malaysian soil such issues like races, religion, color and so on. The issues may not accept by Particular groups while other groups don't have any objection. To avoid all unnecessary problems the community must be aware of its actions.

**Negative behaviour actions that could weaken security at the community-to-state level**

At the same time, at the community-to-state level there are three negative behavior actions that the approach assumes will be harmful to security.

1-As a negative behavior action direct contact between the local community and foreign state's representatives will be considered as negative behavior. For example, if state A harbours state B's political dissidents to weaken B's security it could be considered as a negative behavior action because of weakness the security of both states.\(^98\) For example, what will happen between Kuala Lumpur

---

\(^98\) At the fresh conflict in the southern Philippines autonomous region Jolo Island the governor of the region and leader of Moro National Liberation front (MNLF) Nur Misuari and six of his followers were arrested November 25, 2001 by the Malaysian authority in Jampiras Island near Sandakan in Sabah. At the sometime, Malaysian Inspector-general of police Tan Sri Norian said
and Manila if Kuala Lumpur provides political asylums to the Moro National Liberation Front leader Nur Misuari and his followers? According to the cohesion security approach if Kuala Lumpur doesn’t cooperate with Manila the possibility of insecurity and spillover refugees, arms smuggling and other criminal activities from Mindanao to Malaysia at the border could be higher than present. To protect this insecurity Kuala Lumpur should not provide political asylum to the Moro National Liberation Front leader Nur Misuari and his followers but hand him over to Manila. Otherwise they will face the consequence of their negative behavior action toward Manila.

2-Another negative behavior action is the existence of direct contact between the local community and IGOS representatives leading to secret meetings. That negative behavior action could be creating conflict among regional member states.

3-Also another negative behavior is the establishment of direct contact between the community and representatives from profit seekers. As we mentioned earlier the profit seekers companies such as MNCs are more threatening and dangerous than military attack from the outside. They have capacity to challenge the third world countries. As Dr. Mahathir emphasized earlier they will swallow up all the tiny banks and industries. Sometimes, when their interest is threatened, some have pressed their home governments to intervene in the internal political affairs of other nations. Most blatant was United States Fruits successful campaign to undermine the elected government of Guatemala in the 1950s. The company

in Bukit Aman “We will liaise with the Philippine Embassy here (KL) to send them back since “Misuari was on the wanted list” in that country. However, the Philippines Ambassador to Malaysia Jose Brillantes said the arrest of Nur Misuari was good news and his government was very grateful to the Malaysian government of Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir. ” We express our sincere gratitude to the Malaysian which had acted upon our request”. (The Sun on Sunday/ November 25, 2001. K. L. Malaysia).
lobbied the Eisenhower administration to orchestrate a military coup. The coup ushered in several decades of repressive ruler in Guatemala. Then, the approach encourages five direct contacts as positive behavior actions these acts contribute to the reconciliation and recognizing between the community and the state. On the other hand, the approach rejects another three acts that are types of negative behavior actions that could be harmful to the state and the community’s security. For somehow if the state’s authority accepted the direct contact between the local community and profit seekers or other organizations the approach will have no objection. But in most third world countries there are security risks when such contacts are allowed.

4.4 Level Two: State-to-State Relations

According to cohesion security approach, the state makes an independent contribution as a primary actor in international relations. But according to Barry Buzan; “States, which are the highest form of political order that we have so far been able to develop and sustain, seem unable to coexist with each other in harmony. Through the history of states, each has been made insecure by the existence of others, and actions of each in pursuit of its own national security have frequently combined with those of others to produce war.” Then, the states must attempt to develop consensus, setting out terms of relationship acceptable over time to key actors in the system. By doing this, it enables the various participants to avoid the zero-sum game. In this view, it is quite difficult to use the power of the state to establish regularized relations among the diverse

---

74 New Strait Times, 21 June 2000, K.L. Malaysia
700 David B. Balaam and Michael Veseth, Introduction to International Political Economy, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2001, p. 145. This action shows how the political independence of developing countries may be severely constrained by the presence of a large number MNCs from powerful rich nations. However it could be argue to protect the independence of developing countries the risk of profit seekers they must contact only through the proper channels.
states. Instead, a significant measure of security cooperation in the state-to-state level would enable the legitimate authorities to neutralize some of the enemy forces and also more efficient security will save resources that are badly needed for non-defense program. At the end to stop the conflict in the third world countries it should be direct contacts between the community-to-community, state-to-state, and seeks truly close relations between the states. For further details we will evaluate the features, which we think, will strengthen security as a positive behavior actions between the states and features that will harm security as a negative behavior actions. But before that, let us first emphasize the major operating principles at the state-to-state relations.

Sub-operating principles

For instance, what issues make states feel vulnerable to insecurity and what can be done to reduce these vulnerabilities, as states become interdependent? In the modern world states can no longer afford to pursue interests through unilateral action or by military means alone. However, Conway W. Henderson advocated the role of diplomacy means to avoid the military options and he said: Diplomacy, as a traditional tool in changing times, is helping to move the world from the model of international anarchy to the model of international society. He added also today's diplomacy generally supports respect for the authority behind international law and international organizations and is the chief instrument for providing many more rules and norms to guide conduct in

---

101 Barry Buzan, p.1

86
international society. At this level of analysis as the state focus more on their relationship with their neighbors, they should adopt the diplomatic means to reduce their vulnerabilities. Each state should respect their neighbor’s equality and cooperate by to achieve peaceful settlement of all disputes by negotiation, conciliation, and diplomatic means. Also at the state-to-state level, the states will manage and take charge of responsibility of politics, security and environmental issues, while the communities will manage and take responsibility of social development such as economic integration, education, sports and cultural exchange. However, what are the major positive behavior actions that can be strengthen security or negative behavior actions that weaken security in the state-to-state level? The approach finds there are seven positive actions that strengthen their security and one negative behavior action that will weaken security among them. (See appendix 2)

**Positive behavior actions that could strengthen security among states**

In the state-to-state level there are seven actions or diplomatic means, which we think are very important to maintain peace and security among developing countries. This approach encourages these positive contacts, as they are means of enhancing good relationship. These positive actions will reduce hostility among these countries and promote greater cooperation through cooperation. Positive behavior actions that strengthen security in the state-to-state level are.

1-States should have diplomatic reciprocity between/among them to prevent third parties causing disruption.

---


104 At this level, there should be full interaction between the communities and states collectively through the consensus approach such as political, security, economic, and social issues.
2-States should have direct contacts by bilateral or multilateral treaties to avoid misunderstanding and unnecessary threat perceiving.

3-States should stop from any form of internal interference in the affairs of their neighbours.

4-States should establish a regional organization and councils that have capacity to handle regional security, economic and social enhancement.

5-States should facilitate contact between the regional communities and their cooperation such as economic and social developments

6-States should cooperate with the international community either bilaterally or unilaterally.

7-States only have the right to contact (INGCs. i.e. profit seekers) such as Multinational cooperation Companies. As Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir in the recent years has analyzed the profit seekers role and their capacity to challenge the developing countries authorities. In his keynote address at the International Islamic Conference held in Kuala Lumpur in June 28, 2000. Dr. Mahathir said: “we will become like the banana republics where the managers of the plantations are more powerful than the presidents of these countries”\(^{105}\). The other specific criticism that can be leveled at MNCs and most of these focus on their impact on developing countries. Critics charge that MNCs tend to exploit workers in developing countries by paying them low wages and by providing them with inadequate benefits and unsafe working conditions. Some MNCs have been also accused of transferring environmentally unsafe

\(^{105}\) Dr. Mahathir keynote address at the International Islamic Conference held in Kuala Lumpur June 28, 2000. (He refer the events happened in Latin America states in the 1970s, when the bananas companies took over from the office and installed the other into power. To prevent that, the state only must have right to deal with profit seekers he keep them under law and state authority otherwise they will weaken the state security to achieve their own interest).
production processes to poor countries to escape strict U.S. or European environmental regulations.  

Negative behavior actions that could weaken security among states

At the same time, at the state-to-state level there is only one negative behavior action that we think it will harm security among states.

1- The approach considers as a negative behavior action the direct contact between state authorities and dissidents from neighboring countries. The approach considers that action is a kind of negative action because it could weaken the confidence building among states. To demonstrate more we can recall on here what happened between Manila-Kuala Lumpur in 1998, when the Malaysian former Prime Minister’s Deputy daughter visited Manila to meet the Philippines president. At that time, Kuala Lumpur was under political crisis and the Malaysian authorities reacted by considering that direct contact between the dissident’s daughter and the president as a somehow a kind of interference into their internal affairs by Manila. So, the approach rejects the direct contact between state authorities and those who are considered by their governments as political dissidents to avoid negative actions that will weaken security among states.

4.5 Level Three: Regional Organization

In the Horn of Africa, similar to other developing regions and unlike developed countries, threats to national security may raise from within the

---

106 David N. Balaban and Michael Veseth, *Introduction to International Political Economy*, (2nd edition), New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2001, P.357. In the recent years United States has rejected to accept the international norms and regulation such as the KEYOTO agreement of protection of
nation-state as well as from outside. However, to achieve one of the major goals of this approach is the attainment of more stable and peaceful inter-state relation in the region. That can only be achieved if national and regional identities can be harmonized around shared norms and perceptions of mutual benefits. Security through regional order and cooperation has the objective of development and maintenance of a favorable regional environment to reduce or eliminate external threats to national security from states in the region. At the same time, the regional organization should have the demands of the masses by placing it in the front line of the regional agenda. The councils or regional organizations could serve as a mechanism for regional, continent and global coordination, contact between the social organizations, inter-facing with groups beyond the region. It could facilitate evolution of a confidence culture from the community level to the regional level both within and between member states by encouraging contact among community groups from different countries through travel and use of media. The establishment of institutions for comprehensive security framework that integrates mechanism for addressing direct cultural and structural forms of violence, and redressing causes of war is also very important in that particular region.

**Sub-operating principles**

At the present time, state sovereignty cannot address all the issues confronting; it requires the help of regional and international institutions for effective governance. But in the most third world regions have endless problems
to address the real problems for example, in the Horn of Africa, in practice regional organization called IGAD is extensively unutilized in the security, economic and social development because regional organization lack of consensus among head of regional states. In the formation of the regional organization it must be pluralist system while the separate government retains their sovereignty and work together for these sub-operating principles. The sovereign equality of all members, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, states are encourage to settle their dispute through the peaceful and diplomatic means, no enforcement action shall be taken – particular state- by regional agencies without the authorization of the head of states or governments. Finally, the head of states or governments shall be kept fully informed of activities undertaken by the regional agencies for promoting peace and harmonizing. In the states-to-regional level, the regional organization or councils will manage and facilitate to enable the legitimate authority to neutralize some of the enemy forces such as the separatist movements in the region. However, the regional councils must have a duty to ensure coordination of the general security at the regional level. A significant measure of security cooperation in the regional level will save resources that are badly needed for non-defense programs. So, what are the major positive behavior actions, which can strengthen security or can be consider as a negative behavior actions that can be harmful to security in this level of analysis? The approach finds there are possibility of six

---

108 IGAD regional members’ states each view the regional and international security system in different ways. For example, in the recent years Sudanese Leadership style (pro Islamic state), have been viewed as potential threats in one form or another by Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea (Christian Secularist Leaderships Style). On the other, Somalia and Djibouti were viewed as a moderate and acceptable regime.
positive behavior actions that strengthen security and two negative behavior actions that will be harmful to the regional security. (See appendix 3)\textsuperscript{109} 

Positive behavior actions that could strengthen security at the state-to-regional Level

In the states-to-regional level there are six positive behavior actions, which we think are very important to reduce hostility and conflict in the regional level particularly in the Horn of Africa as well all regional organizations established by all weak states. These positive behavior actions should be considered as a means to promote greater cooperation among regional states, communities and to reduce hostility and unnecessary conflicts that are created by the lack of skills of diplomacy. Inter-governmental regional organizations should perform these activities as a positive behavior action to promote peace and stability among regional member states.

1-The Regional organization should accept the states as independent, sovereign actors, which are all equal.

2-The Regional organization or councils should facilitate the contact between the regional states to achieve their common interest

3-The Regional organization or their councils should facilitate contact between the regional communities and establish forums for security, economic and social issues to promote greater integration and better understanding among them.

4-The Regional organization should conduct regional general conferences among regional state leaders and civil societies to debate the regional current issues.

\textsuperscript{109} Steps, at this level, there should be interaction among the regional communities, states, and regional organization's bodies through the regime’s desirable and regional organization’s principles.
5-The Regional organization should hold talks with other inter-governmental regional organizations to promote greater cooperation among them. For example, IGAD as a regional organization can keep in touch with other regional organizations in the African Continent such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and also the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As well as Arab League Organization.

6-The Regional organization should hold talks with international non-governmental organizations (only non-profit seekers) to promote further cooperation for international security and economic management.

Negative behavior actions that could weaken security at regional level

At the state-to-regional level there are two negative behavior actions that the approach assumes they will harm security. However, the approach suggests avoiding them.

1-There should be no special relations or treatment from the regional organization’s representative. No particular state should enjoy a special position within the regional organization. The approach assumes that, because the other states’ communities will feel that there are some privileges among member states and that negative action will harm the perception and confidence building among regional member states. For example. Arab League as a regional organization was rendered ineffective and intrinsically too weak to solve Arab disputes harmoniously. One of the reasons for its weakness is member states lack of confidence and trust in it because of the widely conceived Egyptian domination of the Arab League.\footnote{Stephen M. Walt, The Origins of Alliance. London: Cornell University Press, 1087,p.58}
2-There should be no direct contacts between the regional organization's representatives and INGOs (i.e. here profit seekers) such as MNCs. Again still the approach assumes the profit seekers must contact only the states unless they have direct or indirect permission from the particular state.

These negative behavior contacts between the regional organization's representative and single community or the contact between the regional organization's representatives with profit seekers will harm regional security and the consensus between the communities and states.

4.6 Level Four: Domestic-to-International Relations

The major emphasis in this level of analysis is on IGOs, NGO and INGOs both profit seekers and non-profit seekers because of their impact on world affairs of public and private sectors. The increasing influence of non-governmental actors, of both profit-seeking and no-profit-seeking varieties, is noted at all levels of analysis through the study. But the major challenge is how these forces work together without harming the security of the community, the region and international system.

To avoid insecurity and conflict among actors, both, non-state and state actors, the cohesion security approach assumes that the state must remain as the dominant political power especially for third world countries. However, states are free to bring their disputes to an international agency or refuse to participate. Cohesion security approach accepts the notion that states are the primary units of

---

111 The global security structure of today results the interaction of many actors with many interests in a world that is changing economically, politically, and technologically and that is increasingly interconnected. The drama that results from this interaction is complex and uncertain- and important to say the least. See for further details, David N. Balaam and Michael Veseth, Introduction to International Political economy. Under Images of the Global security Structure, p 203
the international political and legal community. As sovereignty entities, states have the right to determine their own national objectives and technique (including the use of force) for their achievement. They are free to bargain or to make no concession. But international organizations can perform useful functions within the state system. The approach accepted that international organizations could and do play a number of significant roles but only as adjuncts of the state system. The purpose of this assumption is to reduce the conflict and insecurity form Community-to-state, state-to-state, state-to-regional and domestic-to-international level. The United Nations already had declared this purpose, long ago. The cohesion security approach re-iterates here that the international member states and their organizations, in pursuit of the purposes, shall act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. All members, in order to ensure to all of them the right and benefits resulting from membership shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter. The main objective of this approach is to maintain international security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for presentation and removal of threats to the peace, and to bring about peaceful means or settlement of international disputes which might lead to a falling-out of the peace.

112 David, p. 468, Our comment here doesn’t mean we accepted the use of force at every conflict or dispute among rivals. Instead we only indicate the reality that the international security structure based on anarchical structure. Nikita Khruschev said; if you are live among wolves to act like a wolf.
Sub-operating principles

With reference to the United Nations Chartist article two, paragraph four, all member states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations. Also to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors. To promote social progress and better standards of life in large freedom for these ends, it should be established conditions under which justice and respect for obligations arising from treaties, and other sources of international law can be maintained.

The approach is committed to the solving international and regional, domestic issues. It is an age where people and nation-states adapted to a shrinking and increasingly interdependent world. The chief function of this approach is to provide the means of cooperation among communities, states, regional organizations, and all international components or states and non-states actors in areas in which cooperation provide advantages for all. In order to safeguard state sovereignty, all levels should be operate on the basis of consensus, recommendations, and cooperation rather than through compulsion or enforcement. For further details we will elaborate more, which positive behavior actions are strengthening international security and which negative actions that can harm security at international-to-domestic levels. (See appendix 4)\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{114} At this level, there could be full interaction at all levels: the communities, states, regional organization and international bodies.
Positive behavior actions that could strengthen security at domestic-to-international level

At this level there are six positive behavior actions, which the approach finds are very important to reduce the conflict and insecurity sources, both at the domestic and international level. For that reason the approach encourages these positive behavior contacts, as they are means to achieve harmony and stability in the world. They will take place to reduce the conflict and misunderstanding among international communities through the communities-to-states, state-state, and domestic communities-to-international communities. The approach suggests that as profit seekers are more powerful than most of the third world countries they must follow only the proper channels and respect the state security guideline to avoid the state security sabotage. The following contacts are considered as positive behavior actions to prevent conflict and to promote greater cooperation among international communities.

Non-profit Seekers

1-As positive behavior action from non-profit seekers it would be preferable if they held direct contact with the state’s authority to avoid misperceptions.

2-As positive behavior action from non-profit seekers it would be better if they arrange meeting between more than one states to discuss with them the ways reduce intrastate and interstate security crisis and how to root-out the sources of insecurity among the rivals.

3-As positive behavior action from non-profit seekers it would be good if they contact local communities to provide them assistance especially during disastrous events as a kind of promotion of harmony among international communities.
4-As positive behavior action from non-profit seekers it would better if they arrange meeting between more than one community to discuss with them the ways could be reduced the intrastate and interstate security crisis and how to root-out the sources of insecurity among rivals.

**Profit seekers**

The approach finds there are two positive behavior actions from the profit seekers, which will strengthen security in the third world states.

5-As positive behavior actions from the profit seekers they should have direct contact with the state authority to achieve their common interest.\(^{115}\)

6-As positive behavior actions from profit seekers it would be better if they arrange the summit between more than one states to discuss with them the reductions of trade parsers and promote greater economic cooperation and integration so as to reduce hostility.

**Negative behavior actions that could weaken security at the international-to-domestic level**

At same time, the approach finds at the international-to-domestic level there are two negative behavior actions, which will harm security.

1- Direct contacts between profit seekers and official representatives of intergovernmental organization may bring negative results.

2-As a negative behavior action the approach rejected direct contacts between the profit seekers companies and local communities. MNCs are primary concerned, which profit making. But David N. Balaam and Michael Veseth observed that:\(^{116}\)

\(^{115}\) (If) state authority accepted the direct contact between the community and profit seekers even for all levels the approach have no objection that particular relation but we cannot generalize because of the third world security weakness.
In developing countries that may translate into pressure on governments to "liberalize" their economies by frustrating the development of strong labor movements or ignoring safety environmental violations. MNCs also have operated quite happily in countries ruled by left-wing and right-wing authoritarian regimes. Perhaps the most flagrant example of economic interests overriding political differences was the case of the Gulf Oil Company in the socialist African country Angola. Here was a case of communist Cuban troops protecting the oil refineries of an U.S. MNCs, Gulf Oil Company, from guerilla fighters supported by United stated and the South African government.

To avoid this insecurity attitude the MNCs should contact only the state's authority and accept the state's national security guideline and regime legitimacy. On the other hand, the weak state should be careful with these power companies because maybe they will disrupt their internal affairs.

Cohesion security approach's peace probability

We have dealt with security under four levels and in each level we have spoken about eight categories, hence we get approximately 32 cases of problem behaviour relating to security. Among these 32, there are 24 strengthening the security and the remaining 8 will harm the security. When we take root of 100 by 32 the value that comes is 3.125. When we multiply this value with 24 we get 75; this is the value, which strengthens the security, and when we multiply this value with 8 we get 25. This is the value, which weakens the security. So by encouraging security (75%) and avoiding insecurity (25%) we can attain a level of 100 % security. This is the main idea of this study to maintain peace and security through this approach. The concept of cohesion security approach it is believed that the power must go to the people. In other words, people must elect their own government representatives. The concept also stresses that every group

\[16\text{ David., p 198}\]
irrespective of its race, religion, and cultural background must be given equal right as citizen of the nation. In short, maintaining peace, political stability and solidarity are based on sharing the power by all parties, groups and the cooperation between the national leaders, elite group and community as well as tolerance, mutual respect, understanding among of various races or tribes. Also, a clear vision of the future which is guided by law, policy of national unity and prosperity are very important in the Horn of Africa to eliminate insecurity sources and to promote stability and living together in the region.
CONCLUSION

This study on 'The Horn of Africa: Regional Security Crisis and The Possibility of a Security Framework' is aimed at investigating the prevailing insecurity in the Horn of African states and the possibility of establishing a regional security framework there. The theoretical framework of analysis of international security studies is based on two major schools of thoughts, namely the Realist and Transnationalist. Both schools have their own theoretical frameworks that have traditionally held a central position in the study of International Relations. The study assumes that most of third world security studies are based on the realist concept of International Relations. Since both the Realist and Transnationalist approaches failed to identify the most pressing current security concerns of the poor states, the elite groups in the third world countries are in great dilemma of how to address national security issues. The study traces back the conflicts and current security situation in the Horn of Africa. Through preliminary examination of the available data, it is assumed that the regional security crisis of the region is rotating through the inter-linking problems ranging at the same time internally and externally. Since these are intricately interlinked it is difficult to decide where to begin, thought the study starts with discussing the internal dimensions. The perpetual internal crises that the Horn of Africa had to face from the very day independence are the regime's lack of legitimacy, adoption of the single party system, national security militarism, political dissention, struggle for power and civil wars. Externally these states in the region have perpetual conflicts about boundaries, territories, interstate wars and interventions of foreign powers. Chapter three of the study analyzes the IGAD and existing regional security structure in the region. Other issues addressed here are political security
in the region, the important factors destabilizing the region such as the geopolitics locations and threat perceptions, imbalance of power existing between the individual countries, military build-up and illegal arms spreading through the region, and flash-points relating to various intrastate conflicts. Also this chapter discusses the IGAD and major challenges facing to frame regional security structure in the future. The study discovers that the greatest challenges to a security framework in the future are the lack of broad consensus on future events, for example, if one country joins IGAD, how will this affect its relations with other countries which belong to a different framework such as the Arab League. What measures can actually be enforced to face the outbreak of regional conflict or whether IGAD is able to act to deter and prevent the outbreak of regional conflict are critical points addressed by the study. The study discusses and evaluates what the regional community has done so far and the present question is what the regional leaders have to do in the future to come out of the regional security crisis to handle insecurity issues and to promote peace and security in the region. The study, hence suggests the new possible regional security framework for the future, which is named as “Cohesion Security Approach”, as an alternative approach to study third world security issues. Cohesion security approach is formulated through the selection and combination of several theories such as system, integration and independence theories. The idea is to combine the basic elements of all theories to integrate all levels of analysis such as community, state, regional organization and international community. The aim of the cohesion security approach towards the Horn of Africa, as an alternative approach, is to reduce the cyclic conflict and to promote co-existence and living together with tolerance despite differences of political
system and economic development. Hence, the concept of cohesion security approach seeks to facilitate consensus building and formulation of strategies, processes, institutions, and measures to manage security. The approach also provides the major objectives, principles, conditions, and procedures. For example, at the community-to-state level, free elections should be held and the democratic system must be adopted to root-out the sources of intrastate insecurity. At the state-to-state level, the principles of non-interference and respect for each other as equal sovereign states must be accepted to root-out the interstate insecurity and conflict. At the state-to-regional level there should be regional organizations, which have the means to prevent, manage, and to get solutions to all forms of conflict among member states. And also, at the domestic-to-international level, the developed countries should recognize the third world countries are weak and hence they should be given the chance to manage their own affairs. Therefore, the possibility of a regional security framework eventually depends on the quality of its political elite groups and their capacity to get solutions to solve the real problems of the region at all levels. The final word to say here is: the Horn of Africa and other developing regional organizations in the third world countries should adopt democratic systems, non-interference policy, and international cooperation to promote peace and tolerance in the world. Failure at implementing these measures means that the Horn Africa will remain insecure, both at intrastate and interstate levels and this, at the same time, will even affect the international community.