

**THE ROLE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN PEACEMAKING IN AFRICA:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON  
DEVELOPMENT (IGAD), IN SOMALIA.**

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**DECLARATION**

I, **Baraza Luke Wafula**, hereby declare that this research project is my original work. This work has never been submitted to any university college or other institution of learning for any academic or other award.

Date

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Baraza Luke Wafula

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor

Date

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## **DEDICATION**

I hereby dedicate this research work to my father Mr. Alphas Wafula, my mother Mrs. Roseline Nabalongo Wafula, and all my siblings' for their support during the duration of my Studies.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Violent conflicts and resultant humanitarian tragedies in large parts of the world remain to be blight in human life that even the United Nations' still feels incapable to address this area effectively. This led to the United Nation assigning peace and security duties to regional organizations for peace operations. Since the end of the Cold War it has become increasingly fashionable to suggest that sub-regional Organizations should play a prominent role in conflict management often argued as the principle of subsidiary. Furthermore, the critical combination of the OAU shortcomings, on one side, and the appalling African situation on the other side seem to have necessitated that sub-regional Organizations play vital role in their respective sub-regions. African regional and sub-regional organizations have been called upon to lead in providing security and conflict management either in the form of conflict prevention and mediation or civilian or military intervention or post-conflict peace building.

These regional groupings were initially meant to provide opportunities for establishing sustainable economic growth. However, contemporary regionalism in Africa has seen these organizations change their mandates to cover security issues that include conflict and peace management. The conflicts in Africa require proactive response strategies. The reality is that unless the conflicts that have pervaded different sub-regions of the continent are resolved, there would be no hope for the lofty goals of economic integration, development and prosperity. IGAD's role in this regard cannot be understated as will be observed within this study. It should receive continued support from the governments of the region as they all strive to increase regional capacity to handle matters of conflict management.

## **List of Acronyms**

AMISOM-	African mission in Somalia
AMU-	Arab Maghreb Union
ARS-	Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia
ASEAN-	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU-	African Union
BBC-	British Broadcasting Corporation
CIDA-	Canadian International Development Agency
COGWO-	Coalition for Grassroots Women Organization
COMESA-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA-	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSOs-	Civil Society Organizations
DDR-	Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration
DRC-	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSC-	Defense and Security Commission
ECCAS-	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMOG -	ECOWAS Peace Monitoring Group
ECOWAS-	Economic Community of West African States
ENDF-	Ethiopian National Defense Forces
EU-	European Union
FOMAC-	Africa Multinational Force
GAD-	Gender and Development
IGAD-	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD-	Inter-Governmental Agency on Drought and Development
IGOs-	Intergovernmental organizations
IPF-	IGAD Partners Forum
KDF-	Kenya Defense Force
LON-	League of Nations
MOD-	Ministry of Defense
NATO-	North Atlantic Treaty organization
NFLA-	Northern Frontier Liberation Army
NPFL-	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NSC-	National Salvation Council
OAU-	Organization of African Unity
ONLF-	Ogaden National Liberation Front
OPDS-	Organ on Politics Defense and Security Cooperation
OSCE-	Organization for Security and cooperation in Europe
PSG-	Peace building and State building Goals
RECs-	Regional Economic Communities
SADC-	Southern African Development Community
SMC-	Standing Mediation Committee
SNA-	Somali National Army
SNM-	Somali National Movement
SNPC-	Somali National Peace Conference
SPLA/M-	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement
SRRC-	Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council
TFG-	Transitional Federal Government
TNG-	Transitional National Government
UN-	United Nations
UNAMID-	United mission in Darfur

UNHCR-	United Nations High Commission for Refugee
UNSC-	United Nations Security Council
INISOM-	United Mission in Somalia
US-	United States
WAEC-	West African Economic Community
WID-	Women in Development

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) have become increasingly prominent both in facilitating conflict resolution between states, but also in dealing with intractable conflicts within states. They serve a number of basic functions that enhance the possibility of cooperation. Created after World War I, the League of Nations (LON) was an early attempt to systematize third party mediation in international conflict. However, it proved too weak because important states did not join, which limited its ability to function. After World War II, the United Nations (UN) was created and, although it worked better than the League of Nations, the Cold War impeded its effectiveness for many years. Following the end of the Cold War, the UN has taken on new roles, and regional organizations around the world have also become more active.

This study briefly review the general purpose of IGOs in mitigating interstate conflict and then proceed to discuss their expanded roles in dealing with the internal conflicts of sovereign states. Intergovernmental Organizations are constructed by states to facilitate cooperation.<sup>1</sup> The primary utility of IGOs lies in providing states with a forum which they can use to negotiate conflicts.<sup>2</sup> IGOs are also useful to states in a number of additional ways. First, by providing a forum for discussion; they make it less costly for states to discuss issues with one another. Second, IGOs often serve as information providers. The enhanced transparency helps to minimize misperceptions. Third, IGOs help to facilitate issue linkages, which may facilitate cooperation. Fourth, IGOs help allow states to take a long-term

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<sup>1</sup>Keohane, Robert O., *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)

<sup>2</sup>Oye, Kenneth A., *Cooperation under Anarchy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)

perspective, which makes them less concerned about immediate payoffs. Fifth, the multilateral nature of IGOs lends an air of impartiality that enhances their effectiveness.<sup>3</sup>

Recognizing that the UN lacked resources and local expertise to fully deal with new types of missions, Boutros-Ghali led an effort to give primacy to regional organizations in dealing with many conflicts. During the Cold War, regional organizations served as a substitute for the UN when superpower conflict hampered the functioning of the Security Council. The current trend appears to be that the UN seems willing to hand over responsibility for peace and security to any form of "coalition of the willing." The UN itself reached this conclusion in a recent report, saying:

The United Nations does not have, at this point in its history, the institutional capacity to conduct military enforcement measures under Chapter VII (of the UN Charter). Under present conditions, ad hoc Member States coalitions of the willing offer the most effective deterrent to aggression or to the escalation or spread of an ongoing conflict. The Organization still lacks the capacity to implement rapidly and effectively decisions of the Security Council calling for the dispatch of peacekeeping operations in crisis situations. Troops for peacekeeping missions are in some cases not made available by Member States or made available under conditions that constrain effective response. Peacemaking and human rights operations, as well as peacekeeping operations, also lack a secure financial footing, which has a serious impact on the viability of such operations.<sup>4</sup>

The division of labor may be seen emerging where police services become the domain of UN peace operations, while military operations are left largely to regional organizations or ad hoc arrangements. This fact is unlikely to alleviate concerns that missions often lack a

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<sup>3</sup>Doyle 2001, p. 546

<sup>4</sup>UN Report on Reform, released 16 July 1997, <http://www.un.org/reform/track2/part2.htm>.(accessed 22 April 2015)

sense of unity. It does seem necessary for IGOs to take collective responsibility,<sup>5</sup> as the advantage of the UN is that it is a truly global voice and possesses a highly comprehensive set of institutions. At the same time, however, the developing world would like a clearer say in UN decision-making, and coordinating with regional Organizations may be the most effective way for them to gain such influence.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, regional Organizations are superior in being more familiar with local conditions, culture, and actors. They benefit from lower costs and faster response. Some argue that regional action often proves less objectionable because it is less likely the action will be seen as setting a precedent.<sup>7</sup>

At the regional level, however, politics can lead to favoring one side over another. This perception often creates reluctance on the part of combatants to accept outside intrusion. Regional hegemony is also better able to manipulate more localized Organizations.<sup>8</sup> What is more, most regional organizations are even more resource poor than the UN is, and the political willpower to act often is missing. It may be true that regional Organizations are most useful on the civilian side of peace operations, providing, for example, election or human monitors, in cooperation with the UN. However, the ability of different regional Organizations to respond to conflict varies a great deal. Regional organizations have both expanded in number and, because many often overlap in a given territory, have increasingly begun to coordinate their activities. And, since the end of the Cold War, examples abound of regional organizations expanding their capacity to take on a mediation role:

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU) - added a section to its Secretariat to aid in conflict resolution, The Association of South East Asian

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<sup>5</sup>Peck, Connie. The Role of Regional Organizations. In Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, (eds). *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001) Pp. 561-583.

<sup>6</sup>Refashioning the Dialogue: Regional Perspectives on the Brahimi Report on UN Operations  
<http://www.ipacademy.org/PDF-Reports/refashioning.pdf> Organization: International Peace Academy (IPA).

<sup>7</sup>Wedgwood, Ruth. Regional and Sub-regional Organizations in International Conflict Management. In Chester A. Crocker & Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall, eds. *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*. (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996)

<sup>8</sup>Miall, Hugh, Oliver Ramsbotham, and Tom Woodhouse. *Contemporary conflict resolution: the prevention, management, and transformation of deadly conflicts*. Malden, MA: Blackwell. (1998)

Nations (ASEAN) has established a new mediation role. Within Africa, the Inter-Governmental Agency on Drought and Development (IGADD) in the Horn of Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the West African Economic Community (WAEC) has all mediated disputes within their respective regions. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and ECOMOG (ECOWAS Peace Monitoring Group) are two groups that have engaged in peace enforcement.

The Organization for Security and cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has gone farthest in working to construct common norms. It has been unique amongst most regional Organizations in engaging in preventive diplomacy and peace building operations.<sup>9</sup> What is more, it has established local offices to facilitate communication and provide advice. Therefore, among all regional Organizations, it has been able to minimize potential infighting amongst the membership as to how to deal with problems. The OSCE has had modest goals and significant success in handling ethno political conflicts in Eastern Europe.<sup>10</sup>

The OAU which morphed into the AU, on the other hand, has had limited success in dealing with regional conflict, as members are very sensitive about the protection of sovereignty. Despite the creation of new powers and a formal dispute mechanism, the OAU/AU has been largely ineffective in managing African conflicts such as those in Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Comoros. The Organization has been preoccupied with efforts to resolve existing conflicts rather than trying to foresee and prevent new ones. Despite the creation of the mechanism, the OAU/AU has been an active but peripheral actor in most cases.<sup>11</sup> The UN and sub-regional organizations

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<sup>9</sup>Peck, Connie. Op Cit. p.561-583.

<sup>10</sup>Troebst, Stefan. 1998. Ethno-political Conflicts in Eastern Europe and the OSCE: An Interim Appraisal. [http://www.ecmi.de/uploads/tx\\_lfpubdb/brief\\_1.pdf](http://www.ecmi.de/uploads/tx_lfpubdb/brief_1.pdf). (accessed 1st Apr 2015)

<sup>11</sup>Muyangwa, Monde, and Vogt, Margaret A. Assessment of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, (1993). <http://www.ipacademy.org/Publications/Reports/Africa/PublRepoAfriAssessPrint.htm>.

like the ECOWAS and the SADC have often taken the lead in managing conflicts in countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Lesotho, and DRC. The AU's marginal role thus far can be attributed to it being new and inexperienced in the field of conflict management, the sheer overwhelming scope of conflict across the continent, and longstanding financial, organizational, and mandate issues from the pre-1993 era.<sup>12</sup> Other regional organizations are working to enhance their ability to respond. For example, ECOWAS and SADC are working to develop early warning capabilities.

Somalia being a case study is engulfed in a Hobbesian world, virtually “a war of all against all.” A confluence of factors including colonial legacy, external intervention, clannism, Siad Barre’s dictatorship, and the intensification of armed opposition contributed to the disintegration of Somalia in 1991. Somalia has been struggling, since then, with the complete absence of a functioning central government and consequently of law and order. The Somali people have gone through all kinds of misery in the past two decades. The anarchy, violence, and poverty forced many Somalis to be displaced, become refugees, and thousands lost their lives. The effects of the general anarchy in Somalia have not only affected the population of Somalia, they have also had a spillover effect to the Horn of Africa region and the international community. The problem of refugees, the smuggling of small arms and light weapons, the spreading of terrorism, and radicalization are all threats emerging from Somalia, mainly affecting the IGAD member states. IGAD has, therefore, been engaged with the Somali conflict for almost two decades.<sup>13</sup>

The factors that led to the establishment of Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development in 1986 was as the result of recurring and severe drought and other natural disasters between the years 1974 and 1984 that caused widespread famine, ecological

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid

<sup>13</sup>Kidist Mulugeta, *The Role of Regional and International Organizations in Resolving the Somalia Conflict*, (Addis Ababa: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Press,2009).p33

degradation and economic hardship in the Eastern region. Although individual countries made substantial efforts to cope with the situation and receive generous support from the international community, the magnitude and the extent of the problem argued strongly for a regional approach to supplement national efforts. In 1983 and 1984, six countries in the horn of Africa namely, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda took action through the United Nation, to establish an Intergovernmental body for development and drought control in their region. The state of Eritrea became the seventh member after attaining its independence in 1993.<sup>14</sup>

The IGADD was established in 1986, with the objective of addressing environmental crises that led to food insecurity and famine in the Horn of Africa. Due to the prevailing inter- and intrastate conflicts, the impetus for the establishment of IGADD came from UN agencies, which saw the urgent need for a regional coordination agency to address problems of famine and drought. The founding members were Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda. In 1993, Eritrea joined the Organization after its independence. The headquarters is located in Djibouti. It is one of the AU recognized Regional Economic Communities (RECs), with over 200 million people. Despite the organization's narrow initial scope, IGADD summits provided a venue for meetings between member states to solve other issues of mutual concern including peace and security. IGADD facilitated peace between Ethiopia and Somalia. By 1994, the members of IGADD had come to realize that the developmental problems of the region extended beyond the impact of environmental degradation.

Accordingly, on March 21, 1996, IGADD member states decided to transform the Organization into the IGAD. The new IGAD was launched in Djibouti November 25–26, 1996 (IGAD 2001). With the inauguration of IGAD, great emphasis was given to the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts as a means for achieving sustainable development.

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<sup>14</sup> The African Union Commission, Intergovernmental Authority on Development, <http://www.igad.2015> (accessed 21<sup>st</sup> April 2015 )

IGAD member states agreed: to take effective collective measures to eliminate threats to regional cooperation, peace, and stability; establish effective mechanisms of consultation and cooperation for the peaceful settlement of differences and disputes and lastly agree to deal with disputes between member states within this sub-regional mechanism before they are referred to other regional or international organizations (IGAD 1996). With this aim, three priority areas were identified: conflict prevention, management and humanitarian affairs; infrastructure development and food security; and the environment. The need for engaging IGAD in the Somali and Sudanese peace processes was one of the major reasons that brought about the transformation of IGAD. Great emphasis was also given to regional economic integration<sup>15</sup>.

### **1.1 Scope of the study**

This study focuses on the role of peacemaking and security carried out by IGAD and its challenges in light of handling growing insurgencies and management of conflict. It takes one of the most contemporary cases, that is, Somalia. The study will broadly provide an overview of peace building functions in peacemaking operation, investigate and identify the interest of member states who are involved in Somalia conflict and the mediation process carried out by IGAD, the study will come up with the suggestions to realization of peace and security in Somalia.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The complex nature of the African political system as a whole is logical to understand and examine in light of the nature of post-colonial African statehood. Since independence Africa as a continent has been dragged into ever expanding inter- and intra-state conflicts surmounting to the extent of genocide and continuous human casualties. Colonial and super

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<sup>15</sup>Kidist Mulugeta, Op Cit p33

power legacies perpetuation seems to have worsened the condition of security, human welfare and development. There are institutional weakness and resource constraints prevailing since the days of the colonial period, slow economic growth and ever increasing level of poverty and the absence of democratization. Somalia remains one of the most conflict-ridden countries in the world. It suffers from recurring insurgencies supported by practices of habitual, and clan war and some external actors. As the Horn of Africa's sub-regional body, IGAD faces the daunting task of helping to resolve unrest in Somalia that has seen many decades of warfare.

This study examines the process of peacemaking intervention through mediation process carried out by IGAD and the main security challenges to its activities in Somalia. IGAD has been engaged in the situation therein because of the failure of regional initiatives waged by AU. Earlier to the African mission in Somalia (AMISOM) a number of peace conference were held to create a suitable political environment to enable the different Somali faction and clan elders negotiate on power sharing and restoring government in this war-torn nation but up to date Somalia is in chaos. Somalia remains not only a plight of insecurity to itself while leaving its people victims of severe military clashes and dreadful state of humanitarian crises, it also has also become a threat to the peace and security of the Horn of Africa as a whole.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The overall objective of this study is to give detail understanding about the effort and role being made by IGAD in peacemaking in Somalia. Specific objectives are;

1.3.1 To review the role of regional Organizations in peacemaking.

1.3.2 To examine the role of Actors in the Somali conflicts.

1.3.3 To examine the role of IGAD mediation in Somalia.

1.3.4 To provide a summary, conclusion and recommendations for the study.

## **1.4 Research Questions**

1.4.1 What is the role of sub-regional Organization in peacemaking?

1.4.2 What is the role of Actors in the Somalia conflict?

1.4.3 What is the role of IGAD pertaining mediation in Somalia conflict?

1.4.4 What should be done in order for realization of IGAD's effectiveness in resolving conflicts on the horn of Africa?

## **1.5 Hypotheses**

1.5.1 The continuation of conflicts in Somalia is partly attributed to weakness in intervention approaches to resolve the conflict.

1.5.2 The conflicting interest of various actors in Somalia contributes to lack of significant progress in resolving the Somali conflict.

## **1.6 Justification and Significance of the study**

### **1.6.1 Academic Justification**

This study give due consideration to peace and security. It therefore contributes to the current literature for peace and security that is currently available. It provides guidelines on how peace and security aspects can be used to support human security in the Horn of Africa in particular case study of Somalia. The results of this study would also invaluable to researchers and scholars as it add value to the already existing literature on peace and security and provide framework for further research. The study sought to assist the policy makers in the government and also in the IGAD sub-region in considering the preferred suggestions that could assist in addressing security issues.

It is apparent that scholars have researched on the security status, conflict in Somalia, the causes of conflict and the impact of this conflict. However the research indicates the

absence of a comprehensive detailed analysis on the contribution and role that IGAD is playing in war torn nation of Somalia. It gives an idea on how peace and security through management of conflict and prevention of conflict mechanisms of IGAD works. The research generally gives a better understanding of the role of IGAD in handling of human security, conflict management and conflict prevention in Somalia.

### **1.6.2 Policy Justification**

The study seeks to suggest ways through which IGAD can enhance its efforts in peacemaking, security and mediation to meet future challenges. Findings and recommendations of the study will be beneficial not only to IGAD but also to other regional Organizations that are involved in conflicts in their regions. Equally the study was also to assist the policy makers in the government and also in the IGAD sub-region in considering the preferred suggestions that could assist in addressing some of the issues. The findings and recommendations of this study was to help policy makers appreciate the positive role that IGAD can play in developing inclusive policies and effective programmers' that can safely restore peace and stability in Somalia.

The study is justified by the existence of lacuna in this case study, which sought to fill. The research therefore contributes to the literature and data that is useful for researchers, students and implementers and will form a basic for future studies of a similar nature. The study was to assist the policy makers in government of Somalia and also in the IGAD sub-region in considering the preferred suggestions that could assist in addressing some of the issues related to peace and security

### **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

This study uses to use functionalism theory. According to functionalist, the objective of functionalism towards global peace is achieved through functional cooperation by the

work of international organizations including intergovernmental and non-governmental Organizations.<sup>16</sup> It emphasizes cooperation and social Organization idea. Functionalists focus on common interests and needs shared by states but also by non-state actors in a process of global integration triggered by the erosion of state sovereignty and the increasing weight of knowledge and hence of scientists and experts in the process of policy-making.<sup>17</sup> The Functionalism theory is relevant in this study because of its emphasis on international integration, the collective governance and material interdependence between states.<sup>18</sup>

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

### **1.8.1 Case Study**

The study conducts a case study of the IGAD role in peacemaking and security in Somali. Case studies in social science research are quite advantageous as they allow researchers to examine a particular area and use it as a representation of the situation of a greater area. In this research, the study of the IGAD role in Somalia conflicts will be representative of the greater Horn of Africa concerning the whole situation of conflicts. It has been argued that the case study method is increasingly being used and with a growing confidence in the case study as a rigorous strategy in its own right further that this method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events.<sup>19</sup>

### **1.8.2 Data Collection**

The study adopts the qualitative method of data collection. This study mainly relies on secondary data by reviewing library data and the source of information include books written

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<sup>16</sup>Mitrany, D. "Functional Approach to World Organization." International Affairs.Vol. 23. (Yale: Yale University Press, 1948).

<sup>17</sup> Ben Rosamond.Theorizing the European Union; On Disciplines, Knowledge and Thinking Thoroughly about Integration Theory, current politics of Economics of Europe (New York:Martin,s Basingstoke,2000),pg. 147-163

<sup>18</sup>Mitrany, D. Op Cit

<sup>19</sup> Florian Kohlbacher, The Use of Qualitative Content in Case Study Research' Vol 7, No 1, Art 21, Qualitative Social Research,(2006) <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/75/153> (accessed 13 April 2015)

by scholars on peace and security, journals as well as the internet sites that address the concept of peace and security. Additional to this, the study relies on graphical representations of maps showing the IGAD member states and the location of the region and the entire geography of the Horn of Africa. The primary data used include questionnaire, structured interview and interview guide.

### **1.8.3 Data Presentation**

The data that was collected and analyzed clearly shows efforts being made by sub-regional Organization in fostering of peace and security; it also show hindrances being encountered in the process of stabilizing Somalia. The data that was gathered was presented in narrative form through comparisons and analysis. No graphs or tables have however been used in the presentation of the findings of the study.

## **1.9 The Organization of the Study**

This Study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one on: General Introduction and Background to the Study presents the Statement of the Problem, Objectives, Hypotheses, Justification and Significance of the Study, Theoretical Framework, Research Methodology and Chapter two is about Discourses on the Role of Sub-regional Organizations in Peacemaking covering Africa's main five regions. It discusses the vital contribution ECOWAS covered in Liberia during the civil war of the past two decades and lastly conclusion. Chapter Three discusses about the various actors involved in the Somalia conflicts both internal and external that has contributed to (in)security on the Horn of Africa.

Chapter four of the Study discusses of IGAD's Mediation in Somalia that commences with an insight into mediation as an instrument of conflict management, identity and motives of mediators. It also gives the models and third party intervention. The chapter gives an overview of mediation as a third party in pacific settlement of disputes and how it has been

effective in Somalia peace process, and lastly conclusion while chapter five concludes the Study by giving the Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations towards the need to institutionalize conflicts management institutions within sub-regional organization, so that they do not operate on adhoc basis. This proposes ways in which the challenges discussed in the previous chapters may be addressed.

## CHAPTER TWO

### DISCOURSES ON THE ROLE OF SUB-REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN PEACEMAKING

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of peacemaking and conflict management by main regional economic Organization covering Africa's main five regions. These include the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), South Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). The role of regional and sub-regional Organizations cannot be overstated in conflict resolution, especially in their sphere of influence. The African Union and The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have played prominent roles in places like Burundi, Darfur, Chad, Somalia, and Liberia.

In this regards, the success achieved in AU interventions for a number of conflicts in the continent would not likely have been forthcoming if the US, European Union and its member nations, along with the UN had not given their support to these regional and sub-regional Organizations. In other words, the cooperative, collaborative, and supportive understanding between these extra-African bodies and the regional and sub-regional Organizations has recorded more success than a unilateral intervention. To elaborate, the support given to ECOWAS in Liberia led to a successful resolution of that country's war, and the AU-UN hybrid operations in Darfur is yielded modest success. Analysts have posited that at present, in the resolution of protracted conflict, there is no substitute for coherent, coordinated intervention by global power and regional and sub-regional Organizations. In contrast, unilateral intervention, which, in addition to being wasteful and expensive, can be

internationally controversial on the grounds of both legality and legitimacy, especially where the UN has not given its nod.

The subject of peace and security has received academic attention over the years. It may be argued that this is so because the question of States and security is sensitive more so in the international community. A few existing literature relevant to this study are highlighted below. According to Walter Lippmann, views security as the capability of a country to protect its core values, both in terms that a state need not sacrifice core values in avoiding war and can maintain them by winning war.<sup>20</sup> One author argues that pursuing security sometimes requires sacrificing other values, including marginal values and prime values<sup>21</sup> while Richard Ullman suggested that a decrease in vulnerability is security.<sup>22</sup> The Multi-sum security principle" is based on the assumption that "in a globalized world, security can no longer be thought of as a zero-sum game involving states alone.

Global security has five dimensions that include human, environmental, national, transnational, and trans-cultural security, and therefore, global security and the security of any state or culture cannot be achieved without good governance at all levels that guarantees security through justice for all individuals, states, and cultures."<sup>23</sup> The use of regional and global organizations to resolve interstate conflict has a long history. Burton and Fisher posit that, regional organizations help reduce conflict by isolating and dividing local conflicts before they become intractable global issues<sup>24</sup>. There are many generalizations that have been made that make it possible for sub-regional bodies to be effective in conflict resolution.

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<sup>20</sup>Lippmann, W.,U.S. Foreign Policy. London, Hamish Hamilton, 1994.

<sup>21</sup>Baldwin, D., "The Concept of Security."Review of International studies, (1997) p 5–26.

<sup>22</sup>Ullman, R., "Redefining Security."International Security,(1983) p129–153

<sup>23</sup>Al-Rodhan, Nayef R.F., "The Five Dimensions of Global Security: Proposal for a Multi-sum Security Principle", LIT, 2007

<sup>24</sup>Burton and Fisher., Preventive Diplomacy and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe: A Creating Incentive for Dialogue and Cooperation. in Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes (Eds.) Preventive Conflict in the Post-Communist world: mobilizing International and Regional Organizations.(Washington,D.C.:Brookings Institution 1996)

Firstly, these organizations are made up of countries involved in a conflict and those that are not.

The Political and geographical proximity allows these organizations to realize the effects and repercussions of a given conflict, and if necessary to seek support from extra regional sources to end the dispute. Franke on his part, argues that regional and sub-regional organizations geographical proximity can facilitate more rapid and less expensive responses to violent conflict than is possible through a global body such as the UN and their cultural proximity provide them with a better understanding of a Conflict's dynamics key players and context-specific management and resolution options.<sup>25</sup>

In the light of all this argument, Somalia is the only country in the world without a functioning government controlling the entirety of its territory for nearly two decades. Since 1991, while Somaliland and Puntland have enjoyed relative stability, the southern part has been racked by violence as various clans, warlords and Islamist groups have repeatedly competed for power and resources. Somalia's ongoing conflict in one of the most unstable regions of Africa has been a source of concern for regional States as well as regional and international Organizations'. The IGAD as a regional Organization has been consistently engaged in trying to resolve the prolonged conflict of Somalia. IGAD member states have committed their resources, time and energy in dealing with this conflict, essentially neglected by the international community.

The major obstacles to various peace initiatives, however, are within Somalia. The conflict has complicated the issue of power sharing, resource allocation, land and properties. It has also deepened the existing clan division which was always manipulated by political elites in order to achieve their narrow interests at the expense of the national agenda. The mushrooming of political elites and other stakeholders benefiting from the ongoing chaos has

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<sup>25</sup>Franke,B.,”In Defense of Regional Peace Operation in Africa, “Journal of Humanitarian Assistance, Article 185 Langinvainio, M., and Reyes,J.D., Building peace and security Capabilities in Africa,2006.

further contributed to the failure of various initiatives. The role of external actors is either negligible or is fueling the conflict in Somalia. Both state and non-state actors have been providing at different times weapons and finance to different warring groups. Neighboring states, Arab states and Western states have been drawn into Somalia's conflict for various reasons including terrorist and security concerns.

At the regional level, the conflicting interests of IGAD member states in Somalia made it very difficult for the adoption of a common position. The member states are weakened by inter-state and intra-state conflicts, poverty and humanitarian crises which are draining the capacity and focus of IGAD itself. Indeed, as an institution it faces many challenges. The organization lacks autonomy and capacity to successfully handle a very complex conflict like Somalia. It also lacks the financial capacity to push successfully and forcefully its peace initiatives forward. Yet, despite these challenges, IGAD has been instrumental in bringing the Somali crisis to the attention of the international community. As a regional organization, the role of the AU in Somalia has been marginal.

The AU has deployed peacekeeping troops, though they are struggling to strengthen their presence in Somalia. The Mission has itself become embroiled in the conflict between the government troops and insurgent groups. Its presence in Somalia, however, has effectively ensured the continuity of the weak Transitional Federal Government. In general, regional and international Organizations have provided a vital forum for various actors to address the conflict in Somalia. Mobilization of funds and support for various initiatives in Somalia has so far been shouldered by these organizations. It has to be noted that IGAD in particular has made a significant contribution in terms of trying to resolve the Somali conflict. If these Organizations effectively coordinate their actions and that of their member

states, a stable Somalia which is not a safe haven for terrorists and pirates as well as a source of refugees, internally displaced persons and light weapons may be possibly restored.<sup>26</sup>

This study submits that cooperation between the UN, Regional and Sub-regional African Organizations should apply to all African countries affected with conflict. Even though African regional institutions lack the required expertise, logistics, diplomatic, and financial muscle to singularly mount a successful intervention without support from extra-Africa, a swift response from and the immediate engagement of the Western world in the form of willing partnership with regional African Organizations like the case of France in Mali and Ivory coast conflicts would dramatically improve the outcome of peacekeeping operations in Africa.

## **2.1 ECCAS Approach to Peacemaking**

The ECCAS was established in the year 1983 on the basis of two smaller economic organizations. The members are Chad, Cameroon, Angola, Sao Tome, the Central Africa Republic, the Republic of Congo, the DRC, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Burundi. The founding treaty of ECCAS was mainly intended to create customs union but the organization was given a rather elaborate organizational structure with the main bodies being a conference of Heads of state and Government, a Council of Ministers, a court of Justice, a General secretariat and a Consultative Commission, in addition to which the establishment of a number of technical committees was envisioned.<sup>27</sup> However the organization was almost completely dormant until 1999 when efforts were undertaken to revitalize it.

In 2000, ECCAS adopted a mutual assistance pact committing member states to come to each other's assistance in the case of aggression and to prepare for this through joint military venture. Additionally in 2000, a protocol was adopted on peace and Security Council

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<sup>26</sup>Kidist Mulugeta, Op Cit p7

<sup>27</sup> ECCAS, Treaty Establishing the Economic Community of Central African States (1983).

[http://www.iss.co.za/AF/RegOrg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/eccas/eccastreaty.pdf](http://www.iss.co.za/AF/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/eccas/eccastreaty.pdf). accessed Jun 13, 2014

for central Africa (COPAX), underlining sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs as guiding principles but also mentioning confidence building measures and common approaches to such problems as refugees and internally displaced persons as well as transitional crime and arms trafficking.<sup>28</sup> Out of this sprung decision in 2002 to establish a Defence and Security Commission (DSC), a Central Africa Multinational Force (FOMAC) and an early warning mechanism (MARAC).<sup>29</sup> FOMAC is described as consisting of ‘inter service, police, gendarmerie contingents and of civilian modules’ with the size of up to three brigades with appropriate naval and air support and tasked with mission such as observation and ceasefire monitoring, preventive deployment, peacekeeping, enforcement of sanctions and humanitarian interventions on behalf of the AU and the UN.<sup>30</sup>

## **2.2 IGAD’s Approach to Peacemaking**

IGAD was founded in 1996 on the basis of the IGADD which had been launched in 1986<sup>31</sup>. Its membership has remained quite stable ever since, comprising Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea and south Sudan. The central organs of the organization are the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors and the Secretariat, which is located in Djibouti and headed by an Executive Secretary. As with the other RECs, IGAD is based on the principle of sovereign equality of member states and the need for consensus, albeit with the (rather hypothetical) option of taking decisions through two-thirds majority in the council of ministers.

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<sup>28</sup> ECCAS.2000. ‘Protocole relatif au Conseil de paix et de Securite de l’Afrique Centrale (COPAX)’, [http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/eccas/copaxfr.pdf](http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity_to_union/pdfs/eccas/copaxfr.pdf). 13th Jun 2015

<sup>29</sup> ECCAS.2000a. ‘Standing Orders of the Defence and Security Commission’ [http://www.iss.co.za/Af/RegOrg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/eccas/dsceng.pdf](http://www.iss.co.za/Af/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/eccas/dsceng.pdf). 13th Jun 2015

<sup>30</sup> ECCAS. 2000b. ‘Standing Orders of the Central Africa Multinational Force’, [http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/eccas/fomaceng.pdf](http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity_to_union/pdfs/eccas/fomaceng.pdf). 13th Jun 2015

<sup>31</sup> Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).1986.Agreement Establishment the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, at [http://www.issafrika.org/AF/RegOrg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/igad/agreementEstab.pdf](http://www.issafrika.org/AF/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/igad/agreementEstab.pdf).( accessed 13th Jun 2015)

IGAD's main objectives were initially economic, but the IGAD agreement also highlighted the goals to promote peace and stability in the sub-region and create mechanisms within the sub-region for the prevention, management and resolution of inter- and intra-state conflicts through dialogue and to facilitate repatriation and reintegration of refugees, returnees and displaced persons and demobilize soldiers. The agreement also obliged member states to deal with disputes 'within this sub regional mechanism before they are referred to other regional or international Organization'<sup>32</sup>.

The need for engaging IGAD in the Somali and Sudanese peace processes was one of the major reasons that brought about the transformation of IGAD. Great emphasis was also given to regional economic integration<sup>33</sup>. IGAD's efforts at conflict resolution Woodward observes have focused on Sudan and Somalia. It thus played quite a central role in the peace process between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) establishing a permanent secretariat, appointing special envoys and hosting negotiations between the two sides.

The first main achievement was the 2002 Machakos Protocol, setting out the contours of settlement featuring power sharing between the North and South, extensive autonomy for the latter followed by a referendum on session after a six-year transitional period.<sup>34</sup> Then came protracted negotiations on the details producing a series of protocols that were then wrapped up in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005. While this was certainly an achievement, Thomas argues that IGAD has neither been involved in the implementation of the CPA, nor done much about the civil war in Darfur leaving to the AU<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Kidist Mulugeta, Op Cit.p33

<sup>34</sup> Woodward, Peter, 'Somalia and Sudan: A Tale of Two Peace Process', The Round Table 93(375)(2004),p 469-471

<sup>35</sup> Thomas, Edward,.Against the Gathering Storm. Securing Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement,(London: Chatham House,2009). p6

### **2.3 The AMU's Approaches to Peacemaking**

The AMU was founded in 1989 and it comprises of Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria. Even though the founding treaty mentions the objective of contributing to the preservation of the peace based on justice and equity. The Organization has been almost on the way out ever since its creation and has not met at the summit level since 1994. A decision was taken in 1999 to re-launch the AMU but very little came out of this. The main reason for this is probably the never-ending dispute between Algeria and Morocco over Western Sahara. The AMU aims to safeguard the region's economic interests, foster and promote economic and cultural co-operation, and intensify mutual commercial exchanges as a precursor for integration and the creation of a North African Common Market also referred to as Maghreb Economic Space. Common defence and non-interference in the domestic affairs of the partners are also key aspects of the AMU Treaty<sup>36</sup>.

### **2.4 SADC's Approaches to Peacemaking**

SADC was established in 1992 through a merger of two other sub-regional Organizations, both of which were created as counterweights to apartheid in South Africa, the so called Frontline States and the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference. In 1994, South Africa joined SADC followed by Mauritius in 1995, the DRC and Seychelles in 1998 and Madagascar in 2005 of which the Seychelles left the organization from 1997-2004 then joined in 2008. The founding Treaty of SADC in 1992 stated several objectives such as promoting interdependence and integration as well as basic principles such as sovereign equality of member states, solidarity, peace, human rights and democracy. It also described the organizational structure of the organization with a summit of heads of state and government at the pinnacle where decisions would be taken by consensus 'unless otherwise

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<sup>36</sup> <http://www.dfa.gov.za/cantact.htm> 12 February, 2004

provided', the quorum being two-thirds of the member states<sup>37</sup>. When the treaty was amended in 2001, the main innovations were the introduction of a 'troika' institution under which the incumbent chair would be assisted by both his predecessor and his successor, and constitutional provisions for the Organ on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation (OPDS). It was further decided that all member states should establish 'SADC national committees', including representatives of civil society, albeit merely with a consultative role<sup>38</sup>.

SADC is officially committed to function of collective defence Organization and in 2003 a Mutual Defence Pact was signed committing members to mutual assistance against attack. However, even before this pact was signed, SADC had arguably undertaken two collective defence missions: In response to the joint Rwandan and Ugandan military intervention in the DRC in 1998, when Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia sent forces to protect the besieged regime of Laurent Kabila which might be seen as collective defence in the sense of the UN Charter's article 51. Even though the mission had received no formal SADC mandate, it was subsequently granted *ex post facto* endorsement. In 1998, South Africa and Botswana launched an intervention in Lesotho officially in order to prevent a military coup which likewise as Likoti received an SADC mandate of sorts after the fact, even though the mission failed in most respects<sup>39</sup>.

## **2.5 ECOWA's Approaches to Peacemaking**

ECOWAS was established as a vehicle for economic collaboration, however, Adebajo notes that the Organization has gradually become rather deeply involved in conflict

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<sup>37</sup> SADC. 1992. 'Treaty of the Southern Africa Development Community'. [www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/119](http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/119). accessed 12th May 2012

<sup>38</sup> SADC. 2001a. Amended Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, [www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/120](http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/120). accessed 12th May 2012

<sup>39</sup> Likoti, Fako Johnson, 'The 1998 Military Intervention in Lesotho: SADC Peace Mission or Resource War?' *International Peacekeeping*, (2007). p251-263.

management and with some success.<sup>40</sup> One explanation may be that it unites nations facing common challenges and problems spilling over from one country to its neighbors and thus crying out for multilateral solutions, such as organized crime and small arms proliferation. What also ties the region together is the presence of an obvious hegemony, namely Nigeria, which surpasses all other member states in most respect. ECOWAS was founded in 1975 and its membership has remained stable since then. The founding Treaty of Lagos was exclusively devoted to economic and social integration and did not even mention peace and security issues, but in 1978 ECOWAS adopted a 'Protocol on Non-Aggression', followed in 1981 by a 'protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance in Defence',. It was also decided to establish a Defence Council and a Defence Commission, as well as to earmark units from the national armed forces to participate in multilateral forces.

Nevertheless, virtually nothing came of this, just as the non-aggression pact was violated on several occasions, for example during the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Lagos treaty was amended in 1993, and now the new treaty of ECOWAS included several innovative measures in the field of peace and security. The preamble thus envisioned a 'partial and gradual pooling of national sovereignties to the communities', and member states committed themselves to strengthen the existing mechanisms and to establish 'a regional peace and security observation system and peacekeeping forces where appropriate'<sup>41</sup>.

## **2.6 ECOWAS Role of conflict management in Liberia**

The reign of the Americo-Liberian's reached its culminating point during the 1971-1980 presidency of William Tolbert. Tolbert ascended to power following the death of President William Tubman, Liberia's strong man from 1944-1971. Tolbert was Tubman's

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<sup>40</sup> Adebajo, Adekeye, *Building Peace in West African. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner,2002),p23-42.

<sup>41</sup> ECOWAS.1993.'Treaty of ECOWAS,' [www.issafrica.org/AF/RegOrg/unity\\_to\\_unity/ECOWASTreaty.pdf](http://www.issafrica.org/AF/RegOrg/unity_to_unity/ECOWASTreaty.pdf) (accessed 4<sup>th</sup> July 2015)

vice president, and their combined thirty-six year rule brought only modest improvements to the lives of ordinary Liberians<sup>42</sup>. Discontent flourished under Tolbert's reign, which was characterized by corruption and harassment. A crackdown on anti-Tolbert, Americo-Liberian elites and riots in 1979 over the price and availability rice, a staple for all Liberians further paved the way for political upheaval<sup>43</sup>.

## **2.7 Formation of a Revolutionary Government in Liberia**

In 1980, Samuel Doe, a 28-year old Master Sergeant in the Liberian National Guard, led a coup d'état. Doe and his followers stormed the executive mansion, assassinated president Tolbert and his immediate security forces, and formed a revolutionary government<sup>44</sup>. Subsequently an execution of leading political figures and government official's effectively ended Americo-Liberian dominance. The Krahn, Doe's group and another ethnic minority assumed the position once held by Americo-Liberian's in Liberia's social structure. Doe ruled with a heavy hand and initially international response to the crisis in Liberia was muted. In 1990, the Iraq invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent Gulf war captured headlines. Both the United States and the United Nations declined to intervene in restoring security to Liberia, advocating "Africa solutions to African problems."<sup>45</sup>

West Africa was on its own. Individual states and various African leaders, in the early days of the conflicts, invoked regional agreements appealing for but never achieving a cease-fire or negotiated settlement. This approach conformed to standing Africa practices. Negotiation, mediation, conciliation, and arbitration were the preferred means for the peaceful resolution of conflicts and were in accordance with the 1963 OAU Charter. The OAU charter served as guidance for the ECOWAS treaty which decreed: Non-aggression

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 45.

<sup>43</sup> Clement Adibe, *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Liberia* (Geneva: United Nations, 1996), p6

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Carl Ek, *CRS Issue Brief 96025, Liberia: Issues for the United States*. (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 1996).

between member states, Maintenance of regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighborliness, peaceful settlement of disputes among member states, active co-operation between neighboring countries and promotion of a peaceful environment.

## **2.8 ECOWAS Mediation in Liberian Conflict**

The fighting affected regional trade and tourism, produced hundreds of thousands of refugees, and threatened to spill over into the Border States. Under extreme pressure from Guinea and Sierra Leone, ECOWAS heads of states formed a five-member Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) comprised of representatives from the Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, and Togo, and tasked it to identify a peaceful solution to the crisis. The Committee's initial attempts to negotiate a cease-fire were thwarted by Doe's refusal to step down. Other tactics, such as imposing travel restrictions, freezing assets located outside of Liberia and restricting rebel use of sovereign territories for training fighters and for staging bases, were equally useless. Taylor and the emerging rebel factions were more interested in gaining ground and political power than in negotiating a solution to the conflict. When the SMC failed to forge a peace settlement, ECOWAS reluctantly concluded intervention was necessary.

Despite some opposition to intervention, during a two-day meeting in July 1990 in Sierra Leone, the ECOWAS sub-committee on Defense drew up a plan for a military intervention force. The SMC states met again in August and adopted the "ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia" which ordered the formation of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group in Liberia (ECOMOG). On August 23, 1990, only a few weeks later, 3,500 troops from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Gambia deployed to Liberia. Their mission was peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance and their tasks included: Imposition of a cease-fire, Disarmament of the warring parties, Ending the carnage of civilians, Imposition of an embargo on the

acquisition and import of arms, Establishment of an interim government and preparation for elections, Evacuation of foreign nationals.

ECOMOG forces immediately seized the capital Monrovia and were able to enforce a temporary cease-fire. Taylor, angered by what he considered to be an attack on Liberia's sovereignty, led his rebels in a violent counter-attack. ECOMOG, in defending itself, changed from a humanitarian body into a political-military force. This new role became even more apparent when regional peacekeepers went on the offensive following the capture of Doe outside of ECOMOG headquarters by a rebel group. The transformation was complete after ECOMOG helped to install an interim government in Monrovia. Simultaneously, Taylor formed his own "government" in Gbarnga. These two acts effectively divided Liberia and forced ECOMOG to choose sides. As the only protector of the interim government and the opportunity for peace that it offered, ECOMOG forces had no option but to remain in Liberia as peacemakers, not peacekeepers.

For the next seven years, ECOMOG was the only source of stability in Liberia. Ironically, there was little concert within the peacemaking force and its regional sponsor, as member states debated the mandate and management of the force. Yet, as the conflict persisted, the ECOMOG presence enlarged. At its peak, the combined West African force comprised more than 10,000 troops, and included soldiers from the first five countries to deploy as well as from Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal, and Benin<sup>46</sup>. Côte d'Ivoire contributed a medical team, and some of the smaller states made modest financial contributions. As the civil war endured and the force size grew, ECOMOG's role and mission also changed. Observers reported as many as three distinct ECOMOGs during the Liberian conflict<sup>47</sup>. The ECOMOGs varied according to the character traits of the force commanders and the political will of West African heads of state. In the early years of the war, ECOWAS

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<sup>46</sup> Segun Adeyemi, "UN Security Council Commends ECOMOG," Panafrikan News Agency, 31 July 1997.

<sup>47</sup> Brian L. Browne, Former U.S. Department of State Desk Officer for Liberia, interview by author, 22 February 1999.

believed a solution was on the horizon and assertively pursued peacekeeping activities. By the mid-nineties, rebels considered ECOMOG to be a party to the conflict, as self-defense and the protection of Monrovia and environs had become priorities for the West African mission.

Traditional peacekeeping, peace enforcement, humanitarian assistance, and disarmament characterized the last years of the war in Liberia. Additionally, by 1995 ECOMOG had also assumed the onerous task of protecting some 160 United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) observers<sup>48</sup>. Despite ECOMOG's multiple personalities and ever changing responsibilities, the body would facilitate thirteen peace agreements, oversee the disarmament of 24,000 combatants, create a safe environment for transparent elections, distribute ballot boxes and other election materials; and provide security for the July 1997 presidential and national election<sup>49</sup>.

## **2.9 ECOWAS Solidarity during Liberia conflicts**

Looking at the players involved and the final scorecard, it appears that ECOWAS states overcame their differences in support of a common cause. In reality, preservation of the unique self-interests of the West African states propelled them to work together to resolve the Liberia crisis. The desire to curb the suffering and the spread of anarchy was a close second. Security was a critical issue as crime rates in Liberia's Border States soared in tandem with the influx of refugees. Liberia's neighbors became increasingly concerned about their own peace and security as rebel groups used their territories for training and the transshipment of arms.

West African leaders also feared they would lose the public's confidence in their abilities to govern and provide security. Ghana, Nigeria, and Guinea, whose leaders rose to

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<sup>48</sup> United Nations Security Council, "Security Council Adjusts Mandate of Liberian Mission," Press Release SC/6123, 10 November 1995.

<sup>49</sup> U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Defense, Regional Peacekeeping: ECOWAS and the Liberian Peace Process, (Washington, 1998),p4-14.

power through the military, had citizens resident in Liberia. Rebel groups accused these foreign nationals of endorsing opposition factions. The civilians, regardless of their political sentiments, became targets for various rebel groups; the expatriates and citizens at home looked to their governments for protection<sup>50</sup>. The ramifications of the Liberian civil war touched most West African states and convinced some that action was necessary. Nevertheless, within the SMC and the larger ECOWAS community, there was no consensus on intervening in Liberia. Guinea and Sierra Leone, two of three countries bordering Liberia, joined Nigeria and became staunch proponents of military action.

Both Guinea and Sierra Leone had absorbed thousands of refugees. Concerned about their internal stability, they were adamant that a regional effort was required. Nigeria, as the most powerful state in the region, promoted itself as the region's policeman and advocated a regional effort to restore stability. Côte d'Ivoire, another Liberian border state and safe haven for refugees, asserted that ECOWAS had gone beyond its mandate and argued that intervention would contravene the OAU Charter. Senegal did not have a refugee problem but shared Côte d'Ivoire's views on adhering to the ECOWAS Treaty and the OAU Charter. SMC members Togo and Mali were not directly affected by the crisis, but remained wary of entering the fray and declined to participate in the proposed peacekeeping mission. Burkina Faso, which provided assistance to National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) rebels and whose president had a close relationship with Taylor, vehemently decried the decision to intervene as well. The official explanation for West African intervention in Liberia was to end the senseless slaughter of Liberians and to restore stability by means of a cease-fire, an interim government and democratic elections. A more accurate explanation is ECOWAS

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<sup>50</sup> Karl P. Magyar and Earl Conteh-Morgan, (eds) ,ECOMOG in Liberia, (New York: St. Martin's Press,1988),p108.

states recognized containing and defusing the conflict was essential to their individual survivals.

In December 1997, ECOWAS heads of state and government endorsed the creation of a mechanism for the “collective management of regional security”<sup>51</sup>. During subsequent meetings, ECOWAS defense and internal affairs ministers developed and approved a strategy for identifying, monitoring, and responding to sub regional conflicts. The plan and the Mechanism for the Prevention and Management, Resolution of Conflicts, Peace-keeping and Security, drew upon ECOMOG's lessons and sanctioned: ECOWAS intervention in the internal affairs of Member States where conflict in a country threatens to trigger a humanitarian disaster poses a serious threat to peace and security in the sub-region or erupts following the overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratically-elected government<sup>52</sup>. Member states further supported the formation of stand-by military body for swift deployment to troubled areas<sup>53</sup>. To determine when intervention is appropriate, ECOWAS recommended monitoring indicators such as the price and availability of food, environmental disasters, political developments, civil-military relations, and internal security. Ironically, the determinants ECOWAS suggested to predict strife in the region is the very matters ECOWAS should consider in pursuit of its economic agenda.

## **2.10 UN-AU and ECOWAS Conflict Management in West Africa**

The relationship between the UN and African regional organizations has received significant attention due to the preponderance of conflicts on the continent. The UN has collaborated with the AU and the ECOWAS, predominantly in the area of peacekeeping, and continues to make efforts to improve its relationships with them, notably in the area of peace

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<sup>51</sup> Economic Community of West African States, Meeting of Ministers of Defence, Internal Affairs and Security, Draft Mechanism for the Prevention Management, Resolution of Conflicts, Peace-keeping and Security, (Banjul: 1998.)

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Economic Community of West Africa, Meeting of ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Final Report, (Abuja: 1998.)

building. The latest initiative of the UN in this regard is the implementation of a ten-year capacity building plan for the AU and its sub regional organizations. Considering that the UN, the AU, and ECOWAS each have peace and security mandates that concern Africa, there is clearly much to be gained from ensuring coherence and coordination of the efforts of these organizations in the maintenance of peace in Africa.

In a period of waning UN interest in Africa<sup>54</sup>, the OAU deployed its first military mission, an inter- African force, in Chad in 1981.<sup>55</sup> The OAU mission was unable to resolve the Chad conflict due to a lack of adequate financial and logistical resources among other factors. In 1993, the OAU facilitated peace talks and deployed a Neutral Military Observer Group to Rwanda that was eventually taken over by the UN. Subsequent peace interventions in Ethiopia/Eritrea (2000), Burundi (2003-2004)<sup>56</sup>, and Somalia (2007), among others, have served as precursory efforts to UN missions. The UN's interventions in Somalia and Rwanda accentuated its disinterest in Africa and emphasized the need for stronger African responses to African conflicts. Although the UN has co-deployed in the past with the AU and ECOWAS in several African countries, the joint AU-UN hybrid mission in Darfur (UNAMID) marks an attempt to depart from the previous form of cooperation between the UN and African regional Organizations whereby the AU and ECOWAS would deploy first and the UN would eventually take over full responsibility for the mission. Since its deployment, UNAMID has encountered serious problems including inadequate logistics and personnel.<sup>57</sup> Again, poor capacity on the part of some AU staff raises questions about how equitable a partnership the operation is.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Jonah, *The United Nations*, page 320.

<sup>55</sup> Cedric de Coning, *The Role of the OAU in Conflict Management in Africa*, Monograph No. 10, Conflict Management, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding, April 1997.

<sup>56</sup> Festus Aboagye, *The Africa Union in Burundi: Lessons from the First Africa Union Peacekeeping Operation*, 2004.

<sup>57</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the deployment of the African-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, 7 July 2008.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with General Henry Anyidoho. New York, June 24, 2008.

Despite extensive mediation activities by the AU and ECOWAS, previous cooperation between these Organizations and the UN has focused mainly on peacekeeping. Since 1995, the UN has made several efforts to broaden the scope of these relationships and clarify the roles of each party. While underlining the UN's control over the maintenance of international peace and security, several high level and thematic meetings with regional organizations, Security Council debates, and key documents/reports and resolutions have affirmed the important role of regional Organizations in peace and security and made recommendations aimed at ensuring more effective cooperation between them and the UN.<sup>59</sup>

## **2.11 Conclusion**

Sub-regional Organization role in peace making and conflict resolution on the African continent is a recent phenomenon that gained momentum over the past two decades. Generally, the African Union has been working with the sub regional organizations and has played a major role in peacemaking and conflict management in Africa as exemplified by the role played by ECOWAS in peacemaking and management of conflicts in Liberia. ECOWAS not only restored the required and vital peace in Liberia but it also carried the same operation in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. The SADC on the other hand managed to bring peace in Lesotho and Mozambique.

In Sudan IGAD played a major role in conflict management with its climax of CPA of 2005. It is apparent that most African conflicts have tendency of spreading far away from its epicenter to the neighboring countries and eventually engulf the whole region. This led to the development of regional approach in peacemaking and security. Considerable progress has been achieved in building African sub-regional capacity for managing violent conflicts and addressing security threats on the continent. However, one overall observation is that existing

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<sup>59</sup>A regional-Global Security Partnership: Challenges and Opportunities and Security Council Report Update No. 3, September 2006.

RECs do not cover the entire continent but at best, a patchwork with several vacuums to be filled.

Besides the RECs face pervasive shortage of resources which is a reflection of poverty and low state capacity, the explanation may be that several states are misplaced in the sense that their most urgent security concerns are not addressed by the REC to which they belong. Additionally, problem related to resources scarcity is the lack in AMU, ECCA's and IGAD of powers able and willing to play the role of hegemons with leading roles, but with also responsibilities to provide some of the resources that the rest members lack.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ACTORS IN THE SOMALIA CONFLICTS

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the role of regional and extra-regional actors in promoting ‘(in) security’ in Somalia and its implications for regional stability. It also gives a wider overview on negative behavior of some of the actors inflaming conflict in Somalia.

#### 3.1 Regional Actors

##### 3.1.1 Djibouti

While writing on the UN-led Djibouti Process of 2008, Menkhaus noted that ‘it seems that the efforts of the UN [are] largely underpinned by the desire to organize and placate the “warlords” to take leadership rather than the extreme fundamentalists’, and that ‘[t]he hope in international diplomatic circles was that the moderate wing of the Islamists would be brought into dialogue with the TFG, with the aim of negotiating a more inclusive government’.<sup>60</sup> Several rounds of talks were arranged in Khartoum, Sudan, but in vain. The hardliners in the UIC made provocative moves to undercut the talks.<sup>61</sup>

The involvement of Djibouti in Somalia began prior to the collapse of the Somali state<sup>62</sup>. The Djiboutian authorities paid close attention to the crisis and sought to raise the international community’s awareness of the issue. The early involvement of Djibouti in the Somali crisis is partly explicable by the close socio-cultural links between the two countries. Furthermore, the role of Somalia in the Djiboutian independent movement during the colonial

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<sup>60</sup> K. Menkhaus, *The Crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in Five Acts*, African Affairs (2007) p.204-371.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> The Conflict in the North of Somalia between SNM (Somali National Movement) and the Regime of Siyad Barre triggered the first waves of refugees’ in these regions towards Djibouti. There are 20,000 Somali refugees in Djibouti. <http://www.unhcr.fr/cgi-bin/telex/vtx/page?page=4aae621d44b&submit=GO> (accessed 6<sup>th</sup> Aug 2015)

period also explains Djibouti's decision to take part in the process of finding a solution to the conflict, despite the constraints. In a fluid regional and international context, Djibouti hosted the first conference of national reconciliation from June to July 1991 following an initiative led by Italy and Egypt. The timing indicates the eagerness of the Djiboutian authorities to find a swift solution to the Somali crisis. In accordance with the African consensus on border integrity and in a bid to discourage the breakup of Somalia, the unilateral declaration of independence by the SNM (Somali National Movement) was rejected by Djiboutian authorities who tried to convince the new authority to participate in the dialogue for reconciliation<sup>63</sup>. The two agreements reached in Djibouti were vitiated by the competition between the two warlords Aidid and Ali Mahdi in Mogadishu and the lack of support from the international community<sup>64</sup>.

The renewed outbreak of violence coupled with the famine led to intense diplomatic activities by certain international organizations. The United Nations Security Council began to take closer interest in the Somali issue. Neither the arms embargo nor the deployment of peacekeeping operations (UNOSOM I, UNITAF, UNOSOM II) between 1992 and 1995 managed to end the conflict, let alone a political solution to the crisis. Pressure from the United States, and the non-adherence of the Somali players to the various peace initiatives eventually led the Security Council to withdraw peacekeeping forces, thereby giving the countries of the region the heavy responsibility to help Somalis to reconcile and find peace<sup>65</sup>. The dominant Djiboutian perspective holds that the lack of commitment from the member states of the Security Council, the ambivalent role of certain countries of the region and the ambiguous nature of Somali political players are the reasons behind the failure to find a

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<sup>63</sup>Fontrier M., *L'Etatdémantelé (1991-1995)*. Annales de la Somalie, L'Harmattan, Paris, (2014), p. 93-94.

<sup>64</sup>Interpeace/Center For Research and Dialogue., *A history of Mediation in Somalia since 1988*, May 2009, p.11. <http://www.interpeace.org/publications/somali-region/60-a-history-of-mediation-in-somalia-since-1988-english/file> (accessed 3rd Aug 2015)

<sup>65</sup>Resolution 954 on Somalia of 4 November 1994 (S / RES / 954). UN Security Council <http://www.un.org/fr/documents/> (accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> Aug 2015)

permanent solution to the Somali conflict. From the Djiboutian perspective, the above interpretation was borne out, when President Guelleh laid the ground for an innovative solution to Somali crisis.

### **3.1.2 Eritrea**

After the defeat and scattering of the UIC, its leaders regrouped in Eritrea and Yemen. The reconstituted UIC finally transformed itself into what came to be called the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS) in September 2007. Eritrea, therefore, sheltered the then two leaders of the former UIC, namely Sheikh Sharif (who was the executive committee chairman of the UIC) and Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys (who was the head of the *Shura*, or Consultative Council of the UIC). The ARS was a broad coalition of Islamists, disaffected TFG parliamentarians and some Somalis in the diaspora. Since then, the link between Eritrea and some key players in the Somalia conflict seems to have flourished. A number of regional and international players, such as IGAD, the UN, the EU and the US, have accused Eritrea of supporting insurgent groups fighting the TFG, and called on regional and international players to take action against Eritrea.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, the IGAD Council of Ministers meeting of 8 December 2009 in Djibouti called for the imposition of a no-fly zone and the blockading of identified airports and seaports in Somalia, as well as targeted sanctions against all those who continue to pose obstacles to peace and stability in Somalia through the provision of assistance to the extremists, including foreigners who continue to cause mayhem in Somalia. Consequently, under Resolution 1907 (2009), the UN Security Council imposed arms and travel sanctions on Eritrea in December 2009 for supporting insurgents trying to topple the government in Somalia.<sup>67</sup> Resolution 1907 places an arms embargo on Eritrea, imposes travel bans on the nation's top political and

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<sup>66</sup> A Weber, *State Building in Somalia – Challenges in a Zone of Crisis*, in E Bruchhaus and M Sommer (eds), *Hot spot Horn of Africa revisited: Approaches to make sense of conflict*, Berlin: Lit Verlag, (2008), p 28–41.

<sup>67</sup> IGAD communiqué during the 33rd Council of Ministers meeting in Djibouti, 8 December 2009.

military officials and freezes the assets of some of the country's senior political and military officials. However, there are divergent views on whether the sanctions will have any effect on the Eritrean leadership and all those that have been targeted. Pessimists argue that sanctions will be less effective because Eritrea prides itself on self-reliance. Remittances from the diaspora in Europe, the US, the Middle East and other African nations are the biggest source of foreign exchange for the nation. Revenue from mining, which is expected to begin in the next few years, will also boost Eritrea's balance of payments.

### **3.1.3 Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is regarded as an influential external actor in the Somali conflict. The country has a long border that is not demarcated with Somalia in the east. Afyare and Barise posit that Ethiopia and Somalia have a long hostile history over the Somali inhabited Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia which has resulted in interstate wars between the two countries<sup>68</sup>. While the hostility between the two countries is unresolved officially in an interstate process, the civil war broke out in Somalia 1991. This created a new security concern for Ethiopia because groups of different identity in Somalia threatened and carried out attacks in Ethiopia<sup>69</sup>. Ethiopia has been following and involved the Somalia conflict which continues over two decades. This study tries to understand what issues and interests Ethiopia has in the Somali conflict and how this affects the overall situation of Somalia.

In the case of Somalia, Al-Itihad, is a popular and one of foremost Islamist groups in that declared war against Ethiopia and waged terrorist attacks in that country<sup>70</sup>. Al-Itihad had their military bases in Gedo region of southern Somalia, but had strong popularity and supporters throughout Somalia. The group, whose political motive was to establish an Islamic

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<sup>68</sup>Elmi, AfyareAbdi and BariseAbdullahi. *The Somalia Conflict, Root Causes Obstacles and Peace-building Strategies*. Institute for Security Studies, (2006) Volume 15, pp. 32-54.

<sup>69</sup>Abbink, Jon. *Ethiopia-Eritrea Proxy Wars and Prospects of Peace in the Horn of Africa*. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, (2006) Vol. 31.3

<sup>70</sup>Mulugeta, Kidist. Op Cit (2009) [www.fes-ethiopia.org](http://www.fes-ethiopia.org) (accessed 6<sup>th</sup> Aug 2015)

state in Somalia, also, strived to spread Islamic radicalism in the horn of Africa. Moreover, the conflict in Somalia created a platform for Ethiopian rebel groups that create instability in Ethiopia. The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), rebel group that fights with Ethiopia in the Ogaden region has got sympathizers and hiding places in Somalia to wage wars against Ethiopia. This kind of co operations between different groups of interest in the region is in line with Kaldor's argument that most of the new era conflicts attract and provide haven for transitional groups that might have the same agendas as the local ones in the conflict or else exploit the conflict context to achieve their motives<sup>71</sup>.

This scenario in the Somali conflict created a serious concern to the neighboring states, mainly to Ethiopia. Although this has existed since the downfall of Somalia's state, it increased when the ICU captured territories close to the TFG's (Transitional Federal Government) bases in Baidoa and threatened its existence. The Islamists, whose motive is to impose strict Sharia rule in Somalia, has also repeatedly threatened Ethiopia and vowed to impose their rule to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital city. This has aggravated the situation and Ethiopia consequently decided to intervene in Somalia militarily. These actions led to the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) invade Somalia and ousted the ICU in SCS<sup>72</sup>.

### **3.1.4 Kenya**

Kenya shares historical factors with Somalia in regards to ethnic and geographical aspects. The northeastern province of Kenya is predominantly inhabited by a Somali ethnic population, but unlike Ethiopia, Kenya had no interstate wars with Somalia. However, tensions between the two countries over the Somali inhabited region occurred right after the independence of Somalia. The first Somali independent state declared its intention to unify

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<sup>71</sup>Kaldor, Mary. *New and Old Wars*. 3rd edition, (California: Stanford University Press, 2012).

<sup>72</sup>Civins, Braden. Ethiopia's Intervention in Somalia. *Yonsei Journal of International Studies*, (2009), Vol. 2, Issue 2. P.137-154 <http://yonseijournal.com/issues/archive/volume-2-issue-2-fallwinter-2010> (accessed 03Aug2015)

the Somalia inhabited regions in the horn of Africa under one state in which northeastern province of Kenya includes. Northern Frontier Liberation Army (NFLA), an ethnic Somalia secessionist movement, was established in the early 1960s to fight against Kenyan rule in this region.

The Somali government at the time backed up this movement and provided them moral and material support and in spite of history, Kenya has always been friendly with the Somali people since the war broke out in Somalia in 1991<sup>73</sup>. Kenya accommodated the largest number of Somali refugees who fled the war in Somalia. According to UNHCR, Kenya hosts about a half a million Somali refugees as per this year, while the conflict in Somalia still continues (UNHCR, 2014). The fact that all conflicts affect regional countries in several ways, the scale of Somali refugees in Kenya could hugely affect this country in variable aspects.

Even though Kenya hosts the largest number of Somali refugees in the world, Kenya's role in the Somali conflict remained quite neutral for many years. It has been involved in mediation processes between internal actors and hosted several peace processes meant to reconcile conflicting parties in Somalia. This includes the one held 2002-2004 in under the auspices of IGAD member states and international community producing the TFG. Regardless of its role in the conflict, Kenya always experienced insecurity incidents posed by this conflict since it broke out in 1991<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup>Møller, Bjørn. The Somalia Conflict, the Role of External Actors. Danish Institute for International Studies, (2009) p.34. PP. <http://en.diiis.dk/home/research/defence+and+security/news/the+somali+conflict> (accessed: Aug.06-2015)

<sup>74</sup>Miyandazi, Luckystar. Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia: An intricate Process Policy & Practice Brief. Issue 19. The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes.(2012), <http://www.accord.org.za/publications/policy-practice-briefs/1013-kenya-s-military-intervention-in-somalia> (accessed: Aug.06-2015)

The problems of refugee and insecurity “spill over” are amongst factors that can lead regional states to involve in local conflicts<sup>75</sup>. Due to the changing dimensions of Somalia’s conflict, the threats it poses against Kenya increased when Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda, who controlled larger areas in SCS threatened, to destabilize Kenya. The terrorist organization carried out several attacks inside Kenya targeting tourism and other economic sources of the country. Moreover, the group started to recruit youngsters of Kenya, Somalis in Kenya and other Muslim nationals inside Kenya to join them.

The Kenyan governments perceived this as serious security problem against its national security and interest. Recruitment of youngsters could provide the terrorist organization a capacity to destabilize Kenya through “home grown” elements. Consequently, the Kenyan government changed its behavior towards the Somali conflict by sending the Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) into Somalia to fight Al-Shabbab and prevent their attacks against Kenya (ICG, 2012). Recruitment of young men of different nationality by Al-Shabaab and involvement of Al-Qaeda indicates a new war character in this conflict. Actors in the new conflict era indoctrinate fighters through identity or ideology such as religion, political and clan identity. Therefore, Al-Shabaab’s behavior in Kenya is an obvious characteristic of “new wars”<sup>76</sup>.

Furthermore, the local conflicts have great potential to “spill over” and create military problems for neighboring states. He argues that internal conflict generates instability in neighboring states, creating political and economic instability. The guardian, reports that in a separate incident, attackers from Somalia kidnapped a French national tourist woman in the coastal beach of Lamu<sup>77</sup>. The international broadcast (BBC) released a report that, As a result

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<sup>75</sup>Brown, Michael E. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. Center for Science and International Affairs. John F. Canady School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge. Massachusetts, (1996).

<sup>76</sup>Kaldor, Mary, *Op Cit*, (2012).

<sup>77</sup>The guardian, Kenya Kidnap attacks by Somalis Drive Terrified Tourists out of Paradise Islands. The guardian, 4<sup>th</sup> Oct 2011.

of terrorism and insecurity created by Al-Shabaab in Kenya, many western and other countries warned their nationals against travel to Kenya<sup>78</sup>. The Kenya daily (Nation News) reports ‘‘Kenya experienced problems from the piracy in Somalia. This has contributed to the already poor security situation, affecting the country in both socially and economically. The Somalia pirates attacked cargo ships and tourist vessels heading to Kenyan in Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. This paralyzed the activities in the only seaport of Kenya, Mombasa and threatened it to closure’’<sup>79</sup>. Abduction of aid workers and tourists in modern era conflicts are motivated by economic purposes to feed the war.

The UNSC has in a resolution 1851 described piracy and armed robbery in the Somali and international waters an obstacle to peace and security in that region (Resolution, 1851-2008)<sup>80</sup>. However, the variable challenges created by this conflict against Kenya are in line with Brown’s concept internal conflict consequences against regional and international peace. Even though the Kenyan troops intervened in Somalia and engaged in fighting with Al-Shabaab, the terrorist organization still remains an active and crucial threat to Kenyan internal security. The insecurity activities by Al-Shabaab frequently occur in Kenya.<sup>81</sup> The group carried out an attack in Westgate, a large and very popular shopping mall in Nairobi, the Kenyan capital, killing at least 72 innocents Kenyan and tourists in September 2013. Similar attacks were targeted with Mombasa, the coastal tourist and the port city of Kenya (Aljazeera).<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>BBC NEWS. Are Kenyans Seeking for a Buffer Zone? BBC NEWS Africa. 28<sup>th</sup> October 2011. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15499534>. (accessed 6 Aug 2015)

<sup>79</sup>XINHUA.KDF’s naval forces step up surveillance amid failed pirate attacks. Daily Nation, 21<sup>st</sup> November, 2013.<http://www.nation.co.ke/business/KDF-naval-forces-step-up-surveillance-amid-rising-pirate-ATTACKS/-/996/2082644/-/11ms081/-/index.html> (accessed 4 Aug 2015)

<sup>80</sup>UNSC. Summary, UN Security Council Resolution 1851. December.162008 [http://www.marad.dot.gov/documents/Summary--UN\\_Security\\_Council\\_Resolution\\_1851.pdf](http://www.marad.dot.gov/documents/Summary--UN_Security_Council_Resolution_1851.pdf) (accessed 6 Aug 2015)

<sup>81</sup> Eriksson, Mikael. Somalia’s Civil War, Security Promotion and National Interest. Swedish Defense Research Agency (2013).

<sup>82</sup>Aljazeera. Foreign Team Join Kenya Mall-attack problem. Aljazeera News, 26<sup>th</sup> September.26- 2013.

In response to the challenges affecting the national security and interest, Kenya decided to increase the involvement in Somalia by integrating the Kenyan forces in Somalia with the AMISOM peacekeeping forces operating under the mandate of the AU and UNSC. The Kenyan forces operating in Somalia initially invaded Somalia with an individual self-defense decision by the Kenyan government. The AU and UNSC officially allowed KDF to join AMISOM peacekeeping forces through in UNSC resolution 2036 of February 2012. The resolution provides legal framework, mandates and resources to the Kenyan forces to fight Al-Shabaab in Somalia.<sup>83</sup>

### **3.1.5 Uganda**

Uganda has played an important role in Somalia, but currently needs to rethink its role in a “new”, more stable Somalia. In this context, Uganda has an opportunity to support the government of Somalia in a non-biased way, that is, without such strong national interests as Kenya and Ethiopia currently have. Uganda has played a key role in Somalia since its first official military intervention on 1 March 2007. Uganda has been one of the largest troop-contributing states to AMISOM. In addition to actively pursuing operations inside Somalia, Uganda also hosts the EUTM of Somali National Forces at Bihanga<sup>84</sup>.

The Uganda government played an important role to oversee the political process that led to the 2009 Kampala Accord. A similar facilitating role could be played in the future. Uganda, unlike Kenya and Ethiopia, does not have strong stakes in Somalia itself. Uganda has gradually been drawn into Somalia’s civil war. As the security environment is changing, Uganda now has an opportunity to reconsider its policy agenda vis-à-vis Mogadishu, but also

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<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/09/foreign-forensic-teams-join-kenya-mall-probe-2013925161123515149.html> (accessed 4 Aug 2015)

<sup>83</sup>African Union Mission in Somalia, (2014). <http://amisom-au.org/amisom-mandate> (accessed 6 Aug 2015)

<sup>84</sup> Nilsson and Norberg “European Union Training Mission Somalia” in External Intervention in Somali’s Civil War (ed), Mikael Eriksson (2013), p.35.

other neighboring states' political visions for Somalia. Further support for Somalia's political vision of centralized government is likely to strengthen a sense of Somali governance ownership. Over the years, Kampala has sought to strengthen the central government in Somalia at the expense of the regional distribution of power. Kenya and Ethiopia for their part favour stronger regionalization in Somalia (Kenya through Kismayo, and Ethiopia in Somaliland and Puntland as well as south-central parts of Somalia).

However, unlike Kenya and Ethiopia, Uganda does not need a buffer zone against armed groups that threaten its position in the region – at least not in Somalia. The government in Somalia now wants to be considered both sovereign and capable of securing its own country. There is increasing examples of tensions between Somalia and its neighbors over issues of national interest and sovereignty. Based on these political developments it is likely that the ties between Mogadishu and Kampala will strengthen in the years to come.

### **3.2 Extra-Territorial Actor's**

#### **3.2.1 The AU and AMISOM**

The presence of the AU in Somalia occurs through the African Union Mission in Somalia, or AMISOM. It is a peacekeeping mission operated by the AU with the approval of the United Nations under Resolution 1744. In September 2006, the AU decided to send a peacekeeping mission to Somalia. AMISOM was deployed on 21 February 2007 for six months, with the mandate to provide support to the TFIs in their efforts towards the stabilization of the situation in Somalia and the furtherance of dialogue and reconciliation; to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance; and create conducive conditions for long term stabilization, reconstruction and development in Somalia. AMISOM only deploys troops from Uganda and Burundi, and until 2010 had a combined force of 5 250 in Mogadishu (2 700 from Uganda and 2 550 Burundians), which is 3 000 fewer troops than the minimum required number. Other countries that offered troops were Nigeria, Ghana, Malawi, Djibouti

and Guinea, but due to insufficient resources, the question of equipment, insecurity facing troops in Somalia and internal politics within these countries, the AU has not been able to deploy them. Other countries offered to train some of the troops, and training has taken place in Brazil, Djibouti, France, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Turkey.

Since its deployment, AMISOM has managed at least to protect the Abdullahi Yusuf administration and that of Sheikh Sharif. However, these accomplishments have not been without losses. Since its deployment, AMISOM has lost 65 soldiers – 29 from Burundi and 36 from Uganda.<sup>85</sup> The forces continue to be threatened by the opposition armed groups, and this is without even mentioning the enormous logistical and financial challenges. In terms of sustaining a peacekeeping mission in Somalia, the hope lies in the request to the UN Secretary General to explore the option of replacing AMISOM with a UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia. Until AMISOM is replaced by a UN-operated peace mission it seems the mandate of AMISOM will continue to be a subject of renewal for some time. The likelihood of other African countries contributing troops to join AMISOM continues to diminish, as the AU has not been able to marshal sufficient resources and equipment to support them.<sup>86</sup>

The African Union has legitimate interests to stabilize Somalia while the Arab League may also have its own Islamic agenda. The AMISOM has done tremendous work to stabilize the country since its entry in 2007. For the first time, Somalia has an internationally recognized official government which was formed inside the country. Embassies have been reopened and AMISOM is in place to support the new government. However, it is facing asymmetrical resistance from Al Shabaab who continue to operate mostly in rural areas.

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<sup>85</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African\\_Union\\_Mission\\_to\\_Somalia#Casualties](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union_Mission_to_Somalia#Casualties) (accessed Aug 06 2015)

<sup>86</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African\\_Union\\_Mission\\_to\\_Somalia#cite\\_note-UN\\_SRES\\_17722007-3](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union_Mission_to_Somalia#cite_note-UN_SRES_17722007-3) (accessed 5<sup>th</sup> Aug 2015)

Continued collaboration between AMISOM and United Nations is critical in turning Somalia around. AMISOM must also understand perceptions of the Somali people towards their presence in Somalia so that they can respond appropriately.

### **3.2.2 United Nations**

UN Security Council Resolution 2093 aims to progressively put the United Nations in charge of peace and security stabilization in Somalia, and specifically building capacity of the security sector and establishing rule of law institutions. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) began to work in June, 2013. Strategic plans have been developed to achieve the goal of the organization but these strategies respond to technical rather than political problems. The New Deal, ‘Compact Peacebuilding and State building Goals (PSG-2), is geared to capacity building of security sector<sup>87</sup>. UNSOM is assisting FGS to design and build structures of the Ministry of Defence (MOD) and the Somali National Army (SNA). External actors must tread carefully as far as Somali politics are concerned. Providing assistance in humanitarian relief and development is acceptable, but reconstitution of Somali political system requires external actors to walk carefully in this complex minefield.

### **3.3 Other Actors in Somalia Conflict**

#### **3.3.1 Somali Women**

During the Somali civil war many women found themselves at the center of conflicts fought between their sons, husbands and other male relatives. For the sake of their families many women have been active in peacemaking and peace building. In Somali society it is men, specifically the elders, who traditionally have the means to make peace through dialogue and mediation. But although women are typically excluded from decision-making

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<sup>87</sup> Somalia Defence Working Group (DWG) Plan 2013, p.2

forums where peace accords are negotiated, their position within the clan system gives them the ability to bridge clan divisions and to act as a first channel for dialogue between parties in conflict.

Women have also been effective in influencing elders and others to intervene in conflict and have mobilized resources to finance peace meetings and support demobilization. While men typically focus on achieving a political settlement, with the assumption that peace will ensue, women's vision of peace exceeds this and include sustainable livelihoods, education, truth and reconciliation. Women have also led the way in mobilizing civil society engagement in peace work, although few of their initiatives for peace have been documented. Many women peace activists have found the struggle for peace inextricably linked to that for women's rights. In internationally-sponsored peace processes women have successfully lobbied for places in decision-making forums and for seats in parliament. They have made some gains in formal politics, holding seats in the different Somali parliaments and some cabinet posts. But their political role remains severely compromised. The emergence of religiously driven politics presents Somali society with a new challenge.<sup>88</sup> Some Islamic groups are supportive of women's participation in politics; others are against it, which threatens to undermine the few political gains that women have made.

Following the downfall of President SiadBarre in 1991, a civil war broke out in Somalia between the factions. The internecine conflict has taken its heavy toll on all Somalis, but women in general face a disproportionate burden. With many men fleeing and abandoning their families, women have learned to fend for themselves after their husbands died. Regrettably, the tribal hostilities terminated male dominated jobs. During the clan and factional conflict, Somali women took up crucial roles generally allocated to men as breadwinners and protectors of their families. In order to make ends meet, the women stood

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<sup>88</sup>Hudda Ibrahim "Somali Women Mobilizing for Peace" *Somali current*, Mogadishu, 4<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

up to fill the vacuum left by the men. More importantly, women played an enormous role in peace-building.

Women played major roles in diffusing clan conflict whereby between 1991 and 1993, they demanded an end of hostilities. In Mogadishu, a group of women who promoted peace building had established an organization known as the Coalition for Grassroots Women Organization (COGWO) in 1996. Among women activists in Mogadishu who have been at the forefront of initiatives to demobilize combatants, address peace building and human rights were Marian Hussein Mohamed, the director of Dr. Ismail Jum'ale Human Right Center and Marian AbdulleQawane of COGWO. In order to quell the increasing factional fighting, the late peace activists, StarlinAbdiArush on the Guardian, negotiated with numerous warlords and opened up a demobilization camp for militiamen.<sup>89</sup> During the strife, Somali women risked themselves to end hostility by forming a human chain between the warring parties and refusing to leave until the two groups backed down.

### **3.3.2 Civil Society**

Civil society in Somali is made of the traditional structures and modern urban based non-governmental organizations. Traditional elders have continued to broker peace among clans and led in voluntary disarmament. Civil society was heavily involved in the Arta Peace process in Djibouti where gender representation in the assembly was 25%<sup>90</sup>. More than 750,000 Somalis live abroad - in South Africa, Europe and North America. The diaspora has been the backbone of the local economy through remittances with the World Bank estimating that about US\$750,000 are remitted annually using the Hawala system the diaspora does not only bring money but also work culture, knowledge and skills from abroad. The Somali

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<sup>89</sup>Astill, James. StarlinAbdiArush "Peace activist and aid worker who fought Somali tribalism to bring a measure of hope to her country" The Guardian, 3<sup>rd</sup> 2002 November.

<http://www.theguardian.com/news/2002/nov/04/guardianobituaries.jamesastill>

<sup>90</sup>FowsiaAbdulkadir, The Role of Civil Society in Rebuilding Somalia, in Osman Farah, MammoMuchie and JoakimGundel (ed.), SOMALIA: Diaspora and State Reconstitution in the Horn of Africa, 2007, p.254

diaspora has been a key element in formation of the new administrations in Puntland, Somaliland and South-Central Somalia. Civil society in Somalia has an opportunity to provide transformative education that can bridge the gap between the personal and the public. It can build on traditional knowledge and experience while empowering women who can transcend clan boundaries<sup>91</sup> .

### **3.4 Internal Actors**

#### **3.4.1 Al-Shaabab**

Al-Shabaab (meaning ‘the youth’ in Arabic) is one of the main actors in today’s Somalia. Others include the Hizb al-Islam, AhluSunnaWal-Jama’a, the UIC and al-Ittihad al-Islamiya. The al-Shabaab group gained prominence and increased its strength in the wake of the Ethiopian intervention, and is currently controlling larger parts of southern Somalia. Al-Shabaab grew to prominence during the rise of the UIC. Al-Shabaab is reported to have close ties with al-Qaeda, and its former leader, AdanHashiAyro, is suspected to have trained with the Taliban in Afghanistan. It follows a strict interpretation of sharia law, which may include beheading, amputations or stoning to death those who violate what is seen as God’s law. According to the New York Times, experts place al-Shabaab numbers around 3 000 with an additional 2 000 allied gunmen. Al-Shabaab is composed mainly of Somali youths who have been in the diaspora. Also among its ranks is a large population of foreign guerrillas, such as the Afghan group al-I’tisam, the Rank and File and the TakfirwaHijra. These people are said to be from places such as the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan; some lived in Toronto and have become radicalized in the last decade or so and have returned to Somalia. However, it is difficult to substantiate such claims, which are often dismissed as propaganda in some quarters.

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid, 2007, p.257

After the Ethiopian invasion that toppled the UIC in 2007, al-Shabaab successfully conducted an extensive military, political and propaganda mobilisation and campaign aimed at recapturing southern Somalia. It largely recruited among young jobless men and ‘marketed’ the struggle with its adversaries as essentially ideological. Initially a loose network of Islamist groups opposed to the Ethiopian occupation, over the last couple of year’s al-Shabaab has become more centralised and increasingly extremist, for political as well as ideological reasons. The relationship between al-Shabaab and certain other key groups, such as Hizb al-Islam, is violent – with repeated clashes in recent times. The two groups have recently been facing internal problems, evidenced by growing rifts in the Hizb al-Islam coalition and by emerging schisms within the al Shabaab leadership<sup>92</sup>.

### **3.4.2 Business Communities**

The Arta peace talks in Djibuti 2000 created a Transitional National Government (TNG) led by President Abdiqassim Salad Hassan. Originally this new government was permitted to serve for a three-year interim period as the recognized national authority. The Arta peace agreement in Djibuti declared that after this period a national government should be selected through a national election. In the beginning the new administration seemed to be eager to face the hard challenge: restoring good relations with the neighboring Ethiopia, and controlling the Southern Somalia territory by promoting a new order. Initially, the Transitional National Government started to work with the high support of the powerful Mogadishu businessmen; TNG fell short of domestic and international expectations. TNG quickly failed to gain any political result: it never administrated more than a portion of the Somali capital Mogadishu, it has never had good relations with the neighboring Ethiopia, as a consequence it didn’t attract the foreign assistance that it needed to make its administration

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<sup>92</sup>Sabala, K, ‘Regional and Extra-Regional inputs in Promoting (in)Security in Somali’ in Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa (eds), RobaSharamo and Berouk Mesfin,(2011).

efficient and the small foreign aid arrived from the Arab countries it has been used as a private resource. The missed opportunity to rebuild constructive relations between the TNG and Ethiopia made potential rival factions serious enemies.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

It is evident that the TFG and the opposition have invited foreign help in their effort to defeat their adversaries. As stated by John Prendergast in 2006, a senior advisor with the International Crisis Group, the frequent interventions in Somalia have contributed to double standards among political factions, which secretly look for outside support but publicly decry 'foreign influence'. The Islamic militias have rallied their supporters by condemning Sheikh Sharif's government and saying that he is a Western stooge out to fight Islam. The US accuses the insurgents of harboring al-Qaeda leaders responsible for the twin suicide bombings at the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam in 1998.

There are many other national, regional and international actors that play a part in promoting (in)security in Somalia, which have not been discussed in this chapter, but which are equally important. Therefore, it is crucial that they are given attention in future studies. These include the EU, Kenya, Egypt, Libya, Qatar, Syria and Iran. Others internal actors include the warlords, AhluSunnaWal-Jama'a and the business community. It is important that the UN, the AU and IGAD, among others, design an effective diplomatic strategy to erode the support received by actors who play such a negative role. In this regard, they should rethink the basis of their cooperation with the other actors, especially those seen as strategic partners. Somalia's priorities and interests should be placed ahead of these actors' roles in Somalia, irrespective of their impact.

As a result of these regional security puzzles, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, have had a historical security presence in Somalia. All four countries have supported or fought armed groups inside Somalia. Neighboring states have also harbored groups that have

rebelled against various rulers in Mogadishu. At times, external interventions in Somalia have been carried out due to a need to fight domestic groups harbored in Somalia. At other times external interventions have been conducted to steer dynamics inside Somalia in a neighbor-friendly direction. Thus, Somalia has been used as a proxy theatre. There have been persistent internal peace spoilers, for instance the Al Shabaab and other militia groups who are against the government. This doesn't rule out the effort being made by Civil Society and Somali women in restoring peace in the country.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### IGAD's MEDIATION IN SOMALIA CONFLICT

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an insight in to mediation as an instrument of conflict management, identity and motives of mediators, motives of Disputants, models and third party intervention, effective third party strategies and the IGAD mediation process in the Somalia conflict in relationship to theory and practice.

#### 4. I IGAD Member States

##### 4.1.1 The Map of IGAD



Source: <https://www.google.ru/maps/@9.3796197,42.9210014,4z> (accessed 21<sup>st</sup>Jun 2015)

##### 4.1.2 Features of IGAD region

The IGAD region stretches over 5.2 million sqkm; some 80% is ASAL, with annual rainfall of 400mm. The region has a population of over 206 million characterized by high growth rate and rapid urbanization. Severe land degradation, advances in desertification, recurrent droughts and dry spell makes it high vulnerable to climatic variations.

### **4.1.3 Activities Related to peace and Security**

Much of IGAD's attention is directed at peace efforts in Somalia and South Sudan. Parallel to such initiatives, the main focus is on capacity-building and awareness creation, and on the early warning of conflicts. Other issues of importance include food security and developing appropriate modalities for regional peacekeeping. Terrorism is also high on the agenda of the IGAD member states, and the IGAD Heads of State and Government meeting at the 9<sup>th</sup> Summit in Khartoum in January 2002 passed a Resolution on Regional Cooperation to Combat Terrorism.

The objectives of IGAD are to promote of joint development strategies and gradually harmonize macro-economic policies and programs in the social, technological and scientific fields. Harmonize policies with regard to trade, customs, transport, communications, agriculture, and natural resources, and also promote free movement of goods, services, and people within the region. Create an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic trade and investment. Achieve regional food security and encourage and assist efforts of Member States to collectively combat drought and other natural and man-made disasters and their natural consequences. IGAD also initiate and promote programs and projects to achieve regional food security and sustainable development of natural resources and environment protection, it encourages and assist efforts of Member States to collectively combat drought and other natural and man-made disasters and their consequences.

### **4.2 Mediation Theory and Practice**

There are a number of ways to approach conflict management and resolution, which range from least to most coercive. Conflicts may be avoided, talked out, negotiated, arbitrated, adjudicated, resolved by legislation, by political action, or by violent force. According to Moore his much concern is primarily with the mediated approach to conflict management. Parties who cannot negotiate together effectively may bring a mediator to

facilitate the negotiation process. Mediation is defined as "the intervention in a standard negotiation or conflict of an acceptable third party who has limited or no authoritative decision-making power but who assists the involved parties in voluntarily reaching a mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute. Within this definition mediators may play a number of different roles, and may enter conflicts at a variety of different levels of development or intensity.

He describes the three general mediator roles as; social network mediators, authoritative mediators, and independent mediators. Social network mediators are usually respected members of the community who have existing relationships with the parties. While not neutral, they are perceived as being fair. Social network mediators are generally concerned with maintaining stable long-term social relations. Generally they remain involved with the parties after the negotiations, and will participate in implementing agreements. They are able to draw on social or peer pressure to enforce agreements. Authoritative mediators are individuals who are in some position of authority over the parties, such as a manager or director. There are a number of differences among authoritative mediators. They may be neutral as to the outcome, or may have vested interests in achieving a particular settlement. Such mediators are generally able to use their authority to enforce agreements. Independent mediators are best defined by their neutrality and impartiality. Generally they have no prior relationship to the parties, and are hired by the joint decision of the parties. Independent mediators seek to help the parties develop voluntary, mutually acceptable solutions. The independent mediator model is most commonly used in western countries. However it is increasingly being used by other cultures as well.

There are a number of factors which influence choice of mediation strategies. They include the stage of the conflict and the parties' abilities to resolve their dispute, the balance of power between the parties, which negotiation procedures are being used, how complex the

issues are, and what the parties expect from the mediator. In crafting a mediation strategy the mediator must decide on the level, target and focus of intervention.<sup>93</sup>

### **4.3 Mediation as an Instrument of Conflict Resolution Management**

Mediation is important of the instruments in conflicts resolution and management. Fisher arguing for mediation acknowledges that it is intervention by a skilled and impartial intermediary working to facilitate a mutually acceptable negotiable settlement on the issues that are the substance of the dispute between the parties and that this intervention is basically, on coercive and non-binding approach the parties.<sup>94</sup>

According to Bercovitch and Houston, refers to mediation as an approach to conflict management in which a third party, which is not a direct party to the dispute, helps disputants through their negotiations and does so in a non-binding fashion<sup>95</sup>. The overall aim of mediation is to stop violence and establish peaceful relations between conflicting parties. One author argues that mediation is a method of conflict settlement. Other authors define mediation as any “intermediary activity undertaken by a third party with the primary intention of achieving some compromise settlement of issues at stake between parties, or at least ending disruptive conflict behavior. On the other hand, Moore says mediation is an extension or elaboration of the negotiation process that involves the intervention of an acceptable third party who has limited or no authoritative decision-making power.

### **4.4 Identity and Motives of the Mediators**

Fisher points out that a third party needs to think carefully about whom they are and precisely which attributes and interests they bring to the triadic mediation

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<sup>93</sup> Christopher Moore, *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, 2nd ed., (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996).

<sup>94</sup> Fisher, Ron, “Methods of Third party Intervention –Berg of Handbook for Conflict Transformation “Berlin Germany, Berg of Research center for constructive conflict management (2001),p4

<sup>95</sup> Influence of mediator characteristics and behavior on the success of mediation in international relations: *International Journal of Conflict Management* Vol 4(4) Oct 1993, 297-321.

process.<sup>96</sup> Sometimes third party may be influenced by a number of issues when facilitating mediation. For example, the mediator may be willing in helping to abate the conflict but on several occasions the entry into the conflict is seldom precipitate by beneficent. The past meetings as an intermediary informal intervention between the Israel and the HAMAS in April 2008 in Syria which sought to find out ways to break the deadlock between the Israel and the Hamas in their prolong land disputes serves as good example. Third party is perceived neutral to the conflict more complex. For example, states often partake in mediation as third party in order to advance their own security or economic interests; to maintain or increase their sphere of influence or to keep an alliance on the brink of collapse firmly together.<sup>97</sup>

The official mediator may also be involved in the conflict through a clear mandate that is usually given by international Organizations such as UN or AU to intervene in the disputes seen likely to endanger international peace and security. A state may also be invited to the conflict by one or both parties and asked to mediate. This is one of the reasons why IGAD intervened in these Somalia conflicts.

#### **4.5 Nature or Motives of Disputants**

The entry of third party in the mediation enrich the conflict by contributing essentially to the transformation of issues, helping to get the parties face to face and gaining trust and confidence, clarifying issues, formulating agreements and guiding parties to unrealized possibilities or opportunities.<sup>98</sup> The presence of the intervener tends to influence the behavior of the protagonists so much that communication and interaction are enhanced and facilitated.

At times, the issues, interest and needs of the contenders become clearer with the help of the

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<sup>96</sup>Fisher,Ron, Op Cit .p6

<sup>97</sup>Bercovitch,J and J Rubin, “Mediation in International Relations-Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management”,(Basingstoke:Macmillan Press,1992),p.8

<sup>98</sup>Ramsbotham,Oliver,Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall,“Contemporary Conflict Resolution-The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition” 350 Main street MA,(USA:Polity Press,2006) p.168

third parties. Furthermore, disputants may seek or accept mediation<sup>99</sup> because they believe that this will help them understand their conflict, reduce the risk and get both parties closer to resolving it.

They may also be under the impression that the mediator because of his or her leverage will be able to influence the other disputants and be able to verify, guarantee any agreement that may be arrived at. The other reason is as a public signal that they are both to genuine resolutions of the conflict. The irony also here is that they will want the failure of the mediation to be blamed on the mediator. It is therefore imperative that one of the tasks that the mediator should do is to accurately assess the motives of the parties concerned as well as their sincerity and authenticity of their desires to reach a mutually acceptable agreement.<sup>100</sup>

#### **4.6 Modes of Third Party Intervention**

Third party intervention may be done using one or combination of these three different modes, namely<sup>101</sup>, exogenous, endogenous and heterogeneous: In an exogenous mode, the mediators come from outside the conflict area and therefore the complete strangers to the conflict intricacies. The main goal of the exogenous is to reach a certain outcome which in most cases is attached to power. They are known to use power; force to make sure that the parties ends the conflicts. On the other hand, this mode may be advantageous because the objectivity in analyzing the issues at hand may not have been adulterated and therefore the third party may be able to guide the mediation process successfully.

On the other hand, the endogenous third party comes from within the conflict area and therefore his or her interests and views may be similar or interconnected with those already involved in the conflict. They understand the conflict issues quite elaborately but the only

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<sup>99</sup> Bercovitch, J and J Rubin, Op Cit .p.9

<sup>100</sup> Fisher, Ron, Op Cit .p.7

<sup>101</sup> Mwagiru, Makumi, "Conflict in Africa-Theory Processes and Institutions of Management", -Nairobi .Kenya, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies-University of Nairobi and Centre for Conflict Research, (2006) pp.52-53

negative thing about them is that their judgments/analysis or mediation may be construed to be subjective and therefore not trusted. They at a times share an incentives to intervene and minimize conflicts. Lastly, the third mode is heterogeneous which the hybrid of the first two mentioned modes. This mode puts the third party on an advantageous position because it has both sides to the conflict; it puts the third party in the conflict area and within the conflict system. Not only is the third party aware of the conflict but also privy to what the region thinks about the conflict. The mode has the best chance to steer the mediation process to fruitful conclusion if it follows meticulously the strategy formulated, which should have also been carefully crafted in the first place to ensure productive and conclusive deliberation. The can be from within the parties in the conflicts. But they are objective in the conflict.

#### **4.7 Issues in the Third-Party Intervention**

During third party intervention, there are many issues which normally a rise, as a result, sometimes mediators faces the problem of being rejected by either party to the conflicts or even both parties. Traditionally, impartiality was seen as one of the main requirements by the parties and as a pre-requisite to establish a relationship of trust. It is assumed that in the case of impartiality parties are usually considered fair when managing conflicts. There has been question on impartiality of the third party which was raised by scholars such as Touval and Zartman, who argue that motives for the mediators are best described in power politics and that mediators always have their own interests and cannot be said to be truly indifferent to the issues and conditions being negotiated.<sup>102</sup>

#### **4.8 Factors Contributing to the Effectiveness of Mediation**

According to Kleiboer, traditionally, mediation effectiveness was evaluated with reference to its goal of conflict reduction. It is important to inquire into the effectiveness of mediation in achieving its proclaimed goals, the degree to which conflict reduction or

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<sup>102</sup>Fisher, Ron, Op Cit .p20

resolution has been achieved, or the stability of the settlement and also understands the efficiency of the settlement, whether a better outcome for all concerned if was possible. According to Bercovitch and his colleagues, points out that mediation as “a process of conflict management related to, but distinct from the parties, own efforts, where the disputing or their representatives seek assistance, or accept an offer of help, from an individual, group, state or organization to change, effect or influence their perception or behavior without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of the law.”<sup>103</sup> However, Rioux argues that, third party intervention as any action taken by an actor not direct party to the conflict and wishes to reduce or remove one or more of the problems of the bargaining relationship to facilitate the termination of the conflict or crises itself.<sup>104</sup>

Promising approaches to solving human needs oriented conflicts is considered to be transformative and aims at reaching outstanding issues as quickly as possible and move on the secondary issues, which include historical background and the pace of conflict process.<sup>105</sup>The relevance or applicability of this theory to the Somalia conflict cannot be discounted. It is the grossly disadvantaged position of the Somalia that forced them to wage a war against themselves. The functionalists such as Mitrany, for example, called for transnational cooperation among states in order to solve practical problems of international relations. This would then build the necessary conditions to build peace.<sup>106</sup>

Notwithstanding this, it must be noted that third party mediation process does not just happen impulsively or spontaneously, it is a deliberate process initiated when parties to a conflict tried unsuccessfully to negotiate and end in a deadlock and that both parties are

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<sup>103</sup>Bercovitch,J and Rubin, Op Cit ,p7

<sup>104</sup>Rioux,Jean-Sebastian and Jean Christopher Boucher, “Third intervention as conflict management: the case of Africa”, St Petersburg Russia, a paper presented on 16<sup>th</sup>Nordiv and 4<sup>th</sup> Baltic peace research conference,11-13 Sept 2003 pg 5

<sup>105</sup> Ibid p 156

<sup>106</sup> Mitrany, D. Op Cit

prepared to cooperate and break the impasse through the intervention of a third party, when the ripe moment has come, commonly known as the Mutually Hurting Stalemate.

#### **4.9 The IGAD's Mediation 2000 – 2014**

Following the ouster of Seyad Barre in 1991, the first two on international reconciliation meetings aimed at re-establishing a Somali government took place in Djibouti in June and July 1991. Six organizations participated. An agreement endorsing Ali Mahdi as president was immediately rejected by General Muhammed Farah Aidid, and a bloody civil war in Mogadishu and south ensued. In March 1993, fifteen parties to the Somali civil war signed two agreements for national reconciliation and disarmament: an agreement to hold an informal preparatory meeting on national reconciliation, followed by the 1993 Addis Ababa agreement made at the conference on national reconciliation. Fighting continued, however and the agreement later fell apart.

From November 1996 to January 1997, a conference on national reconciliation was held on sodere, Ethiopia. It created a 41-member National Salvation Council (NSC) charged with the responsibility of organizing a transitional government. The conference was, however, boycotted by Hussein Farrah aided and by the government of Somaliland. A similar conference in Sana'a Yemen did not include all the parties of the conflict and was rejected by those not attending. A fourth reconciliation meeting in Cairo, Egypt in December 1997 saw 18 signatories to ensuing agreement including both Ali Mahdi and Hussein Farrah aided. The Cairo Declaration provided for a 13-person council of presidents, a prime minister and a national assembly but left the country without a national leader. Officially dubbed the Somali National Peace Conference (SNPC) and sometimes called the Djibouti conference, this was a series of meetings held in Arta, Djibouti from 20<sup>th</sup> April-5may 2000.

In contrast to previous reconciliation meetings, the Arta conference included extensive participation by unarmed civic leaders-intellectuals, clans and religious leaders and

members of the business community. It culminated with the Arta declaration and the formation of the Transitional National Government (TNG), the first Somali government since 1991 to secure a measure of international recognition, enabling Somalia to reoccupy its seat at the UN and in regional bodies. The TNG was opposed by a rival pan-Somali governmental movement, known as the Somalia SRRC made up of warlords from different regions of the country. In an effort to reconcile the TNG with its SRRC adversaries, IGAD in eastern Africa launched a fresh national reconciliation process before the TNG mandate had ended. This process eventually developed into a sixth major Somali reconciliation meeting, the Somali national reconciliation conference, held in Eldoret, Kenya in October 2002. It produced a ceasefire agreement signed by 24 faction leaders stipulating the need to create a federal structure, reversing the unitary structure established at Arta. The 15<sup>th</sup> SNRC was held in Nairobi, Kenya, in September 2003. The initiative to convene the conference was endorsed by the IGAD summit of 2003 and supported by the AU, The Arab league and the UN. All the conference, the TNG and the SRRC were reconciled, and a new united movement subsequently developed, dubbed the TFG.

The conference was successfully concluded with the formal adoption of a federal transitional charter. From 9 to 29 January 2004 a conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya, at which the transitional federal government developed further. A document was signed by the major factions, titled declaration on the harmonization of various issues proposed by the Somali delegates at the Somali consultative meetings from 9-29 January 2004. The agreement called for the establishment of transitional federal institutions as well as election of a president in 2004, and finally the granting of the vote of confidence to a prime minister and the establishment of a TFG in early 2005. Following the defeat of the Islamic courts union, more than 3,000 people from all of Somalia's regions and clans as well as the Somali Diaspora participated in a national reconciliation conference convened by the TFG in

Mogadishu from 15 July-30 August 2007. Offshoots of the ICU and opposition leaders, however, held a separate meeting in Asmara, Eritrea where they joined forces to fight the TFG under the banner of the alliance for the re-liberation of Somalia.<sup>107</sup>

The TNG that emerged from the Arta peace talks in 2000 was the first Somali government since 1991 to command a degree of national legitimacy and reoccupy Somalia's seat in the UN General Assembly but it was unable to become operational in the face of internal and external opposition, lacked international funding, and its mandate was due to expire in August 2003 with little prospect for a planned transition of power. While Djibouti had hosted the establishment of the TNG, based on a Hawiye-dominated, Mogadishu-based alliance with Islamists, Ethiopia supported a rival coalition of armed factions – the Somali Reconciliation and Rehabilitation Council (SRRC), led by Puntland President Abdulahi Yusuf, dominated by lineages of the Darod clan family and based mainly outside Mogadishu. These two loose coalitions monopolized the political-military landscape, the former favoring centralized government and the latter a federal state. Several Mogadishu-based Hawiye warlords formed shifting alliances, generally seen as undermining attempts to form a government, while Somaliland sustained its position of independence.

In December 2001 Kenyan President Moi attempted to broker a deal between the TNG and the SRRC at talks in Nakuru, Kenya, and Ethiopia hosted parallel consultations with the rest of the SRRC in Godey, Ethiopia. The complex interplay of regional agendas in the Somali crisis was apparent but Moi was preparing to step down after twenty years in power and had an interest in projecting himself as a regional peace broker. Meanwhile, faction leaders saw an opportunity to return to positions of influence that they had been denied since 2000 and indicated an interest in reaching a solution through dialogue rather than force. The combination of factors prompted diplomatic consultations on a new Somali

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<sup>107</sup> <http://amisom-au.org/about-somali-peace-process/> (accessed 24<sup>th</sup> April 2015)

national reconciliation process under the auspices of IGAD, to be hosted by Kenya and financed by the international community, principally the European.<sup>108</sup>

#### **4.10 The Preparation of Conference**

The IGAD foreign ministers delegated management of the Somali peace process to a Technical Committee comprising representatives of the ‘frontline states’ of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya and chaired by Kenya, which was expected to provide unbiased leadership and mediate between Ethiopia and Djibouti’s different approaches over Somalia. The Technical Committee recommended a three-phase peace process, comprising: Cessation of hostilities and agreement on structure and desired outcomes of the process; forming reconciliation committees to develop proposals to address core conflict issues; Agreement on a transitional charter and formation of a government to succeed the TNG.

The intention was to contain the influence of armed actors through agreement on the cessation of hostilities and create space beyond them for engagement of unarmed political and civic leaders. This would enable core conflict issues to be effectively addressed at a technical level in the second phase, ensure agreement and shared understanding of the nature of the state (centralized, federal or otherwise), and provide a work plan for the government, which in turn would reduce the intensity of power struggles over government functions in the final phase. The plan was approved by the IGAD Council of Ministers on 6 September 2002 in Nairobi, emphasizing that the peace process should be Somali-owned and -driven under IGAD’s facilitation and that the IGAD frontline states were committed to ensuring the outcome would be a broad-based and all-inclusive government of national unity. “The approach of the Frontline States is not to prescribe solutions but create a basis for dialogue” (Kenya’s Special Envoy on the Somali peace process, Elijah Mwangale). A small group of

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<sup>108</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Summit of the IGAD Heads of State in Khartoum on 11 January 2002

international observers was formed through the IGAD Partners Forum (IPF), comprising the African Union, Denmark, Egypt, European Union, Italy, League of Arab States, Norway, Sweden, UK, USA, and the UN Political Office for Somalia.

#### **4.11 Phase I: Agreement on Federal Structure and Cessation of Hostilities**

##### **4.2.1 Eldoret Meeting 2002**

Over 300 Somali faction leaders, traditional and religious leaders, politicians, and civil society representatives attended the opening of the conference on 15 October 2002 in Eldoret, witnessed by IGAD Heads of States and representatives of the diplomatic community. Within two weeks, political and military leaders and a civil society representative signed the “Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and Principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process” on 27 October 2002. The first article, “to create a federal structure”, reversed the unitary position of the TNG in favor of the federal agenda preferred by Ethiopia and its allies.

The second article was a commitment to a Cessation of Hostilities and international monitoring of the implementation of the Declaration. However it lacked specific obligations on the part of the signatories and did not commit the parties to any subsequent ceasefire process. It was rapidly found to be ineffective and the immediate challenge was how to address violations, which began within days. The Technical Committee responded to outbreaks of violent conflict in Mogadishu, Gedo and Jubba regions by exerting pressure on the faction leaders to respect the Declaration and instruct their militia commanders to comply. The fighting died down but breaches continued throughout the process in the absence of mechanisms for either monitoring violations or ensuring accountability by faction leaders (none of whom had previously kept any agreement to which they had committed). Despite these shortcomings, the signing of the Eldoret Declaration by the key armed and political factions was welcomed as a positive start, if somewhat surprising given the anticipated

contention over the issue of federalism. “The difference with the Eldoret conference is that everyone realizes that war cannot solve the issues. It is the end of the road. We cannot achieve national goals through conflict”<sup>109</sup>.

#### **4.2.2 The Leaders’ Committee and the Somali Advisory Group**

The disputes over representation were complicated by the Technical Committee’s unexpected decision to legitimize the signatories to the Eldoret Declaration as the “Leaders’ Committee” and de facto highest Somali decision-making body in the peace talks by inviting the leaders to approve the conference procedures and the formation of a Somali Advisory Group. This was contrary to the entire spirit of the design of the process simplifying management of the delegates but taking international observers by surprise.

Their protestations were largely ignored (although the Leaders’ Committee was expanded to include ‘civil society’ representatives). The Somali Advisory Group had been envisaged in the design of the process as a mediating body of eminent persons with political and moral authority, which would also provide technical advice to the Reconciliation Committees. The Leaders’ Committee refused to approve its formation, seeing it as a potential rival for power and influence. For similar reasons the Kenyan Special Envoy closed evening film shows<sup>110</sup> of Somaliland elders sharing their experiences of reconciliation and sending messages of peace to their brothers in the south, which had been provoking lively and fruitful discussions.

#### **4.12Phase II: Reconciliation Issues**

Phase II, officially launched on 29 November 2002, was intended to “address in detail the core reconciliation issues required to establish peace in Somalia<sup>111</sup>” through technical

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<sup>109</sup>Abdullahi Yusuf, then president of Puntland, quoted by ICG, December 2002

<sup>110</sup>The film “DareenDhalis” produced by CRD/ APD/ Interpeace is available in Somali and English

<sup>111</sup> “Proposed framework for the Somali reconciliation process”, Somali peace conference secretariat (undated draft)

working groups, called Reconciliation Committees, and was originally conceived to take six to nine months, ensuring thorough resolution of the issues and development of a work plan for the incoming government. The six core reconciliation issues were: the Constitution and Federal System; Economic Recovery; Land and Property Disputes; Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR)<sup>112</sup>; Conflict Resolution; and Regional and International Relations. 135 delegates were to be nominated to the committees by the plenary and, drawing on expert advice where appropriate, to develop proposals for discussion by the plenary.

The chaos over the selection of delegates also pervaded identification of the committee members with different lists circulating for some committees, overseen by the Leaders' Committee and based primarily on factional and clan interest rather than relevant competence. Nevertheless, the Kenyan Special Envoy announced that the second phase would be undertaken within three weeks, parliament formed and power-sharing agreed by the end of January 2003<sup>113</sup>.

#### **4.13 The Meditation Phase at Mbagathi 2003**

Delegate's arrival in Nairobi on 15<sup>th</sup> Feb 2003 saw a lot of commotion that temporally halted the peace process<sup>114</sup>. First a large number of Somali population invaded KCCT-Mbagathi, the new venue for the talks in Nairobi. This prompted the TC to call for fresh registration of delegates. Unfortunately, at the end of this exercise the Marehan clan boycotted the talks arguing that the new list omitted names of some of their delegates<sup>115</sup>.

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<sup>112</sup> In Phase II, Security Arrangements continued to be addressed as a less important technical matter rather than a key strategic issue, deliberated on by the DDR Committee, buffered by the Conflict Resolution Committee, with some technical training provided by NOVIB for interested delegates attending on a voluntary basis.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with European donor, Nairobi, March 2009

<sup>114</sup> Lucas Barasa "Somalia peace talks shift to Nairobi" Daily Nation, Nairobi, 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2003

<sup>115</sup> Interview with Mohamed Jangoan, Former Interior minister and chairman of committee six, Nairobi, 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2003.

Following the election of the new Kenyan President, Mwai Kibaki, a new Kenyan Special Envoy, Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat, was appointed on 18 January 2003. Both delegates and observers anticipated that engagement of this senior diplomat would revitalize the peace talks towards the original objective of addressing core conflict issues before moving to power-sharing and act as honest broker to counter allegations of bias in the Technical Committee's mediation. In February 2003, Kiplagat won a statement of renewed commitment to the process from the foreign ministers of the frontline states and agreement to establish a monitoring mechanism for the continuing violations of the Cessation of Hostilities.

He then relocated the talks to Mbagathi, Nairobi, to improve management of access to the venue and curb escalating costs. By May 2003, the six committees had completed their draft reports through the concerted efforts of a small number of committed members: key political and factional rivals demonstrated little interest in resolving core issues and most delegates were positioning for power-sharing. The Constitutional Committee had split over interpretations of 'federalism' and produced two draft Charters; a third was produced by a team of Somali experts chaired by the scholar AbdiSamatar, and a fourth by the Leaders' Committee. The four versions were harmonized with the help of two Kenyan lawyers but lack of agreement on the basic government structure hampered the work of the other reconciliation committees (including budgeting for the government itself). Despite the gap between the aim of Phase II and what had been achieved, Harmonization Committee was formed to bring the reports together into a single coherent document.

Events taking place elsewhere in May 2003 included the Somaliland presidential elections, won by the incumbent Dahir RiyaleKahin, and a peace accord between Abdulahi Yusuf and Adde Musa in Puntland, ending two years of intermittent conflict and smoothing Yusuf's path at the Mbagathi peace talks. In June 2003, Kenya closed the airspace between

Kenya and Somalia over a terrorism alert, another reminder of international concerns about Somalia remaining without effective governance. Through July 2003, the balance of power at the peace talks in Kenya was influenced by the absence of two key faction leaders who remained in Kismayo, unable to rejoin the peace talks in Kenya because of the continued threat of attack on Kismayo by Mohamed Hersi Morgan, who was heavily armed and backed by Ethiopia.

Meanwhile in Mogadishu civic actors were taking advantage of the absence of faction leaders to mobilize community based neighborhood watch schemes to tackle an increase in local crime and the business sector was supporting the consolidation of sharia courts, also to improve local security. At this stage, both the mediators and donors hoped the peace talks would conclude before the expiry of the TNG's mandate in August 2003, allowing a smooth transition for the new government. However, little progress was made over the next few months and divisions deepened, despite efforts by the Kenyan chair to clarify some of the contentious points.

#### **4.14 Deepening Divisions over the Charter and its Approval**

By August 2003, the plenary debates on the draft Charter were heated and confusing. The failure to provide amended copies in advance or to clarify the rules of procedure for adoption of articles resulted in bizarre scenes in which the plenary debated conflicting versions and it was hard to know whether specific articles had been amended, adopted or passed over for further discussion. Ethiopia's active management, and the Kenyan chair's acquiescence, generated accusations that the plenary was being stage managed while the lack of political weight amongst the international diplomats further reduced options for a more effective process at this stage.

The disputes over the draft Charter centered on the articles relating to the status of the capital, the official second language, the status of federalism, and parliamentary selection,

with opposing views in each case by the TNG/ Mogadishu group (backed by Djibouti) and the SRRC (backed by Ethiopia). The former wanted Mogadishu as the capital without caveat (giving them leverage over the incoming government) while the SRRC wanted an option of an interim capital until security in Mogadishu could be guaranteed. When the SRRC had refused Arabic as the second language, the delegation from the League of Arab States had walked out (Arabic was reinstated). The TNG/ Mogadishu group wanted federalism to be implemented during the transitional period not stipulated at the outset in the Charter and based on the 18 regions of Somalia in 1991 while the SRRC, led by Puntland's Abdulahi Yusuf, wanted a commitment to federalism and recognition of de facto administrations including Puntland.

The contention over representation resurfaced over the selection of members of parliament (MPs) with the SRRC promoting adoption of the plenary as the basis of the parliament or selection led by faction leaders while their opponents rejected the faction leaders' monopoly over selection and advocated broadening the spectrum of the parliament by entrusting traditional leaders with responsibility for nominating MPs in consultation with faction leaders. The issue of MP selection was further complicated by the Technical Committee's intention to identify deficit of where not represented well for the parliament rather than compromising by allocating seats for Somaliland without filling them as advocated by western observers keen that the talks should not undermine Somaliland's stability.

Somaliland responded by reiterating its independence, welcoming bilateral talks, warning Abdulahi Yusuf against further threats to communities in the territories disputed between Somaliland and Puntland, and refusing a visit by the UN Political Office (media August 2003). Although the TNG/ Mogadishu group had become progressively more critical of Ethiopia's active role in the Technical Committee's mediation, the TNG itself had

appeared increasingly irrelevant, with its mandate due to expire in August 2003 and its perceived unity undermined when the prime minister and speaker had decided to stay at the talks after being recalled by the TNG president in March 2003. However, accusations of manipulation of the plenary in the disputes over the draft Charter provided an opportunity for the TNG's resuscitation when several prominent disaffected faction leaders<sup>116</sup> left the talks for Somalia and met with Abdiqassim in Mogadishu, aggravating concerns amongst international observers about the lack of 'inclusivity' of the peace talks and the potential for a divisive outcome with military repercussions.

Despite protestations by the international observers to the Kenyan chair on the need to address the political contention over 'federalism' and serious inadequacies in the draft Charter itself, he maintained the differences over federalism were a matter of syntax not substance. Amidst growing concerns that adoption of the Charter would be pushed through the plenary before anyone had been able to review it or political differences had been addressed - and with key faction leaders boycotting the talks - in mid-August the international observers reinforced the need for political dialogue. When the plenary was informed that international observers were proposing suspension of the talks for consultations to persuade disaffected leaders to return, Ethiopia threatened to withdraw, SRRC delegates complained of interference by external actors with hidden agendas, and demonstrations were held at Mbagathi and Eastleigh for the talks to continue.

By this time, the reconciliation between two of the three leaders of the Rahanweyne clan with the SRRC reinforced perceptions that the process was loaded in favour of the SRRC and the election of Abdulahi Yusuf, providing little incentive for those outside the talks to return. On 8 September, the Technical Committee released the seventh draft of the

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<sup>116</sup> Muse SudiYalahow and Osman HasanAtto (Mogadishu-based faction leaders), BarreHiirale

Charter<sup>117</sup>, reiterating the contested text on the creation of a transitional federal government. Under pressure from international observers, the Technical Committee and diplomats engaged in vigorous shuttle diplomacy to persuade disaffected leaders to return to the talks on 14 September 2003 but when the Technical Committee refused to reopen debate on the draft Charter, Abdiqassim immediately returned to Somalia.

The next day, 15 September 2003, the Transitional Federal Charter was “approved by acclaim” in the plenary (NOVIB), signaling a victory for the SRRC and Ethiopia. Both the outcome and the way in which it had been reached triggered eruptions among Somali delegates and the Technical Committee itself. Djibouti temporarily withdrew in protest at the SRRC’s monopoly of the plenary and the way in which the Charter had been produced and approved<sup>118</sup>. And the same group of disaffected leaders returned to Somalia, issued a statement with the TNG criticizing the talks, and recognized the continuing mandate of the TNG<sup>119</sup>. The Mbagathi process was heading for a one-sided outcome that favored the SRRC backed by Ethiopia and alienated the TNG alliance (backed by Djibouti and several Arab countries). The worst case scenario of severe polarization between the political military groupings increased the risk of large-scale conflict, prompting the EU and US to lobby Kenya to restore ‘critical inclusivity’ at the talks and address divisions in the Technical Committee.

These efforts were not helped by a speech by former Kenyan President Moi<sup>120</sup> asserting neither Ethiopia nor Kenya could be trusted with Somali reconciliation since both fear that a reunited and prosperous Somali nation might resurrect its territorial claims for the ‘greater Somalia’.

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<sup>117</sup>Five Somali lawyers from the delegates worked with a Kenyan lawyer to improve the structure of the draft Charter: Version 6 was a working document for the sub-committee appointed by the plenary to review version 5

<sup>118</sup> Media reports, September 2003.

<sup>119</sup> The National Salvation Council consisting of 12 factions under the chairmanship of Muse SidiYalahow, Report of the UN Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia S/2004/115, 12 February 2004.

<sup>120</sup> Speech made by former Kenyan President Moi at the National Defense University, Washington, September 2003

IGAD<sup>121</sup> tackled the crisis by expanding the Technical Committee (re-named the Facilitation Committee) to include the other IGAD states of Eritrea, Sudan and Uganda, and the AU Special Envoy; committing to sustained engagement by IGAD foreign ministers; and agreeing to conclude Phase II but not launch Phase III until the Somali leaders had been consulted thus satisfying both camps.

However Ethiopia reacted to criticisms of its approach, the perceived ‘resuscitation’ of the TNG president, and allegations of its arms shipment to certain faction leaders by effectively absenting itself from the peace talks. Its key ally, Abdulahi Yusuf, was already well-funded and positioned for Phase III and Ethiopia was not to resume high level engagement until May 2004. The other IGAD states engaged in intensive shuttle diplomacy to get agreement on an agenda for the ‘Leaders’ Consultations’ – and on participation. While the SRRC supported the Leaders’ Consultation, they wanted it limited to the members of the Leaders’ Committee plus Abdiqassim (24+1 formula) but the alliance of leaders associated with Abdiqassim insisted on broader representation. Eventually, after two postponements and an IGAD communiqué threatening leaders who boycotted the meeting with unspecified repercussions, the Leaders’ Consultations went ahead in January 2004 with the aim of resolving disputes over how federalism would be implemented, parliament selection; the duties of the president, prime minister and parliamentary speaker; and a ceasefire and monitoring mechanism.

#### **4.15 The Character and Skills of IGAD as a Mediator**

The international support given to the IGAD peace process afforded IGAD legitimacy and enabled it to communicate and convince the Somalia government and warring factions to come to the negotiating table. Article 33 of the charter of the United Nations states that “the

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<sup>121</sup>10th IGAD summit, October 2003

parties to any dispute, the continuance which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall first seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangement or other peaceful means of their choice further, Chapter VIII, Article 52 and 53 affirms that the security council may utilize such regional arrangement agencies to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes on the initiatives of the parties concerned or by reference from the security council.<sup>122</sup>

Thus it can be argued that from the very inception of the IGAD driven peace in 15<sup>th</sup> October 2002, the authority was accorded legitimacy and support by the international community including the United Nations. it is instructive to note that throughout the mediation exercise none of the concerned actor ever questioned the legitimacy of IGAD to mediate in the conflict; rather most of the critics of IGAD's position as a regional organization gave it a *Locus Standi* and enabled it to communicate with the parties finally bring about the formation of TFG.

#### **4.16 Conclusion**

The signing of the Cessation of Hostilities by 24 signatories was a clear indication that IGAD was now trying to upgrade this agreement to a ceasefire. However, the IGAD-led talks are poised for failure because their main achievements have been stage-managed rather than substantive. Several Somali leaders have walked out and most others seem to have disowned the agreements they signed. The situation inside the country is becoming more tense and polarized, threatening renewed conflict, and regional powers are divided over the process. The broader international community remains sceptical and diverted by other crises.

For IGAD to press ahead and declare a transitional government under such circumstances would amount to the kind of disingenuous quick fix that has failed Somalia so

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<sup>122</sup> Charter of the United Nations

often in the past. It could conceivably trigger a new round of violence, leaving Somalis worse off than if the talks had never happened. A number of corrective measures are required urgently if the talks are to be salvaged. The road map that the IGAD ministers are to work on in May should address the regional organization's own internal divisions; persuading Somali leaders – including traditional elders, representatives of civil society, Islamic Organizations and (perhaps most importantly) private sector leaders to attend the talks; and putting in place mechanisms to ensure genuine Somali ownership of the process. IGAD also needs to show leadership on enforcing the UN arms embargo and establishing a targeted sanctions regime.

The international community has a responsibility as well. The U.S. and EU should urgently dispatch envoys to the region to assist rival governments in harmonizing their objectives and tactics in Somalia. The Security Council must give the process some leverage by creating an enforcement mechanism for the arms embargo and imposing targeted sanctions against recalcitrant faction leaders. In other words, it is time for IGAD's leaders and their international partners to bite the Somali bullet. They must summon the collective leadership and determination to reinvigorate the peace process and address damaging differences among the neighboring states. Such commitments are long overdue.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This study sought to provide the summary of the findings and also it gives conclusions and recommendations of the objectives of the study. The objectives of this study were to examine the peacemaking by the five Africa sub-regional Organizations, examine the IGAD's mediation in Somalia conflicts, and also examine the role of Somali women in peace-building and reconciliation. The study set out to test two hypotheses; first, the continuation of conflicts in Somalia is partly attributed to weakness in intervention approaches to resolve the conflict and secondly, the conflicting interest of various actors in Somalia contributes to lack of significant progress in resolving the Somali conflict.

#### **5.1 Summary and Discussion of Study Findings**

The study has shown that the support given to IGAD by international actors, the United Nations and major western countries formed through the IGAD Partners Forum (IPF), comprising the African Union, Denmark, Egypt, European Union, Italy, League of Arab States, Norway, Sweden, UK, USA, and the UN Political Office for Somalia gave the organization a moral standing with warring factions. The study also found out that in an effort to reconcile the TNG with its SRRC adversaries, IGAD in eastern Africa launched a fresh national reconciliation process before the TNG mandate had ended. This process eventually developed into a sixth major Somali reconciliation meeting, the Somali national reconciliation conference, held in Eldoret, Kenya in October 2002. It produced a ceasefire agreement signed by 24 faction leaders stipulating the need to create a federal structure, reversing the unitary structure established at Arta. The 15<sup>th</sup> Somali national reconciliation conference (SNRC) was held in Nairobi, Kenya, in September 2003. The initiative to

convene the conference was endorsed by the IGAD summit of 2003 and supported by the AU, The Arab league and the UN. All the conference, the TNG and the SRRC were reconciled, and a new united movement subsequently developed, dubbed the transitional federal government (TFG).

The critical combination of the OAU shortcomings, on one side, and the appalling African situation on the other side seem to have necessitated that sub-regional Organizations play vital role in their respective sub-regions. African regional and sub-regional Organizations have been called upon to lead in providing security and conflict management either in the form of conflict prevention and mediation or civilian or military intervention or post-conflict peace building. These regional groupings were initially meant to provide opportunities for establishing sustainable economic growth. However, contemporary regionalism in Africa has seen these Organizations change their mandates to cover security issues that include conflict and peace management. The conflicts in Africa require proactive response strategies. The reality is that unless the conflicts that have pervaded different sub-regions of the continent are resolved, there would be no hope for the lofty goals of economic integration, development and prosperity. IGAD's role in this regard cannot be understated as will be observed within this study. It should receive continued support from the governments of the region as they all strive to increase regional capacity to handle matters of conflict management.

The study observed that throughout the negotiations process that has lasted more than twelve years, neither belligerent ever questioned IGAD's mandate to legitimacy that enabled Somalia to communicate effectively with and to convince the Somalia government and the warlords to come to the negotiating table. Without this support it would have been very difficult for the government of Somalia to back the mediation efforts. As observed by Zartmen, the entry of the third party actors as mediations in the international is perceived by states as affording legitimacy to the grievances of the warlords, hence its unwillingness to entertain mediation as an option. The different warring factions'

acceptance of IGAD as mediator, it can be inferred afforded warlords leaders legitimacy as the valid spokes hears on for the soothers; it was also undoubtedly difficult for the warring factions to go outside the IGAD frame work when most members of the international community asserted that it had the responsibility to end the conflict.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

IGAD played and still do play a major role in the Somalia peace process from 2002 up to date culminating in the signing of the ceasefire agreement by 24 faction leaders stipulating the need to create a federal structure, reversing the unitary structure established at Arta. The 15<sup>th</sup> Somali national reconciliation conference (SNRC) which was held in Nairobi, Kenya, September 2003. The support given by IGAD made it possible, since from 9 to 29 January 2004 a conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya, at which the transitional federal government developed further. A document was signed by the major factions, titled declaration on the harmonization of various issued proposed by the Somali delegates at the Somali consultative meetings from 9-29 January 2004. The agreement called for the establishment of transitional federal institutions as well as election of a president in 2004, and finally the granting of the vote of confidence to a prime minister and the establishment of a transitional federal government (TFG) in early 2005.

Among all conflicts in the sub-regions, the Somali inter- and intra-state conflicts are cruel and unique. In Somalia, there is no central government for the last over twenty years that resulted the civil war. It has different consequences in Somalia and its neighbor states like the problems of refugees, the rise of different terrorist groups, and the problem of piracy among others. Consequently, the IGAD is trying to resolve these devastating conflicts in cooperation with the international community. These include, cooperation with the AU in conflict resolution, IGAD peace making mission in Somalia the establishment of Liaison Office to the AU in cooperation with IGAD, and also supporting regional efforts.

However, IGAD could not resolve these conflicts effectively because of the rivalry and conflict between member states extended into Somalia and the aggravated situation, lack of acute personnel in the IGAD and also lack of experiences in conflict resolution. Obviously, IGAD is the combination of its member states that are engulfed in inter- and intra-state conflicts. They intervened in the internal affairs of one another, supporting irredentist groups, and spoiling their relations. These problems could weaken IGAD in playing a meaningful role in conflict resolution. There has been evidenced failure of IGAD in conflict resolution that is attributed to the unpaid financials contribution from its members in time.

This means that IGAD has to depend on the foreign donors and this hampers its performances in all priority areas. The pursuance of sovereign to reign supreme within the IGAD has also continued to place some constraints on the IGAD action in the conflict resolution. It would be unfair to reprove the IGAD or to evaluate and scrutinize the activities of the organizations in the abstract when it is member states who decide on its structure, character, functions and resource. The IGAD member states will need to eradicate all problems and require coordination, long term engagement and commitment among themselves in conflict resolution effectively.

It is evident that the TFG and the opposition have invited foreign help in their effort to defeat their adversaries. As stated by John Prendergast in 2006, a senior advisor with the International Crisis Group, the frequent interventions in Somalia have contributed to double standards among political factions, which secretly look for outside support but publicly decry 'foreign influence'. The Islamic militias have rallied their supporters by condemning Sheikh Sharif's government and saying that he is a Western stooge out to fight Islam. The US accuses the insurgents of harboring al-Qaeda leaders responsible for the twin suicide bombings at the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam in 1998.

There are a number of issues that color and punctuate the Somali crisis. These include political leadership and control; the tagging of the internal players as warlords; forms of Islam – i.e. fundamentalists versus moderates; clan-based politics; and national, regional and international interests, which in certain cases lead to proxy wars. Whereas in the past, clan politics and rivalry among the various warlords fuelled and entrenched the conflict, in recent times the crisis has increasingly taken the shape of a conflict among groups that allegedly advance different forms of Islam. This is particularly due to the steady gain in power and influence of the so-called hardliners, which has raised fears of an emerging Taliban-style regime in Somalia. There is a set of linked conflicts and problems within the Horn of Africa that attract greater international attention and are connected to the local conflicts. But what seem to be driving the current situation in Somalia is local rivalries and regional- and international-based interests.

As a result of these regional security puzzles, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, have had a historical security presence in Somalia. All four countries have supported or fought armed groups inside Somalia. Neighboring states have also harbored groups that have rebelled against various rulers in Mogadishu. At times, external interventions in Somalia have been carried out due to a need to fight domestic groups harbored in Somalia. At other times external interventions have been conducted to steer dynamics inside Somalia in a neighbor-friendly direction. Thus, Somalia has been used as a proxy theatre. There have been persistent internal peace spoilers, for instance the Al Shabaab and other militia groups who are against the government. This doesn't rule out the effort being made by Civil Society and Somali women in restoring peace in the country.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

Several recommendations can be made from the findings of the study. First, the study recommends that there is need to institutionalize conflicts management institutions within

sub-regional Organization, so that they do not operate on adhoc basis. Through such efforts they can always be on standby alert to mediate in conflict if and when the time comes that they are needed. There is need for sub-regional organization to develop a funding strategy to be independent and self-supporting. the Somalia peace process demonstrates that the reliance on donors can be problematic as either the donors push their own agendas and sometimes not be depended on to provide funds at critical times in the negotiations at potential of destabilizing negotiations at critical moments in any peace process.

There is need for IGAD member states to establish a funding kit that can ever sustain IGAD. This will reduce IGAD reliance on the foreign donors and that comes with a number of strings attached that has hampering its performances in all priority areas. The pursuance of sovereign to reign supreme within the IGAD has also continued to place some constraints on the IGAD action in the conflict resolution. It would be unfair to reprove the IGAD or to evaluate and scrutinize the activities of the organizations in the abstract when it is member states who decide on its structure, character, functions and resource. The IGAD member states need to eradicate all problems and require coordination, long term engagement and commitment among themselves in conflict resolution effectively.

The flames from a burning house affect all the neighbors, and the regional countries have a genuine stake in Somali affairs. However, their role must be a positive one for the overall political stability of the Horn of Africa region. The existing animosity between Eritrea and Ethiopia continues to contribute to the further destabilization of the region by undermining peace and reconciliation efforts in Somalia through the extension of support to different groups involved in the conflict. This underscores the IGAD/EU position, namely that the normalization of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea would contribute significantly to stability and development in the Horn of Africa. Furthermore this has created a lay way for militia groups like Al Shabaab to enhance insecurity in the horn of Africa.

The international actors, including the regional and neighboring states should map out the Somali conflict and come up with a single approach targeting a holistic resolution to the conflict. Although bilateral approaches can complement the international effort, conflict of interest may arise in the process, which can possibly prolong the conflict lifetime. In this case, any attempt to resolve the crisis in Somalia should be regarded as part of the broader interest of the international community and such process should be inclusive of all relevant stakeholders, which are involved or mapped in the entire conflict. In sum, it should be understood that resolving the Somali conflict is equivalent to bringing peace in the threatened neighbors, the region and beyond the horn of Africa.

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Map

**Fig:4.1.1 IGAD Map**