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Horn of Africa: Transforming Itself from a Culture of War into a Culture of Peace

HORN OF AFRICA: TRANSFORMING ITSELF FROM A CULTURE OF WAR INTO CULTURE OF PEACE

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SOMALIA INTERNATIONAL
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Nicklas Svensson is project manager of the Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre. Nicklas graduated in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University in Massachusetts. He also owns a master degree in political science from Lund University. He specializes in conflict management, good governance, and economic development. He has worked with refugee issues, development of information and communication technology in developing countries, private sector development, as well as conflict management issues in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East.

Acknowledgement

This conference report is the result of all the scholars and practitioners who came together in August 2004 for a conference entitled, “Horn of Africa: Transforming itself from a culture of war into a culture of peace” in Lund in Sweden, and sponsored chiefly by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Forum Syd, as well as the City of Lund. It is a part of ongoing conferences arranged by Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre (SIRC).

We want to send our warmest condolences to the family of Professor Anders Närman, who suddenly and very sadly passed away in 2004. Professor Närman inspired us with his enthusiasm and knowledge of Eastern Africa and civil society. He will be greatly missed.

Many people contributed to this report. Our thanks must go first of all to the Mayor of Lund, Larry Andow, who generously supported and hosted the conference. We also want to thank Lund University, Olof Palme International Center, Folkuniversitetet in Lund, and ABF in Lund, for their contribution to enable all the bits and pieces of this conference.

Special thanks to Ambassador Count Pieterson, who chaired the conference. Thanks also to Professor Håkan Wiberg of Danish Institute for International Studies, who chaired the workshop on “Eritrea and Ethiopia”, Professor Arne Ardeberg of Lund University, for chairing the workshop on “Somalia and Sudan”, Professor Janis Grobbelaar of University of Pretoria for chairing the workshop on “Human rights and democracy”, and finally to Professor Maxi Schoeman of University of Pretoria, who chaired the workshop entitled “Decent society”.

As organizer, SIRC is grateful to our Horn of African partners in Lund, which offered authentic Horn of African lunches, showed Horn of African art exhibition and culture event. Special thanks go to Dr. Kamal Jamil, Rahel Haile, and Ahmed Ali, who arranged music and dance.

Finally, we wish to thank our participants and contributors for their interest and enthusiasm in pursuing the work of a peaceful Horn of Africa. It is our common hope that those participating at the conference will learn and do the work of reconciliation in the region. The contributors to this report, the editor and the Chairman of Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre all hope that these writings will focus deserved scholarly and policy attention upon and provide appropriate assistance to the region.

Introduction speech, SIRC Chairman Abdillahi Jama

Dear ladies and gentlemen,

We thank each one of you for accepting our invitation and for your participation to the conference!

Together with Horn of Africa scholars and with local Horn of African associations in Lund, Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre (SIRC) has arranged this third annual peace conference on Horn of Africa for year 2004.

The previous two conferences in 2002 and 2003 have been very successful in creating needed trust and confidence among participants to meet and discuss both difficult and painful subjects. It is therefore now the responsibility for the organizers to nurture this unique development for the stakeholders in the Horn of Africa. It is of vital importance to match the recent developments in the Horn of Africa towards peace and stability with comprehensive peace-building measures. The last two conferences have been aimed to encourage such positive trends.

In 2003, the Somali conference on peace- and reconciliation moved through many difficult phases and is currently closer than ever to form a broad based interim government hopefully representing the Somali people.

Sudan has been the battlefield for one of the bloodest conflicts in Africa. However, in the last year, the Sudanese Government held peace talks with the Sudan's People Liberation Army (SPLA) to reach a peace agreement. The two parties have agreed on cease-fire, and on number of key areas. It is currently expected to move towards the final comprehensive stage for a peace agreement. We hope and trust that the problem in Darfur will end as well and peace will prevail in that region.

In late 2000, only seven years after Eritrea declared its independence from Ethiopia, Ethiopia and Eritrea signed a second peace agreement after two years of war. Disputes over the border demarcation still however continue, and the peace process could be endangered.

These developments are mostly positive, but they are also extremely fragile.
SIRC and its partners have therefore decided to entitle the conference in 2004: ***Can Horn of Africa transform itself from a culture of war into a culture of peace?***

In 1997, United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on *Culture of Peace*. The resolution notes: "To save future generations from the scourge of war requires transformation towards a culture of peace, which consists of values, attitudes and behaviors that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, human rights, tolerance and solidarity, and that reject violence and endeavor to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations".

On the basis of the UN Resolution, SIRC believes therefore it was needed to hold this three-day conference to discuss the challenges of transformation from war towards a culture of peace in the Horn of Africa.

The conference aims to:

- Offer an opportunity to explore how a transformation from a culture of war to peace through reconciliation can take place in the Horn of Africa.

- Offer an opportunity to bring in ideas for reconciliation on regional, national and local level.

- Promote a dialogue among participants on transforming the Horn of Africa towards a culture of peace, based on the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, human rights, tolerance and solidarity.

- Discuss appropriate methods for dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations to promote culture of peace.

Last May, 2003, Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre (SIRC) with collaboration of Horn of African scholars and Eritrean, Ethiopian, Somali, and Sudanese associations in Lund carried out a successful three-day conference entitled: Horn of Africa Conference – No Development Without Peace.

Main recommendations for the year 2003 conference were:

- An enhanced role of the Swedish Government in the Somali peace process. (This recommendation has been fulfilled. The Swedish Government strongly supports the Somali Peace Process in Nairobi, Kenya)
- Establishment of a Euro-Horn Civic Network (The Horn of Africa & international scholars will have meeting this evening at Concordia Hotel to establish the network)
- Local programs for strengthening the capacity building for women issues. The conference expects that Horn of Africa Governments implement projects and policies focusing on these issues.

The conference report for 2003 was sent to a number of universities, institutions, international organizations, governments. Among these are Horn of Africa governments through their embassies, Inter-Governmental Authority On Development IGAD, African Union, United Nations, European Union and Swedish Government.

We hope the distinguished participants will concentrate on searching paths of peace and will make positive inputs that creates atmosphere of understanding, trust and academic exchange that will encourage and promote Horn of Africa peace and sustainable development.

The City of Lund which is committed to the promotion of Horn of Africa peace building has provided the conference a wonderful venue. It is great honour for us to call upon the Mayor of the City of Lund, Honourable Larry Andow, to open the conference.

Thank you!

Opening remarks made by Mayor of the City of Lund Honourable Larry Andow

Distinguished guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As Mayor of Lund, it is an honour and a pleasure for me, to welcome you all to our City and to your Congress.

The world of today is really concerned about Africa's Horn. Internal as well as cross-border conflicts are very important to solve in a human and peaceful way, to secure a safe life for millions of people. I am happy that Sweden contributes to promote peace, human rights, health and education in the area.

Lund is one of the oldest cities in the Nordic Countries –more than 1.000 years old!
We have about 35.000 (?) students at the university in a city with 100.000 inhabitants. That gives our city a fresh and young look.

This combination of old and young gives Lund a special atmosphere: "The Spirit of Lund". I am convinced that you will feel it during your visit!

I hope you during your stay will have the possibility to walk in our city centre, to visit the Cathedral and get a little taste of Lund.

I hope you will like our city –and that you will return in the future. You are always welcome here!

Lund is very often refereed to as "The City of Ideas". It is a multicultural city full of life, with an innovative trade and industry. It is a meeting place of artists, writers, actors and musicians. It is a wonderful place to discover, live in and meet in. Here you can with success exchange thoughts, ideas and knowledge.

International well-known companies like Tetra Pak, Ericsson, Gambro and Alfa-Laval are situated here.

The Research Park Ideon has generated over 500 companies, mainly within information technology, telecommunications and biotechnology.

For an international Conference, such as yours, I think Lund can offer very good conditions.
We appreciate very much your presence and we hope you will have successful discussions.
I will personally, with the greatest interest, follow your discussions and conclusions.

And I will have the privilege and honour to invite a delegation from you to a reception this evening. Good luck with your Conference,

Welcome to Lund and enjoy your visit in our city!

Introduction

The Horn of Africa is today a region looking at both opportunities and challenges. The region is currently moving away from including states at the bottom of the scale of political, economic and social stability, towards failed and weak states[1]. For many states in the Horn of Africa, the way forward is closely related to the interrelationship between leaders and citizens. As many papers in this Report outlines, the role of leaders is pivotal for a peaceful development.

In the last year, both the Sudan and Somalia have moved closer to end civil wars. The 21-year-old war between North and South Sudan, claiming more than 2 million lives since 1980s, have recently reached an end, with a final agreement to share power, petroleum revenues, and cease fighting. Meanwhile, the Government of the Sudan has since mid-2003 clashed with Darfurian rebel groups. The United Nations and the world's major powers have demanded that the Darfurian massacres cease. The Sudan must therefore see itself working on two fronts. One must focus on resolving the violence in Darfur and find a sustainable resolution to the conflict. The second front must focus on the critical necessary political, social, and economic reconstruction of the entire nation, and particularly the South. This Report sheds light on these two challenges.

The 14-year-old civil war in Somalia has brought the country to a collapse, with security equated with the rule of the strong. We have witnessed a Somalia in the hands of warlords. They have built up their own local security apparatuses and mechanisms, sanctioned markets and other trading arrangements. Meanwhile, there is a glimpse of hope. A newly elected government was formed in early 2005, with the goal to relocate to Mogadishu from Nairobi by February. However, it is still too early to embrace the achievements in the peace conference, until they are translated into real success on the ground in Somalia.

Eritrea and Ethiopia ended their latest war in 2000. The parties signed the Algiers Agreement, which led to the Eritrean-Ethiopian Boundary Commission (EEBC) to solve outstanding issues. Today more than four years after the signing, the tension between the two countries is at its peak, and a spectre of war is haunting the peoples of the two countries.

With this brief overview, we have still excluded many less known conflicts within and between the countries in the Horn of Africa. As this Report outlines, Horn of Africa is in great need for transforming itself from a culture of war to a culture of peace. When SIRC decided to arrange a third conference on Horn of Africa, it was with the strong belief that there is a great need for addressing the causes and consequences of war, but also to find a way forward. As the Report notes there is no single solution to the region. Each conflict is unique, and needs to be treated as such. It is vital, at this moment with a window of opportunity, to start building peace in the right order. SIRC believes in a holistic approach to keeping peace going beyond military and security priorities to address issues of governance, democratic legitimacy, social inclusion, and economic equity. The particular challenge of civil wars, mentioned above, is time. Peacebuilding needs time. We need to ask ourselves how can peace stabilize, deepen, and become more irreversible rather than less. This Report serves as a brilliant contribution to how peace can be built in war-torn societies in the Horn of Africa.

[1] Please see a broader discussion on collapsed, failed, weak and strong states in Robert Rotberg's book on "When States Fail: Causes and Consequences", Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

When SIRC drafted the programme for the conference, a focus was set on four major components, *truth versus justice, forgiveness, and reconciliation.* We wanted to understand them better and how they would fit post-conflict societies in the Horn of Africa. We believe the conference offered an opportunity to explore how a transformation from a culture of war to peace through reconciliation can take place in the Horn of Africa. We organized therefore four workshops complementing presented papers, to shed some light on different aspects of reconciliation in the different conflicts in the Horn of Africa. What lessons can be learned from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Is there any room for reconciliation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, if so how? Should justice be traded for truth to reach reconciliation? Does truth contribute more to reconciliation than justice? We asked each moderator to take notes of the discussion and provide us with some recommendations.

Workshop recommendations

Workshop participants found it difficult to identify concrete ideas for reconciliation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. They believed that a research project on root causes of the war between the countries with the aim to better understand how peace can be built could open up for an opportunity of cooperation. They stressed the importance to create an environment allowing the parties not to lose face, and not putting the blame on one side. It would only provide new seeds of disagreement. One must replace a search for the guilty by a search for consensus. Instead one should open to differences of interests and opinions, but try to emphasize common benefits. It is critical to promote solutions offering at least something for all parties, even previous offenders. They argued initiatives should aim at a gradual process of increasing understanding, with fostering co-existence in a first phase. Throughout this process, the role of women has to be enhanced. A first step, take the advice of women and increase their role in the peace-building process.

Workshop participants also raised many questions. They were concerned about the difficulties in creating a successful environment for reconciliation. In particular, they had difficulties in setting up a model for justice. When and how is retribution versus restorative justice the best solution? For this reason, they argued it is important to incorporate all actors in the negotiations. But it raised another question: what is to be negotiated, everything? We must therefore understand that the context is critical for negotiation and the process leading toward post-conflict reconstruction.

Workshop participants also stressed the importance of leadership and education. Leaders must take their responsibility throughout the conflict resolution process, as well as creating legitimacy for their actions. Furthermore, legitimacy can only be built if leaders recognize, respect and fulfill human rights principles. Social justice is a necessity for lasting peace. First then is there a chance for reconciliation. A society must offer decent education, without any negative propaganda. A society must be able to deliver health services, without any discrimination. Workshop participants noted how critical it is to develop indicators measuring a country's performance against a set of accepted benchmarks.

Peacebuilding: Looking Back Moving Forward

This conference report includes two sets of chapters, the first on the nature of peace building in the Horn of Africa, the second on the Ethiopian-Eritrean relationship. Dr. Tarekegn Adebo starts with a paper introducing some key tasks for post-conflict peace building and democracy. He gives a necessary introduction into key aspects of peace building, with a strong emphasize on transitional principles and institutional mechanisms to strengthen local

empowerment. He divides the peace building process into three phases, dialogue – implementation – and consolidation phase. All phases must connect to change, trust and legitimacy. He then argues for the importance to design appropriate idea-institutional framework that enables peaceful life for all. Such a framework must include democratic principles, human rights instruments and society's positive traditional or cultural heritage in consonance with the realization of freedom, equality and solidarity. Dr. Adebo sees three major institutional areas for people on regional and local level. First he points out the importance of civil society to build peace. Second, he stresses people-to-people peacemaking and reconciliation. Finally, he states that democracy and human rights have to be reflected in research and education. In this context, local governance must be a top priority of post-conflict research, education and practice.

Dr. Janis Grobbelaar brings us to a discussion on *what lessons can be learned from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)*? She argues that context, infrastructure, as well as the nature and organization of TRC are essential when trying to understand why and how TRC was set up. First of all, one must understand that South Africa was in transition to democracy when negotiation for a settlement around the Apartheid started. Negotiations resulted in individual amnesty was made available to facilitate a restorative rather retributive settlement. Amnesty would be granted to individual applicants in return for the full and truthful revelation of omissions and offenses associated with political objectives and committed in the context of the conflicts of the past, Dr. Grobbelaar argued. She adds it was believed that reconciliation between the South African people was possible through truth telling and truth gathering. Dr. Grobbelaar thinks the international community helped creating a myth around TRC, which has not served the truth commission project well, or building democracy in post-conflict societies. She ends her paper noting that the expectations for truth commissions are almost always greater than what these bodies can ever reasonable hope to achieve.

Dr. Ulf Johansson Dahre gives an illustration of the role of reconciliation in peace building, with a closer look at Somalia. Dr. Dahre Johansson raises two questions initially: is it a good thing that reconciliation is most about psychological healing through dialogue? What about retribution and re-establishing the rule of law? He argues that dialogue and forgiveness are not the only options, and may not even be the best options to restore social bonds and trust in a fragmented society, like in Somalia. Instead he thinks that legitimate judicial institutions and the rule of law can help people begin the work needed to deal with the trauma of civil war and/or ethnic cleansing. He offers then a departure from reconciliation, and suggests coexistence as an option. He points out that coexistence only demands an acceptable truth for the society to move on, as opposed to reconciliation through dialogue raises too many issues. He asks how do we deal with competing truths or visions of the future society and whose truth we should heed.

Dr. Amira Awad Osman adds another greatly important theme to the Report. Her topic focuses on engendering peace process and peace reconstruction. She takes a closer look at the Sudan. In her paper, she brings up the impact of war on women, a gender perspective on war, and lastly the role of women in peace processes and peace reconstruction. To better understand the impact on women, she illustrates her analysis by looking at the Sudan Fist of all, the impact is multidimensional. It ranges from the lack of health services to be extremely exposed while caring for daily needs and domestic work such as finding water and fuel. In addition, there is always the great danger of sexual exploitation and violence. She thinks it would be simplistic and misleading to view all men as violators and war makers and to see all

women as opposed to war. Dr. Osman has several suggestions for including women in formal peace initiatives. First, she sees a need for gender awareness campaigns. Second, women need to enhance their own organizational capacity. Lastly, she demands the peace process to eliminate all forms of oppression and discrimination. In the post-conflict reconstruction phase, women's needs have to be integrated. They should be included in the process. As conclusion, she points out that the civil war in the Sudan had a significant gender dimension. Many were killed, abducted or raped. She notes that women realized they had to create their own initiatives for peace building at the grassroots level.

Dr. Redie Berekteab outlines his in this paper how peace presupposes a number of sequential steps. First, parties and stakeholders need to identify commonalities across the political spectrum, as well as across social and ethnic boundaries within a political boundary. The step next step is to consolidate them to transform them into common goods, values and assets for the whole region. To illustrate his thinking, he has designed a model. First, one identifies commonalities from a material and cultural perspective. Second, one needs to identify mechanisms and social actors with the ability to translate the commonalities into reality. The Horn of Africa owns enough natural resource endowments to build a peaceful existence and cooperation. We know it has often been a constraint rather than an enabling factor, Dr. Redie Berekteab notes. He states that if countries can complement each other, which they often can, then they have common stakes, which opens up the chance for reduction of hostility and building a peaceful society in coexistence. He refers to democratization as a mechanism for translating commonalities and common stakes into positive outcomes. He also believes in IGAD and civil society to play critical roles in transforming the commonalities into common goods.

From here, Dr. Håkan Wiberg takes us to a discussion on social processes and issues of causality. He asks how democracy and peace are related to each other. Since civil war is for most part the major category of wars, he provides us with some highly interesting statistical data. Dr. Wiberg states that the poorer a state is, the greater the risk of civil war (a minor exception is that civil war becomes less frequent in a small group of the most extremely poor states, perhaps indicating a lack of resources to wage war with). The more a state is dependent on the export of primary goods, the greater the risk; oil and diamonds seem to be among the particularly risky goods in this respect. The longer time that has passed since achieving independence, the lower is the risk. And the longer time that has passed since the last civil war, the lower the risk. He concludes stating that if the Horn of African countries manage to become far more democratic than now, the likelihood for war between them will decrease. Third, this process, or at least an early part of it, will spell increased risk of civil war, especially if it also means a decisive weakening of the fabrics of these states. In the long run, democracy means less war, whereas in the short run democratization has to be carried out cautiously in order not to increase the risks.

Dr. Anders Närman takes us back to Dr. Berekteab's discussion on social actors. Dr. Närman's focus is the role of civil society. For the Horn of Africa, civil society plays a vital and critical role for building peace and development, as governments might neither exist nor reach out to all citizens. He provides us with a socio-economic outlook of the region. The results are striking. On average all countries score low, which raises questions about the governments' legitimacy. Dr. Närman turns then to the political conditions in the region, with a special focus on human rights and governance. Analyzing the conditions for civil society, he points out emerging issues for them, such as governments are complicating for NGOs by restricting their ability to carry out activities.

Moving from a rather general approach to civil society, Dr. Salah Al Bander provides us with an elaborative picture of the socio-political forces in the Sudan. He aims to contribute to the better understanding of modalities of the safe passage to a post-conflict Sudan. He explores in particular the primary link between the rising hegemony of the military establishment on the polity within trajectories of national security, reconstruction of civil society and sustainable development. Dr. Al Bander argues that for any credible alternatives advocating sustainable peace, sustainable democracy and social justice the tripartite dependence and the right balance between these three elements should be considered seriously.

On the topic of the Sudan, Dr. Mohamed Abusabib offers a discussion on Sudanese nationalism. He notes there are three aspects of Sudanese crisis: the political, the economic, and the cultural aspects, of which he focus on the latter. His aim is therefore to stress the question of identity as central to the cultural aspect of the crisis, and to ask why identity turned out to be a crisis. He takes a closer look at the role of the Arabic identity in the Nile Valley. He argues that the institutionalization of the Arabic identity as well as Islam has taken place at the expense of the rest of the cultures in the country. His analysis is based on three examples: politics, education and media/music.

Changing the focus from the Sudan to Somalia, D.Phil. candidate Christian Webersik offers an analysis of the political structure in Somalia. He argues that the desire to form a government based on clan is not always a genuine one. Instead, he argues, the Somali Peace Process offers political leaders an opportunity to tap into new sources of wealth. Based on his observations of the peace process, he notes that one of the reasons why everybody is willing to compromise is because nobody can survive without the assistance from outside. So it is better to reconcile. Meanwhile, he points out that land and property are major issues to the peace process. With reference to the committee for land disputes and property right's, D.Phil. Webersik notes that farmland, pastoral land, residential or business property, to be the root of the conflict between colonists and the Somalis, and also among the Somalis themselves in the civil war.

From here Dr. Mohamed Abdi Mohamed "Gandhi" gives us a very close and detailed picture of the Somali peace talks in Kenya. Dr. "Gandhi" has followed the peace talks closer than many other observers. He notes that reconciliation has to be undertaken at several levels beginning within the government structures, and then in Somalia. Regional actors have to reconcile as well, as they have through IGAD a critical impact on Somalia. He concludes for successful transition from war to peace, Somalia needs to emphasize professionalism, competency and other relevant capacities as specified by the charter.

Another close observer is Peter Marwa of IGAD, who notes the importance of IGAD for the Somali peace process. Due to IGAD's organizational limitations, he argues the organization only has the capacity to be involved in two conflicts of 17 in the region. The Somali peace process is in particular critical because of the lack of international attention and engagement. In his conclusion, he raises five critical challenges to the peace process: cohesiveness and the sustainability of the Somali government; the security of the capital; the disarmament and reintegration of armed factions; the need for building structures and institutions; and the role of reconciliation inside Somalia.

The conference was also attended by the Sudanese Ambassador Zeinab Mohamed Mahmoud. She stressed it is critical to explore strategies for strengthening the culture of peace and

deepening its roots in the Horn of Africa region and to set up tools for the prevention of recurring conflicts. A viable solution to the predicament of continuous ethnic strife is regional integration in the Horn of Africa, she notes. The region should therefore forge a regional identity as an instrument to remove disruptive patterns of the past with an exclusive focus on exclusive identities. Ambassador Zeinab Mohamed Mahmoud applauds the importance of IGAD as instrumental in the restoration of peace in the Horn of Africa. It is therefore vital to strengthen the framework of regional integration in the Horn of Africa. The government of Sudan has devised a plan of action for implementation during the transition to a post-conflict society, for the rehabilitation of Southern Sudan and Darfur. It is a priority for the Sudanese government to build necessary infrastructure, to provide vital services, and to promote reconstruction and voluntary return of displaced persons. She concludes by noting the region must find ways to terminate all forms of marginalization to achieve total grassroots participation and to enhance the role of women in development.

The last paper in Part I is a contribution of Dr. Ali Moussa Iye. He points out some political obstacles, the ideological snares and the psychological reflexes. More specifically, they are the use of mythologies on the origin of the Horn of African people; the perpetuation of a zero-sum mentality; the obsession with territory; and the feudal mentality and political cultures. From here, he notes the need to develop a new kind of exchange and dialogue between intellectuals from the region to build and enhance mutual understanding and solidarity. As a mechanism or instrument for this, he suggests an establishment of a centre of anticipative studies and regional integration in the Horn of Africa. This initiative could facilitate regular exchanges and debates between intellectuals and scholars. An anticipative approach has been used successfully to knit together social fabric, seeking reconciliation and creating a common vision in fragmented post-conflict societies in South Africa, Colombia and Guatemala. Dr. Ali Moussa Iye offers a very detailed plan outlining programmes of activities.

Peacebuilding: Ethiopia-Eritrean relations

Dr. Bertil Egerö starts the second part with a paper introducing a brief history of the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia. His paper seeks to expose and reflect on the history of relations in the area that are linked to the eventual emergence of Eritrea as an independent nation and its relations to the Ethiopian state and nation. His purpose is to bring attention factors of the past that need debate and clarification as part of the work to bring joint understanding of the conflict.

Dr. Zemenfes Tsighe provides a highly detailed description of relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia after the Algiers Agreement in 2002. First, he outlines the causes of the war of 1998, and moves into a discussion on the aftermath of the Algiers Agreement. Then, he outlines the process for peace building. He points out that the first step towards building durable is the realization by the regime in Addis Ababa that there is no substitute for peace. The second step is the speedy and unconditional implementation of the Algiers Agreement and observance of international laws. Dr. Zemenfes Tsighe notes some issues that both countries have to resolve in accordance with the Algiers Agreement, such as depoliticizing border issues. In addition, there are some fundamental problems to which both countries need to be sensitive. For example, quest of power, hegemonic leadership, and other forms of competition that undermine stability and bilateral relations. He also notes the importance of IGAD for conflict prevention, management and resolution in the Horn of Africa.

Dr. Kinfe Abraham contrasts Dr. Zemenfes Tsighe, as he reflects on Ehio-Eritrean conflict, from an Ethiopian perspective. He examines the nature of verdict of the Border Commission

in April 2002 and why both countries have responded to it in significantly divergent manners. First, he takes a close look at the controversy over Badme, followed by observations of reactions by both countries. After examining both public and popular reactions in each country, he analyses the probability and possible consequences of another war. He notes that the hardened stance of the two countries does not auger well for a smooth transition from the delimitation exercise to the demarcation process. It is in the light of this that an innovative political engineering should be sought out of the stalemate.

Dr. Martin Hill examines the 1998-2000 border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea and presents a strategy for a broad strategy promoting peace and reconciliation. He puts forward a human rights perspective on the war and its causes and consequences. He notes that the threat of a new outbreak of hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea requires close attention and preventive action by the international community. Furthermore, he also notes issues of human rights and justice are integral to long-term objectives of conflict resolution, democratization and development in both countries. He concludes with proposing a strategy for conflict-avoidance and reconciliation.

Fowsia Abdulkadir examines the root causes of human rights violations in the Somali region of Ethiopia, also known as Ogaden. She focuses in particular on linking gender with conflict/crises and conflict resolution. She notes that efforts to resolve conflicts and addressing their root causes will not succeed unless women play a full and equal part in building the foundation of enduring peace. In her analysis, she highlights the vital role women can play in attaining a last peace in the region. Fowsia Abdulkadir concludes by recommending a gender based reconstruction strategy.

Dr. Abdi Ismail Samatar stays at the issue of human rights and democracy. He examines the political dynamics generated by Ethiopia’s division into ethnic regions. His research focuses the relationship between Ethiopia’s federal and regional authorities since the Tigray led regime came to power in 1991. His paper evaluates whether ethnic-based regional authorities have sufficient autonomy from the center to be accountable to local populations. He specifically, demonstrates that the central government's attempts to tightly control regional political processes undermine the essence of regional self-rule that the federal constitution mandates. Making the situation more precarious, inept regional elites waste opportunities to enhance regional autonomy. The evidence was gathered from the Somali region (Region 5) since 1995 and is mainly in the form of individual and groups interviews.

His paper consists of three parts. Part one sketches the forces involved in the initiation of Ethiopia's new federal system. It underscores the weakness of regional parties who were *invited* to the national conference that produced federal structure. The second section assesses political developments in Region 5 since the collapse of the old regime: It briefly summarizes the history of the region's liberation struggle, its relations with the Somali Republic, and highlights how the Somali military government (1969-1991) subjugated the population's desire for liberation to its agenda. This analysis is followed by an examination of the establishment of the Somali region in 1991 and the role federal authorities played in determining which Somali party led the regional administration. Despite an exceptional democratic transfer of power, federal authorities "indirectly" appointed the region's president; and the new ruling party made important changes in the ways the region was administered. The final section reflects on the consequences of fractious and inept local leadership and excessive federal intervention for regional autonomy and local democracy

Dr. Berhe Habte-Giorgis goes back to discuss the causes of war in the Horn of African region. He notes that war in the region causes widespread misery and destruction. He adds that wars in the region are results of unfinished de-colonization and attempts to maintain legacies of an anachronistic empire. In his paper, he focuses on the causes of conflicts and by doing so will attempt to direct attention at identifying the workable approaches to eliminating the wars in the region. He provides then an analysis of different conflicts in the region, with a particular focus on the role of Ethiopia for the other conflicts in the Horn of Africa. In his conclusion, he notes that a major source of conflict approaching zero-sum status is the issue of Nile waters.

The conference was also attended by the Ethiopian Minister Counselor Nuria Mohammed. She reflects on the general role of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa, and she states it is critical for Ethiopia to play an active role in peace building in the different Horn of African countries. She notes that Ethiopia's relations with the Sudan have shown significant progress from year to year. Meanwhile, she recognizes that Ethiopia's relation with Eritrea has not shown any positive development. She notes that the Border Commission's decision on the demarcation is fatally flawed, principally because no ground survey was carried out. The Border Commission is therefore, according to Ethiopian Minister Counsellor Nuria Mohammed negating the April 2002 decision. As a result, she underscores the need for comprehensive solution to the dispute, in accordance with the Algiers Agreement.

H.E. Ambassador Araya Desta of Eritrea provides us with some general reflections on conflicts in the region. On the Ethiopia-Eritrean relations, he notes that creating a substitute "mechanism will have no legality and cannot be acceptable. The decision of the Boundary Commission is final and binding in accordance with the Algiers Agreement. He then notes that the question of "dialogue" suggested by the Prime Minister of Ethiopia as an alternative to the Algiers Peace Treaty is also illegal. He adds that the State of Eritrea firmly believes that the issue of normalization of diplomatic relations or creation of an atmosphere of confidence building will follow once the demarcation is fully implemented on the ground in accordance with the decision of the Commission. Ambassador Araya Desta concludes if there is anything outside the Algiers Agreement, then it is only a dangerous ploy, which is intended to buy time or to try to fool Eritrea. For the sake of justice and peace, he argues, it is imperative that the United Nations live up to its Charter, principles and commitments.

PART I

Peacebuilding

Looking Back Moving Forward

PAPER 1

Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Prospect for Democracy
SomeKeyTasks

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Africa has embarked on a serious uphill journey struggling to shed its post-colonial authoritarian legacy, culture of violence and anarchy spread in many of its regions and moving towards democracy. Some call the trend a "renaissance" while others doubt if there is much substance to such claims while the continent is still saddled with grinding poverty, disease and foreign debt. Despite all odds, surely, major conflicts in the Continent are ebbing away.

An African Union document which introduced the emerging vision and mission of the newly reorganised body, summarises the main causes for Africa's problems as follows: "Distrust for constituted authority, corruption and impunity coupled with human rights abuses have kept Africa in a situation of conflict, thereby undermining all initiatives towards sustainable development."[2]

The political arena, which is responsible for society's overall leadership, is singled out as the primary source for the chaos Africa has experienced. No wonder this appears to be so when one considers that Africa experienced 186 coups d'état between 1956 and 2001, half of them occurring in the 1980s and 1990s alone[3].

Undeniably, Africa has seen rejuvenation and revival in recent years where countries rose from the ashes of crippling violence and despair and moved towards a peaceful course. Today too we see some glimpses of hope, albeit in the midst of despair, in Africa's Horn with the current positive trends of peace negotiations in Somalia and Sudan. The DRC is already struggling with post-conflict adjustments. All these areas are important in LPI's peacebuilding tasks. It is this optimistic trend which recently emboldened Gertrude Mongella, the Speaker of the first Pan African Parliament to assert: "We have hope that those pockets of conflict in Africa are its last."

There is a clear sign of hope, a sign to abandon violence and to pursue settlement through dialogue and power-sharing institutions. The aim of this discussion is to highlight at this juncture the importance of the post-conflict phase in peacebuilding - a phase "following armistice or peace agreement"[4] where as a rule, interests are pursued through dialogue and non-violent constructive means. In this discussion we touch upon some of the key tasks of the stage including key transitional principles and institutional mechanisms, the continued efforts of people-to-people reconciliation and the importance of the democratic choice, particularly the need to strengthen the institutions of local empowerment/government for lasting peace and development.

[2] The African Union Commission, Strategic Plan of the African Union Vol. 1 (Addis Ababa, 2004):14
[3] The African Union Commission, p. 14
[4] Alex P. Schmid, *Thesaurus and Glossary,* (London: FEWER, 2000):66

Conflict de-escalation and peace agreement

The term conflict has many meanings[5]. One earlier definition put it as "A struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources…"[6] The groups or the individuals involved, it is argued, may not only try to obtain the desired values but may try to neutralise, injure, or eliminate rivals. Others see conflict as "contests, competition, disputes, and tensions as well as manifest clashes between social forces." Still others see it as striving for goals and interests, which are "incompatible".

Wallesteen defines conflict "as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment an available set of scarce resources"[7] He identifies action, incompatibility, and actors as the key elements for analysis.

Peace researchers and practitioners believe conflicts, 'even intractable' ones, are 'solvable.' War being the most terrifying level of conflict; it can be avoided if conflicts were resolved at dialogue levels through reforms and accommodations.

Conflicts tend to escalate[8]. The stages of their progression are indicated as: a) **a discussion/dialogue stage** where the parties may disagree but work together; b**) polarisation** – a stage where parties distance themselves from each other; c) **segregation**- moving away from each other completely and d) a **destruction stage** – one of all out antagonism including violence and war among the parties.

Africa's Horn in many situations has lived through the horrific last stage over decades. Assefa, from his long experience in the area of peacebuilding blamed "Lack of political will" as a serious barrier "for taking action to creatively solve problems." And recounted: "I have at times felt that parties to conflict are like people who have dutifully constructed prisons for themselves, and upon finishing, they enter and lock themselves in. After that they scream with anguish about being trapped in prison. One would think that they could solve their problem since the key is in their hands. Strangely, even after someone comes to help them, they are reluctant to hand over the key so that they can be released."[9]

The aim of peace agreement is a result of successful negotiations to bring the warring parties back to the dialogue stage and negotiation. Unlike the Cold War times when intrastate conflicts were seen as zero-sum game, 'one of winning or losing', analysts see a civil war "as something that can be traced back to its origins in legitimate grievances and 'normal politics gone bad', and that such wars can and should be resolved through negotiated compromise."[10]

The understanding that conflicts are 'solvable' is a positive starting point in conflict resolution, which is an integral part of peacebuilding. Unfortunately, warring parties often start to soften their positions after committing a lot of destruction and when the war is

[5] Schmid, 2000: 12
[6] Schmid, 2000:12; see also Lwis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: Free Press, 1956), 8
[7] Peter Wallesteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution* (London: Sage Publications, 202), 16.
[8] See Peter Harries and Ben Reilly, eds. *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm: IDEA, 1998), p. 3.
[9] Hizkias Assefa, "Critical Perspectives on Peace Theories and Practice", Proceedings of the International Ecumenical Consultation 8-12 October 2003 (Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute), p. 9.
[10]Thomas Ohlson and Mimmi Söderberg, *From Intra-State War to Democratic Peace in Weak States* Uppsala Peace Research Paper No 5 (Uppsala: Uppsala Univ., 2002), p. 14; see also I. William Zartman, *Ilusive Peace. Negotiating an End to Civil Wars* (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995), pp. 332-33.

deadlocked due to 'power politics, force and fear.' More than good will and commitment to principles, 'hurting stalemate' and changed power balance forces a 'ripe condition' whereby belligerents give in to peaceful resolution efforts.

Conflict Resolution

As it is with bonding and cooperation, incompatibility of interests causing conflicts is a widespread phenomenon in human life. Human nature is capable of both peaceable life and violence. Most conflicts are resolved peacefully on a daily basis. War is the most serious level of conflict, which mobilises violence. Although the term peacebuilding denotes a longer process, conflict resolution as part of peacebuilding concentrates on **termination of war**.

Conflict resolution task starts with analysing and understanding conflict. Three approaches are mentioned in this regard: a) conflict dynamics, b) need-based conflict origins, and c) rational strategic calculations[11]

Wallensteen defines conflict resolution "as a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other"[12]

The basic elements of conflict resolution indicated in this 'functional' definition are:
1) Agreement, a formal understanding among the parties where a signed document is produced;
2) Continued existence of the opposing parties, not a situation of defeat and win or capitulation but "fighting parties accept each other also as parties in future dealings with one another;"
3) Termination of violent actions against each other where with war ends fear and insecurity of persons including former belligerents.

This measure ushers in **the post-conflict situation.** Such agreements, analysts underline, must be inclusive so as not to leave out all the major contending forces and outstanding issues uncovered. Peace can't be achieved by leaving out certain groups in the bush or neglecting non-armed political actors. A non-inclusive accord has little chance to succeed. If temporary exclusion is necessitated for some tactical reasons, the matter has to be clarified/rectified as soon as possible. Peace agreements must carry the interests and will of the people with them. Involving civil society representatives and proper media, etc. communication can pave the way for legitimacy.

Confidence building is important in peace process. This includes overcoming what Curle calls the three poisons of human relations: "ignorance, hatred and greed"[13] These ills have to be countered by proper knowledge of the 'other', mutual respect, as well as caring and an attitude of sharing.

Major tasks of post-agreement peacemaking

The post-agreement stage has both short and long-term tasks. In this discussion we will concentrate on long-range institutional issues in pursuit of lasting peacemaking.

[11] Wallensteen, 2002: 34.
[12] Wallensteen, 2002: 8.
[13] Adam Curle, *Tools for Transformation. A Personal Study* (Bankfield House, UK: Hawthorn Press, 1990):23.

Ohlson and Söderberg have presented 'successful conflict resolution' in three phases.[14] They distinguish the process as: **dialogue phase,** which comes before peace agreement; **the implementation phase and the consolidation phase.**

Dialogue/Negotiation
After a long journey of distrust and devastation the warring parties return to where they departed first: the stage of dialogue, negotiations and efforts of mutual adjustment. The venture to this stage might have cost a great deal in human and material resources. And yet it is an inevitable step towards normality. Negotiations that can be short or protracted start with the help of third party facilitators. At this stage, the primary parties to the conflict may want to pursue both violence and dialogue, but ceasefire must be effected at a certain stage. It must be noted that the third parties also have their own interests in the peace process, political, strategic, economic or otherwise[15]. One only hope such interests will not make peace efforts a hostage prolonging the agony of war victims.

Signing of **peace agreement** is the main element in phase one. This is achieved at the end of dialogue where third parties play a supporting role, at times using significant leverage. Peace agreements include a) **military provisions and security guarantees** aimed at termination of violence, including cantonment, disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration, as well as setting up of smaller joint force with reduced military spending. There is a guarantee for the safety of different participants. Human rights abuses are sensitive issues that are to be handled carefully by each case, b) **political stipulation** – in this provisions are made regarding power-sharing, "participation of parties in a society after a war" opening the way for "constitutional and non-violent form"[16]of struggle with democratic rights.

Implementation
A well-prepared agreement is realistic and includes all the important parties and crucial issues, which are at the root of the conflict. It must represent a just peace. Implementation of the agreement, however, is a 'fundamental test' for the 'sincerity' and 'quality' of the agreement signed.

There must be sufficient trust developed among the primary parties to the conflict. Particularly crucial to the process are as mentioned above: physical safety and military security and agreement on a mechanism of power distribution.

Peace must be made attractive, 'enticing' to pursue and to sustain. A situation for its attraction is enhanced by the perceived benefits including the feeling of safety and security, immediate material benefits, constitutionally guaranteed rights of property or position or participation, an opportunity to gain power with legitimate and non-violent means, enhanced international prestige, or domestic legitimacy, an inflow of donor funds, an opportunity to have a say, an opportunity to stay alive.[17]

Consolidation of the peace process
The process must create a change of mind among the participants. Through the win-win mechanism and democratic indicators, major parties must have gained some access to power.

[14] See Ohlson and Söderbrerg, 2002:13-24.
[15] Chester A. Crocker et al, *Taming Intractable conflicts (*Washington, *D. C.*: USIP, 2004), *p. 21.*
[16] See Wallesteen, 2002:139.
[17] See Ohlson and Söderberg, 2002:19.

There is a serious advice to be heeded by the primary parties: That 'risk minimization is preferable to advantage maximization." It is argued that "if the primary parties, in negotiating the nature of the political mechanism, search for a mechanism that will maximize their gains and their power if they come out the winner after its implementation, then the risk for a return to war is high."[18]

Thus, consolidation means acceptance by all parties and the people of the provisions of the accord and implementing them. The central term in this phase is **'legitimacy'**. What the 'elites' or leaders have agreed on must be what the people at large accept and sustain as their own. All the three phases are connected to three explanatory terms: **change, trust and legitimacy[19].**

Democracy and peacemaking

Democracy is a widely acclaimed political system in the present day world. In the traditions of all organised societies, including some of those of Africa, there are certain tenets and practices, which resemble some elements of democracy. Ancient Greek societies have left an acknowledged legacy of a version of the earliest democracy.

The term democracy itself is of Greek origin made up of two words *demos* (people) and *kratos* (rule); hence meaning, "rule by the people"[20]. Democracy in politics is about the people and those who hold power. People's self-rule is exercised today largely through elected representatives, while referenda offer a case of direct participation in decisions.

Modern democracy, through its development over the last two centuries, has spread in a wave-like pace since the late 1980s, particularly during the 1990s. Countries in civil wars too look up to democracy for their lasting peace, development and unity with equality and justice. But the path towards democratisation is not an easy one.

Democracy has both formal/constitutional and substantial aspects. According to what is called 'narrow' meaning: "The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote"[21].

The wider view talks in terms of "democratic autonomy" which calls for a 'high degree of accountability' of the state and substantial direct 'participation' of the people in 'community institutions'. It also requires the creation of equal opportunity for participation including "social and economic rights."[22]

Rudebeck sees a tension between the two conceptualisations of democracy, namely the procedural one characterised by, on one hand, universal **suffrage, regular elections and basic civil rights** and, on the other hand, democracy conceptualised as **political equality in actual practice** and speaks of "democratic constitutionalism and popular sovereignty/citizen autonomy as two distinct but linked dimensions of actually existing democracy and ongoing

[18] Ohlson and Söderberg 2002:20
[19] Ohlson and Söderberg, 2002:21.
[20] Georg Sörensen, *Democracy and democratisation* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993): 3.
[21] Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976):260.
[22] Sorensen op. cit., p, 10; David Held, *Modern Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987):271.

processes of democratisation[23]. He also terms the two aspects as **democratic constitutionalism** and **citizen autonomy/popular sovereignty**.

One thing is clear; democracy today rejects dictatorship in any of its forms. While the discussion about the most suitable meaning of democracy continues, in political terms three main elements are identified: '**competition, participation and civil and political rights'[24]**.

Preconditions for democracy are sought in such circumstances as industrialised socio-economic system, certain political culture, and external support[25]. Such conditions, it is argued, 'set the stage for actors to play' but may not necessarily result in democracy. There is no fixed model; but one thing is clear that democracy "**is brought about by individuals and groups, by social actors, who fight for it[26].** It is also underlined that without a welfare state that prevents extreme material poverty and steep socio-economic inequalities, it is not possible for the poor section of the population to fully enjoy their political rights[27].

Democratic institutions as forums of negotiation and conflict resolution
Analysts underline the decisive role "that appropriate democratic political structures play in forging an enduring settlement to an internal conflict."[28] Democracy is not a problem free system but "in the absence of a better alternative", it is argued, democratic structures", in its various forms, "can offer an effective means for the peaceful handling of deep-rooted difference through inclusive, just and acceptable social frameworks."[29]

Others argue peace mobilisation is not an end in itself and peace agreement is only one step in a long process towards normal political life. As it is underlined: "Successful peacemaking seeks to establish institutions and mechanisms for sustaining and expanding peace, for revitalizing cultural norms and reconstructing governance systems, for strengthening communities to have capacity and skills to contain their conflicts, and to be able to reach out for reconciliation with one another."[30]

We are cautioned that, "poorly designed democratic institutions can also inflame communal conflicts rather than ameliorate them. And the introduction of 'democratic' politics can easily be used to mobilize ethnicity, turning elections into 'us' versus 'them' conflicts." The same authors propose the importance of democratic values such as "pluralism, tolerance, inclusiveness, negotiation, and compromise" as "keys to lasting settlements to conflicts"[31]

Democracy presents standing representative structures and meeting places for continuous conflict resolution and prevention system through non-violent mechanisms on national and local/regional as well as international levels. Multiple political, ethnic, religious, socio-economic and regional diversities can find their expression in the political assemblies where

[23] Lars Rudebeck, in *Democracy as Actual Practice: What Does Democracy Really Bring?* (Uppsala: The Collegium for Development Studies, 2003):6.
[24] See Sorensen, op. cit., p, 12 and 'the institutional guarantees' by Robert A. Dahl, *Poliarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971):3.
[25]See Sorensen 1993:25-28; Symore Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy – Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," American *Political Science Review* 53(1959):75
[26] Sorensen, 1993:29.
[27] Sorensen 1993: 15.
[28] Harris and Reilly, op. cit. 1998:16.
"[29] Harris and Reilly 1998: 17.
[30]. *People-to-People Peacemaking*, (Nairobi: NSCC, 2004): 20.
[31] Harris and Reilly, 1998:17.

laws and policies are made and their effective and efficient execution is assured for the interest of all.

Democratic systems are based on and guided by the known fundamental principles of **freedom, equality, and solidarity** interpreted practically in the constitutions, laws and policies of respective societies and implemented through relevant institutions. There are adversarial and integrative approaches to dealing with political matters. The democratic method relies on integrative, consensual, pluralistic and tolerant methods and negotiation. Violence is repudiated unless in the case of self-defence in accordance to international norms.

Hence, the key question for lasting peace and development in societies emerging from violence and authoritarian rule is crafting appropriate **idea-institutional framework** that enables peaceful life for all. For the constructing of such a framework the main sources are **democratic principles, human rights instruments and society's positive traditional or cultural heritage** in consonance with the realisation of freedom, equality and solidarity.

Such a normative framework is a useful instrument for building a democratic political system. In fact, one can say, democracy in its various expressions is what individuals and leading groups in the political and civil society arena of a society agree upon and the people support.

Some challenges and prospects.
There are some important challenges and tasks to be seriously considered for approaching democracy in a post-conflict situation. In the following section we will touch upon the problems of identity discourse; democracy and ethnicity and democracy and local government.

Democracy and identity
Identity, the sense of belonging to a certain group has become an influential concept in recent social science debate. Particularly ethnic identity has become a popular theme included in conflict analysis efforts.

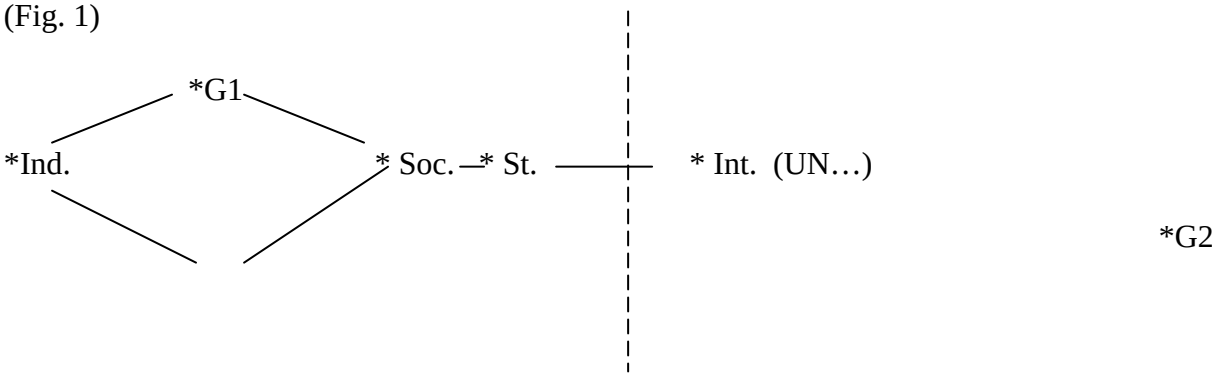
In general terms there is a tendency to use the concept in adversarial notion, seeing that identities always clash. The cooperative element and bonding which are common among humans is largely neglected.

Secondly the term identity is used in a uni-dimensional fashion, which artificially simplifies a multifaceted and overlapping character of identity.

Humans experience multiple identities and relationships, which they utilise as a strategy for their survival.

There are six major **sites of identity**, which should be seen in their interaction for human survival in African societies. These are individual (Ind), identity groups (G1), associations and interest groups (G2), society (SC), state (St) and global organisations (INGOS, UN).

Loci of key identities
(Fig. 1)



Key:
Ind.: individual as part of other identity sites and universal humanity
G1.: primary identity largely marked by criteria of birth - ethnicity, religion, language, culture
G2: secondary relations marked by criteria of choice e.g., interest groups, professional associations, trade unions, and political parties
Soc.: society indicates people at large, individuals and groups that inhabit a country
St.: state - a political organisation of a society encompassing a government
Int: international arena represented largely by the UN
_____ a line showing multiple linkages
– – – – - Sovereignty line
These sites of identity must be governed by a system of ideas and institutions that are based on democratic principles, human rights and positive and humane values and the cultural heritage of each society. This entails building a **coherent democratic system of ideas** that are imperative to guiding a society.

The individual is largely neglected in the economically problematic situations and exposed to massive human rights abuses and impunity. Proper citizenship is due to all not to be treated just as subjects, parochials or captives in their settings. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should guide: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” The provisions in the International Bill of Human Rights, the separate conventions against racial and ethnic discrimination on the rights of women and children provide ample norms regarding the fundamental rights and freedoms of all human beings.

The identity of birth – ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural - and associational groups (sites of choice) too have their own place and make useful contribution to the psychological and political needs of the individual. The roles of these groupings cannot be neglected or exaggerated out of proportion at the expense of the other sites. Society at large is also important for solidarity and collective survival of all who inhabit a country. The role of the national state as a guarantor of security and order, as a facilitator of conditions for socio-economic development too is well known. A democratic state is best suited to serve all as it is legitimised by its citizens and is obligated to function in accordance to the will of the governed.

The UN, the leading representative of the international community, makes human rights laws and strives to promote human security and welfare of all individuals, groups, societies and states. Thus it has a task to protect all the sites of human identity and concern. As it has duties the UN has prerogatives and powers that require respect as well as deference from all in its

area of jurisdiction for the sake of world peace. However, in order to serve all region and humanity properly, the UN's structures too must be governed by democratic norms and practices.

Democratisation and ethnicity

Diversity is not an exception; it is a rule, in today's world. Although they belong to the same and one human race, people are identified by various markers, such as – language, religion, and ethnicity - which have come to signify the current highly charged term identity.

How can democracy as the most popular political system of the day be translated in action in multi-identity situations of economically underdeveloped societies? Is it ever a workable system of government in such terrains? Can societies emerging from civil wars benefit from the current democratic surge?

Today's states are characterised by their ethnic, religious and cultural diversities. It is said out of the 190 UN member countries only 15 can be considered 'homogenous'. It is said there are no less than 10 000 diverse identity groups in the world out of which over 2000 are to be found in Africa alone. Thus, diversity is a rule in our world. Democracy promises to provide a more suitable governance mechanism that enables diverse communities to live in cooperation and unity where equality and justice can be attained for groups and individuals. Today there is a widespread convergence of thought on that. But the problem lies with the exact formula with which to put such a rule in practice. How can democracy be practical in pluralistic societies satisfying the aspirations and needs of particular groups while without loosing its universal principles?

Pluralism is one of the serious challenges to integrated social development. What authoritarian regimes managed to bring is ethnic hegemonic rules, which caused deprivation of various groups and violent resistance in many countries. Again democracy is revived in Africa and other diverse situations in the wake of its "Third Wave".

Many thought democracy with its principle of universal suffrage and giving each adult person the right to vote in competitive elections would guarantee equal participation of all individuals. This variant is called plurality election and has been found insufficient as it leaves out certain minorities permanently excluded from democratic decision-making. The second variant is proportional representation. Analysts underline it favours pluralist and inclusive participation, arguing it enables "proportional representation, decentralisation and various forms of power sharing" at least at early stage of democratic transition[32]. These are models based on the assumption of competing parties on the basis of inclusive democratic choice rather than by the criteria of primordial sentiments.

Proportional representation would sound favourable in a multiethnic situation, however there are problems to be cautious of. Some writers suggest crafting federal politics on identity and "ethnic-based institutions"[33] as a preferable course.

For others the ethnic factor is an objective indicator of a degree of inclusion or exclusion of different groups in a political system. Depending on each situation, this view tries to correct

[32] Ohlson and Söderberg, 2002:20; See also Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies", *Democracy Theory and Practice* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995):71-91.

[33] Mwangi S. Kimenyi, "Harmonizing Ethnic Claims in Africa: A Proposal for Ethnic-based Federalism", in John Mbaku et al, eds. *Ethnicity and Governance in Third World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001):118.

any imbalance in a society as regards equal participation resorting to the principles and norms of democracy and human rights. Here it is democracy, not ethnicity, which guides political organisation. This means that democracy can be built with its own principles and methods without being a tail to any identity kite. This view combines the respect for the individual with respect for group expressions such as language, religion, culture. But it firmly holds that ethnocentric politics leads to dictatorship and political parties aspiring power in any society must be inclusive and be based on the principles of democracy and human rights.

The following four-field table can illustrate the four variants in the discussion.

(Fig. 2)

Method

Democracy (Choice)

Ethnicity (birth)

System	Democracy	DD DE	
	Ethnicity	ED	

1. **DD** – *Diversity-blind model.* Here democracy is seen in its universal application as an individual right based on the principle of majority rule and individual choice. In multiethnic situation, however, this practice without consideration of minorities can end up in excluding certain groups and individuals who fail to benefit from the promised universal principles. Experience show, ardent efforts to bring freedom, equality and tangible benefits of democracy to the lowest depths of a society need special constitutional protection for the excluded, requiring commitment and creative work.

2. **DE** – *Diversity sensitive model* - attempting to handle/resolve ethnic/identity problem through democratic means. Here the ethnic element is seen as an objective indicator of exclusion/inclusion, which should be corrected by special measures, which enhance equality and democratic participation. Democracy is a guide and provides leading principles.

3. **EE** – *identity dominated system* - attempting to resolve ethnic problem through ethnic competition and ethnocentric methods. This would not lead to democracy.

4. **ED** – *Identity-led democratisation effort*- indicates an attempt to approach democracy through ethnic criteria and methods.

This discussion should make some points clear. Almost everybody in the multiethnic African setting is born within known ethnic/linguistic/religious confines. This is objectively so whether one subscribes to democratic ideas or not. People belong to certain known identity group, whether they profess it or not (which many may not comfortable with). The difference is in the political life whether they pursue inclusive democratic principles and practice with

others or they rely on ethnic criteria. Democracy has its own "minimum ideology" to guide the establishment and functioning of a legitimate representative political system.

It is the task of political parties and civil society forums to create integrated and inclusive democratic space for diverse people to cooperate. It is not to say that parties within certain identity groups cannot be democratic. But they have to seek unity with others that have similar views on inclusive democratic and human rights principles. Moreover, political parties, eventhough they may agree on political democracy they can differ on socio- economic welfare or class issue. Therefore, they should seek alliance with groups that have similar convictions.

It is also important to note that peace, democracy, human rights and development are crosscutting issues that strongly complement each other. Without respect for human rights, democratic governance is unthinkable. It will be only another authoritarian variant. Human rights and socio-economic welfare too are interconnected as provided in the UN Covenants. Without peace neither democracy, nor development and human rights are possible.

Democratisation and development in societies emerging from deep-rooted violent conflicts and wars are possible as part of a successful process of conflict transformation. Lasting peace and a culture of tolerance can be achieved through entrenching a democratic system and realisation of socio-economic development built on justice and equity.

Democracy has an inbuilt 'conflict-sensitive' institutional framework. Its methods of tolerance, moderation, mutual respect and consultation very well fit the traditions of many societies that uphold the virtues of solidarity, consensus-building and human dignity.

Some key institutional tasks during the post-conflict peacebuilding
There are three important institutional areas, which deserve special attention during the post-conflict stage for organisations working with people at local/middle levels.

The **first** is strengthening the civil society partners/actors institutionally and functionally, equipping them for their continued autonomous continuation and effective contribution in the areas of sustainable peace, democratisation and human rights. Sometimes organisations that work actively as the voice of the people during conflicts tend to fade away or are silenced from the public arena after peace is achieved. This could be through cooptation by the political system or through some negative pressure. But civil society forums must act as continuing voice of conscience, rule of law, good governance and justice and thus be strengthened beyond conflict limits.

Secondly, working for the implementation of the provisions of peace accords, particularly those in the areas of reconciliation, human rights and democratic change.
Here, particularly the efforts of **people-to-people peacemaking/reconciliation** are very relevant. Peace efforts must be streamlined in all activities of the society as well as given emphasis as specialised and continuous action.

Violent conflicts affect diverse groups and sever multiple relationships in a society. Often widely publicised peace processes are those that take place on national level, involving negotiations and signing of agreements embodying various stipulations about realising peace. At the post-conflict stage reconciliation work continues to be one of the pillars of peacebuilding. LPI's community focused conflict transformation puts great emphasis to

people to people reconciliation. While agreement among the leaders of the protagonists set clear tones for peace, reconciling communities ripped by prejudices, hate and violence on various 'fault-lines' does not get serious attention. For lasting peace the whole society must share the spirit of forgiveness and healing. For this there must be consistent work to bring about both intra- and inter- communal reconciliation, which includes the whole society.

Reconciliation involves restoring damaged relationships among parties in harmful conflicts. The practice of reconciliation "involves addressing the ways and means of building relations". As experience shows the process entails "self examination, acknowledgement of responsibility, public admission, apology, forgiveness and restoration."[34] Discussions of reconciliation include such elements as truth, justice, reparations and change as key elements. It is an act of conflict resolution, which is also, related to prevention and transformation processes.[35] Another discussion combines "truth, justice, mercy and peace"[36] as defining features of reconciliation.

Reconciliation is a people's agenda allowing the participation of traditional mechanisms and norms in a thorough and soul-searching dialogue to solve the problems at stake. A lot of debate and negotiation takes place using time celebrated conceptions, values and norms.

Thirdly, the idea of power-sharing as a key transitional mechanism often targets the national level. This is where the promise for democracy is enshrined in transitional documents. Within the framework of national accord, it is important that the beginnings of democracy and human rights are reflected on the level of communities, and **research and education focus** on facilitating the development of viable local-regional government. Further elaboration is necessary on this vital question.

Peace and local self- government

LPI's approach on peace building focuses on involving the people who usually bear the brunt of violence. There is a strong emphasis on empowering communities at the grassroots level as well as involving the middle level actors as owners of the peace process. Involving civil society actors, women, professionals, and religious as well as traditional leaders has been the practice. The approach which earlier emphasised the bottom-up direction in Somalia where there had been no central authority to deal with now works with peace process efforts in an integrative manner ready to assist local, middle as well as national efforts, as the current involvement in "Somali Peace Process" in Nairobi shows. This is done in other places too without neglecting the emphasis on popular participation.

In a situation where there is no organised civil society, the aim is to train leaders and to assist in organising civil groups. In fact disseminating knowledge in peacebuilding through multiple workshops and seminars has been one of LPI's strong areas in the field. One of the indicators for this is a Paffenholz's research finding from the 2000 Somali conference of Arta (Djibouti). Among the conference participants it is found that "more than 50 per cent of the …delegates had been trained by or involved with LPI in one way or another."[37]

[34] *People-to-People Peacemaking*, (NSCC, 2004):24.
[35] Hizkias Assefa, "The Meaning of Reconciliation" in *People Building Peace* (Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Pretension, 1999):37.
[36] John Paul Lederach, Building Peace (Washington, D. C.: USIP, 1997), p. 30 .
[37] Thania Paffenholz, *Community-based Bottom-up Peacebuilding*, (Uppsala, Nairobi: Life & Peace Institute, 2003):76.

One of the challenges of post-conflict period is building representative state institutions, not only at national but also at local and regional levels where people can exert their participatory will on a continuous basis. In places where there is prior democratic experience, respect for civil liberties, rule of law, free competitive elections, the matter is to revive these elements. But in places where experience had been authoritarian (traditional or modern) or where institutions have been totally obliterated, the task of building representative institutions becomes a burdensome task of starting everything anew.

Democracy, with all its 'imperfections', is said to be the best available system "can offer an effective means for the peaceful handling of deep-rooted difference through inclusiveness, just and accountable social frameworks."[38] In particular, establishing functioning local-regional government with constitutionally protected powers, clearly defined duties and proportionally and democratically representing all diverse groups in localities – municipalities, rural districts and regions are important instruments for dialogue and non-violent resolution of conflicts on daily basis. Therefore, **the issue of local governance must be one of the top priorities of post-conflict research, education and practice.**

Reconciliation involves restoring damaged relationships among parties in harmful conflicts. The practice of reconciliation "involves addressing the ways and means of building relations". As experience shows the process entails "self-examination, acknowledgement of responsibility, public admission, apology, forgiveness and restoration."[39] Discussions of reconciliation include such elements as truth, justice, reparations and change as key elements. It encompasses conflict resolution, prevention and transformation process.[40]

Reconciliation is a people's agenda allowing the participation of traditional mechanisms and norms in a thorough and soul-searching dialogue to solve the problems at stake. A lot of debate and negotiation takes place using time celebrated conceptions values and norms.

On approach and philosophical basis

The next key question is how do we approach and handle conflicts at this juncture? Peacebuilding approaches and entry points vary according to opportunities available and the nature of initiatives that emerge in a particular situation of conflict. By now experience in peacebuilding in intrastate conflicts, with LPI being among the earliest, and academic conceptualisation, have identified three entry points, namely community/grassroots, middle-range and top/national level entry points.[41]

In the situation of Somalia where the top/national and middle levels were shattered by the civil war that raged from early 1990s, what was available was largely the local community level with individuals that could form the middle level and LPI had to deal with that situation. This also entailed efforts of institution building, as it still
does. Thus, understandably, a community-based bottom-up approach was devised.

[38]David Bloomfield and Ben Reilly, eds. *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict*: *Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm: IDEA, 2003):17.
[39] *People-to-People Peacbuilding* (NCC: 2004):24.
[40] Assefa, in *People Building Peace*, 1999:37
[41]See John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D. C.: USIP, 1997):38-42; Thania Paffenholz, *Community-based Bottom-up Peacebuilding* (Uppsala:LPI, 2003):16-24.

Paffenholz, examining LPI's policy documents and practice in the field, characterises its approach as "people-based, process-oriented, long-term peacebuilding"[42] with focus on empowering local people and raising women's role in peacebuilding.

Paul Lederach has revisited his actors pyramid model with which LPI's field experience and approach are intertwined. In a recent contribution to a book he speaks of three gaps observed on the different entry levels of peacebuilding, namely **interdependence gap, justice gap and process-structure[43].** The first and the second points are important in this discussion.

Interdependence, he says, "is built on relationships and relationships are the heart and bloodlines of peace-building. In peace-building there are many forms of interdependence. Most recognised is the idea that we build new or rebuild broken relationships across the lines of divisions created through and by the conflict." Then he speaks of *horizontal* and *vertical* 'capacities' and relationships.

Process-structure gap - understands peace as a change process based on relationship building. 'Reorient our peace-building framework **toward the development of support infrastructures that enhance our capacity to adapt and respond to relational needs** rather than being defined and driven by events and agreements'.
Think in terms of '**long term peace structures**.'

The understanding that has evolved is, at whichever level one may enter the peace process, the approach should not miss to be integrative, linking the local and regional efforts with those of national level. This may be limited to sharing information until opportune time arises for tangible linkages.

In this regard, Paffenholz reminds us that: "for further development of the LPI approach, it is necessary to clarify the relation to track 1 peacemaking. An unclear definition could limit the peacebuilding capacity of the approach, as the full range of networks, strategies and instruments might not be used."

Peace efforts on community level must take due consideration of agreements and legal provisions available at national level. There must be conscious coordination and linking of efforts on all levels. At the same time, the local and middle level involvements and the empowerment of the people have to be stressed as key at all junctures of peace process.

[42] Paffenholz, p. 65.
[43] John Paul Lederach, "The Challenge of the 21st Century Just Peace" in *People Building Peace* (Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 1999):29-35.

PAPER 2

South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commisssion

Lessons Learned

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What lessons can be learned from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Should countries attempting to deal with the transition from repressive and closed to open societies make use of truth commissioning strategies as was the case in South Africa? Should they make use of truth commissioning methods similar to those modelled and implemented in South Africa? Was reconciliation a product of the work of the South African commission?

In order to address these sorts of questions one needs to consider, in the first place, the particular and perhaps peculiar conditions that lead to the setting up of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In other words, I argue - as Sociologists do - that context is always essential when trying to understand social actions. Secondly, the infrastructure setting out the South African TRC as well as its nature and organisation needs to be reviewed.

And, finally the strengths and weaknesses of the South African Commission need to be considered.

Key elements of context

By implication no straightforward answers exist in response to the question of building a healthy and viable democratic equilibrium in societies characterised by a conflict ridden, brutal and repressive past. Neither are there uncontested or universally held views determining how societies in periods of avowed transition toward democracy should deal with, for example, the crimes of the previous regime or with the matter of accountability for human rights abuses.

As we all know a range of strategies in this regard have been developed and applied. They include employing several methods simultaneously as well as a number of them consecutively. Adam and Adam (in James and Van De Vijver, 2000: 33) provide a useful summary list of such strategies.

(1) In endeavoring to provide you with an assessment of the South African Commission I need to say something about my particular situation, that is, outside of the fact that I am a white South African of Afrikaner extraction. I spent some 23 months working in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission on a full-time basis (1St of April 1996 to the end of February 1998). However both before and since then - or in my real life - I am an academic sociologist who has spent her working life attached to a number of South African Universities. At first glance this might seem to be a somewhat enviable position to be in if one is to reflect on and assess the South African TRC as an instrument of policy. However I have found this to be a very difficult and emotionally taxing task for reasons that in retrospect seem

obvious and which I should have anticipated. Scientific analyses and the powerful moral forces and factors that drove the TRC institutionally do not sit easily with one another.

They suggest that at least 6 forms of grappling with the crimes of the pas' can be identified. These include: trials and justice; amnesia; negotiated restitution and compensation; ~ lustration and truth commissions or truth commissioning

Why did South African choose the path of truth commissioning and not one or all of the other options that were available to it? What particular socio-Political and economic circumstances were prevalent at the time and influenced the decision? What is the character of the historical environment that underpinned this choice? In other words, how was the case made for the South African TRC?

Answers to questions such as these are seldom either self-evident or simple. They tend moreover to be mired in circumstances that are rarely innocent. When political and economic power is at stake it is foolish to assume that morality is the prime mover of decision making. Before considering the contextual genesis of the South African TRC it should be noted therefore that, despite its apparent international idealisation these events were no exception to this rule -- a point to which we will return at the end of this paper.

What follows is a short discussion of what I regard to be the influential elements that played a role in the circumstances in which the TRC was appointed. I pay attention to three key elements.

In the first place, the formal South African transition to democracy in 1994 was indeed very special in many ways and may even have been a small miracle: The possibility of a negotiated settlement around Apartheid South Africa was not one that enjoyed any significant status before the event itself. That is, not in the minds of the great majority of South Africans, informed commentators or, for that matter, from members of the international community. The TRC as an element of the outcome of this historically momentous process is rooted in these events. It was a policy decision embedded within the tone and spirit of a hitherto totally unexpected process of the negotiated political settlement in South African: These events themselves are in turn historically located in the dynamics of South Africa's past.

The not simplistic or straightforward events that resulted in the South African racial order can be traced back to mid 18t" century society in South Africa. There were in particular many economic advantages to be had from this kind of societal ordering for those who settled in Southern Africa from Northern Europe. By the turn of the 20t" century privilege and power in South Africa had come largely to be identified with those who were white, whilst political exclusion and poverty had more and more become the destiny of those who were black. In principle it is this historical convergence of class and race that ultimately made the Apartheid state. On the 30 of November 1973 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 3068. This was the culmination of a series of expressions of censure declaring the system of Apartheid in South Africa to be a crime against humanity and a negation of the United Nations charter. For the white minority regime it was finally no longer possible to use euphemisms to obfuscate the inhuman racial ordering of South African society. In so doing it had to confront the fact that the economic and social costs of sustaining its racial policies were escalating enormously. In this regard it needs to be remembered that South Africa's main trading partners were in Europe.

Act No. 200 of 1993 - the Interim Constitution of South Africa formally ended the racial ordering that was the essential characteristic of the Apartheid state. This constitution was the product of a series of formal agreements reached between the two primary parties that had been involved in the struggle for South Africa. One black and one white. It was the upshot of extensive negotiations that had been going on since 1990 between the National Party (NP) lead white minority regime and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. The Postamble to this act lead directly to the setting up of the South African TRC via The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act; No. 34 of 1995.

Why negotiations and why were they unexpected? There was no clear victor or vanquished in S.A. by 1990. At the end of the previous decade it was becoming, perhaps more than ever before, obvious to significant parts of the ruling white minority regime that it was unable to suppress the mass opposition to its existence. At best it was only able to maintain an unstable and very costly equilibrium in South Africa. Besides, international economic pressures were wrecking havoc with the South African economy and the business classes no longer had any interest in maintaining the now counterproductive racial order. On the other hand it was equally clear to the opposition liberation forces that it was unable to seize power from below. The logic of this stalemate turned out to have had a much stronger impact than was recognised at the time.

The essentials of this South African compromise are well known. Colin Bundy, the eminent South African revisionist. historian captures the core element of the negotiated settlement as follows: " ... the ANC first sought the political kingdom" and the National Party succeeded in getting the former to back off "... from redistribution and state regulation" (Bundy in James and Van De Vijver, 2000:12). In so doing the ongoing low level civil war in South Africa was contained and the existing infrastructure and economy survived largely intact together with it's the deeply unequal distribution of wealth.

Furthermore, a series of `sunset clauses' were agreed to and incorporated in the Interim Constitution. These clauses committed the first post election government to power sharing and entrenched the posts of white civil servants for 5 years. The parties also agreed in principle to indemnify soldiers, security agents and politicians from civil or criminal prosecution in return for the revelation of their crimes. In other words, it was agreed that a form of individual amnesty be made available so as to facilitate a restorative rather than a retributive climate in line with the character of a negotiated or traded settlement.

It would be an incomplete account if one were to situate these events and their outcome purely in objective structural terms. Not only were some remarkable individual personalities involved but much has been written about the relevance of the social bonding that took place amongst the key political negotiators in the final outcome. The history of, and no doubt the determining nature of, social relationships in SA was essentially characterised by increasingly deep cleavages, growing power imbalances and exploitation and brutalisation of black people by white people over time. However, even as the relationships between prison warder and prisoner seem to create bonds of a sort there existed some covert social fabric, probably in the form of knowledge about one another, that somehow enabled the elites that traded over South Africa's future at Kempton Park, to also work with one another at times and not only against one another. In this regard two issues need to be further noted. South Africa had not had a full scale war raging inside of the country between the main protagonists and, a significant portion of the negotiators on the side of the liberation movements had been in exile from South Africa or in jail on Robben Island for a prolonged period of time.

Any reading of the events of the unfolding of our negotiated democracy will show that whilst there were many crises and many moments when serious breakdown occurred, things at Kempton Park somehow held together and a realisation of the structural interdependence between black and white in South Africa seemed to grow. Nelson Mandela's role in all of this should not be overestimated but it would be extremely short sighted not to realise that it was his leadership that provided the glue amongst the many factions of the liberation movement at crucial moments. Further and in retrospect it was his understanding of the negotiations that captured the commitment to reconciliation and nation building that was to grow exponentially under his Presidency. Although I have little doubt that FW de Klerk did not fully understand what he was doing in February of 1990 when he announced the unbanning of the liberation movements and the freeing of political prisoners, it is to his credit and that of the think tank around him that he stayed with the process.

The second element that is important regarding the circumstances in which the TRC was appointed, is the fact that truth commissioning as a mode of promoting transitional justice and human rights in post repressive and conflict ridden societies had gained considerable stature and exposure over the 15 - 20 years or so preceding the establishment of the South African Commission. In other words, it was an agenda item on the international stage around societal transition toward democracy. It had been used repeatedly in South America and in Africa and seemed to have achieved successes especially in the former. At least 15 truth commissions had been established by then and there were a range of South Africans who had taken an interest in this form of dealing with the past. They included the ANC's Kader Asmal as well as an NGO think tank situated in South Africa lead by Alex Boraine. The latter was to become the vice-chairperson of the TRC. (See Priscilla Hayner's book Unspeakable Truths, 2002 for a knowledgeable and exhaustive account of truth commissions and truth commissioning.)

And, thirdly, the Cold War had ended and international political arrangements and alignments were in the process of large scale change. This meant at least two things for South Africa. The Apartheid state's long fear of a `Communist threat' subsided and, the liberation movements - especially the ANC that had received support over many years from the USSR - lost it in the turmoil of the times.

These three elements, their particularities, their nuances and their coming together created the specific space in which the South African small miracle came about. In 1994 we held our first democratic election and political power was transferred to the majority. The ANC gained over 60% of the popular vote and under the presidency of Nelson Mandela they set about constructing a power sharing government (or government of national unity). On the agenda was the matter of amnesty as captured by the Postamble of the 1993 Interim Constitution.

Structure and function

At the Kempton Park negotiations the ANC rejected a general or blanket amnesty against the wishes of the NP and the generals of the Apartheid regime. As a result the Postamble `compromise' was reached. The latter captured two important principles and an implicit policy choice.

Amnesty would be granted to individual applicants2 in return for the full and truthful revelation of `omissions and offences associated with political objectives and committed in

the context of the conflicts of the past', and, secondly, restorative justice would be sought in South Africa in line with the political compromise that had been reached. The theory of truth commissioning was well suited to this approach. The holding of trials for war crimes was contrary to the underpinning spirit of the political compromise that had been reached at Kempton Park; namely reconciliation.

!n essence the The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 captured the assumption that reconciliation between the South African people was possible through truth telling and truth gathering. This position contained a further matrix of assumptions:

that such a process would reveal the details of the truth about the Apartheid state's repression of, and atrocities against, the great majority of its population on the basis of their skin colour; that the truth of the past events would be found and acknowledged through this course of action;

- in so doing it was assumed that victims would be able to forgive their pain and suffering even if they could not forget;
- that perpetrators, even though they were not required to show remorse or ask for forgiveness, would commit themselves to never allowing a recurrence of such a past;
- that the bulk of white South -Africans who had not faced the past would be forced to and that as a result the continued denial of it would be removed;
- this theory of truth that would lead to reconciliation suggested further that national unity would come about as a result
- hence space for a viable and enduring peace would be established so that a democratic reconstruction of our society could take place
- that the commission rested on the notion that revealing is healing, built on the theory that a decent society in South Africa could be established and made human even in the face of the atrocities of the past
- that the victims would be able to gain relief and closure
- and, it was assumed further that knowledge as to the details of atrocities committed against them would compensate victims for the justice they would forgo in that it would alleviate their pain.

(2) Whilst entrenched racial ranking was the character of Apartheid and this structure determined both life style and life chances the Interim Constitution changed this definition of life in South Africa. It resolutely aimed to reconstruct South Africa as a non-racial, non-sexist and non-discriminately society. In post-apartheid South Africa people's lives would not be determined structurally in terms of legally defined group membership but as individuals.

In summary, the South African TRC was mandated to accomplish a wide range of complex and arduous tasks including: finding the truth about the past through narrative and story telling as well as investigation; formally acknowledge past abuses; promoting reconciliation; providing for restorative justice; providing victims with the opportunity and tools to heal; preventing the atrocities of the past from being repeated; providing the state with a policy document for a program of reparation and promoting and facilitating national unity and democracy.

Overall The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, no 34 of 1995 is a document broad in both scope and principle. It is also an idealistic piece of visioneering. In

spirit the act reflects the promise and the hope that the future will be one in which the ultimate humanity and innate morality of people will overcome the past, despite it have been filled with atrocities and the deeply divisive nature of South Africa.

The South African Commission `dwarfed previous truth commissions in its size and reach' (Hayner, 2002:41). Organisationally it operated in terms of three committees and via four regional offices3: the Human Rights Violations Committee had the duty of collecting statements from deponents reporting on gross human rights violations; holding public hearings and making victim findings after having carried out a form of low level corroboration; the Amnesty Committee received and processed amnesty applications from individuals either in a public hearing or in committee depending on the nature of the application; and the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee was tasked with identifying individuals who came to the commission to tell their stories and who were in need of urgent interim relief as well as making recommendations to government through parliament for a policy of reparation. This committee had no chequebook and was conceived of as advisory body. This structure had never been used in truth commissioning before. It made the South African body, the most ambitious commission ever to be established. It was also the first commission that had the power to grant amnesty.

There were 17 commissioners. The South Africa Nobel peace prize laureate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was appointed as the chairperson. President Mandela made the appointments from a list he was given after a public nomination and selection process. In other words, a fair degree of transparency was built into the process of appointing commissioners. Some attention was also paid to diversifying the panel of commissioners. For example, a member of the white rightwing who had been a sitting member of the Apartheid parliament was appointed to the Amnesty Committee. Around 300 persons worked for the Commission across its four regional offices over the first two key years of its life. (The commission was only meant to exist for a maximum of 2 years.) On the whole these people came from the ranks of civil society organisations that had opposed the Apartheid government. The commission appointed a relatively small team of investigators to help with the corroboration of amnesty applications and in making victim findings.

(3) The Cape Town office consisted of both a regional and the national office.

People from the range of different security forces involved in the struggle were appointed to this team including a number of ex and serving members of the former South African Police force.

The Human Rights Violations Committee collected about 20,000 statements whilst the Amnesty Committee received around 7,000 applications for Amnesty. A relatively small percentage of the latter applications came from people who were members of the Apartheid state's security forces. Those who were had served in the South African Police force rather than the Defence forces.

The Human Rights Violations Committee held public hearings that were captured and shown on television and broadcast on radio. Whilst a small number of public hearings had been planned to act as windows into the TRC these hearings seemed to take on a life of their own once the first two had been held (in the Eastern Cape and in Johannesburg). These televised HRV public hearings went on to dominate, to the exclusion of almost everything else, the organisational life of the commission during the two year period it had been given to complete

its work. In the end the formal period of the commission's work lasted from December of 1995 to March of 2003. A totally unanticipated and unplanned 7 years and 3 months. In terms of the founding act, Act No. 34 of 1995 - The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act - the TRC's organisational life was meant to span 18 months with the possibility of a further 6 month extension in the event that more time should be required. The Human Rights Violations Committee also held a series of so-called special hearings over the period of the first two years. These focussed on a number of key sectors such as business, the media and the health sector. They were an attempt to engage these sectors with a view to considering their response to, or participation in, the events of the past.

The Amnesty Committee's work was very slow to get off the ground and it in fact did most of it after the first two years of the commission's organisational ife. Applicants applied to the committee as individuals. They were not required to ask for forgiveness or to show any sign of remorse. Decisions by the committee were meant to be made in terms of a number of factors: whether the act was politically motivated; whether there was proportionality between the act and the political objective pursued by the applicant and whether the full truth of the action was revealed. A small number of these hearings were also televised. They were open to the public. Overall a remarkable degree of openness and transparency characterised the commission's work.

Before turning to look at the strengths and weakness of the TRC let me illustrate in a more concrete sense how the methodology of truth commissioning in South Africa was conceived of and meant to work. The commission was specifically mandated to engage, investigate and document the gross human rights violations (ghrv) that took place in South Africa from 1960 to 1994. This was required so as to compile as complete a picture as possible of them. In so doing the TRC was obligated to look at the reasons for, and the antecedents of these events. Hypothetically this process of finding the truth was meant to serve the following particular needs:

to provide a description of and explanation for the ghrv that took place
to serve as a basis from which to launch and facilitate the amnesty process
and, as a starting point for the setting up of a reparations policy

Strengths and weaknesses

Strengths

There is little doubt in my mind that the commission served one overall very important function at a crucial time in South Africa's history, i.e. soon after the democratic dispensation came about in 1994. In a period when ordinary South Africans needed desperately to be held, the ideals of truth commissioning served its people -- not all of them and not all in the same way but nevertheless.

Paradoxically the accounts of violence and abuse; of the terrible brutalisation of primarily the disenfranchised black people of our country; and the public exposure of the dynamics and processes of the stripping away of individuals' dignity brought with it, somehow, a promise of a better life ultimately. This promise and the hope it engendered at the time was embedded in the powerful emotional discourse that played itself out and symbolised a long withheld right of passage in the lives of black South Africans.

The great majority of South Africans were for the first time in their lives affirmed. They were accorded full citizenship rights. The past was acknowledged primarily via the legitimacy that was gained by the public and cumulative telling of individual stories. !t became clear that the past had in fact happened, and moreover that it was wrong: Black South Africans who were criminalised at birth by the colour of their skin were freed and their trauma at having lived their lives in a society that did not structurally recognise their humanity was acknowledged. The role that ongoing live television broadcasts played over a period of about fifteen months (of mainly the HRV Committee's public hearings of victims and deponents telling the stories of the atrocities suffered by victims) cannot be overestimated in this regard.

The beneficiaries of the Apartheid regime who were for the most in denial of the harsh and repressive reality of life for black South Africans and who saw the systematic atrocities of the past as exceptions or occasional mistakes were at the time left with little behind which to continue to hide. Some began to wonder how they had (et it happen and considerably fewer continued to argue that it hadn't happened. Hannah Arendt's notion of the terrifying normality of the people who were part of both letting it happen as well as committing the atrocities came alive over this period in our tragic past.

Weaknesses

On the other hand, these realisations and the potency of symbolic power should not be confused with wholesale healing, or large scale regret, or national reconciliation. The latter was not achieved in South Africa and is unlikely to be easily achieved no matter the context or the country in which truth commissioning is carried out. In the case of South Africa basic material needs have not yet been met. Structural economic inequality is not something that can be easily changed or remedied. In South Africa around 30 - 40% of people are unemployed as they were 8 years ago at the height of the commission's work. The great majority of them are black as they have been throughout our history. In this context reconciliation is an empty notion.

Little new truth was told or found by the South African TRC. No shared or pluralist interpretation of South African history emerged from the commission's work. On the whole truth remained divided and differentiated. The facts of the Apartheid regime and the atrocities it committed in South Africa were and are on the whole well known and documented. After all, the press had remained relatively free throughout; South Africa enjoyed a vigorous and progressive civil society and there existed an active and prolific body of researchers at some of the country's universities. A reading of the commission's so-called Final Report (1998) shows quite clearly that the historical explanations it contains do not provide us with new understandings of our past. Rather it draws upon the existing body of work in this regard. Whilst some individual victims and/or their families and friends learnt the detail of why and how what had happened did - most did not. In point of fact very few perpetrators came to the commission and even fewer `confessed'. Generally speaking those that did come, came because evidence had been collected by the authorities before the establishment of the commission, and prosecution was probable after the window of opportunity that was the TRC closed. The investigative capacity of the commission was moreover extremely limited. It should be remembered that it was not meant to be a prosecutorial body.

As is the character of truth commissioning, justice is traded. Retributive and prosecutorial justice was bracketed in South Africa for a period. It was assumed that in the context of the South African small miracle it would be possible to bring about a paradigm shift and that a

restorative justice could replace the former through the work of the TRC when it came to dealing with the atrocities of the past regime. As I have already stated, neither reconciliation nor national unity was brought about by the commission's work. Few perpetrators actually came. Any restoration of the lives of victims was premised to a large extent on them being able to forgive if not forget. One of the most telling refrains of my work in the TRC became the question asked so often by black South Africans who came to the commission; where are the white people? They did not come in any numbers either to listen, to learn or to say they were sorry.

In conclusion, it is too soon to tell how South Africans or South Africa will hold the TRC or how it will be taken up in the collective memory of time and over time. But it needs to be clear that the very ambitious hopes and expectations for the South African TRC have little basis in empirical fact. The commission was overburdened both organisationally and as an organisation. It could not hope to have done what was required of it by its founding legislation. The iconic international status accorded the acts of contrition by a small number of perpetrators should not be seen to be more than they were or, less than they were. They were significant and important events that will stand as examples of what is humanly possible. The truly special person that is Archbishop Desmond Tutu cannot be generalised to mean that the TRC was able to transform South Africa in his image. Nor does and can it detract from the enormously important role he plays in trying to remake South Africa. Myth making of the sort that seems to be characteristic of the international view of the South African commission's work does not serve the truth commissioning project well or for that matter the building of democracy in post conflict societies.

Instead sober and serious consideration is needed if this tool of transitional justice is to play a role as more than a very short term mode of dealing with the crimes of the past. If one lesson is to be (earned from -our experience it is that the expectations for truth commissions are almost always greater than what these bodies can ever reasonable hope to achieve (Hayner,2002:8).

PAPER 3

The Role of Reconciliation in Peace-building

Like in Somalia, for example

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The Somalia Reconciliation Conference led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), in Eastern Africa, is focusing on creating a basis for dialogue as a means of reaching peace and stability in the region (Somali Reconciliation Conference, 2003; IGAD, 2002). This paper deals with the critical implications with focusing on dialogue as a means of promoting long-term peace.

What is Reconciliation and why is it relevant to Somalia?

The concept of reconciliation is used in conflict resolutions in all corners of the world. Reconciliation is said to go beyond resolution of conflicts and consider possibilities and prospects of long-term healing, not just through political arrangements, but also to lay the groundwork for psychological processes in order to build new social frameworks. Recall Peter Marwa (2004) from IGAD who said that reconciliation is about "healing the wounds of war." This shows that the general idea behind reconciliation is that it is supposed to overcome the fragmented society and build an integrated community and it depends on individual and group preparedness to make concessions for the sake of rebuilding society (state).

A great deal has been written and researched in this field during the last years. The idea of reconciliation took off on a global scale with the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), even if there were processes that started earlier, like in Australia, 199. The concept of reconciliation since then has spread all over the world and critical situations in Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Sierra Leone, Congo and also in Western democracies between governments and indigenous peoples, e.g. in Australia, Canada, Hawaii, and even in a limited way in Sweden between the government and the sami people.

The idea with using reconciliation as long-term peace-building is that as conflict settles the reconstituted government is seeking to establish basic priorities as the threshold for equitable social advance. In order to reach a reconciled society, concepts as "dialogue", reconstruction", and "truth" are used, but they are all question-begging. The transformation of a war-torn society, as it may be seen from government corridors, or at reconciliation negotiation tables, may not be so obvious to individuals or groups. Bringing the trauma of the past into the open may delay, abort or create sharp criticism of the processes. Recall the commissioners in the South African TRC who were aware of that many who had suffered during long years of apartheid wanted their oppressors punished (Whittaker, 1999:32; Wilson, 2001). And as Janis Grobelaar said in her presentation on the South African reconciliation process during the 2004 SIRC Conference in Lund, the process went on and in the end it was probably not the dialogue, because few perpetrators ever witnessed to the TRC, but the silence that lay the groundwork for the reconstruction of the society.

So, there may be a conflict in the definition of what reconciliation is or should be and certainly what it should result in. A peculiar part of reconciliation is the side-stepping of concepts that usually are part of justice and rebuilding democratic societies, like, retribution, human rights and the rule of law. This may create problems in the long-run. So we have to ask if it is a good thing that reconciliation is most about psychological healing through dialogue? What about retribution and re-establishing the rule of law?

Reconciliation: From Dialogue to Retribution

Last year, at this conference, Abdi Ismail Samatar (2003) showed the failed attempts to rebuild the Somali state. I argue, that some of the failures can be traced to the focus on dialogue as reconciliation. If we look at the concept of dialogue it is supposed to restore trust and regain a larger, more inclusive moral community and prevent further conflict. In current reconciliation processes, dialogue involves talking about and finding out who did what to whom. The concept of dialogue is about assessing various truths in an intersubjective, psychological way, or what John Borneman (2002 & 2003) calls "listening" and “truth-telling”. When carried out in public forums with skilled dialoguers and listeners, it is believed that truth-telling creates a community that can transcend the conflict trap and revenge cycle that is all too common in ethnic conflicts and civil wars.

However, with an emphasis on dialogue and listening we are left with a theoretical problem. Is reconciliation really a question of dialogue? Why should nonviolent relations between groups and individuals be understood as "reconciliation"? Reconciliation postulates a situation prior to conflict that is marked by peace, friendship, and understanding, at least in the Christian notion,—yet these circumstances most likely existed only as someone's romantic idea. The concept of reconciliation as dialogue have even difficulties working in a country such as Australia in the talks between the government and the aboriginal people. Reconciliation is not a one size fits all model of long-term peace building. And it may not even be the right instrument in all situations.

I therefore argue that dialogue and forgiveness is not the only way, and may not even be the best way to restore social bonds and trust in a fragmented society, like in Somalia. Studies on the post-totalitarian states in Latin America shows that reconstructing trust also requires retributive justice executed by institutions enforcing the rule of law, so that no part in a conflict have to take revenge. Retributive justice helps facilitate the mourning process by wiping the slate clean. Legitimate judicial institutions and the rule of law can help people begin the work needed to deal with the trauma of civil war and/or ethnic cleansing.

Reconciliation as Coexistence

A possible departure from reconciliation as dialogue and psychological healing is to replace the word reconciliation with coexistence, understood simply as community (Kriesberg, 1998; Sampson, 2002). In a situation of coexistence, conflicting parties simply ignore each other, accepting each others existence. Robert Edgerton (1979) has described this condition in Alone Together. In this study, Edgerton argues, there is neither conflict nor reconciliation. There is simply public coexistence. In areas of world conflict, the act of ignoring or behaving as if the opponent is not present would certainly represent a step forward over the threat of clan wars, ethnic cleansing, genocide, raping, etc. We see instances of such coexistence in many places that have experienced civil wars, like in, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kosovo, and East Timor. Kosovo, and East Timor, for example, have had surprisingly peaceful elections. Reinterpreting reconciliation as coexistence rather than as what it is often called "a departure

from violence" means that parents in Mogadishu can take their child to school without being shot at, or have a cup of tea without being beaten up. This in situations where we could expect much more violence given the prevalent frustrations and the absence of truth-telling that characterize these societies. Coexistence therefore means being oblivious to the Other.

Whereas the process of reconciliation demands voice and response, coexistence is a social order that requires no dialogue or listening. For example, the IGAD emphasis on the faith in dialogue for peacemaking, the solution seems to be one prolonged "conversation." I think this perspective reflects a kind of naivete, present in many peacekeeping circles, regarding the power of dialogue: if we just sit down and talk things through then we will feel better and this alone will cause our social relations to improve. In this sense, reconciliation is about talk. This kind of model may operate in certain situations as roundtable talks, marital counseling, or in family therapy in which people reveal their innermost traumas and confessions. But can this strategy of open communication operate effectively in actual peacemaking scenarios in Somalia? After all, most social orders thrive not just on communication, but also on leaving certain things unsaid, undisputed, and shrouded in mystery. Was not the South African TRC all about actually creating coexistence and not psychological healing, and certainly not justice for the victims? It is the silence, not the talk that reconciliation seems to be all about. The talk may have some therapeutic consequences. But, they are therapeutic only when they lead to a reconstitution of the social order, to new forms of social action. For this latter process to occur, dialogue and listening must be supplemented by institutional solutions founded on the rule of law. Because, what good is all the talk if the new parliamentarians are corrupt and having blood on their hands?

Another problem regarding reconciliation I want to bring up for discussion concerns the crucial questions of how we are to deal with competing truths or visions of the future society and whose truth we should heed. In many reconciliation efforts today, "listening" and “dialogue” means assessing, questioning, and interpreting various truth accounts, none of which are wholly true in an absolute sense. This point is crucial, since it means that we must also listen to the accounts of perpetrators, the rebels, the kidnappers, the warlords, etc. Thus, we should "listen" and “talk” about the "truth", as it is presented by the white South African policeman, the Serbian camp commandant, the Hutu brigade leader, the Pol Pot cadre in the killing fields or at the warlords in Somalia. The perpetrators will invariably depict themselves as victims. How, then, do we reconcile these accounts? Is it enough to have a dialogue to build the social trust the fragmented society of Somalia so desperately need?

Yet another problem with reconciliation as dialogue I want to raise, is the faith in dialogue as a means of reconciliation and reconstruction of trust in social relations runs against anthropological realities. Anthropologists know that societies are constructions, with layers of untruths and silence in which social relations are not transparent. People deal with this by treating it as a tool to be manipulated and as a means of power and subordination of others. Societies are about domination, hidden power structures and physical as well as symbolic violence. Societies are built not on dialogue and truth-telling, maybe not on lies, but most often on not telling everything. If the goal of reconciliation is to get society moving again, to start over, it is only to give new vitality to certain social lies and silencies.

Building Coexistence

John Borneman's (2002) remarks on dialogue in the case of ethnic cleansing and civil war offer general lessons for reconciliation in post-violent conflict societies. It is not the truth as such that build the peace, but rather the practice of truth-assessing and the public frameworks

created by such assessments. These frameworks reinforce networks of trust, networks that are at once horizontal in terms of sociality and vertical in terms of citizens' trust in institutions. We can therefore use Borneman's ideas to define a reasonable democratic or even a post-conflict society as one that provide contexts for truth assessment: a civil society for social exchange and legitimate courts for judging truth accounts. Lawyers know that Courts are not about the "truth", as such, but about what is counting as truth in any given moment. It is the same situation with democracy, which encourages us to bash one another over the head—with words. Coexistence demands an acceptable truth for the society to move on (see e.g. South Africa).

In the immediate period after the fall of an authoritarian regime or a civil war, there are people who want to tell all in the form of revelations. But transition regimes typically lack the structures to mete out justice. South Africa, for instance, witnessed under the TRC victims telling horrid tales of abuse by the police. Yet the other side of Borneman's reconciliation equation, the legitimate structures of justice, have barely materialized: the archives have only recently been partially opened, no or few trials have taken place, and hence, neither truth-assessment nor justice has occurred. There are no listeners. Instead, people have appropriated en masse the discourse of having all been victims. Even former secret police cadres have maintained their victim status. Without listeners no dialogue!

Yet, we also find signs that, when conditions permit, people can initiate their own reconciliation as coexistence practices. The situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo offers an example in which refugees (Antropologföreningen, 2003) have been brought together for a series of meetings by local grassroots organizations. The meetings offered each group the opportunity to exchange their experiences. Their discussions initially focused on issues such as the practical problems of getting one's property back, finding jobs, land to cultivate, security, healthcare, schools, and so on. Yet, by the final meeting, the groups of displaced people found they had many things in common. They recounted their wartime experiences to one another and reached a common understanding. The conversations did not simply lay the groundwork for the civil society, they actually reconstituted civil society itself. Whether or not their coexistence dialogues represent genuine truth-telling in the round-table sense, is beside the point. The people became listeners, not just about their own particular victimization, but also about other aspects of their lives.

Maybe mourning and social action will be possible through dialogue. Perhaps this is what is meant by all the reconciliation processes going on, when they are talking about new solidarities being grounded in an acknowledgment of heterogeneity and that violence is wrong. The "reconciliation" that comes from dialogue will be valuable only if there are strong, impersonal institutions. In communities, such impersonality can lead to objectification and genocide. Yet it is precisely impersonality—in the form of legal institutions—that is required to lift community conflicts out of the quagmire of personal vendetta or revenge and into the rule of law.

"Breaking the Conflict Trap":
Defining the way of the Coexistence society

So, if reconciliation as dialogue is not doing the job, we have to ask, what is? Lessons for reaching the coexistence society has been proposed by several studies recently, eg Paul Collier, et al (2003). In a study called "Breaking the Conflict Trap", Collier et. al argues that where development fails, countries are at high risk of becoming caught in a conflict trap in

which war wrecks the economy and increases the risk of further war. War causes poverty, but according to Collier and others, the more important observation in trying to understand the causes and solutions to civil war, is that poverty increases the likelihood of civil war (Collier, 2003:53). So if we want to rebuild societies we have to think about ways to reduce poverty.

This is seen today in many countries. Collier argues that civil wars and ethnic wars are not always caused by ancestral ethnic and religious hatred. Studies show that civil wars are often a connection between poverty (i.e. unequal resource distribution) and natural resources. Ethnicity is most of the time only a secondary factor of war. A factor that can be triggered when the conflict has emerged. The root cause is the connection poverty-natural resources that triggers violent conflict. (see for instance the war in the DR Congo).

Civil wars tend to be longer than international wars and there are also important financial factors. Rebels may actually want to continue a war because it is their way of getting financial resources through different illegal activities (e.g. drug trade, kidnappings, extortions).

In other studies, B.F. Walter (1997, 2002) argues that the likelihood of reaching a negotiated settlement in civil wars is less because of the lack of credible guarantees offered by third parties committed to enforce a peace treaty. Walter has found that this is the key factor explaining failures to reach negotiated settlements.

Others have emphasized that secessionist conflicts (Somalia) tend to last longer than other civil wars because secession is often seen as a nondivisible good (Licklider, 1993). And, the existence of many groups with many different interests makes negotiations harder. Another important factor for resolution, according to some studies, is the absence of a credible guarantor for peace. The absence of a legitimate government can act as disincentives for the conflicting parties to disarm. And disarmament is typically a precondition for peace implementation. The presence of armed rebels undermines the government´s legitimacy and sovereignty. On the other hand, if the rebels disarm, they will likely lose the bargaining power in relation to the government. This is a cycle that can be hard to leave.

The point I want to make is that reconciliation should not only be about talking and listening, it should be about creating credible institutions that can enforce the rule of law. And for that to happen it is probably necessary to implement social policies that shows a will to reform and rebuild the state. Countries (like Somalia), which are in a post-conflict situation according to some observations, are in exceptionally high risk of further conflict. That means that reconciliation has to be focusing on the root causes of the civil war and not just be a “dialogue” or “truth-telling” activity at round tables. Additionally, there are today some practical ideas of how to try to implement interventions to violent conflicts, that maybe more or less relevant to the Somalian context, all of them probably has to be adjusted to the specific national context in each case:

- There is “the Kimberley process”. Kimberley deals with regulation of the trade of diamonds, but it could probably be extended to control other resources (timber, oil, minerals).
- International aid (aid should carefully distributed, and there should be specific targets, like education etc, which can build trust in the government among the population.
- Governance of natural resources (see the “Monterrey consensus”, where the key concept is transparency of the income from natural resources and how it is spent) Both industrial and development governments have responsibilities in using their revenues

efficiently, which is also a demand put on governments by the international human rights (ESC-rights) instruments.

- Restricting the rebel groups trade of natural resources. This is a major financial source for civil wars. Other financial sources for rebels are ransoms and extortions. There is actually a recently established market for ransom insurances, which probably escalates payments to rebels. (OECD based companies paying rebel groups)
- Military peacekeeping (not likely in Somalia).

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PAPER 4

Engendering Peace Process and Peace Reconstruction

Case Study from Sudan

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The objective of this paper is to explore gender roles in peace process and peace reconstruction. Although gender refers to both women and men, this paper will nevertheless particularly focuses on the role of women in conflict resolution and peace building. Where possible these will be compared to those of men. I take Sudan as a case study.

First, the paper focuses on the impact of war on women in war zones, displaced persons' camps and refugee camps. Second, a gender perspective of the war will be put forward. Third, the role of women in peace process and peace reconstruction will be discussed.

Gender profile

Sudan has a low Human Development Index (HDI). It ranks at 143 out of 174 countries. Female adult literacy rate is 43% whereas 68% for male. Combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ration for female is 31% whilst for males it is 37%. Maternal mortality rate reported (per 100, 000 live births) during the period 1990-98 is 550. Female life expectancy at birth (years) is 54 (Human Development Report 2000: 157-165).

In terms of Gender Related Development Index (GDI) (e.g. female professional and technical workers), it ranks at 118 (value 0.45). Statistics on Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) are unavailable. Female economic activity rate (as % of male rate) is 40%. Data on unemployment rate is unavailable. In terms of women's political participation, as I will indicate later, Sudanese women got the right to vote and to stand for election as early as 1964. However, in 1998, there was no woman as ministerial or sub-ministerial level in the Sudanese government (Human development Report 2000: 166-265).

From the above data, it is quite clear that both the political arena and the public service are extremely dominated by men. However conscious-raising campaigns run by women's organisations and some other civil society organisations e.g. trade unions have raised the number of women who have entered these areas.

Women and peace: a gender perspective

Do women have a special perspective on war different from men's? Are all women against wars regardless of their causes, whereas men are the obvious instigators of war? Is there any space for more men to be peace-makers?

Society perceives men's and women's roles differently. Men are considered to be naturally superior to women. They are the breadwinners and have the right to enjoy full lives in the outside world. By contrast, women have been brought up to accept men's superiority. They are considered irrational and weaker than men and are responsible for domestic work. They do not have free time for public activities, particularly for politics.

In all societies, it is women who give birth and nurse babies. In most societies women are responsible for child rearing and family caring. Women affirm life in a male dominated structure and seek peace in a military world. Women's passion for life is thought to provide a natural basis for them to be peace makers in a violent world (Ferris 1992: 1-2).

As the above gender profile indicates, men monopolise the important positions in the socio-economic hierarchy. They are decision-makers who dominate the main institutions of modern society: law, policies, public administration, the armed forces and police, commerce, industry, trade unions, the media and other major institutions (Rogers 1981: 25). These institutions are very important in peace time as well as war time.

Many feminists have argued that since women are marginalised in the decision-making process of their countries' affairs generally, their contribution to whether or not their countries should go to war is also marginalised. Unlike men, if women were to have been consulted, they would prefer to negotiate for reconciliation and peace rather than confrontation (Kiremire 1995: 18).

Why should women in particular try to oppose war?
War reinforces gender inequality and diverts resources from development. It is women who suffer most from the lack of health services, poor education and economic stagnation. Equality for women and peace go hand in hand. Women must be aware of this and be more active in lobbying their governments, communities and grassroots organisations for non-violent solutions to conflicts (Vickers 1993).

However, it would be simplistic and misleading to view all men as violators and war makers and to see all women as opposed to war, irrespective of causes. Women's identification with and participation in war and their ability to deal with its outcome is influenced by the nature of the war. For example, in Uganda, in 1986 a high proportion of women saw the war as a battle for power between men. They perceived those who caused war as "Power hungry" wishing only "To get rich by force". Those women did not support any side (Bennett et all 1995) By contrast, in Algeria and Eritrea women have participated in liberation and resistance movement. Some of them took up arms and fought. They perceived the war differently since they saw themselves as fighters for political and social justice. For them war was a struggle for women's rights. Furthermore, Palestine women have been involved in the liberation struggle for more than fifty years: as fighters, negotiators and mediators.

An extreme example comes from Rwanda where women were involved in the killing during the Rwandese genocide. Women of every social category took part in the killing. Civil servants, teachers, nurses and doctors were involved in the slaughter (Http://www.peacelink.it/afrights/hotsoinn.htm, 2004)

On the other hand, there are many men who support peace and work towards it as a better solution for all conflicts. In peace movements, men work with women. Therefore, we must not isolate our analysis of war from the ideology that people use to legitimate their war.

The impact of war on women

"Civilian fatalities have climbed from 5% of war related deaths at the turn of the Century to more than 90% in the wars of the 1990s. Recent times have witnessed new weapons and patterns of conflict, including the indiscriminate use of land mines and anti-personnel cluster

bombs as well as the proliferation of light weapons. As a result, many of the causalities are women and children"
(UNDP, 1998)

To understand the role of women in peace process and post-conflict reconstruction in Sudan one has to first understand the impact of war on women's daily life.

Women who stay in war-zones
Most women who remained in the war-zones are subject to continuous attack. Their lives are not settled. In many cases they have to constantly move from one area to another. Those women face the threat of death, abduction and starvation. Their domestic activities have become insecure. Government programs to help them and their children, such as health services, are no longer available.

The one irreversible consequence of war is death. In war there may never be an accurate account of the people, particularly women, who lost their lives. Fighters from all sides may be more interested to know the numbers of combatants (most of them are men) and less interested in the numbers of civilian (most of whom are women and children). Thus, in documenting the causalities it seems that women have less of a chance to be counted than men.

In Darfur Western Sudan, the government backed militias have targeted civilians, their farms and livestock. People remain with no choice but to leave their villages and to seek refuge internally or cross the border to neighbouring Chad. Although the government has responsibility to protect them, evidence has shown that the government of Sudan is doing nothing to protect civivalns. "The Sudanese government insists that it is taking significant measures, but the continuing atrocities in Darfur prove that Khartoum's claims simply are not credible" (Human Right Watch 2004).

In Southern Sudan people have lost their crops and cattle and food became scarce. The black market for food then developed and famine became wide spread. The death rate of people dying from starvation was approximately 10 persons per day, increasing gradually to 80 (Burr 1993: 13).

War has handicapped development efforts to utilise natural resources and to develop new programmes to reduce women's burden. This development failure has a gender dimension: it increases women's domestic burden. Furthermore, domestic work has become difficult and unsafe, since women have to walk for a long distance to find water and fuel. They have to be more careful because they are more likely to be stopped, or attacked by soldiers whilst moving through the countryside and towns, or killed by hidden landmines.

Displacement
Displacement has been a fact of life in Sudan. Large numbers of pastoralists and agricultural labourers are regularly on move willingly looking for good pasture or temporally agricultural labour during harvesting time. However, since 1983, civil war in the South, famine and drought in many regions, have forced tens of thousands to leave their homes and communities. Therefore, since 1983 migration has a new dimension, it has become forced migration. By 1989, for example, approximately 2 million Sudanese Southerners -one out of every 5 or 6 persons- had been displaced (cited in Yongo-Bure 1991: 12).

This situation became worse just before entering this millennium as the number of displaced persons was estimated at over 4 million (Suliman 1999: 49). The recent crisis in Darfur has added over 1.5 million displaced persons.

Data by gender are not available, but it is common knowledge that men are often the first to leave in order to join in the fighting (in Southern Sudan, Nuba mountains or the new war area in Darfur), or to find work in the case of other regions. Women and children are the last to arrive in the camps and slum areas of cities (in greater numbers and in frail health).

In the process of displacement, most people lose their livestock and harvests and are only left with hunger and disease. Women are arguably the worst hit by such displacement because of their particular roles both in reproductive work and in the subsistence economy (wani 1988: 95). They are disadvantaged in comparison to men, they have significantly lower incomes and shoulder significantly higher work burdens. Eventually they are unable to produce enough food for their families, or to find jobs to enable them to buy food and essential items.

Moreover, since the National Islamic Front (NIF) military coup in 1989, human rights in general and women's rights in particular have been abused seriously. For example, in 2000 while women were campaigning to force the government to sign for the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the governor of Khartoum has declared that women should be excluded from certain jobs such as working in petrol stations, restaurants, hotels…etc. By this declaration the authority has minimised chances for less-educated and poor women (where plenty of them are in displaced persons' camps) to get jobs.

Refugee women

As a result of the civil war in Sudan, many Southern Sudanese people have become refugees in neighbouring countries. Large numbers of them are in Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya (Duffield 1990). People who escaped Darfur atrocities fled to Chad. A large proportion of these are women.

Life in refugee camps is different from the ones they left behind. This can be illustrated by life in Bonga refugee camp in western Ethiopia. In this camp, instead of producing their own food, refugees have become dependent on food aid as the main means of survival since they arrived in Ethiopia in 1992. In addition, some other supplementary means of survival such as fishing, the gathering of wild food and wage labour have developed (James 1995: 18).

These new survival strategies have implications for gender relations within the household. Before migration, the household used to be a collaborative unit, especially between husbands and wives in the production and preparation of food crops. Men were primarily responsible for the clearing and preparation of land, whereas, planting was carried out by all members of the household. Women were responsible for weeding, harvesting, crop processing and storage (Wani 1988: 95). Because of the dependence on food aid and the lack of access to land for cultivation, unemployment has become a serious problem in the refugee community. Women continue to be extremely busy in traditional subsistence tasks, whereas men are free to be more active in outside activities such as education, church leadership and village politics (James 1995: 45).

A sense of in security amongst women in refugee camps is affecting their domestic chores. For example, in Kenya, where refugees from Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan are settled,

Sudanese men have to guard their women when they go out-side the camp, e.g. to visit hospital or UNHCR office, whereas, Ethiopian men tend to do most of outside activities usually done by women (e.g. fetching water, collecting fire-wood and going to the market) because their women fear attack from non-Ethiopian men (Edward 2001: 15).

Common suffering
In the absence of the male relative's protection, of state intervention and international support, women of war, whether they live in war zones or have escaped to distant away areas, have common gender specific suffering that they may never have faced if war did not take place. For example, In times of war, the number of women breadwinners is likely to increase. When male heads of households are killed or became disabled, women have to take responsibility. They have to do their normal domestic work, to look after their children and to work outside their homes to earn income.

Another problem is rape. Rape is often used as a weapon against community identity especially when conflict has religious and ethnic dimensions. Rape is often performed in full view of the family and community. In this sense, it is an attack on everyone, although it is women who suffer physically (Bennett, et al 1995: 8). A woman who has suffered rape, may be rejected by her family and community. The problem is worse when a raped woman becomes pregnant by her violator.

Southern Sudanese women in war zones have become vulnerable to rape and sexual harassment. Sudanese culture prohibits discussion on sex and rape and therefore most of these cases are unreported and misrepresented. In Darfur rape is also used by the government backed militias as a weapon to humiliate the whole community. Many women were rape while they were doing their normal activities such as fetching water and collecting fire-woods.

Moreover, war also has broken normal sexual relationships and increases the possibility of men sexually abusing or exploiting women, especially in societies where women's sexuality is under control, whereas, men almost without limit.

The role of women in peace process and peace reconstruction

Peace Process
African women have long realised the heavy cost of conflicts. The have been mobilising and organising themselves at local, national and regional levels to promote conflict resolution and peace building.

It is argues that conflict offers women windows of opportunities for their emancipation and for the establishment of women's groups. Its gives them the opportunity to enter the public and political arenas, where they traditionally had limited access to. Their campaigns for peace have been organised at level of society, particularly in the non-government sector (NGOs), which in many countries did not even exist before the conflict (Bouta and Frerks 2002). Moreover, Conflict creates opportunities for women's peace movements.

Although women's role in development is generally acknowledged, their participation in policy making and the democratisation processes is limited. This has marginalised them in this area and denied the country the use of women's talents, experiences and skills as agents for peace and development.

This neglect of the role of women in policy-making can only make any political process weaker and less insightful: humanity is like a bird with two wings. One is male and the other is female. Neither wing can substitute for the other, and unless each wing is equally strong and co-ordinate to a common purpose, flight is not possible (http://2wings.ipfox.com, 2004).

The devastating outcome of the war mentioned above has brought conflict resolution and peace building issues to women's organisations agenda. For example, immediately after the UN Fourth Conference in Beijing many women's organisations in Sudan including Sudanese Women's Union, Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace and Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women Studies have come together and calling on warring parties to end the war and work towards a lasting peace" (Engendered peace process 1998). Women in exile have also formed their own organisations. For instance; Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi (SWAN) has set up its agenda for peace and engaged in many activities related to conflict resolutions and peace reconstruction such as women's human rights, political participation as well as psychosocial trauma management (http://www.acrconym.org.uk, 2004).

In Upper Nile, Southern Sudan in 1994. Village women were very active in the People-to-people peace initiative that successfully stopped inter-ethnic violence in the region. Women used their talent, experience and influence within their families and communities to achieve peace. This process has highlighted that grassroots women have many to offer to conflict resolution and peace building process (http://southsudanfriends.org, 2004).

Recently, the Netherlands' Initiative has yielded a profound networking for peace. It has focused on the issue of engendering the conflict resolution and peace process in Sudan and supported Sudanese women to benefit from the international support and recognition (Initiative to facilitate the participation of Sudanese women in the peace process, Royal Netherlands Embassies, Khartoum/Nairobi 2000). However, this initiative has not fully succeeded to mobilise grass-roots women and their organisations.

More positive examples came from Somalia. The Voice of Somali Women for Peace as a grass root organisation has managed to implement peace education programmes which targeted school children mainly, in Mogadishu as well as programmes for families affected by war in Borama (Personal communication 2002).

In May 2003, Somali women attending the Peace Conference in Nairobi, have tried to influence the formal peace process by lobbying and advocating for women's rights to be included in the peace process. They met with the peace mediator to urge his support and for women inclusion in the peace process. They also agreed to advocate for at least 25% representation in the parliament (http://www.irinnews.org/report, 2004).

Although women have formed their own organisations for conflict resolution and peace building and have their own initiatives for lasting peace, they haven't been represented in peace processes at the official level (e.g. the IGAD initiative and Libyan and Egyptian initiative). These initiatives are male dominated, regardless of women's efforts to resolve conflict and promote peace. Women are left out of the official peace negotiations and formal task for the reconstruction process.

How to include women in formal peace initiatives?

First, gender awareness campaigns. Awareness has to be raised and perceptions and attitudes must be changed. Decision-makers have to be made to understand the role of women in promoting peace process and work towards integrating women in any peace efforts. Therefore the proposed women's conference (in one of the liberated areas) which announced by National Democratic Alliance (NDA) leaders in the second NDA congress in Mosawa (Eritrea), 2000 can be seen as a serious step towards the participation of women in decision making and their involvement in efforts for making peace a reality.

Second, women through their own organisations need to enhance their capacity building, take the initiative in seeking out effective ways of achieving peace, support networking among themselves and other civil society organisations; foster improved dialogue among non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations (CBS) and trade unions. In other words, enhancing the chances for peace building from below.

Third, peace process also requires the elimination of all forms of oppression and discrimination. Human rights and democracy are crucial for any conflict resolution and peace building processes. Therefore, women's organisations should encourage and lobby the government to ratify international legal instruments promoting the rights of women including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Post-conflict reconstruction

A woman from Lebanon says "The real experience of war is not the shelling and so on, those are just moments, though they are the ones you see on TV. War is what happens afterwards, the years of suffering hopelessly with a disabled husband and no money, or struggling to rebuild when all your property has been destroyed" (Bennett et all 1995)

Women's different needs in post war reconstruction periods need to be dealt with seriously. Women for so long have been excluded from democratic participation. Women must learn how to participate. The consciousness campaign of women and men about the importance of women's participation in peace process will yield gender sensitive programmes for reconstruction and building peace.

Rensen (1998) has referred to women's political reconstruction by arguing that women's main issues in post-war political reconstruction can be divided into two main issues. First, the nature of the emerging political system and its understanding to women's rights, needs and interest. Second, whether or not women will be allowed to be active participants in the political process. Of course, women former position in the conflict (displaced, refugees, victims of rape or torture or ex-combatants) will determine their post-conflict concerns, needs and contributions. For example, displaced women may be more interested in re-building their lost-livelihoods whereas, women who suffer rape may need first, psycho-social help before getting involved in any socio-political activities.

Women's organisations need to provide psycho-social support and related health care services for victims of gender-related violence in a friendly and supportive atmosphere. This is not only a good mechanism for healing the pain of the victims of the war, but it is the foundation on which society has some hope of living in peace and justice. It is the bases of sustainable development in the longer term.

As indicated above, although war may empower women by increasing their responsibilities by taking on what is traditionally refers to as the male roles. However, experience has shown that traditional discriminatory social attitudes may re-surface immediately after the war is over as the case in Eritrea (Eugenia Date-Bah from ILO in a WILPF conference) and women may be asked to abandon the freedom they got and go back to their domestic domain. The challenge is how to ensure that women hold onto the changed roles they acquired during war and afterwards.

In some countries the post- conflict constitutions may generally recognised women's political rights e.g. the right to vote. However, women may face some difficulties to exercise that right because they are expected not to vote against male relatives. Another obstacles in this regard is time. Women may face difficulties in finding time to participate in politics and to understand political programmes. To solve this problem, women's organisations could disseminate political information in a simple way using simple/appropriate techniques which can be understood by women especially those who lack political experience and consciousness. This could also help more women to stand for election. Moreover, women need to be represented in committees that will supervise the election process (Rensen 1998).

Another important issue is the constitution. The new constitution should recognise the role of women in development and peace building. Gender discrimination in public and private life should be abolished by law. Furthermore, inclusion of women in the constitution making process holds potentials for achieving sustainable peace.

In Eritrea, the constitution has recognised women's rights in general. A draft stated that "any act that violates the human rights of women or limits or otherwise thwarts their role or participation is prohibited" (Tesfai 1996 cited in Rensen 1998). Furthermore, women have been given access to land. Female circumcision is prohibited by law, and maternity leave have been extended (Iyob 1997). This Eritrean experience, among others, should be considered when drafting legislations related to women's rights in post-conflict Sudan.

In terms of economic reconstruction of post-conflict Sudan, any rehabilitation programme should consider women's capacities and skills in the economic sector. For example, their roles in improving agricultural production and food security. Furthermore, women role in the informal sector e.g. petty trade (selling kisra and tea), shouldn't be ignored.

Finally, improving the role of women in peace process and conflict resolution requires building the leadership potential of women to make meaningful contribution to peace making process at all levels. "Joint decisions are not the only outcome or even the most common response to conflicts, but such decisions may be one of the most valuable outcome" (Accord Handbook in Basic Conflict Resolution, undated: 12).

CONCLUSION

The armed conflict in Sudan has resulted in enormous devastation to the Southern and Western communities . It has destroyed the infrastructure and put development effort at a halt.

The war has had a significant gender dimension. A greater number of women are killed, abducted or raped. Hundreds of thousands of women migrate to big cities and became displaced. In refugees camps they had to adopt new lives, often without their families and kinship support.

It has to be repeated that although there are many efforts and initiatives at the official level to build peace in Sudan e.g. The IGAD and Libyan/Egyptian initiatives, they tend to ignore women and their participation in the peace process.

Women's organisations have realised that and have begun to form their own initiatives for conflict resolution and peace building at the grassroots level and demanded to be represented in any dialogue, initiative and other efforts for peace.

Furthermore, human rights abuses as well as the issue of healing the pain of victims of war especially women and their integration into communities need to be tackled if a lasting peace is to be achieved.

Therefore, women should expand their peace network to include women in rural areas, displaced women and those who are forced to live in exile, and work towards disseminating a culture of peace targeted at ending the armed conflict and building peace.

RECOMMENDATION

1. Women should be involved as active members in all decision-making, conflict resolution and peace building efforts and programs.

2. More training for women's leaders in conflict resolution, mediation and negotiations should be conducted.

3. All Sudanese women even those who are in exile or displaced have a role to play in conflict resolution and peace building as individuals or within their own organisations. Therefore, the peace network should be extended to accommodate all of them.

4. Women's organisations and other member of civil society should put pressure on the government to reduce military expenditures to the minimum and re-channel these resources to development.

5. To de-escalate the escalating conflict in Sudan, a culture of peace should be disseminated.

6. All war criminals should be brought to justice

7. Rape and other abuses of women's rights in time of war should be branded as war crimes.

8. Women's organisations should appeal to international community to support democratisation and peace processes in Sudan.

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PAPER 5

Building a Culture of Peace in the Horn of Africa

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In recent years we have seen an increase of conferences on the Horn of Africa (HOA). The Lund Conferences, Tampa, Florida, in November 2002, Aalborg, Denmark, in a few days time, are some which could be mentioned. At the Nordic Africa Institute there are also plans to organise a conference on the region with particular concern on conflict with regional dynamics.

All these are indications of concern of the seriousness of the region's problems, and the growing awareness that something has to be done to save the region from the endemic conflicts, wars and the culture of violence, and the socio-economic calamities that the region is suffering from. Amidst all this, however, there are some rays of hope, concerning the Somali reconciliation talks about reviving the Somali State; and the negotiations between the government of Sudan in Khartoum and South Sudan rebels. A seemingly simple question, but in a matter of practicality highly complex, is, how do we achieve culture of peace? I don't think there is a ready-made and simple answer to this question; at least, I do not pretend to have a clue. What perhaps one can suggest is organise again and again such conferences until we can come up with a workable formula or formulas.

I believe that building a culture of peace presupposes, as first steps, identifying commonalities across political boundaries, as well as across social and ethnic boundaries within a political boundary. Further it requires building on the commonalities, and consolidating them, in order to transform them into common goods, values and assets for the whole region.

It is high time that the HOA societies identify the commonalties they have, and build on them their future of stability, prosperity and culture of peace. For far too long has the region been dwelling on differences and specificities. The region, with its long history, and complex socio-political and cultural setting displays many things in common. For this purpose, I have identified two groups of categories. The first concerns with commonalities based on material and cultural aspects. The second concerns with mechanism and social actors that would serve for enhancing and translating the commonalities into reality.

The societies of the HOA are intimately connected with each other in terms of culture and natural resources. The availability of a range of natural resource endowments, on the one hand, the histories and cultures binding them, on the other, are premises on which the societies of the HOA would be able to build a culture of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Natural resource endowment differentiality is both a constraint and an enabling factor.

It is true that differentiality or asymmetries in resource endowments could create an atmosphere of discordance, competition and conflict. Yet, since there is no country without any type of resource endowment, or with everything it needs in its backyard, differentiality could also lead to state of complementarity, where nations complement one another by brining forth to the collectivity what they possess. The notion of complementarity

presupposes that what is found in one nation is missing in the other or others, or there is a proportional deficiency of goods and services.

The joining together of natural resource endowments and creating governance regimes for those endowments spawns common stakes. Common stakes provide the possibility of minimising the risk for hostility and conflict and can pave the way for a peaceful and negotiated coexistence. All this could lay the ground for the emergence of the culture of peace.

To the cultural aspect of the commonalities are included the diverse *ethnies* that aspire some kind of connection with their own kind on the other side of the political boundary, which in turn would have the effect of bridging divisions and thereby generating peaceful cooperation and coexistence among concerned states.

To transform the material and cultural common assets into a real benefit, we need indeed some mechanisms and committed social actors. The mechanism I refer to here is democratisation, whereas civil society and Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) are some of the social actors I have in mind, and which I think could play significant role in transforming the commonalities into common goods, and thereby generate a culture of peace. From the very outset, I would like to make it clear that stressing commonalities should not be construed as neglecting or suppressing differences and specificities or entrenching the statuesque. To the contrary building culture of peace presupposes recognition and celebration of specificities. We need to tackle our specificities democratically and in a manner that pays attention to peoples' justice before even we can contemplate building a culture of peace. Let me now go, in some detail, on to the categories I have briefly outlined. I will begin with natural resources.

Natural Resources

Generally, asymmetries in natural resources endowment are believed to constitute sources of conflict as well as hindrance for meaningful integration and co-operation. The roots of many of the conflicts raging in the world could be traced to resource endowment asymmetries. At the same time there is an embedded potentiality of it becoming a strong motive for integration. This is so because differentiality in endowment necessitates complementarity. The notion of complementarity rests on the assumption that one partner possesses certain value(s) which are markedly in deficiency with the other partner(s), and another value(s) is at the hand of this other partner(s) that is coveted by the former.

Here natural resources involve (i) human, (ii) material (minerals), and (iii) outlet to the sea. The two largest countries in the HOA are Sudan and Ethiopia. While Sudan is the largest, not only in reference to the Horn, but also in reference to the continent as a whole geographically, Ethiopia, with its close to 70 million people, is the largest country of the Horn demographically, and next largest geographically. The remaining Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti follow respectively in the scale of size. The thesis is that all these countries have something to contribute to the collectivity, and their resource endowments would constitute complementarity. Instead of constituting a source of conflict and war should, therefore, the asymmetries in resource endowment in the region be elements of cooperation, integration and peaceful coexistence.

Sudan possesses a significant reserve of natural resources and has a vast area of cultivation land, which with the introduction of modern technology could lead to the country being not only agriculturally self-sufficient but also a major exporter of agricultural products. In addition, due to the fact that Sudan shares borders with nine countries (Egypt, Libya, Chad,

Central African Republic, DRC, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Eritrea) it has a great potentiality for becoming a major trading country. Ethiopia, on the other hand, possesses a fertile agricultural land, esp. in the southern part of the country. Provided there is sufficient rainfall and a proper use of its rivers, it also can be self-sufficient and exporter of agricultural products. Its population size provides great potential for considerable market.

These natural resources endowments are located in regions inhabited by specific ethnic groups where ethnic conflicts have been running for a long time, occasionally becoming sources of these conflicts. Resources become root causes for intra-state conflicts when there is inequality in redistribution, and are rendered tools of domination and exploitation. They could also be converted to common goods thereby raising the stakes by complementing deficiencies.

There is also the issue of water resource, which is shared by the states. The Blue Nile that originates from central Ethiopia dissects Sudan on its way to Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea. The waters of Shabelle and Juba River are shared by Ethiopia and Somalia. The Tekeze River constitutes the boundary line between Eritrea and Ethiopia and joins the Nile River in Sudan. The waters of the Gash River pass through the main agricultural region of Eritrea on its way to Eastern Sudan, the Kassala region. Another Eritrean river, Barka River joined by the Anseba River, crosses to the Tokor area in Eastern Sudan. These are common natural resources endowments whose wise and common management has the capacity of boosting the regions food security and development thereby mitigating inter- and intrastate conflicts.

The three smaller countries (Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia) are endowed with relatively poor material and human resources. Tiny Djibouti, with its geographic and population size, virtually is dependent on French support. Following 9/11 and the declaration of war on terrorism, the USA has also become main booster of Djibouti's economy. Somalia, the largest of the three, is potentially better positioned in terms of agricultural production contingent on the situation of rainfall. Its long maritime coast also makes Somalia a trading country. Eritrea used to export cash agricultural products introduced primarily during Italian colonial rule. During the war of liberation these plantations were destroyed, since its independence in 1993 the country is struggling to revitalise them. Preliminary mineral prospects and explorations indicate there might be considerable mineral resources.

The three countries have a resource which is greatly coveted by Ethiopia. They own ports. One Ethiopian scholar notes, "In so far as Ethiopia is the natural hinterland of Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia, the three states in turn are Ethiopia's natural outlets to the sea"[44]. Ethiopia has always felt insecure regarding its outlet to the sea. This insecurity has increased immensely after it lost Eritrea. Ethiopia has been persistently engaged in conflict with these three countries, the primary reason being their possession of ports which it badly needs.

Some suggest that Ethiopia could compensate its lose of Eritrean ports by getting free access to Somali ports in exchange for the free flow of waters of the Shabelle and Juba rivers[45]. Such arrangements could be ways of finding common solutions for common problems. Ethiopia's access to the sea may eliminate one of the causes of the conflicts. Ethiopians strongly believe having ports is intimately connected with development, that is, the country's development is contingent on its possession of port. This has led to common perception that Emperor Haile Selassie used to say that Ethiopia needs only the land of Eritrea not its people. This was so not

[44] Kendie, Daniel D., 2002. 'Problems and Prospects for a Horn of Africa Confederation/Federation', Paper presented to International Conference on Prospects for a Horn of Africa Confederation, 14-15 November 2002, Tampa, Florida. See also Assefa Mehretu, 2002, paper presented to the same Conference.

[45] Mohamed ,Abdullahi Elmi, 2002. 'Hydro-Politics in the Horn of Africa: Conflict and Required Co-operation in the Juba and Shabelle River Basins Need for Trans-boundary Cooperation', a paper presented to Horn of Africa: Co-operation Instead of Wars and Destruction, 11-12 May, 2002. Lund, Sweden

because Eritrea is endowed with rich mineral resources, but because of its ports. The impact of this widely quoted statement in the collective awareness of Eritreans is not easy to miss. Therefore the issue of outlet to the sea is a major impediment for the creation of stable and peaceful relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Recently in an interview with Addis Tribune the vice president of the United Ethiopian Democratic Front (UEDF), Dr. Beyene Petros, stated that for there to be peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Assab should be ceded to Ethiopia. “There is no other way to solve the problem any other solution will not be acceptable to the Ethiopian People”. Here we have an unequivocal example when differentiality of resources becomes a source of conflict.

Valued natural resources endowment also drag in alien actors on one or the other side of the contestation exacerbating the precarious or conflictual relation. Worse the involvement of external actors either prolongs the conflict or impedes finding solution (Geda 2004: 25). It is widely believed that Eritrea’s possession of ports and its strategic location had given rise to an alliance between Haile Selassie’s Ethiopia and the USA, resulting in Ethiopia getting Eritrea and the USA a military base in the capital of Eritrea (cf. Tesfatsion 1986: 22f, Habte Selassie 1980) that lasted until the fall of the Monarchy. The current international focus on Sudan is also attributed to the discovery of oil.

The differentiality in endowment of natural resources combined with intrastate and interstate conflicts poses formidable obstacles to regional integration. This has incessantly created a variety of political configurations without in any meaningful way fostering peace, stability and development. It has tended to submerge the region into a continuous political and socio-economic turmoil. However, provided properly managed and administered there is great potentiality that it could be turned into common asset. That is these differentiality in natural resource endowments could be source of complimentarity.

Ethnic Constellation and Culture

There is a general assumption that commonality in ethnicity and culture helps in the development of peaceful co-existence. This assumption rests on the common understanding that the basic markers of culture: values, norms, belief systems, codes and behaviours easily generate common understandings, identification and cohesion. The opposite is that distance in culture and ethnicity: strangeness in values, norms and belief systems could easily lead to misunderstanding, stereotypes, prejudices and conflicts. Let’s appraise the situation in the Horn of Africa (HOA) by deriving from this basic conceptualisation.

The formation of the modern geo-political entities and states in the HOA region took place in a fashion that did not take into consideration the ethnic composition of the peoples of the emergent states, the exception being Somalia. Indeed it proceeded in violation of integrity and social unity of the various ethnic groups resulting in a configuration that could be said resembles a salad bowl. This means the emergent states bore in their bombs seeds that are prevalent across the political boundaries, hence rendering the particular state mosaic of ethnies, on one hand, and the region as a whole a big salad bowl, on the other. The ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the post-independence Republic of Somalia constituted an anomaly. Even in the case of Somalia parts of the nation were cut and incorporated in the neighbouring states.

Unlike the conventional understanding that attribute the socio-ethnic miscellanies of the HOA region to European colonial powers, to many people in the region Ethiopia is also seen as a partaker in this social engineering through its expansionist adventures, particularly in the lands of the peoples’ of the South. In any case, both those who were created as a result of European colonial design and those “self-creating” bear in their wombs seeds that also grow across the border. Undoubtedly this mosaicity in ethnicity has been one of the roots of

conflicts and wars. Notwithstanding this, however, properly managed this ethnic and cultural diversity and similarity of the region may furnish the ground for integration and pave the way for the development of culture of peace.

Indeed this reality has its positive and negative aspects. In the negative aspect are to be counted the tensions and divisions deriving from the need of the modern nation state to assert authority on the people and territory that it claims hegemony, on the one hand, and the needs and ambitions of sovereignty or joining your keens in the other side of the border, of centrifugal ethnic forces, on the other. These tendencies coupled with other factors have become the main causes for war and destruction perpetuating culture of violence. In the positive aspect, the fact that the nation states of the Horn region share ethnic and cultural groups may facilitate cooperation and integration. The divided ethnies could bridge the political borders. In fact this is of crucial necessity if the region is to be spared of the perennial conflicts.

It is not news that the region contains a blend of ethnic groups spread across the political boundaries. Ethnographically the entire peoples of the region could be discerned in the three main groups – Hametic-Kushitic, Semitic and Nilotic. Every state, more or less, comprises or lends sections of the three main groups. Historically, these peoples have originated from different areas. The Hametic people are believed to have migrated from North Africa, present day Egypt, and spread southward along the Red Sea coast. On the way they pushed the indigenous people further to the south or west, they might have also assimilated them through intermarriages. The second group to migrate to the region was the Semitic. The dominant understanding is that this group came across the Red Sea from the Arabian Peninsula. They mixed with the indigenous peoples, thus, the name Abyssinia or Habesh/Habesha invariably interpreted as mixture. Finally, the “indigenous” group which were pressed both from the north and east, and as a result who were pushed mainly to the South and West, were the Nilotic group.

The migration and mixing has given rise to mosaic constellations of peoples and cultures within individual state as well as the region as a whole. There is ample literature that shows, over history, a considerable hybridisation has taken place where it might be difficult to claim ethnic purity. Further there is a widespread belief that the people of the region share ethnic identities and cultures. These commonalities certainly will provide the ground for a mutually beneficiary cooperation and integration. Moreover this ethnic and cultural constellation, which binds the whole region, would indeed furnish the ground for the cultivation of culture of peace.

History

Shared history could also be an incentive for cooperation and could facilitate for the generation of culture of peace. However, it is of crucial significance to underscore that this also presupposes the recognition and acceptance of equality of histories. The pre-colonial social history of the region represents an intricate and complex configuration. One of the characterising features of the histories of the region is its inequality. The dominant Ethiopian historiographic discourse, which has given rise to unparalleled mythology, claims the unchallenged hegemony in the region repressing histories of the rest of the peoples.

This historiographic mythology begins with genesis of the Axumite Kingdom (4^{th}-7^{th} century). In its heydays, according to its proponents, extended to the north-west to Meroe in present day Sudan, north and south east to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (cf. Wubneh and Abate 1988, Pankhurst 1998: 33-4, Tafla 1994: 4). According to this historiographic narrative the people domiciling the physical space which the kingdom covered was presumed to constitute Ethiopia. Its recent version encapsulates the HOA minus Sudan. This mythical

construction and interpretation of history was given hegemonic status where other peoples of the region were rendered historyless.

In its contemporary political sense it gave legitimacy to the Ethiopian State's claim of supremacy over the post-colonial states of Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti. Emperor Haile Selassie's claims on Eritrea and Somalia when the territories were decolonised by the British victory over Italy was evoked by mythical narrative of arrogation of history. The 'Great Ethiopia' historical narrative that claims uninterrupted existence of three thousand-years, and the concomitant historical claims of neighbouring territories, thus, creates a profound obstacle to the stability of the region. The Eritrean-Ethiopian relation is case in point. Even, after internationally acknowledged sovereignty, still many Ethiopians yearn to re-instate Eritrea to its mother country, Ethiopia[46].

Notwithstanding the dubiousity of this historiographic narrative, however, is indisputable that the various ethnic groups found in the post-colonial states could evoke past common histories in one from or another. This is so, either as an ethnic group, which had a very loose connection before the genesis of the modern state, or as integral part of the compartimentalised homogenising and centralising modern state. For some the separation could be as recent as a decade ago. For instance, Eritrea was under the rule of Ethiopia for over 30 years, until 1991. And others, according to their own historical narratives, their scramble and incorporation in imperial state, Ethiopia, is of a recent historical development. The general implication is that some believe as one scholar notes, "The people have had a long history of living together and are deeply familiar with each other's cultures and ethos"[47]. Although to maintain a history of living together will be going to far, undoubtedly there are familiarities with each other's history and culture.

For the Oromo, the Ogaden-Somalis, and peoples of the south, Abyssinia was a partner in the Scramble for Africa that divided these peoples. At the same time, as European powers were in frenzied activities of unprecedented territorial usurpations in Africa, the Abyssinian Emperor (Menelik II) was involved in territory grapping mission in the south (cf. Wubneh and Abate 1988: 13-15). What is of crucial concern to this narrative is not only the colonisation but also the denials of the existence of a different history prior to the incorporation in the imperial Ethiopian state.

The post-colonial state of Sudan also incorporated a variety of peoples within its centralising and hegemonic narratives negating the history of the peoples of South Sudan, Beja in eastern Sudan, Nuba Mountains, and Darfur. The disappearance from official discourse or suppression of local histories and its replacement by a hegemonic imperial history gave rise to a contested construction of history. The renaissance of local histories, spearheaded by the emergent ethno-nationalism, embarked on challenging the hegemonic narratives as well as questioning the legitimacy of the hegemonic state as resting on popular sovereignty.

The constructionist history of the hegemonic state is matched by another constructionist local history. The difference is constructivism of local history is compelled to begin by the act of deconstruction – of the hegemonic narrative – and construct anew-local history which is to be positioned in par with the hegemonic history. The Oromo seem to be successful in this de-constructivism and constructivism. The Eritreans have done it. In the case of the Eritrean

[46] In an interview with Addis Tribune of June 11, 2004, the Vice president of the United Ethiopian Democratic Front (UEDF), a coalition of 15 parties, Dr. Beyene Petros stated that for there to be peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea Assab should be ceded to Ethiopia. There is no other way to solve the problem any other solution will not be acceptable to the Ethiopian people", he stressed.

[47] Mehretu, Assefa, 2002. Paper presented to the International Conference on the Prospects for a Horn of Africa Confederation, 14-15 November 2002, Tampa Florida.

constructivism, unlike of the Oromo, it rests on the claims and legitimisation of the legacy of colonial history. Eritrean history, as it was narrated by Eritrean nationalism was the result of a genesis of colonial (Italian-) history. It is based on the invocation of conventional African paradigm. Oromo ethno-nationalism, on the other hand, in its endeavour of constructing its history, is a backward looking, goes back to pre-incorporation and occupation of the Oromo people in the Imperial State of Ethiopia. In a similar vein, Ogaden-Somali ethnonationalism repudiates the hegemonic imperial historiography, in an outward looking manner (towards pan-Somalism) (cf. Lewis 2002: 231), it seeks to construct its own history that bypasses the Ethiopian hegemonic historiographic constructivism. Afar ethnonationalism – pan-Afarism – is also a negation of hegemonic history, and an attempt of constructivism of local history. Both Oromo ethnonationalism and Ogaden-Somali ethnonationalism jump historical spaces that legitimise hegemonic history.

If hegemonic history is a source of contestation and conflict in the region deconstruction of the hegemony and its replacement not merely by local histories but by just and right reconstruction of histories of the peoples would serve the integration of the region. All the peoples own history either at the local or at the hegemonic level through their incorporation in it. The histories of the peoples in the reconstruction process are the common assets of the peoples of the region as such provide a currency for the prospective culture of peace. The local (community) histories provide elements conducive to that endeavour. For instance, the Ogaden-Somali may become a bridge between Somalia and Ethiopia, the Afar between Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea, the Beni-Amer and Hadendewa between Eritrean and Sudan, the Benishangul between Ethiopia and Sudan, etc.

The creation of culture of peace in the Horn region, therefore, presupposes the deconstruction of hegemonic historiography and building on the local histories that bind the various peoples. This has to be based on peoples' justice which is sensitive, and make justice to neglected or suppressed histories. As long as there exists the feeling, real or imagined, of superior/inferior, dominating/dominated, strong/weak, there will not be peace and stability. In other words, we need to inculcate the perception of accepting and positioning the various histories at an equal basis. It is only then that we would be able to build culture of peace.

Socio-Economic Formation

Another area of interest in the endeavour of harnessing culture of peace is socio-economic composition of the region. Taken the region as a whole, in general, there are two distinctly discernible categories, the lowland based nomadic pastoralist and the highland based sedentary peasant corresponding to two socio-economic formations. This binary, at a macro-structural level, has always been used for defining and determining the so-called two socio-cultural components (also categorised as centre-periphery) of the region. This has always been the locus of interest for scholars and scholarship of the region[48]. The geographic division reflecting upon the socio-economic formation within individual states as well as across the region is a common asset that ought to be exploited for the benefit of the region. Here, there is commonality that binds the peoples of the region.

This socio-economic formation, which spreads across the region, could be used in redirecting the alignment of relations between ethnic groups now divided among the states thereby addressing some of the economic, emotional and cultural grievances of these groups. Aspirations of the divided ethnies like the Afar, the Somalis, the Gambelas, the Beni Amer,

[48] This is particularly true about the scholarship of Ethiopia and the countries considered periphery to it: Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. There is no need to repeat the discourse of highland-lowland, centre-periphery that focuses on Ethiopia and the so-called peripheries. Ethiopianists and Ethiopian scholars have dealt with its extensively.

the Tigrinyas could indeed be addressed. The nomadic mode of life, which defies the limitation of state boundaries would find full exposition and movability, as well as sedentary communities would benefit of this exposition and movability. These benefits would entail material as well as spiritual aspects. More or less there is a distinct material and cultural foundation that bear both socio-economic formations, and in that sense integration would enable them to freely exchange those shared commonalities. Nomads could exchange, for instance, animals and animal products. Similarly peasants could benefit from the free exchange of their products. An exchange could also take place between pastoralists and farmers, complementing one another. In this sense the two socio-economic formations compliment one another, and instead of opposition and competition would serve for cooperation and integration.

The socio-economic formation, which creates division within each state and the whole region, has throughout history defined the power relation and structure. The organisational superiority of highland-sedentary-peasantry life has been the centre of the study as to why this culture has been dominant. The dichotomisation between highland-lowland, nomadic-sedentary, pastoralism-peasantry and its concomitant socio-economic formation has been presented as the main sources of power imbalance both within and between states of the Horn (see e.g. Pool 2001; in the case of Eritrea). The underpinning assumption here is that sedentary societies are more effectively and potently organised implementing advanced farming technology, warfare capacities, and displaying demographic concentration that facilitates state formation, which in turn, further strengthens the organisational structure of society. The scholarship that promoted such notions perhaps needs to take upon itself to promote notions of how this binary would serve in the building of culture of peace through suggesting tools and mechanisms of bridging the gap. In other words scholars and scholarship of the region needs to take intellectual and professional responsibility in promoting such notions.

The environmental degradation in the form of deforestation, erosion, desertification and drought is dramatically affecting the binary socio-economic life of the region. Given the radical environmental change, the sustainability of nomadic-pastoralist mode of life is coming under increasing concerted threat. Economic security, particularly, for nomadic-pastoralists under the recurrent drought menace is becoming an impossible task. Due to this as well as to what could be attributed to life change behaviours resulting from the impact of modernisation and technology the percentage of the population of nomadic-pastoralists have gone down considerably over the last several decades. In Eritrea, for instance, it is believed to have gone down to five percent (Joireman 1996). The acute environmental problem, thus, narrows down the gap between the binary socio-economic formation of the region as well as compels the people to make a serious effort to find a common solution for a common problem.

The binary socio-economic formation is not merely a source of division it is also an asset that binds dialectically the people of the region. As one scholar noted, “the countries of the Horn possess numerous geographic complementarities that would produce significant dividends to all the people of the Horn”[49]. The fact that the binary socio-economic formation and the accompanying cultural diversities exist within individual states and across the political boundaries could really serve to spawn culture of peace. The cooperation agreement reached between the Gash-Barka Region Administration in Eritrea and Kassala Region Administration in Sudan a couple of years ago, before relapsing to the cold war status, could be taken as a good example in this respect. In a nutshell, the differentiality in socio-economic formation of the region could be converted to the benefit of the whole region, and be utilised in generating

[49] Mehretu, Assefa 2002, paper presented to International Conference on Prospects for a Horn of Africa Confederation, 14-15 November 2002, Tampa, Florida

culture of peace. However, a profound presupposition to achieve this is to tackle what Kusow (2002) designates as vertical and horizontal inequality marking the reality of the peoples of the region.

The second category, to which I now turn to, entails means and social actors. The means through which we would be able to achieve culture of peace, in my opinion, will be democratisation. And the social actors, presently, at work are civil society and IGAD.

Democratisation

The common assumption is democratisation of the states and societies would address and aid in finding solutions for the problems of the region. Democratisation, in this sense, implies, among other things peaceful, negotiational, and through dialog, conflict resolution culture. Further, constitutionality, rule of law and grassroots empowerment are some of the basic tenets of democratisation, which in a war and conflict ridden region, are perceived as attributes that may save it from perennial attrition. Democracy may compel contesting political elites, instead of jumping to the gun to settle their difference, to sit down and work it out peacefully and in a civilised manner. For this purpose democratisation is to be conceptualised as a mechanism for conflict management and resolution, as well as institutionalisation of these mechanisms.

In terms of intrastate conflicts, or civil wars that are the result of the paucity of, as well as impediments for the creation of culture of peace, democratisation would lay the ground for peacefully negotiated settlement of ethnic conflicts and rivalries. There are various ethnic oppositions struggling for self-determination in whatever form of its manifestations. These civil wars are widely believed to be the result of the absence of democratisation, and proper and meaningful representation in the power structure of all the ethnic groups. It becomes imperative, first, to settle these ethno-nationalist claims and aspirations amicably and democratically in order to build the culture of peace the region is desperately in need of.

In terms of interstate conflicts, as the liberalist idiom expresses it, democratic states do not go into wars. They resolve their differences through negotiations in a peaceful manner. Whether democratic states go into war or not is a matter of academic persuasion and an empirical question. However, democracy provides institutional capacities and venues through which discords of whatever form are negotiated, discussed, analysed and settled. A point of convergence for liberal thinkers is that in a democratic system the stakes of going to war are extremely high. That is why the proponents of this view insist that in democracy the chance of going to war is negligible. However, the stakes of going to war - whether in a democratic system or not - is high. What could, probably, be said with greater certainty is that non-democratic systems tend to resort more easily to violence. The absence of war means the presence of peace. A prolonged peace with concomitant ethos and praxes, therefore, would lead to the culture of peace. Hence democratisation is a necessary, if not sufficient, precondition for the development of culture of peace.

Democratic system, nowadays, is meant to be good governance, accountability, transparency, rule of law institutionalised through recurrent elections taking place in a regular time interval where at least two political parties contest elections for state power. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to make distinction between the liberal formalist definition and application of democratisation, on one hand, and the substantialist, contextualist and popular meaning of democratisation, on the other. While in the former, the focus rests on the formal recurrently occurring contestation between parties of elites, the latter takes its point of departure the genuine and sustainable empowerment of grass-roots, and conceives democratisation as a tool in changing and improving the socio-economic life of the masses (for this distinction see e.g. Rudebeck 2001). It is important to emphasise that we should be cautious of the delusion that

formal democracy where one or two parties dominate political life would create culture of peace.

Beyond the distinction of formal-substantial democracy what is of great significance, in respect of the creation of culture of peace in the region, is the rich traditional democracy of the societies, particularly, the tradition of conflict resolution mechanisms and the peaceful neighbourly coexistence. Therefore, the democratisation process should not only focus on the western type of democracy, but should also look into the indigenous institutions if it is going to have impact on the creation and sustenance of culture of peace in the region. Democratisation, thus, would serve as a mechanism of consolidating and sustaining the commonality binding peoples of the region where the culture of peace is to be built upon. Veritable participation of, and ownership of the process by the people is a guarantee for its achievement and sustainability.

Civil Society: A Bottom-up Approach

There is a widespread apprehension of grand top-down projects. They quite often end up in dismal failures. A possible underlying reason for these failures seems to rest invariably on the detachment of the projects from the peoples they are supposed to serve. Another profound cause of the inefficacy of the top-down exercise of a grand project in the Horn of Africa region is the rampant conflict and intolerance displayed by the concerned states against each other. Conflicts and intolerance have depreciative effect on their capacity of conflict management and resolution. This fact has given rise to the realisation that there is a fundamental need for the cultivation of culture of peace from below.

This reality makes it imperative to explore alternative ways as well as social actors. The region is not well known for its production of peaceful and democratic social movements. All social forces aiming at social changes and transformation have the tradition of resorting to or emanating from armed guerrilla movements. This has led to production of culture of violence where those who master the art of warfare dictate the conditions of life. The consequences of this violent political culture is visibly seen in the widespread war, famine, drought, environmental degradation, illiteracy, diseases, and poverty plaguing the region. Poverty, in turn, invariably embodies elements that perpetuate violence[50], thus, leading to a vicious circle that the region seems to be unable to break.

The inability of the political leadership, incumbents of state power, to come up with a sustainable solution to state malaise is increasingly giving rise to the need of social movements from below. This follows a growing social cognition that realises the failure of the state to bring about peace, stability, socio-economic development. There are growing signs that civil-society associations are playing a crucial role in leading this bottom-up attempt. Given the tight state control and the subsequent near to impossibility of establishing meaningful and functional civil societies within the states has compelled for launching civil societies from outside the region.

Recently we have seen the proliferation of civil-society movements from the Diaspora. The Eritrean Diaspora is one of the Diaspora communities that have been, for the last couple of years, experiencing a dramatic change. The Somali Diaspora communities are also actively engaged in their country's affair. Initiatives like this, by Somali International Rehabilitation Centre (SIRC), aiming at engaging citizens of the region in finding a common solution to

[50] Mammo Muchie, in a paper presented to the Conference on the Horn of Africa: Co-operation Instead of Wars and Destruction, 11-12 May, 2002 in Lund, Sweden argues, "The condition of poverty opens the violence option; conversely the onset of violence aggravates the poverty situation. The two become mutually reinforcing rather than mutually cancelling".

their common problems are growing by the day. These efforts are indications of the realisation that there is a growing need for the people to mobilise and organise. Information gathering, disminating, and acting on them; helping in capacity building, in areas of health, education, drought and famine, human rights, democratisation, etc. are areas where civil societies and Diaspora communities could contribute crucially. One of the recent developments is that the Diaspora-community-based civil societies have come to realise that they have an important role to play in influencing political developments back at home. Of course their impact is going to be limited, since their engagement in the affairs of their homelands is taking place through remote control.

The indispensable role to be played by the civil-society social forces should not be confined only within the territorial domain of the states, however. The timely demand of the creation of a culture of peace in the region presupposes the emergence and consolidation of civil societies that are capable and willing of cross-border, at the regional level, function and cooperation. The yearly conference in Lund where civil societies from the region convene to discuss the situation in the Horn of Africa can be taken as a good example.

Given the history of animosity among the states of the region, grassroots civil society organisations (preferably at home) have an indispensable role to play in shaping the destiny of the region and in the creation of culture of peace. There is, however, a downside to civil society organisation from the Diaspora. It is important to stress that it is not always that civil societies in the Diaspora have a realistic and correct understanding and assessment of the situations at home. They tend to have unrealistic expectations as well as employ inappropriate means of struggle. This is so because; first, it might be that they have been away from their societies for too long; secondly, it might be that most of the time their point of reference is the host society. Therefore, it is not rare that they display an extreme position in their relation to the governments at home as well as narrow nationalist views on regional or interstate conflicts. They also tend to display narrow and divisive sectarian, religious, regional and ethnic affiliations. They expect quick results, thus, the piecemeal incremental changes that make difference in the daily life of the people, are not appreciated. The identity crisis and the precarious relation with the host societies reinforce the ambivalence that characterise their existence. Their dependence on external NGOs or GOs for resources and good will is also another element contributing to their contradictory role. The dependence on NGOs is sometimes seen in the influence they have in setting the agenda of the day. So it is not always that civil-society organisations (CSO) play a positive role in the political development of the homeland.

Nevertheless, the significance of the Diaspora, given the difficulties to form civil societies at home, and given the fact that they possess immense expertise and financial clout, is not to be taken lightly. Having said that, however, it is important to stress that CSO could not replace the state. One of the causes of the problems of Africa is the weakness of the state. Any endeavour that in effect further weakens the state could only have an adverse effect. Hence the role of the CSOs could only be complementary to that of the state.

The Intergovernmental Authority for Development

Another current social actor, in addition to civil societies, at a regional level is the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). The IGAD that superseded Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) in 1996, have widened their objectives. The rapidly changing world as well as the ever-growing problems of the region seemed to have necessitated the change. “On 21 March 1996 in Nairobi the Assembly of Heads of State and Government signed ‘Letter of Instrument to Amend the IGADD Charter/Agreement” establishing the revitalised IGAD”. The Revitalised IGAD, with

expanded areas of regional cooperation and a new organisational structure, was launched by the IGAD Assembly of Head of State and Government on 25 November 1996 in Djibouti"[51]. The IGAD set out ambitious programmes[52]. Nevertheless, so far, many of the clauses of the document, particularly 'Article 18A Conflict Resolution', have not been translated into practice. From the recent war between Eritrea and Ethiopia as well the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan, Sudan and Uganda, Sudan and Eritrea, it would be clear that the principle of conflict prevention and resolution has widely been ignored.

As it is to be found defined in its action programme, "The ultimate goal of IGAD is to achieve economic integration and sustainable development for the region"[53]. Yet, the achievement of IGAD, has been a big disappointment so far in this area. Another of its objectives states "promote peace and stability in the region and create mechanisms within the region for the prevention, management and resolution of inter-State and intra-state conflicts through dialogue"[54]. The hallmark of the region has become war, conflict, drought, disease, illiteracy and poverty that indicate the dismal failure of IGAD. Some of the few areas where IGAD is having meaningful engagements are in the Sudan and Somali peace and reconciliation negotiations. The failure of the various attempts in finding lasting solution is attributed, partly, according to Somali factions, to neighbouring countries' involvement in internal Somali affairs. The ongoing peace talks among the various Somali factions is mediated by the frontier countries, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya, however, with the existing pervasive mistrust and suspicion the mediation is facing veritable hurdles. This chronic mistrust and suspicion debilitates the confidence capital of member state. This in turn abates earnest and genuine interest to find homemade solutions to the region's problems. Neutrality of member states in the internal conflict of member states is a presupposition for the regional organisation to act as a well oiled effective machinery. As it stands today, however, that possibility seems a hope for the future.

The main stumbling block in the endeavours of IGAD to be a robust, dynamic and credible regional organisation, as it is stated in its charter as its main objective, is, the perennial and seemingly intractable conflict between member states. Wasara (2002: 56) notes, "The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) has not been able to forge cohesion among its member states. Many differences between member states add to complexities of issues such as civil wars, cattle rustling and armed robbery". The recent Ethio-Eritrean conflict, for instance, has veritably diminished the structural capacity of the regional organisation in taking timely, concrete and meaningful measures to settle interstate differences. It has also had spill over effects on Somalia where the belligerent states are accused of intervening in support of contesting factions. The absence of a central Somali state is yet another factor contributing negatively to the revitalisation of IGAD. Since IGAD is the club of heads of states, the interest of Somalia could only be effectively represented with the revival of the Somali state.

The Somali and Sudan peace talks, under the auspices of IGAD is holding and showing some results due to external pressures. It is no secret that in the case of Somalia it is the involvement of the EU, and in the case of Sudan the involvement of the United States that is lending teeth to the IGAD initiative. There is no doubt that there is an urgent need for a regional organisation, an organisation that listens and reads the heartbeat of the people of the region, gives priority to the endemic problems, owns its initiatives, displaying strong potency

[51] History of IGAD. http://www.igad.org/about/index.html
[52] For the details of the programme see, " Agreement Establishing the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Nairobi, 21 March 1996. IGAD/SUM-96/AGRE-Doc
[53] Objective of IGAD, http://www.igad.org/about/ob.html
[54] Objective of IGAD, http://www.igad.org/about/ob.html

and efficacy, forestalls differences from fully blowing into war. In spite of all the conspicuous weaknesses and impotencies IGAD has no doubt an indispensable role to play in the region. A regional integration and cooperation certainly needs an interstate organ.

If, therefore, IGAD is to become a credible and genuine regional social actor that is able to contribute to the culture of peace it needs to be assertive and develop ways and mechanisms that enables it to transcend the paralysing legacy of the culture of violence characterising the region. Renewal of its mandates as well as building capacity that will aid it in implementing its mandates will be a good starting. But above all political will to stand up to that task has to be cultivated.

Conclusion

Building culture of peace in the HOA is a novel idea that is afforded currency by the chronic conflicts and wars bedevilling the region. It would be unthinkable to establish a culture of peace while there is raging intra- and inter-state wars or cold wars. The recent war between Eritrea and Ethiopia; the permanent tension between Sudan and Ethiopia; the hostile atmosphere prevailing in the border between Sudan and Eritrea; the ever conflict-fraught Somali-Ethiopian relation; the unstable relation of the Djibouti state with its neighbours (Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea) make the region the most conflict ridden place in the continent.

These man made problems married with natural calamities such as environmental degradation, deforestation, desertification, disease, famine, poverty, illiteracy, have made the region the most problem prone one. These are problems that should be given immediate attention and due priorities. In our search for common solutions I think we should begin by identifying the commonalities binding the region.

National resources, ethnic and cultural similarities, common history, and similar socio-economic structures are the commonalities that we should utilise to build culture of peace. Democratisation is an indispensable means and mechanism that will enable us to translate these commonalities into common goods and benefits.

Political actors in the region have for too long been mesmerised with the differences. It is high time we focus on the commonalities, and find common solutions for common problems. At the same time the recognition and acceptance of the rights and interests of peoples, peoples' justice, is required. Civil-society associations and regional organisations like IGAD could play crucial role in this aim.

It is in our hand to alter the dire situation in the region. Most of the problems are man made, thus, man could undo them. Yet a profound change in our thinking, understanding, and behaviour is required. The alternative is what we have today, culture of perennial violence and attrition.

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PAPER 6

Peace, Democracy and the Horn of Africa

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Social processes and issues of causality can be studied in different ways. The idiographic approach is to collect very many data about one or a few units. The nomothetic approach does the opposite, collecting a more limit amount of data about very many units (e.g., states) and analyzing them ststistically. We often find an artificial contradiction between them, whereas I believe more in both/and than either-or. The idiographic approach has the advantage of providing deeper knowledge about single units, but the weakness that statements on what caused what call for a much wider array of units to be supported or rejected. The nomothetic approach has the advantage of being able to tell with a bit more certainty whether a piece of established wisdom or a theoretical speculation really has any support in data. Yet its results are often meager: even when there is a statistical relationship between two variables, and even when it has been established by further analysis that this really reflects a causal relationship between them, it is almost always obvious that one has only established one causal factor among several others which, taken alone, can only account for a quite limited part of the variation. To give abstract advice on the basis of causal relationships identified by statistical analysis is mostly foolish as long as this is not combined with deep knowledge about the specific units. The two approaches are not mutually exclusive but rather supplementary.

This remains true if we ask how democracy and peace are related to each other. Among politicians – and not absent among scholars – is the tendency to the wishful thinking that all good things are positively related to each other, so that there is no need to make hard choices. To caricature a bit: “Since peace is good and democracy is also good, they must be positively related to each other”.

If this is true, then we should find a close statistical relationship between democracy and peace. Do we?

The answer both depends on how me measure peace and democracy and on the level at which we put the question. “Peace” is a rich concept with to some extent different content in different cultures, reflecting different emphases on such values as absence of war, welfare, (social or divine) justice, social harmony, individual serenity, etc. Yet since statistical studies almost always limit themselves to peace in the sense of absence of war and armed conflict, I will also have to limit myself to that when reviewing statistical evidence. “Democracy” is equally rich, but statistical analyses usually focus on what can be readily measured, such as periodical elections with two or more contending parties and where the election result affect what government can be formed, sometimes also adding as a measure how many of those entitled to vote actually participate. This defines a second limitation on the results I will present.

For a long time, studies looked at single states, relating democracy and a number of other things (such as level of armament, number of boundaries, status as major or minor power) to decide between theoretical arguments (from Kant and many others) that democracies will be more peaceful than other states and other theoretical arguments (from de Tocqeville and a few others) to the opposite effect: that democracies would be less peaceful than others, being more susceptible to militant mobilisation. Many statistical studies have been made and they are almost unanimous in concluding that there is no statistical evidence for democracies being either more warlike or more pacific than other states: some democracies are more warlike than most states, some democracies are more peaceful than most other states, and on average they are neither.

This seems to end the discussion, but when we look at another level, we get a very different result.

If we study pairs of states rather than single states, the solid result from many studies is that two democracies do not fight each other, at least not militarily; exceptions, if any, are very few and fairly marginal. This so-called “double democracy hypothesis” is among the most solidly established relationships we find in social science; exceptions, if any, being very few or quite margínal. The question remains, however, why this is so, and several explanations, not necessarily incompatible, have been proposed. One of them we can discard immediately in light of the statistical evidence: It cannot be because democracies are by nature more peaceful, since we have already seen that they are not. Other lines of explanation suggest that “democratic peace” is due to common membership in organizations leading to common norms at higher than national level – or that there is nothing to gain in domestic politics from threatening or attacking another democracy, whereas attacking some other type of state may be popular and improve election results. These two lines do not really contradict each other, and further statistical analysis has shown that both of them contribute to some extent to a fuller explanation. It should be kept in mind what these findings say and do not say. The point is that democracies do not fight each other, whereas other states sometimes do and sometimes do not, but with risks no higher than that for one democracy being at war with one other state.

Wars between states have become increasingly rare, in relative and even absolute terms. Nowadays, 90 per cent or more of all wars are domestic or civil wars, in the sense that they are entirely fought within the boundaries of a single state (even then, interventions sometimes make it difficult to draw a sharp line between domestic and international war). Research therefore increasingly turned from looking at the relationship between different variables and international war to looking at what how these variables affect peace or war in single states happens inside single states.

A number of variables have been identified that are related to the risk of civil war. The poorer a state is, the greater the risk of civil war (a minor exception is that civil war becomes less frequent in a small group of the most extremely poor states, perhaps indicating a lack of resources to wage war with). The more a state is dependent on the export of primary goods, the greater the risk; oil and diamonds seem to be among the particularly risky goods in this respect. The longer time that has passed since achieving independence, the lower is the risk. And the longer time that has passed since the last civil war, the lower the risk. In this context, democracy is a peculiar variable. For the others, the relationship to risk is straight (with the minor exception mentioned. For democracy, however, the relationship is A-shaped: the risk of civil war is lowest in states that have been high on democracy for a long time, it is slightly higher in states that have been high on autocracy for a long time, and it is much higher in

states that lie somewhere in between, sometimes referred to as “states under democratization”. When this relationship was first observed a decade ago, the interpretation was that democratization was dangerous in itself. Later and more careful analyses have given a more complex picture. It turns out that the position in between is dangerous in itself, at the same time as movement is dangerous, whether in the direction towards or away from democracy. One interpretation of the former finding is that stable democracies and stable autocracies have in common that there is a functioning state apparatus and a well-defined centre of authority. One type of states in between, and presumably the most risky one, is the so-called anocracy, where there exist no such authority and therefore easily a competition and a struggle of anarchical character. Taken together, these findings mean that the road from autocracy to democracy may be a thorny one: its beginning tends to be associated with increased risks of war, but once a state has passed the dangerous middle zone, more democracy also means better prospects for peace. What remains to find out is whether there are some roads to democracy that being less risks than other. It seems likely that risks are lower when a functioning state apparatus is gradually taken over by a more democratic system than when the autocratic state apparatus largely dissolves to create state failure.

So what are the conclusions for the Horn of Africa, where all states score fairly low on democracy by the statistics in the main data bases? First, the low score does not automatically make the individual state more warlike than others in its external relations. Second, if they manage to become far more democratic than now, the likelihood for war between them will decrease. Third, this process, or at least an early part of it, will spell increased risk of civil war, especially if it also means a decisive weakening of the fabrics of these states. In the long run, democracy means less war, whereas in the short run democratization has to be carried out cautiously in order not to increase the risks.

PAPER 7

The Greater Horn of Africa
Conflicts and the Civil Society

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The Horn of Africa is strategically located at the southern part of the Red Sea, with a coastline stretching out into the Indian Ocean. In this context we will deal with the Greater Horn of Africa, e.g. Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. When discussing this part of Africa we find two obvious features, i.e. a continuous explosive political situation and a wide spread deprivation for the majority populations. In this paper we will argue that there is a clear correlation between these two characteristics. To be excluded from the Government development strategies for large portions of a national population can be equated to structural violence. The borderline between structural and open violence is often very thin.

In most of the countries at the Horn, the Governments have some form of military background, even if some are now more or less consolidated as civilian rulers. At the same time the Governments of the time are often seen to represent one specific locality or ethnic group in the respective country, not being very popular nationally. It has been difficult to establish an equal socio-economic development. Insecurity can often be connected to a disgruntled local opposition, which could result in an armed rebellion. Further, we can observe how a variety of actors involved in an armed resistance are brought together in complex networks, within or across national boundaries. Sometimes it has also been linked to an identification to international terrorism and global strategies.

In case the Government is not able to provide neither socio-economic development, nor security the civil society or its representative organisations (CSOs) is faced with a task to build peace and development. This paper is intended to focus on the CSOs and their activities in that direction within the Horn of Africa. To achieve this we will give a description of development trends in the region. That will be followed by an attempt to give an analysis of the existing conflict pattern in the region. Intentions in that section will mainly be to find a structure, not to give an exhaustive recount of all the conflicts.

Empirical data to the discussion on the CSOs is taken from a study sponsored by the Nordic Africa Institute[55]. Within that research interviews have been carried out in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and the Sudan. Most of this has been with representatives of the CSOs, and officials from the respective countries, as well as international organisations.

A brief on the socio-economic development at the Greater Horn of Africa
In total the region covers an area of not less than 5 million sq. km, with a population estimated to 165 millions in 2001 (Table 1). As we can see there is a wide divergences in both area and population between the different countries. While Sudan is the largest country in Africa, by size, Ethiopia is one of the most populous one. Djibouti, on the other hand, is one

[55] This research was initiated by the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI). Two researchers from NAI Dr Ebrima Sall and Dr Redie Bereketeab were instrumental in getting work started.

of the smaller states in Africa. All countries are covered, to a varied degree, by dry regions – even some deserts. This is also where we find large groups of nomadic pastoralists.

Table 1 Area (1,000 sq km), population (1,000) and population density (pop/sq km) for 2001)

Country	Area	Population	Density
Djibouti	23	644	28
Eritrea	118	3,816	32
Ethiopia	1,104	64,459	58
Kenya	580	31,293	54
Somalia	638	9,157	14
Sudan	2,506	31,809	13
Uganda	241	24,023	100
Total	5,210	165,201	32

Source: IGAD 2003

Economically, this part of Africa is among the poorest regions in the World. Only tiny Djibouti is classified as a lower middle-income country, while the rest are all low-income countries (Table 2). It might also be possible that Sudan has reached a higher level during the first part of the 2000s due to a considerable income from oil exploration. The economic status for the Greater Horn of Africa, measured in GNI per capita, is only some 25 per cent of the African average. One reason for this situation is that Ethiopia with such a large population has an extremely low GNI. At the same time we can observe that only Djibouti reaches up to the African average.

In the 1980s Kenya and Uganda had a fairly impressive growth compared to many other economics in Africa. During the following decade Uganda continued the positive economic trends, now followed closely by Sudan and Ethiopia. However, it might be very difficult to see any substantial positive changes coming out of these favourable economic statistics. There does not seem to be any direct correlation between economic growth and poverty reducation, for example. Further, it is important to observe that a fast economic growth could be strongly influenced by external factors, and is often unevenly distributed.

Table 2 The GNI per capita in US$ in 2001

Country	GNI per capita US$
Djibouti	840
Eritrea	170
Ethiopia	100
Kenya	360
Somalia	-
Sudan	320
Uganda	310
Average	160

Source:IGAD 2003

If we try to go beyond the mere economic statistics it is possible to see how the Greater Horn of Africa is doing from a Human Development point of view. According to UNDP (2004) all countries, except for Sudan, are in positions as low human development performers (ranked 146-170, out of 177 countries). In that list Sudan holds the position of 139, which is just above the line for the medium human development. This classification is built on a number of

social sector indications, combined into a composite Human Development Index (HDI). In Table 3 we can compare some of the key measurement of human development.

Table 3 Human Development indicators for the Greater Horn of Africa 2002

Country	Life expectancy at birth		Adult literacy	Infant mortality rate
Djibouti	46	66	100	
Eritrea	53	57	47	
Ethiopia	46	42	114	
Kenya	45	84	78	
Somalia	48	-	-	
Sudan	56	60	64	
Uganda	46	69	82	

Source UNDP 2002

From Table 3 we can conclude that in terms of life expectancy at birth only Sudan and Eritrea are well above the Sub-Saharan African average figures. On adult literacy Kenya is in a favourable situation, with Uganda and Djibouti also above the Sub-Saharan African normal standard. On infant mortality rate (as measured on 1,000 births) Ethiopia is the only country in the region well below the general Sub-Saharan situation. For Somalia there is few statistics available both in terms of social and economic development.

It can be noted that Kenya, Uganda and Eritrea are noted for a better social development index, compared to the economic status. On the other end we find Sudan, Djibouti and Ethiopia.

What seems obvious to conclude is that the Greater Horn of Africa is experiencing a comparatively low scale socio-economic development. Together with the rather poor security level a question mark has to be raised on the respective Government legitimacy. The situation in the region can be characterised as structural violence, as referred to in the introduction. For large sections of the population in the region we find a serious exclusion from the Government development strategies. Often this can be related to ethnic, religious and regional belongings. We can find conflicts that involve people on different boundaries, such as cattle raiding between nomadic pastoralists. With large tracts of dry areas these groups are fairly common in the region.

From this brief we will turn to the political conditions in the region and the individual countries. A special focus will be given to the human rights and governance, as this will function as a backdrop to CSOs and their challenges.

Human Rights and Governance at the Greater Horn of Africa.

A rather negative view is given of the political rights and civil liberties in the individual countries of the Greater Horn of Africa from a variety of international “watchdog” organisations. Numerous reports are published annually from Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. Table 4 gives the index from the Freedom House (http::/earthtrends.wri.org) for 2004. An analysis of this information tend to stress the fact that the definition of governance, including political rights and civil liberties are strongly

influenced by a western (particularly US) perspective. Therefore, the information here given has to be taken with a pinch of salt.

Table 4 Political Rights Index and Civil Liberties Index in the Greater Horn of Africa in 2004.

Country	Political Rights	Civil Liberties
Djibouti	5	5
Eritrea	7	6
Ethiopia	5	5
Kenya	3	3
Somalia	6	7
Sudan	7	7
Uganda	5	4

Source: http::/earthtrends.wri.org

According to Table 4 it is obvious that the only country with a possibly satisfactory "democratic" trend would be Kenya. This is largely a result of the elections at the end of 2002, which brought in a new Government that has improved the indicators on both political rights and civil liberties. Unfortunately, from field studies in the country and media reports the New Government has not be able to deliver what it promised initially. On the contrary politics have been dominated by internal struggles in the leading Government coalition NARC. Two issues that are far from a solution is the fight against corruption and the proposed constitution. An issue that is relevant in the context of this paper is the strong civil society that has Been expanded with unpopular policy decision taken by the government.

The international approval of Kenya that came in 2004 is quite new for the country, since the early 1970s. After the rule of the first president Jomo Kenyatta, followed almost 25 years under President Daniel arap Moi that made the national reputation suffer severely. Partly, atrocities during Kenyatta had been accepted due to the strong economic base, but this could not be maintained during the successor. A popular reaction came in 1982 with an abortive coup attempt (Dianga 2002). When multi-partyism was re-introduced in 1992 the government record, according to the above measurements, was given as positive. Still it took until the end of the Moi regime before Kenya was seen as politically free.

For Uganda a discussion to change the constitution to make it possible for President Museveni to stand for a third term in office has split the nation politically. It has been obvious that for those who are branded as anti-Movement, e.g. in principle in opposition to the president, the situation has been made very difficult in various ways. Further, the open internal and external conflicts are still far from a solution. In spite of this Table 4 has given a fairly positive impression of Uganda, which might be more dependent on the implementation of World Bank/IMF supported economic policies. Uganda was suffering badly at the time of president Idi Amin during the 1970s, which was also obvious in the ranking in that period. However, the excessive rule under Obote II during the early 1980s was assessed much too mildly internationally, not least by the Freedom House.

Djibouti and Ethiopia have been given a fairly positive ranking. For Djibouti the Human Rights Watch (2003) gave a note of concern on the election 2003, when all parliamentary seats were won by a Government coalition. According to observations political campaign was free, but there might have been voting irregularities. It was further noted that an opposition leaders Ahmed Farah had been jailed, but this was more related to his activities as a journalist.

After a limited multiparty election in 1992 the Government was challenged by a military resistance in the form of the Afar Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD). At least some sections of this group was active up till the early 2000s.

One essential political issue for Djibouti is the establishment of a US military base in 2003, as part of a strategy to strengthen the political dominance in the region. As reward for this we can observe considerable development assistance for social services. At the same time Djibouti is the location of a strong French military force.

The position of Ethiopia in this ranking could be questioned, with reference to a denial of citizens´ basic human rights and oppression of the unarmed opposition (Human Rights Watch (2004a). A problematic human rights situation was also noted in interviews with a few of the CSOs in Addis Ababa. In addition to that there is the armed resistance, which was said in one of the interviews to exist in seven out of nine provinces.

Politically it can be observed that Ethiopa and the regime under Meles have shifted during the period in power. There has been a strong tilt towards being, as said in one interview that Meles is and strive to remain the best friend of the US in the region. Another tendency has been that Meles has lost part of his Tigray support, and is trying to broaden his national base for governance (Tadesse and Young 2003).

In the recent history of Ethiopa we can note a period from the middle of the 1970s, lasting for almost two decades, under which the governance was ranked very low, especially under president Mengistu Haile Mariam. When Meles took over the premiership in 1995, after a couple of years of transition the international perception of Ethiopa went up substantially.
In Eritrea, Somalia and the Sudan we can find appalling political and civil conditions. According to Human Rights Watch (2004b) Eritrea is described as a police state, with any kind of opposition being prohibited. Hedru (2003) has illustrated how the country went from the euphoria at Independence from Ethiopia in 1991 to a dictatorship twelve years later. According to the Freedom House the country´s ranking falls drastically at the turn of the century.

For Somalia there has been no functioning national regime at any time since the early 1990s, with the fall of Siyad Barre. In the international ranking, presented here, the Somali position has been roughly the same since the early 1970s, when this information was first presented. The six in political rights might be a reflection of an interim Government in place, led by Abdulkassim Salat Hassan. Recently, we could also see how a Parliament was appointed. On the other hand the break away state Somaliland has been said to be rather democratic, even if not recognised anywhere outside. In this country an election brought Dahir Riyale Kahin to power in 2003.

For the Sudan it is difficult to see any improvements in political and civil rights during recent years. During discussions in Khartoum, as part of the field work some claimed that it must be time for a new military coup, as it had not happened before that a regime has stayed on for as long a period as the present one. The perpetual struggle between the Head of State El Beshir and Hassan al Turabi, with Sadiq al Madhi operating behind the façade, has been part of the political development since the early 1990s. At the same time with one conflict, e.g. in the south, on the brink of a solution the war in Darfur is getting increasingly worse.

The only period when governance in the Sudan has been assessed as satisfactory was during the regime of Sadiq al Madhi in the end of the 1980s. Since the military coup in 1989 the ranking has been 7 on both political rights and civil liberties.

Consequently, this brief gives an indication of a seriously volatile political development in the region. It is difficult to see how stability will be achieved and sustained at the Greater Horn of

Africa in the foreseeable future. It might rather be that the situation in Somalia might be what we can expect in more countries in the region. We can also assume that the poor development record and governance situation is partly flaming the open conflicts in the region. However, as will be indicated below the conflict pattern is much more complicated than that.

A pattern of the conflicts at the Greater Horn of Africa.

As noted one of the most significant features of the Greater Horn of Africa is the perpetual conflicts. What is also obvious is that insecurity in one part of the region, in most cases, can be linked to what is going on elsewhere in the region or even outside. Therefore, it is difficult to isolate conflicts in the Greater Horn from other volatile areas in Africa, such as the Great Lakes. What is given below is not an attempt to cover all the conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa, but rather an attempt to find a pattern of what is happening. Below a brief on prevailing conflicts will be given to each one of the seven countries that form the arena for this paper. Thereafter something of the way this insecurity is connected to the regional pattern will be analysed.

Uganda

At the time of Independence the major challenge to an integrated state was the role of the Kingdoms, especially the Buganda. This led to a first compromise coalition Government with the King (Kabaka) as a ceremonial Head of State and a northern Langi (nilotic) Prime Minister Milton Obote. Hostilities between these two leaders led to a perception that the Ugandan crisis is a matter of a north to south divide. Attempts by Obote to remove the Kabaka from his position, as Head of State, was one of the factors that brought Idi Amin to a position of power in the army, and subsequently to the presidency. Atrocities committed under the regime of Amin are well known and has contributed to a negative image of the whole continent.

After a short period, with attempts to go back to democratic rule, Obote was pushed back, not least by Tanzanian interests, to a second regime. Once again Uganda was plagued by severe violence, under Obote II and Okello. As Amin lost power some of his old soldiers organised an armed resistance under the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) and Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF).

During the Obote II regime the Yoweri Museveni battled a “protracted war of liberation” against the state, which led to a loss of many people 1982-86. After the take over of the presidency by Museveni certain groups in the northern parts of the country formed a military opposition. One such group was the Uganda People´s Army (UPA) under the notorious former Minister under Obote II Peter Otai. During the end of the 1980s/early 1990s armed elements from this organisation created a very insecure situation in the Teso region.

When Museveni took over power certain parts of the population in northern Uganda saw their relatively favourable position in national affairs threatened. It was in that climate the Lord´s Resistance Army (LRA) emerged after a couple of previous attempts to build a military opposition based partly on religious fanatics. Still the LRA and its leader Joseph Kony is fighting the Government of Uganda in Acholi and surrounding districts. One of the main elements in their struggle has been the abduction of children – to be used as soldiers or sex slaves (wives) to the commanders. So far, the Government has regarded a military victory as the only solution to the insecurity created. This conflict can be seen as a result of two internal factors, i.e. exclusion and religious fanaticism. However, as seen below it is also part of an international pattern of conflict. Exclusion can also be seen as the root cause of the Rwensori resistance, as well as the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) in the western parts of the country.

Cattle rustling is practised among many of the pastoralist groups in border areas in the region. In Uganda it is the Karimojong warriors that are still very active in this field, leading to fighting between clans, but also against neighbouring groups. One of the districts next to Karamoja, Katakwi, has been turned into an area, with most of the population living under difficult conditions in camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Kenya

In the first part after Independence Kenya was threatened by a demand for a greater Somali Nation, especially in the North-Eastern province (see below). Besides this Kenya has been a country with a fairly stable situation. Still opposition has been met continuously by a strong state repression – political murders, detention without trial and politically motivated sentences to prison. Academics, politicians, lawyers and cultural personalities have been victims of these policies. Behind the opposition in the country we can see two major factors – inequality created by the extreme modernisation strategy and ethnic difference. It is obvious that the Luo people at Lake Victoria has been seriously neglected since the time of Independence. Partly, this is back again with the new NARC Government, accused of being a Mt Kenya (Kikuyu) mafia.

During the 1980s the land issue led to ethnic conflicts in various part of the country, forcing large parts of the population to live in IDP camps. This was also part of an "official" policy called Majimbo, which called for a kind of federalism based on the various tribal entities. Sometimes this has been compared to ethnic cleansing.

Like in Uganda we also have a number of groups living under a nomadic life-style in Kenya. Some of them are practising cattle rustling.

Kenya is also known to be one of the targets for "international terrorism". The first was an attack on the American embassy in Nairobi 1997, with hundreds of Kenyan victims. That is probably also the first time that Osama bin Laden and his al Qa'ida became a household name globally. At a later stage Kenya has also experienced attacks on Israeli interests in the tourism industry.

Somalia

There was a time when Somali leaders saw an expansion of the country into a Somali Nation. This Nation included apart from the British and Italian Somaliland that was making up the originally independent Somali Republic, parts of Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti (French Territory of Afars and Issas). In that light it might be something of a paradox that Somalia of today has been in reality further sub-divided. At least two new states, even if they are disputed, are operating, i.e. Somaliland and Puntland. Even if the rest of the country has an interim Government, at present, large chunks of the territory are governed by War Lords or Clan Leaders. One of the difficulties to come towards a sustainable Peace Agreement, through on-going negotiations in Kenya, is to assess the legitimacy of the various leaders that claim the right to portions of the country. Sometimes the struggle is said to be between a variety of clans. This is, once again, a paradox as Somali was seen from Independence as a homogenous country from a tribal point of view.

When the issue of a potential peace in Somalia was brought into the discussion during my fieldwork it was said that there would probably not be any solutions without external interventions. As it is the only powers that could change the picture were the UN and/or the US. This is also a rather pessimistic perspective as the US has already tried an invasion in 1992. As a consequence of the debacle at that time the US might be reluctant to re-enter Somalia militarily, even if the country is regarded as part in the axis of evil.

Djibouti

Once before Independence this country was known as the French Territory of Afars and Issas. That indicates that the country is a combination of two ethnic groups, i.e. the Afars and the Somali Issas. Above we indicated the military activities by the Afar FRUD, which lasted up to the early 2000s. Apart from that Djibouti can generally be seen as the stable part of the overall very volatile region. However, there is naturally a danger of being involved in regional struggles.

What was also mentioned above that could be either a guarantee for security or a target of international terrorism is the existence of US and French military troops in the country.

Eritrea

Eritrea achieved its Independence in the early 1990s from Ethiopia after a long war of liberation. After an intensive struggle this new status was surrounded by a lot of euphoria, both internally and externally. However, the political development did not turn out in the right direction, as commented on above (Hedru 2003). Even if there is no civil war, as such, we can note the Human Rights Watch (2004c) critique on suppression of dissidents and minority religious.

Ethiopia

During fieldwork in Ethiopia it was claimed by a couple of the interviewed that the resistance against the central Government was substantial in the different states. Just prior to my visit to Addis Ababa it had been reports on serious fighting in Gambella, close to the border of the Sudan. There was a lot of disagreement on the number of dead in this fight, but it seemed as part of the local armed opposition to the Government. One external observer argued that there was armed rebellion, of various intensity, in seven out of the nine states. We can assume that this is related to a condition of exclusion from mainstream national development. It can be recalled that rural Ethiopia has often been the target of emergency food aid, due to sever famine.

Among the most serious opposition we can note the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). Oromo sections have been rejecting the original conquest by Abbyssinia in the late 1800s, which has led to a more or less continuous struggle. The present armed rebellion has been dated back to the early 1970s, with OLF enjoying external support. An internal alliance is also formed together with the Oganden National Liberation Front (ONLF) – well known from the Ogaden war in the 1970s (see below). On the Kenyan side of the common border we have often heard about violence involving the OLF.

Historically we can find a rather volatile political development in Ethiopia. It is known as one of the few countries in Africa that was never colonised, but the memory of the Italian occupation is still close. At that time the Emperor Haile Sellasie became something of a global symbol of the fight against the rape of the African continent. When he was overthrown in the early 1970s that triggered a number of military coups and counter coups, which eventually led up to the Mengistu regime, and the “red terror”. This period might also, to some extent, be reflected in the present insurgencies.

The Sudan

It is next to impossible to give justice to the internal security situation in the Sudan on a few short lines. What can be noted is that during the close to fifty years of Independence there has been a constant struggle, especially connected to the southern parts of the country. One perspective of this can be that the establishment of the Sudan as a country, by the colonial powers, created an “impossible nation”. It was an obvious personal reflection during my

fieldwork how the Arab/Muslim influence had grown since a previous visit to the country some 25 years previously.

During the early years of Independence the struggle in the southern regions was organised by the Anyanya I and II. Lately we have noted how peace negotiations, between the Government and the SPLA/M under Joseph Garang, have been led to a successful conclusion lately. Still we are far from a sustainable peace, with a number of matters outstanding. One such issue is to what extent the population in the Southern Sudan (or the New Sudan) will be able to solve internal differences. It was said by some donors that there might be some 30 ethnically based militia groups in the region presently. Further, the area of the southern Sudan region was said not be resolved in the agreements made, so far. The fate of the insecure areas of the Nuba Mountain and Blue Nile regions have not been settled.

Peace in the Sudan is also complicated by the strong interest from multinational companies involved in the exploitation of oil. The country has emerged as one of the most important oil producers in Africa. This international capital dimension is something that has complicated the peace process in many parts of the continent previously.

When the situation in the southern region seems to open up for potentially more stable conditions another war is brought to World attention, i.e. the Darfur conflict. This has taken us back to the previous Sultanate of Darfur that was incorporated in the Sudan in the early 1900s. In this case, the Government of the Sudan has been accused of support to the Janjaweed militia. Reports from Human Rights Watch and numerous international organisations have reported about the on-going atrocities, including rape as a military strategy. If this is not to be termed genocide it is difficult to understand what this concept is referring to.

After this brief on what is going on in the respective country we will turn to the relationship between some of them.

Uganda-the Sudan

The LRA has been organised its attacks on northern Uganda from firmly established bases in the Sudan for a long time. Lately an important part of the Ugandan military strategy towards LRA has been to carry on attacks within the Sudan. It seems to be clear that the Government of the Sudan has supported the LRA military and financially. However, this support is claimed as a reaction to Ugandan support to the SPLA/M. Even if the LRA is regarded as a Christian fanatic movement the Sudanese support can also be seen as part of a strategy to increase the Muslim interests in Africa.

Due to the border fluidity we can also see the interaction between the WNBF and UNRF into the Sudan. There has over the years been a stream of refugees from both sides of the border into the next country. This has also been complicated further lately due to refugees streaming in from the volatile DRCongo.

In the east we can find fighting between the pastoralist groups of Karimojong towards the Sudanese Toposa. This is also involving the Kenyan nomadics, i.e. Turkana and Pokot. We can also see how a central area for trade in small arms has developed in this part of the region. Trade in military equipment is reaching enormous proportions in the whole region. That is one of the reasons why conflicts are also important for certain individual to accumulate a substantial affluence from the insecurity. Various middle-men have an opportunity to diversify trade in guns, with a trade in beef from the pastoralists. It is important to take note that trade in beef from the cattle rustled in the area has lately been an increasingly more commercialised activity. It is important to realise that even if a majority might suffer badly from the insecurity it is a source of wealth to others.

One potentially dangerous resource shared by the two countries is the River Nile, which might lead to conflict in the future, which would, of course involve many more national actors.

Uganda – RDCongo/Rwanda

The conflict between Uganda and its western neighbours goes back for a considerable time. A large part of the Rwandese population was located to Uganda at the end of the colonial period. Their homecoming in the early 1990s can be linked to the genocide. Even if the Rwandan president Kagame was a top official in Uganda before returning his relationship with Museveni has deteriorated badly. During 2003 there were discussions held between the two chaired by former British Minister Claire Short.

In the 1960s Obote had a large interest in what was then Zaire, even sending troops at the time. Like at the present stage a major drive to be involved in DRCongo is the wealth of mineral resources. Presently, it is a complicated matter to find out the relationship between the multinational capital and a wide variety of rebel groups. There are also a close links between capital and top World politicians.

During 2003 a lot of tension was built up on the border between Uganda and Rwanda, with serious accusation from both sides. This can be linked to a perceived re-location of the Ugandan interest away from East Africa towards the Great Lakes.

Somalia – Kenya/Ethiopia

The early Somali nationalism brought the country into confrontation with the neighbours. In Kenya the so called Shifta war in the North-Eastern province has led to a number of incidents between Kenyans and Somali groups. During the 1960s this was close to an open war at many instances. Contributing to this situation has been the extreme poverty in this region. Politically, economically and socially this Kenyan province was for long excluded from national development. President Moi realised this and brought in some Somalis from this region to positions as Government Ministers and top ranks in the Armed Forces.

Ethiopia was primarily confronted by Somali nationalism during the Ogaden war. In the latter part of the 1970s the Ogaden, which are populated by Somali inhabitants, experienced a situation of open war. Even if this is not as intensive presently we saw above the ONLF is still active, partly in co-operation with the OLF.

In Djibouti there is a Government that can be identified to the Somali Issas.

Eritrea – Ethiopa/Sudan

Eritrea has not only experienced a negative development economically and politically – it has also been isolated in the region. The war against Ethiopia has been going on for some time in different phases. What is behind this is open for debate. One suggestion is that there might be some mineral resources involved in the hostilities. It might also be a strong personal difference between the leading politicians in the respective countries. That could be compared to the differences between Uganda and Rwanda.

The war against Eritrea has brought Ethiopia closer to the Sudan politically, even if this relationship is rather dubious. A loose regional co-operation has developed between Ethiopia, Sudan and Yemen – against Eritrea. In connection to this it has been claimed that Eritrea has been given support to the anti-Government forces operating in Darfur.

Regional co-operation

The above gives a snapshot of internal and external conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa. It points to the difficulty of creating sustainable and credible governance in the region. We can also observe that many of the exiled groups in the region opposing a certain Government locate their bases on the territory of a neighbouring country. On the other hand we see various attempts to initiate peace work within regional bodies, such as the East African Community. Further, the African Union (AU) has developed a section for security work. Below we will focus in on one organisation involved, i.e. the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD), once replacing the Inter-Governmental Authority for Drought and Development (IGADD). The original organisation was formed in 1986. To a certain extent the name of the body might illustrate the change in priority in the region from drought to conflict. All the countries in the region are members in IGAD.

Cliffe (2003) has listed the three conflicts that IGAD are actively involved in;

- Meditation Ethiopia and Eritrea.
- The Somali Reconciliation in Nairobi.
- Peace initiatives on the Sudan.

In his conclusion Cliffe notes that the peace initiatives that IGAD are part of in Somalia and the Sudan is among the more promising attempts. He also notes that the mentioned conflicts have destabilised the whole region.

Part of the work within IGAD is carried out in co-operation with NGOs.

Concluding analysis.

From the above we can conclude that as a basis for the pattern of conflict, as outlined above, we find a situation of local poverty. Certain segments of the population are excluded from mainstream development. There are many indicators that could illustrate this structure of inequalities. Large number of inhabitants in the respective country live under what can be termed as structural violence. In many cases this has erupted into open violence or we have a status of post conflict that could easily erupt once again if the poverty indicators are not handled in a delicate manner. A normal cause of the regional differences is an expression of Government favouritism. Any Government regard it as a way of survival to base its power on the own people from the home region. Further, the regional variations do often have a origin in the colonial set-up.

Inequality can be expressed in different ways, such as religious or ethnicity. However, when we see, for example, the LRA in Uganda the religious convictions might have been there initially, but it has turned into more of a general dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions. In that case it might even be that there is no way out of the conflict, as it has gone out of hand for Joseph Kony and his rebels. In the case of Kenya a major cause of conflicts were the struggle for land, and a call for majimboism (federalism). Under the previous regime we could even see how the Government created KANU zones for the regions that voted in a correct way in the elections.

In large parts of the Horn of Africa nomadic pastoralism is the dominating mode of living. In these areas there is a tradition of cattle rustling that has gone very bad in the end of the 1900 due to an influx of small arms in the area. Cattle rustling has been increasingly commercialised, with a trade for meet. Middle men and war lords have come in to dominate

the local conditions in co-operation with corrupt kraal leaders. We can find an intensive struggle between different Karimojong clans, against Turkana, Pokot in Kenya and the Toposa in the Sudan. It is also going further when loosing groups of warriors take revenge on innocent neighbours.

In the case of Ethiopia the regional disturbances can be related to an inability within the Government to fight conditions of hunger and deprivation. It is also a war of liberation based on ethnic nationalism among, especially the Oromo and to some extent the Ogaden. In the latter case it is, of course, also a continuation of the early attempts on national expansion from the Somali Nation.

The Sudan insecurity can be seen as a religious war between a Muslim north and a Christian south, but that would probably be an over-simplification. With religion follows certain favours and consequently the war is more on exclusion once again. In the Darfur the interest might once again be the increased value of meet from the nomads. A continuous urbanisation will mean a higher demand for food – not least beef (nyama choma).

Governments are normally answering any kind of armed resistance with strong repression. Military solutions are often the only strategy to counter-act Government opposition. Even civil protest is normally met with serious a breach of human rights conduct. To a certain extent we can see the armed rebellion against some Governments as a continuous war of liberation. Independence has not been followed with the kind of Freedom expected. We noticed above how Museveni was referring to his struggle for power in Uganda as a protracted war of liberation. Without putting any normative assessment to it we can see how movements, such as ONLF, SPLM/A, OLF, possibly even the LRA and before that the EPLF in Eritrea as fighting for liberation. There would be many more in this complicated game with doubtful rule in many countries.

In many cases we can see how a kind of alliances is formed across the borders. The leaders of one opposition organisation are often based in the capital of a neighbouring country. Further, we can see how the base for the WNBF had its base in Bunia in the DRCongo. Recruitment of armed cadres is often done in IDP camps in the next country. We have also seen how the Government of the Sudan have supported the LRA for years, while Uganda contributed to the SPLM/A activities. In this way a complicated network of opposition and repression is emerging on the ground. Parallel to this we see the commercial activities cropping up, not least the armed trades. We also have to note that this is not isolated to the Greater Horn of Africa, but stretches into the DRCongo and Rwanda.

It is also obvious that conflicts between countries have often taken the form of personality clashes. This could be an important issue in the differences that have been built up between Eritrea and Ethiopia, as well as Uganda and Rwanda. This might also boil down to a power struggle, or a competition for regional hegemony.

When reading the present situation in the region we have to ask ourselves if it is now permitted to ask the pertinent question if the precedence set by the OAU, ages ago, on the sanctimonious state borders set by colonial powers have to stay for all eternity. Analysing what has happened with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia it might be a good idea to be open for the eventuality of a similar process in parts of Africa. During an interview at the AU one potential outcome of all this was brought up, e.g. it could be a combination of greater regional co-operation, but with a whole set of smaller federative units.

Even if there are numerous local differences behind the conflicts, we cannot neglect the international dimension to all of this. The Greater Horn of Africa is an important strategic region, as can be seen with the establishment of military bases in Djibouti. Further, the fight

against International Terrorism has been focused in on the region in various ways, not least in Kenya. For the US both Somalia and the Sudan are regarded as home of dangerous terrorists that could act to expand the influence of Islam in Africa.

One issue that needs a lot of consideration in the analysis of conflicts at the Greater Horn of Africa is the role played by international capital – Multinational and Transnational Companies. There are a lot of natural resources buried under the ground in the extended region. We cannot disregard the situation in the DRCongo, which to a large extent is built up from a demand of minerals. Large companies with a direct link to the White House, as well as international arms trade, can wage their own wars to secure their interests. In the same way we can see the role played by oil in the battle about the southern Sudan. With this kind of commercial interest in the North we can ask to what extent these countries can contribute to a sustainable peace in the South.

Bringing in the MNCs/TNCs to the debate on insecurity puts the attention to the fact that there are many people that are actually gaining from a situation of conflict. Some of them are positioned on the international scene, while others are local actors. In this category we find small scale arms dealers, other businessmen, corrupt politicians on all levels etc. Even within the NGO/CBO sector some are participating mainly for their own enrichment. In this context it is essential to keep this in mind, as everybody are not determined to struggle to find a future free of insecurity.

What this incomplete analysis will bring us to is that the solution to a dual problem of poverty and insecurity can hardly be trusted solely on the individual Governments, as they are themselves part of the problem. Still somehow they must act in such a way that they are not aggravating the situation further. With the obvious hostility between regimes in one country towards another it is hard to see how to find the regional mediation. At the same time the economic North has so far not shown its ability to contribute to a solution on neither poverty, nor security. This leave a lot of responsibility to what will broadly be termed as the civil society. It might not be that the Civil Society Organisations can manage on their own, but it is important to see what can here be done to contribute towards a sustainable solution.

A Profile of CSOs in the region.

This account will not be a complete analysis of the CSO structure in the region. It will be more of a general introduction, followed by examples from the four countries involved in the field research – Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Out of them Kenya and Uganda have a rather well developed NGO sector, while in the two other countries NGOs are just emerging since a few years back. Even if NGOs very often claimed to be the civil society themselves we have to see that this sector is much larger than that. On the one end there is the distinction between NGOs and CBO (Community Based Organisations). However, we must also take account of various traditional social structures, including funeral association. Taking note of this we will still try to keep ourselves to the NGO/CBO sector, with its various shades and functions. One further point has to be made, being the relationship to NGOs in the North. Some NGOs have been given the INGO acronym – indicating that they are actually international. Other NGOs might not be based in the North, but has a close relationship (partnership).

On the issue of funding, the field work could only confirm the notion that a lot of this came from donors in the North. Sometimes it was channelled through the INGOs that were in reality getting all their money from Government sources. For a long time NGOs/CBOs were used by external interests to constitute a kind of social cushions to ease the negative affects of

hard economic policies dictated from the North. A common opinion from many of the organisations interviewed now was that it was difficult to get any funding, as the Iraq war took away a substantial part of the capital that once was available.

In Table 5 we can see the official version of the NGOs in the countries in the region.

Table 5 Number of NGOs (in total and per million population) in the year 2000

Country	No	No per million pop.	
Djibouti	232	364	
Eritrea	156	40	
Ethiopia	792	13	
Kenya	1,614	54	
Somalia	228	23	
Sudan	733	25	
Uganda	990	45	
Total		4,745	-

Source: http://earthtrends .wri.org

It has been estimated that the total number of NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa is 32,825, which gives an average of 59 NGOs per million inhabitants. Consequently, the Greater Horn of Africa is to be found a bit below, apart from Djibouti. It would still be a difficult to estimate the correct number of NGOs in any African country. What was given for both Kenya and Uganda during our interviews was much higher than what is given in Table 5. Kenya is very close to the African average according to this survey. In addition to that we can see that in the region Kenya and Uganda together have 2,704 NGOs, representing some 57 percent of the regional total.

From that we will come in to a presentation of the four countries individually, before entering into an analysis of the role in peace and development. This section is intended to bring out some key issues and is not a complete account.

Kenya

Kenya seems to have a fairly well developed, as well as a dynamic, NGO sector. Originally this was even emerging in the colonial days. Some of these organisations were even started by the colonialists, such as the women group Maendeleo ya Wanawake. After Independence this organisation was taken over by the majority population and is still functioning. However, a much more substantial impact has been felt by another women interest group that is also dealing with environmental issues – the Green Belt Movement. The front figure for this group was from an early beginning the controversial Professor Wangari Muthai, which somehow constituted a household face for Kenyan radical NGOs. She is now one of the civil society representatives to enter Government in early 2003, as an Assistant Minister with a portfolio of Environment.

We can also identify the early radical Trade Unionism, which was largely dominated by Asians. Among the prominent representatives we find Makham Singh, but also Pio Pinto who was murdered soon after Independence. It is interesting to note that the kind of radicalism that Trade Unions stood for during the colonial days is far away from what it has been thereafter.

It can be argued that the civil war (the Mau Mau or the Kenya Land Freedom Army – KLFA) was emerging from some of the African sections in the unionism, led by Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai.

During the repressive period under president Daniel arap Moi in the 1980s a radical opposition was formed clandestinely, pledging a heritage in the KLFA. This was a time when all sorts of radical professionals from the universities, legal sector, politicians etc were detained without trial. It was alleged that they had connections with the illegal organisation Mwakenya, or possessed banned literature - such as Pambana. The only group of the time that could act at least partially open was the Law Society of Kenya, even if many of its members were arrested. One controversial issue of the time was the support given to various brands of oppositional NGOs from various foreign embassies, especially the US and German. Presently, some of the critical voice that has grown out of this turbulent period is the Human Rights Commission, which has broadened the concept of human rights to mean a right to socio-economic development. Apart from its centre in the capital they are at the core of a network of semi-independent local groups.

A voice of dissent during the period here discussed was coming from some of the churches. Largely this was centred round individual outspoken clerics, or in some case Muslim leaders. We also have to recognise the existence of different religious sects, such as the present one Mungiki.

Opposition was also getting various cultural expressions, such as music and theatre. A prominent example of this was the Kamiirithu group, formed outside Limure, north of Nairobi. In this body radical theatre was written and performed under the influence of well known writers, such as Ngugi was Thiong´o and Ngugi wa Mirii. Even here the Government resorted to excessive repression to halt the critics.

One important factor in the establishment of NGOs in Kenya has been the location of many international conferences in Nairobi, such as UNCTAD IV (1976) and the energy conference (1981). In connection to them an essential part was to offer an alternative NGO Forum. This inspired to a number of local NGOs, with a substantial funding from external partners, especially in fields like environment.

Finally, as will feature below is the groups formed in Kenya by refugee groups from neighbouring countries. Some of them are formed in anticipation of the coming home, while others are welfare or legal organisations representing the refugees.

At the early days after Independence a lot of the local community organisations established were based on tribal affinities. Some of them grew up to virtual business empires, such as the GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association). Others were more successful in sports like the Luo Union. All these organisations were banned by President Moi.

Key representatives argued contrary to the point made above on the dynamic structure of the Kenyan NGO community that it might not really be the case. The claim was that even if the sector was comparatively large it basically lacked a deeper critical political grounding. There was no real serious reassessments of what they were standing for or what they were committed to. From the interviews made, this kind of statement seemed to be verified, when the discussion came in to issues of political programme. All were very eager to say what they were doing, which in most cases was conspicuously similar, but they were not able to link it to a critical political declaration.

Political changes in Kenya have lead many NGO representatives to enter key Government positions. On the one hand, this can deplete the NGO sector of able staff, but on the other it might bring NGOs closer into the state functions. An opportunity seems to be opened in the

political space, which the NGO sector should seize. At the same time it is obvious that the NARC Government is too pre-occupied with internal differences that it has not kept its early promises for a new Kenyan future.

Uganda

When studying the Uganda NGO sector we cannot ignore the many years of turbulence during the regimes of Obote and Amin, which made it very difficult to organise anything on the grassroots level. During one of the field interviews a NGO official told me that it was at the end of the 1980s that the civil society started to organise itself. This often followed up to a Uganda participation in various international conferences, dealing with gender, child rights etc.

In dealing with the civil society in Uganda, we cannot ignore the Local Council system and the way this is influencing daily lives in the local communities. This was a system that was built up as Resistance Councils during the Museveni protracted war of liberation, which is now a form of local governance. To a certain extent the origins can be traced back to the Tanzanian ten household system. At the local level we find the LC1 Chairman, roughly equivalent to chief. Above that you have the LC3 and LC5 chairmen, with a number of councillors taking certain specific development roles. All the positions in the system are voted in by elections, making the LC5 chairman to be the political head of a district. Somehow in certain political sections this system seems to be a representative of civil society.

Many of the NGOs are part of a network, e.g. DENIVA with an estimated membership of some 500 groups. The agenda for this network body is to work on advocacy and capacity building for members. In the context of this paper it is an important note to make that DENIVA was at the time of the field study the chair-organisation of IGAD. A further point to make is that DENIVA has a fairly elaborate membership structure on the ground. As an example on this, SODANN can be mentioned, as a NGO/CBO network with some 100 members in Soroti District (see below).

One of the critical topics open to debate in Uganda is the process of registration of NGOs/CBOs. It is assumed that this will be a move to limit the ability among NGOs/CBOs to keep up a frank debate with the Government. Another issue is the relationship with the donor community. In an attempt to link up with the sector a seminar was held a couple of years ago at the Sheraton Hotel initiated by the World Bank, bringing together some 200 organisations – to open up a future co-operation. A lot of funds were made available for the purpose, but the agenda was clearly set by the funding body.

During the discussions we were told about how INGOs are able to take over activities. In one instance a major Scandinavian NGO got involved as partner for an on-going programme in northern Uganda. They contributed vehicles, buildings and organised workshops. However, the actual activities on the ground were soon terminated.

Ethiopia

Compared to the two previous countries the CSOs have a long way to go to reach a similar level, especially after the oppressive rule of Mengistu. Even if the number of NGOs tended to increase, an absolute majority of them were located in the capital Addis Ababa. One reason for this, was the turbulent political situation up-country. In addition, the Government was, according to interviews, not really prepared to let the organisations grow freely. As the NGOs were not allowed to carry out any fund raising or income generation on their own they were heavily donor dependent.

On the whole the current impression given, in trying to discuss the NGO situation in Addis Ababa, was that the informants selected for interviews were much more restrictive in discussing policy and agenda with outsiders compared to what was the case in Kenya and Uganda. It was in most cases not possible to talk to anybody apart from the directors, and even then after a lot of persuasion. There seemed to be a lot of Government control making the NGO representatives quite nervous. In some cases it seemed fairly obvious that the NGO set up was very close to the Government, possibly even set up by some state agent.

Many of the NGOs were members of an umbrella organisation called (Christian Relief and Development Association) CRDA, with 215 members. Originally it was working in the field of emergencies, but it gradually changed into development activities. It regarded the creation of a strong civil society as a main priority. To a certain extent an intensified regional co-operation was seen as a strategy that could open up the political space further. It seems CRDA has started to take matters related to awareness making seriously.

At the same time we could also note human rights and research organisations that were taking a critical stance, well aware that it might bring them into trouble with the Government. The Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO) is of the opinion that the own country is neglected with more international focus put on Kenya and Zimbabwe, but it tries to co-operate with Amnesty international and Human Rights Watch. Still some CSOs had a dialogue with Government high on their agenda, even if the response was limited. It was obvious that donors see these critical organisations as a means to open up the political space in the country.

Within the Forum for Social Studies (FSS) a combination of research and advocacy is on the agenda. Issues for analysis are environment, food security, gender and education. One of the activities operated are a people forum, with invited stakeholders for a discussion on policy implications. They use the radio to debate issues, such as for example the millennium goals. One objective is to illustrate to the Government that it is not OK to formulate bad policies. A lot of the work is voluntary, in this attempt to establish a development research network. FSS regards the loss of young researchers straight to consultancies from the universities as a big problem.

In a World Bank assessment of NGOs in Ethiopia it is said that they are struggling for space and institutional capacity. Traditionally the sector is weak, because of the strong centralisation of power. However, according to the report the progress since 1991 is impressive. Among the broad sector NGOs dealing with were poverty alleviation and civic education (Clark 2000).

The Sudan.

Of the countries referred to in this section it is most difficult to get a clear picture of the CSOs in the Sudan. There are too many contradictory voices heard in the debate. In addition to this we have to separate what is going on in the north and the south.

To make matters simple would be to say as is commonly claimed that there is no civil society in the south. That would not be really correct, though, even if SPLM/A is allegedly dominating most civil society activities in the south. At the same time this liberation movement is largely concentrated ethnically to the Dinka people. There was said to be another 30 to 40 ethnically based militia groups in the south.

What is existing in the south is traditional welfare groups and the churches. Presently we also have a strong US urge to build NGO/CBOs in the south, not least under pressure from the

American religious conservatives. It is also an expression of the joint fear of terrorism and Islam that has influenced the US attitudes to the Sudan. In addition to this the status of the Sudan as a major source of oil is another factor.

Turning the attention to the north we can observe the emergence of many NGO/CBOs. Under a long period of sanctions it has been difficult to act within the civil society. Now many people look forward to the peace accord on the south and the release of large amounts of funding. Some NGOs have already been established to get part of the aid that has been available for emergencies from "a broad perspective". Most of these organisations were set up in close co-operation with the Government, or even by civil servants themselves. Even some donors claimed that they were aware that the Government is presently setting up its own NGOs, to be part of the funding allocated to the sector.

It was a complicated task to get an NGO registered by the authorities, which meant that organisations expressed a close relationship to the government. A remarkable case was an organisation operating in Darfur claiming that there was no violence whatsoever in that region. All that had been reported had been nothing but bad publicity form the external mass media.

At the Juba University, temporarily located in Khartoum, there is a Department on Peace and Development Studies. They are training youth in methods of peace building. One of the urgent needs for the department is the integration of the south in the Sudan. Within the Department of Political Science at the University of Khartoum there is a keen interest in conflict research. One argument done on this was the need for a national civil society if a united Sudan should ever be a reality again. At the same time the SPLM/A is getting some of the blames, as they, as seen above, see themselves as the civil society in the south.

With the new hope for being brought back into the wider international community it was said that in the future the US will concentrate its support to the south, while the north would mainly benefit from the EU donors. Many new NGOs were preparing themselves for the potential boom.

General remarks.
As can be seen the NGO/CBO sector is under way in different ways to consolidate the activities in the four countries here commented on. In Kenya and Uganda these organisations are contributing to a development agenda, since some time back, partly going back to the colonial days. Co-operations with the Government have been of various intensity depending on the general structure of governance.

For both Ethiopia and the Sudan the emergence of a functioning NGO/CBO sector is a fairly new phenomenon. This was largely dependent on a strong Government repression. Even at the present stage there is clearly limited political space for the sector to operate independently. From this we will try to illustrate some of the activities found on co-operation of various kinds going on a broader peace building effort.

Civil Society and Peace Building.
In this context we will study how the NGO/CBO sector is involved in peace building, including structural violence and post conflict. We will try to limit ourselves to what is done in this sector, even if a lot of activities are done at other levels. However, we will here not

give any detailed description of AU (Africa Union) peace projects, for example. Above we mentioned some small points related to the IGAD activities.

What we will try to discuss is how NGO/CBOs work with (i) the international community of INGOs, (ii) regional co-operation, (iii) on the national level, (iv), cross border activities, and (v) local work.

Co-operation NGO/CBO sector to INGOs

This kind of co-operation is not so easy, as was pointed out by Tandon (1991). We can note that the INGOs are not very clear of their purpose and do not necessarily expose themselves to any kind of transparency. Another matter that the INGOs themselves might not even be aware of is that they are influenced by a western perception, which might be very far away from an African way of thinking. This is often related to issues on democracy and human rights. Below we will give an indication of some of the activities that we have found in the field work, engaging the civil society in peace building /development work.

Above we identified some of the contributing factors in the conflicts at the Greater Horn of Africa. Among them were the role played by MNCs/TNCs in the region, like the impact on oil exploration in the Sudan. In this case the obvious collaboration would be an active joint advocacy and lobbying. This could be, for example, to pressure at the Social Forum, or at NGO forum at international conferences. We can also see that one category of organisations that are functioning in the region are dealing with research. Some of them are presenting their findings and recommendations to the own Governments. Negative impacts from MNCs/TNCs would be essential information to focus on in that kind of communications.

Within the donor community the USAID has established an early warning system for monitoring potential conflicts. Among the tasks is to follow the cattle raids and insecurity in southern Sudan, northeast Uganda and northwest Kenya. In addition it was possible to see how the border conflicts caused by the OLF was spilling over to Kenya. To a certain extent the USAID interest in these issues was part of the Bush Government obsession in fighting terrorism. After all both Somalia and the Sudan have been regarded as harbouring terrorists. Kenya has also been a target for attacks, such as the bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi and bombings of hotels. In Uganda both the LRA in the north and ADF in the west have been classified by US intelligence as terrorist groups. We also have to note that the complicated situation in Somalia is of concern in the US, even if they do not want to be directly involved again, as they were in the early 1990s.

A controversial collaboration has been the one taking place between the Norwegian People´s Aid (NPA) in the southern Sudan since a long time back. In this case the NPA had come to the conclusion that a normal partnership could not be established, as there was no functioning civil society to work with. To a large extent the SPLM/A had given themselves the task of being civil society. Consequently, a close working relationship was instituted between NPA and SPLM/A. As NPA was almost alone to continue working in the Sudan for a long period of time it is now attracting a lot of attention, as it is one of the few actors with a substantial direct knowledge on the ground level condition in southern Sudan.

One INGO that has been involved in research work among local communities in the border region Uganda/Kenya/Sudan is the Dutch group Pax Christi. This organisation has been very active to explore the trade in small arms. This has been done in close co-operation with civil society and local NGOs.

Regional co-operation

We can also see how the coordinating work for the civil society has been a focus for a variety of international conferences. Civil society has been of keen interest by international groups working on issues, such as environment, poverty, peace building etc. In a regional meeting held by the WSSD (World Summit on Sustainable Development) in Nairobi, January 2002, the role of civil society was elaborated as related to environment and development. An overall objective was to find a strategy for civil society to participate on WSSD. This was to be done through a building of partnership between CSO and like-minded actors, which include African Governments, intergovernmental organisations and UN organisations. As main targets of CSO work were poverty eradication, democratic governance, conflict resolution, civil rights, globalisation and environmental degradation. From this it can be argued that civil society have to work in a coordinated and integrated way, together with other partners in development.

During the conference Professor Mafeje from the American University in Cairo made some pertinent observations. To him it was important to increase co-operation between academic research and NGOs, not least as it is a lot of relevant research done within the NGOs, not least in exploring factors related to democracy, governance and transparency. This can also be related to findings from my own field study that covered a few of the NGOs dealing critically with governance in their respective countries. However, a crucial point made by Mafeje was who are the NGOs representing? This was also a topic addressed in a workshop held in Soroti, Uganda (see below). When asked whom the NGOs represented they initially claimed that they were the civil society, which was modified to representing civil society. Still, the issue remains on whose mandate are the NGOs actually the voice of civil society.

One issue that was brought out at the conference was the issue of globalisation, which was said to be similar to imperialism – with some differences. That can be linked up to the issue asked above – what can the civil society and (I)NGOs do or are they doing to limited the economic, political or environmental impact of MNCs/TNCs?

Civil society is a main focus for the EU in its work to implement the Cotonou Agreement. This was a topic for a roundtable discussion held in Uganda (June 2002). At this meeting we find some of the key NGO actors in the field of conflict resolution in the region, e.g. Africa Peace Forum, InterAfrica Group, together with a leading INGO – Saferworld. Two main objectives for the meeting was to (i) examine the role of civil society in conflict prevention, and (ii) identifying how EU can support peace-building. Among the ways of doing that was to create channels between civil society and the Government. During the discussions one important issue has to be highlighted, e.g. the significant influence that donor countries exercise in relation to the civil society.

While the Cotonou favours the partnership links between Government and NGOs a certain concern is expressed on the legislation on registration that is affecting some countries at the Horn. The EU claim its intention to strengthen the political space for civil society to engage in real partnership.

Some of the issues focused on for the CSOs were to practice traditional mechanisms for conflict prevention. Further, the CSOs would be able to use their knowledge on local communities to provide data for a wider policy process. In this context the need to involve local community organisations in research has to be emphasised.

Churches have been mentioned as one important actor in civil society. A leading position has been taken by the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCK) that was started as early as in 1913. From the early beginning the programme included to promote Christianity, speak for

the voiceless, provide health and education. At the moment the priorities are related to democracy and governance. However, regional activities on peace building have been handed over to another organisation, i.e. the Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes & Horn of Africa (FECCLAHA). It co-ordinates such work in the Great Lakes and the Greater Horn of Africa. One of the main fields of operation is within small arms and security. Like many other similar groups their activities are concentrated to advocacy, capacity building and information. The focus is on women, youth and church leaders from the different countries, which they bring together for networking.

National level.

In negotiations to create peace in countries such as Somalia and the Sudan some national NGOs have taken a prominent role, such as the Africa Peace Forum. A key person in the peace negotiations is the ambassador Bethwel Kiplagat, a former diplomat in the Kenyan civil service. He is also working together with other diplomats at APFO.

Presently, APFO is heavily engaged in the peace process in both Somalia and the Sudan, but it started some ten years ago with peace building in the latter country on the agenda. Its main objective is to work on issues of disarmament and security at the Horn of Africa. With Somalia as an example it tries to work out some kind of policies to avoid a new collapse of state machinery elsewhere. Apart from diplomacy work APFO is also working with local community groups and certain INGOs (among them Saferworld). A main part of APFO functions has been to educate local Governments in Kenya on conflict resolutions. One important point made at APFO was that in peace building it is impossible to be neutral.

Another one of the NGOs that are involved in regional peace building, partly together with APFO, is the Inter Africa Group (IAG) in Addis Ababa. It started off to promote an open debate in Ethiopia after the fall of the Mengistu regime, but broadened its work to exchange information on conflict and peace building to eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa. On the programme now is to link this further to the Greater Lakes region. It has been able to open up the political space for advocacy, by avoiding confrontation. Even if the civil society had a long way to go in its promotion of peace it was, from the point of the IAG on the way.

Cross-border co-operation.

A number of regional networks have emerged based on local NGOs to address peace issues jointly. In the year 2000 an African Peace Tree Network (APTN) was initiated, which involves activities in some 11 countries, e.g. Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. In Ethiopia, for example, they are linked to the umbrella body CRDA (see above). They are engaged in building a peace agenda for the region, working with grassroots CBOs in advocacy and lobbying. In Kenya the APTN is closely linked to the Africa Peace Point (APP), which once started from a lay Christian organisation, with humanitarian work in southern Sudan. At an early stage funding was easy to acquire, but since the Afghanistan (and now Iraq) wars it is getting difficult. Now the APP concentrates its activities in Kenya, offering courses in peace building, but is also building a peace resource centre. To get income and to broaden the knowledge of African cultures and traditions the APP offers courses for Europeans held in Nairobi.

Even if it was claimed above that there is really no civil society in southern Sudan something of an exiled structure is still in existence in Nairobi. At the same time some INGOs are placed in Nairobi for its work in southern Sudan. The most important of them has been the

Norwegian People´s Aid (NPA). Throughout many years they have been closely linked to the SPLM/A. Normally, the NPA is working through partnership with CSOs, but as this has not been possible in southern Sudan (see above) the strategy has been adjusted into more of traditional aid.

Among NGO/CBO network operating from Nairobi we find NESI that has a membership of some 34 NGO/CBOs. It works in what it calls the New Sudan, focusing on capacity building, information sharing and joint advocacy work. Some of the members are in the New Sudan, while others are based in Nairobi. Training is offered in both locations, with the aim of increasing civil society capacity if the peace accord will be agreed upon. Another of these organisations in Nairobi is the Federation of Sudan Civil Society Organisations (FOSCO), which has been quite vocal on issues related to southern Sudan and related African topics.

The situation for refugees in Kenya and Uganda has been attended to by various NGOs. In Nairobi the Refugee Consortium (REFCON) has been active on advocacy and legal issues for refugees, mainly from Sudan and Somalia. They are not involved in welfare projects as such, but cater for legal advices. It is estimated that there are some 230-250,000 refugees in Kenya, of which 60,000 are in Nairobi. REFCON is carrying out its activities in Dire Dawa (Somalis), Kakum (Sudanese) and Nairobi. It has been difficult to acquire sufficient funding for the work, as there are difficulties to show immediate results. Donors want to see when a programme is ready to be completed, but working with refugees seem to be continuous.

In Uganda a project on education for Sudanese refugees was organised by Makerere University, starting in the early 1980s. It was supported by the British World Education Service (WES), partly in co-operation with the UNHCR. On the agenda was to set up resource centres for refugee settlements, provide teachers and learning materials. Adjumani, in the West Nile, was to be the centre of the actions and some limited activities are still going on.

Local level

What can be seen from the four case studies is that an exceptionally large amount of the NGOs are based in large urban areas. This was expressed especially as related to Ethiopia and the Sudan. It might be possible that this is because NGOs in these two countries are presently in an early stage and they might eventually reach out into the rural communities.

One limitation to the field work done was that most of the interviews took place in the capitals. Further, we tried to contact many of the organisations through e-mail. It might very well be that there are local community organisations that cannot be reached this way. We can also note that in the rural areas there are numerous traditional CSOs, dealing with practical social issues. This could be societies that have a different kind of organisational structures compared to what we assume a CSO to be. In this category funeral associations form an important part. In the present context we also have to mention the traditional peace negotiation systems.

Northern Uganda was the only place where it was possible to do some studies in the local rural communities. A lot of work is carried out in these areas by different religious groups, such as ARLPI (Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative). Among the initiatives they take is to highlight the actual situation in northern Uganda to the rest of the country and outside. In addition, they are active in organising peace and development workshops and advocacy study visits. ARLPI has been pushing for the establishment of the Coalition for Human Rights and Justice Initiative for Northern Uganda.

A very interesting initiative for northern Uganda was an attempt to integrate traditional peace negotiations in the process. This was started by a group that was originally started in 1996 by Acholi living in exile, e.g. Kacoke Madit. In a report on the work to produce consensus for peace and development, published under the name; “The Bending of Spears”, a strategy for peace is outlined. Among the key issues suggested is that the Acholi has a guilt to clear before sustainable peace can be achieved. This self-blame is related to the atrocities committed by the army in Luweero in the early 1980s, when a major part of the government army had been recruited among the Acholi.

In the Karamoja region, significant for the violent cattle raids, a special advisor has been appointed to bring back some for of governance. One of the mandates for his work is to coordinate various CSO activities. It is obvious that a lot of duties in the region are handled by NGOs that normally would be the duty of the State. With the assistance of some donors it is ADOL (Action for Development of Local Communities) that provides a lot of the necessary social services in Kotido District, as Government work is often restricted by insecurity. Obviously, without any kind of substantial improvements in the region it is difficult to see how peace could be established.

During the field study it was possible to meet with a number of NGO networks operating in the North-eastern part of Uganda. This was facilitated by a workshop arranged by SODANN (Soroti District Association of NGOs and CBOs Network). National support for this body is coming from DENIVA (see above).

Activities within SODANN has been to carry out research and holding of workshops to disseminate the situation. One essential part of the peace process has been to bring similar kind of NGO/CBO networks together from different sides of the on-going conflicts. In a couple of workshops the views of the Teso have been confronted by the perspective of the Karamojong. A purpose of all this is to bring warring fractions together in an open dialogue of common problems.

The workshop attended during the field study was called in an attempt to discuss an establishment of a Peace and Development NGO College in Soroti.

Some issues emerging

What has been focused on above is just a brief of an on-going research and, consequently, limited in scope. However, it is pertinent at this stage to take stock of some of the issues coming out of the deliberations, so far. That can also hint in what direction the research will continue from here on.

- In Kenya and Uganda, and to a lesser extent Ethiopia and the Sudan, a structure of NGOs and CBOs are emerging dealing with the integrated issue of peace and development.
- In most cases the NGOs are located to the large urban areas, but opening up for activities in the rural areas.
- Many of the NGOs/CBOs are operating on funding from a variety of donors from the North. Without this assistance they might not be able to exist at all.
- A strong economic dependence has been established from the donors, which can also be translated into a political influence.
- Relation to Government is sometimes complicated, as there are moves to restrict NGO activities and critique through legislation. However, external donors are very keen to make NGOs, civil society and Government to collaborate closer.

- It is not very clear if there are any reaction to the top down globalisation and negative impact of MNCs/TNCs from the local NGOs, or if there is an active collaboration with INGOs in the field.
- In attempts to find a sustainable solution to the on-going insecurity we must realise that such activities goes against certain powerful interests.
- Support for NGOs/CBOs in the provision of early warning systems on political insecurity can partly be linked to the international war on terrorism.
- Research initiatives have taken place between INGOs and local NGOs. One of the relevant fields for this has been the spread of small arms. It has been recognised that a lot of valuable research has been initiated within the NGO community.
- It has been an active campaign to bring the civil society into development and peace work, supported by UN organisations, INGOs or the EU. The latter relates to work to implement the Cotonou Agreement.
- A controversial issue raised is what are the NGOs/CBOs representing. What mandate do they have for their activities.
- A network of co-operation has been built up around religious organisations, involving most countries at the Greater Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes.
- Certain networks have been established to provide for civil society development in a neighbouring country with severe insecurity, such as southern Sudan. Some of the work has focused on the vulnerable position of refugees.
- On the local level we also find an active participation of religious groups. In some instances they have been involved in the practice of traditional peace mediation.
- Examples can be given on how a national NGO/CBO network support the establishment of similar networks on the district level. A dialogue between these different networks can contribute to a better understanding between people from different ethnic background.
- In some certain areas plagued with insecurity a lot of normal Government services is handled by NGOs/CBOs.

As seen what is given above is nothing but a number of points that has been touched upon that will be dealt with more in detail in the on-going research.

Concluding remarks.

The Greater Horn of Africa has been a region of conflicts since political Independence. To a large extent the causes for this kind of a situation is entrenched in the colonial misrule. Africa was left with a number of state formations that invited trouble. If it was a mistake by the OAU to make these boundaries permanent or not is open for debate. Further, to blame the imperialists for creating the states that we have today is one thing. To imagine that the European countries are going to rectify what they once generated is an illusion. Consequently, a solution has to be found in an open and constructive analysis of the forces at play. It is in that arena the focus on civil society has to be understood.

Among the issues that have to be addressed at various levels is the connection between insecurity and deprivation. We also have to pay attention to the specific post conflict conditions.

In this paper we have seen some examples on work done by a variety of NGOs and CBOs. This is very often linked to an external funding – donors or partner INGOs. That kind of a relationship must be put to a critical analysis on the kind of dependency structure that is created. If NGOs/CBOs are to be functioning in peace work it is essential that they maintain their own independent stance. They have to be the ones giving a voice to the voiceless, not being the mouthpiece for external interests.

A regional network is emerging of NGOs/CBOs that are active in the development, as well as the peace, process. This kind of collaboration is important to build up a joint understanding between neighbours that have been split up from a system of colonial boundaries. When stating their own objectives many NGOs/CBOs talked about advocacy, lobbying, capacity building and information sharing. The main issue in this is to what extent a system for awareness making and critical thinking is developed. If not we have to ask what is really the meaning of capacity building?

We also have to elaborate on the relationship between NGOs/CBOs and the civil society. If we assume that this is not the same, the obvious question will be what does the NGOs/CBOs represent? On whose mandate are they talking? Most probably that kind of questions demands a way for critical self-affirmation is needed.

From this preliminary analysis we can only conclude that the civil society has a role to play in finding a sustainable peace in the greater Horn of Africa. However, the civil society must be represented by actors that are independent. They have to be flexible and combine their efforts in a modern theoretical discourse and traditional mediation. A co-operation with external partners must be based on a determination to avoid a top down globalisation mind. At the same time the joint collaboration cannot be combined with any kind of self-interest.

PAPER 8

National Security, Civil Society, and Sustainable Development
The Interdependence Dilemma for the Post-Conflcit Sudan

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The institutionalisation process of politics in the post-colonial Sudan is not yet examined closely in the light of the cycle of civilian-military musical chairs. In reality, the boundaries and institutional capacity of the socio-political forces were defined by the dominant role of the military establishment. Yet, this issue has gone largely unnoticed by analysts and policymakers, and entirely missed by many efforts to address the challenges of a post-conflict Sudan. However, some scholars who dealt with the issue in broader context realised that African political life, which was impacted by unrest, disorder, and conflict due to the absence and weaknesses of institutions, exert on the polity a choice based on supremacy rather than reason. On the other hand, Middle Eastern experience showed that civilian governments have an affinity to depend on the military establishment in order to maintain their hold in power. The Sudanese reality is not far away from these two conducive observations.

The general objective of this paper is to contribute to the better understanding of modalities of the safe passage to a post-conflict Sudan. In particular, it aims to identify the determinants of the current military hegemony on the Sudanese polity, explore ways for further research towards ending the military's political domination and analyse a number of alternative options for a better and balanced role of the military establishment in the Sudanese politics. It explores the primary link between the rising hegemony of the military establishment on the polity within the trajectories of national security, reconstruction of civil society and sustainable development. Finally, it argues that for any credible alternatives advocating sustainable peace, sustainable democracy and social justice the tripartite dependence and the right balance between these 3 elements should be considered seriously.

The Writing on the Wall

"There will be no sustainable peace in the Sudan if the military is not disengaged from politics and the Sudan must be returned to the way it started … parliamentary democracy". General Joseph Lagu, who signed in 1972 Addis Ababa Peace Accord with Khartoum, told Reuters News Agency on Monday 16th of August, on the day the military establishment is celebrating its Golden Jubilee. This is a clear message from the peace partner to General Jaffar Nimeri, and an army officer who defected in 1962 in order to defeat the oppression of the Centre Establishment. In fact he was his Vice President and the rebel commander who ended the First Civil War that crippled the Sudan between 1955 and 1972. Then General Lagu added:

> "military domination of politics had crushed democracy in Sudan and forces groups with grievances to take up arms, as they had in the western Darfur region and the south"

Interestingly, General John Grang who defected from the army in 1983 and formed the SPLA will change his position so soon from an "outlaw" to seeing himself as the First Vice President of General Omar al-Bashir. The deal is brokered by no one but the Kenyan General

Lazarus Sumbeiywo. For the second time in the Sudan history the Generals are setting the scene and the boundaries that in the end will protect their interest.

It is some times obvious, as I have elsewhere argued, that the most probable foreseeable future for any institution was unlikely to differ significantly from its present or its immediate past. On this basis, the Sudanese military establishment is unlikely to change fundamentally 5 or even 10 years ahead from today. For nearly 50 years the al-Giada Ala'ma (Central Command) of the military establishment operated a miniature government of its own. It is controlling a critical mass of professional personnel and a powerful web of economic and political connections more than any group in the society and across the board of the polity. It created an elaborate institutional structure both for its own rule and for effective links to civilian supporters. The shift in its original mission of state defence to an internal security (coercive apparatus) and then to one that becomes the locus of state power is remarkable.

The Beginnings

Historically, the seeds of military intervention in politics were sown, to a great extent, as early as the closing decades of the 19th centaury during the rise of the amateur generals of the Mahadia era (1884-1898). Since then the chief mission of the army is internal security and, to a lesser degree, defending its territorial integrity from any external threats. The more ambitious and more advanced colonial regime began to develop a more professional army in the country. The invading Anglo-Egyptian authority established in 1905 the Military School based solely on the African ethnic affiliations and exclusion of Sudanese from Arabic decent in fear of their close association with the defeated regime of the Mahadia.

By 1917 the Eastern and Western Arab Corps were established. By the 1920s a group of national officers were actively involved in secret organisation in order to inf1uence the political order of the day. In the Aftermath of the 1924 uprising defeat and expulsion of Egyptian army from the Sudan an independent Sudanese army was established. The Sudan Defence Force was declared functional on regional bases. The military college was re-organised by 1935 in order to coup with the new demands for professional officers at the dusk of the 2nd World War.

When the military college was established the majority of the affiliates officers were of African origin; 30 years latter the Arabised northerners dominated the army, while the majority of the soldiers are from the African groups. The final characteristics of the military establishment emerged and consolidated by the Sudanisation process. For the first time the close association between the Jallaba business class and the military establishment was obvious. The alliance was gradually forged between this business institution and military establishment to create a structure of political order. The ultimate political domination of the military rested upon a highly interconnected political system with the Jallaba institution, a solid support of the paramilitary force Gouat aldifa alshabi (Popular Defence Forces), and a web of friendly forces of more than 60 tribal militia networks in the theatres of the resources battlefields.

Since the mid 1950s the national security doctrine focused more and more on the internal front rather than the traditional threat of aggression by foreign armed forces. By mid 1970s the armed forces moved permanently to be an instrument of internal security enforcement. This has provided further a rationale for expanding the role of the military establishment in politics. Military intelligence targeted politicians, political parties, universities, trade unions, businesses or any "suspicious" individual or group. In consequence the emerged national

security doctrine attributed political problems to the perseverance of serious defects within the civilian socio-political and economic systems. Under this cover, the establishment continued for decades to prepare planning scenarios for internal conflict and continued utilising military intelligence for domestic purposes.

The national security pretext was an integral part for the military establishment to transform its role further. The only way for the military establishment to ensure ultimate dominance in the face of the threat of Southern insurgency was to use a total war approach and take control of virtually every aspect of the Sudan's social fabric and economy. The crude validation for this argument was that the civil war, the longest standing war on any continent, requires fighting fire with fire and defeating almotmarideen (rebels) is all that matters. Violation of group rights is perceived as an intrinsic and inevitable part of the ongoing military operations, and repression is regarded as an endemic part of the transition for the advancement to secure the Dawlla al-Rashida (the Guided State) and implement the grant Islamic Civilisation Project. Indeed, in this case national security doctrine was imposed at the expense of political freedom.

Since independence the country has had 7 regimes, 4 of them were controlled by the military: the first was under General Abboud (1958-64), the second one under General Nimeri (1969-1985), a 12-month transitional regime was under General Swar al-Dahab, and the present regime is under the leadership of General al-Bashir (1989-). To-date the military establishment has controlled the country for 35 years out of the 48 years since 1956.

The frequent claim by the military to rule has been motivated by a perceived need to save the Sudan from weak, incompetent, corrupt, and undisciplined civilian leadership. However, the military governments that took power were marked by an escalation of civil war, and fear of social chaos as well as by harsh repression of civil and group rights. No doubt, the role of the military establishment in the process of economic development can only be judged against the political, socioeconomic realities of the present Sudan.

Unlike other countries the military intervention in the Sudanese political as well as economic life in the post-colonial period is not claimed to be a continuation of the army's participation in the national movement for independence. Interestingly, the military establishment rise to power is related to the momentous changes in size and organisation of the army within the context of an internal duty: the civil war. Moreover, the historical development of the army was spurred on by developments outside the Horn of Africa as well as by national imperatives embedded within the region.

The size of the army witnessed a rapid increase in the post-independence period. In 1956, at the independence, there were 5 thousand recruits, increased 10 times by the mid 1970s. By the dawn of the 21st century the army had increased by 25 fold to reach a 150 thousand. Many strategic factors and threats perception were advocated to justify this phenomenal increase: civil wars, domestic opposition and foreign invasion. This, resulted in an ever increasing militarisation of the society and state, complicating any efforts to establish civilian control over the military and making demobilisation an essential component in achieving lasting peace and sustainable democracy.

On parallel track, military share of the government expenditure changed considerably over the same period. In the mid 1950s the resources allocated to the military were around 8% of government expenditure. The share grew gradually and reached around 25% by 1990s.

Currently, is reaching around 70% compared to other African countries the military share is exceptionally high (Kenya 9%, Rwanda 12%, Zaire 5%).

An Evolving Dominance

The relationship between the military institutions and civilian governments since the early 1970s is undergoing a major shift. For 3 decades the military establishment incrementally managed to develop a complementary set of mechanisms under the cover of “protecting the national security of the nation”. In addition to its traditional arsenal, its tools range from a web of welfare services, dedicated advanced research academy, civilian educational schools, mass media facilities, advanced medical establishments, agricultural projects, commercial dealings companies, construction, and transport. In addition, it has the most sophisticated industrial complex for civilian and military supplies, one of the largest banks of the country, insurance and financial investment portfolios.

During the present regime the military establishment is further consolidated its institutional autonomy, its position within the state, expanding its militias (friendly forces) in the countryside. Moreover, what it distinguishes the military establishment during the present rule of General al-Bashir from those that came before him is the intension of the establishment to remain in power indefinitely and to restructure the Sudan.

The military establishment perceived that the present regime is best equipped intellectually and physically to face the challenges to the country on both the security and economic fronts and these threats were permanent in nature implying a permanent need for General al-Bashir's regime. It claims, for more than 15 years, to have a blueprint for a "new society" in which their Mashrooa alHadari al-lslami (Islamic Civilisation project) would allow them to control the state more effectively than civilian rule. Within that "modified" concept of the military establishment's discourse, the achievement of development helps to eradicate the causes of instability. Security and development are complementary and closely linked to each other. This is further justified extending the role of the military since the mid 1960s as a tool for development.

Security is necessary for any kind of economic activity and for the achievement of development goals. The ultimate goal of security is to create a secure and suitable environment conducive for the realisation of development plans. In the words of the military establishment researchers the development process aims to increase the nation's economic, social and political abilities to meet the requirements of stability and prosperity.
Sudanese military establishment is not isolated from the rest of the polity. Historical experience showed that it is part and parcel of the overall map of ideological competition, manoeuvring, factionalism, inefficiency, socio-religious cleavages, economic collapse, and political rivalry of the civilian component of the Sudanese society. Yet, the prime motivations behind the military intervention are mainly organisational, pretending to protect the state sovereignty at the time of its defending the corporate interest of the military-Jallaba institutional partnership. A focus on this link will reveal the specific logic and internal dynamics to this special civil-military hybrid of state crafting.

No doubt, the high instability of all post-independence regimes in the Sudan exposes the fragility of the state. Civilian regimes emerged after a collapse of a military regime due to the withdrawal of its civilian base of power. For those civilian supporters, the military regime was not a viable choice to achieve their political ends. On the other hand, the military establishment intervenes when their financial and political resources are sharply reduced. For

pluralist democracy to take root in the Sudan, both military and civilian institution must be re-structured and take on new roles.

For the last few years, Sudanese public opinion is reaching gradually a conclusion that the military establishment cannot achieve better results than the civilian rule. The issues start with the realisation that no military rule can protect them from poverty, hunger and disease. The military, despite repeated claims, did not succeed in ending the civil wars in the South, East fronts and armed conflicts in Darfur. Whether it might have succeeded in protecting the national security of the Sudan by utilising a different approach is at least not feasible. The crystal fact remains that mobilising more than a quarter of a million army and popular defence forces and more than 10 billion dollars did not achieve victory.

The Challenges for Democratisation

Sudan has often been recalled as a case for despair. It is a country of great expectations and potential, but also one of missed opportunities and unfulfilled hopes. Since the early 1980s the military establishment is consolidating its position faster than any other organised group in the society. It is moving from being a major player in the fields of resources acquisition, management and distribution to a powerful stakeholder in the overall processes of economic growth and political development.

The definitions and determination of which the enemy is, the mission of the armed forces, and of the legitimacy of the actions that can be executed by armed units were the work of "organic generals" of the military establishment. This very elaborate strategies and tactics involve neither the participation of the civilian governments (1964-1969; 1986-1989) nor, indeed, the pillars of civil society.

The Sudanese experience showed that rising dominance of the military establishment in the political scene is less to do with the measurable exertion of influence and more to do with the organised context through which that influence was either expressed or suppressed. For example, the consistent political manoeuvrings of the Transitional Military Council (April 1985-April 1986) post-General Jaffar Nimeri regime in order to shape the ground for a favourable civilian rule on the terms of the military establishment of the day. Another example is the Higher Command ultimatum to the civilian government on February 1989, which marked turning points in the way that the military establishment perceived its role and mission. That event was the most difficult period in civil-military encounters in the history of the country. The military establishment believed that the civilian government of Prime Minister Saddiq al-Mahadi acted in ways that endangered national security. Both events taken together underline the crucial mechanisms played by the High Command in shaping the theatre of Sudanese politics and permitted its "organic" generals to maintain considerable control over the pace, and nature of the transition to civilian rule (1986-1989) resulting in its ultimate collapse. This is the exact situation that the Sudan is going to face after the final peace agreement by the end of 2004.

Indeed, the failure of General Nimeri's regime in 1985 has strengthened certain factions within the military and weakened others; at the same time the collapse of the civilian rule in 1989 shifted the balance among competing military factions. The prompt execution by firing squad after a summary court martial of the 28 officers in April 1990 is a case for consideration. The military establishment influences and manipulations are only as effective as the prevailing institutions of the day allow them to be. Indeed, this is, again, the risk that we are facing at present.

The above-mentioned examples reflected the covert and overt interventions of the military institution directly during an onset and a collapse (outset) of a civilian rule. In both cases the military command exercised a veto power over the direction, what priorities the civilian rule should deal with, and who should participate in it. At the same time, the situation in the opposition front is not less complicated. The integration of the al-Giada al-Shareia (Legitimate Command), the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) structure and the other military opposition militias on the leadership and the transitional programme of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) will further complicate the political scene by expanding the political participation of the armed forces and paved the way for spirals of violent competition.

Both rival camps agreed that the armed forces have a legitimate right to intervene as a political actor in the political system. This very complex model of interaction between the military establishment and the civilian authorities, on both sides of the conflict (government, opposition), pose substantial risks to a post-conflict Sudan. One major dilemma is how to set a clear objective to the transition: is it the demilitarisation of politics or depoliticisation of the military? What kind, how much, when and with what limitations the interventions (either covertly or overtly) are acceptable? However, it seems that the political elite of the Sudan (government and opposition) left completely the internal security final decisions and the civil war issues without any challenge in the hands of the military establishment. The cost has been the civilian loss of control over the armed forces (army and militias) and the strong autonomy of the latter for the predictable future.

Theoretical Framework

Development experts have moaned over Sudan's inability to take advantage of its enormous size, fertile land, abundant resources, and reasonably skilled work force to place itself on the path to modernisation. To a large degree that path is blocked by the context of the civil war (1955-1972; 1983- to-date, killed 2 million, internally displaced 4 million, and exiled 2 million), factionalism and civilian/military misrule.

In the last 3 decades the interdependence between economic development and the military acquisition of resources has been the focus of limited public debate and scholarship. The overall approach restricted the issues to the way that the state viewed its potential, perceived or actual threats to its national security. Yet, these concerns neglected or masked the proper understanding of the rising hegemony of the military establishment on all aspects of military-civilian relationship; and particularly the military-economic linkages. Indeed, some of these studies emphasised the adverse economic effects of military expenditure on development. However, the crucial restructuring of the military establishment as an integral mechanism for equitable distribution of power and resources is missing. In particular, this is an essential part of any efforts to rationalise the proper passage to a sustainable peace, sustainable democratic option, and proper allocation of resources, demobilisation and balanced military-civilian relations.

Many voices have also advocated the need for reforms and even radical changes in civilian institutions. The military establishment conducts are often responses to the civilian institutions with which it interacts. Indeed, weak institutions (party structures, parliament, judiciary ... etc) invited military intervention in Sudanese politics just less than 3 years after independence. Strengthening those institutions is an essential pre-requisite towards creating a

favourable context in which democratic control of the military establishment becomes a feasible option.

Nearly 4 decades of military progressive domination of the political sphere provides a window to understanding the possibilities for addressing the interdependence of national security doctrine and civil society role on accomplishing sustainable development. Little, however, is known about the military establishment precise thinking and evolving strategies. Understanding past legacies and the challenges they present is crucial in developing strategies aimed at transforming the current' 'uneven balance in Sudanese military-civil relations. This paper tries to add few core questions, and initiate interests in filling this gap.

Given the uniqueness of the Sudanese case, a theoretically informed case study approach can provide some answers to a very complex setting. In my more detailed further study I will adopt a historical-structural perspective, considering specific events of the more than 35 years military establishment enjoying the spoils of power, and having supreme and unrestrained access to state resources. This dominance constitutes opportunities and threats for transforming the interdependence of a national security doctrine and proactive civil society role in achieving sustainable development in the Sudan.

Indeed, the advocated theoretical frame is not perfect, but it is more likely to lead to answers to a set of strategic questions and explanations for the - tripartite dependence of sustainable peace, sustainable democracy and social justice in the Africa's largest country. Yet, despite the fact that the Sudanese case has its particulars, it can provide some lessons regarding the possibilities for re-defining reforms and reconstructing political and social institutions in other war-torn communities.

Strategic Questions

A stable post-conflict Sudan must meet a set of requisites, the achievements of which challenge the prevailing situation. At the heart of this is the critical role of the state as a regulator of diverse interests within the society. Under military hegemony the army substitutes its will for that of the majority, as expressed through the electoral process. Perhaps more than any other political actor the military establishment stands to loses a crucial edge once it gives-up its hold on the state, transfer power to elected civilians, and subordinates itself to the terms of constitutional regime and democratic process. Moreover, it might indirectly partially explain the reasons behind the candid fear of military establishment from reaching any settlement of the ongoing civil war.

Undoubtedly, the passage to a post-conflict Sudan will necessary be influenced by many external factors, such as the state of economy, both nationally and internationally, the nature of the existing pre-military socio-political structures, and the force of the subjugation of civil society throughout the military rule. Moreover, a post-conflict Sudan will open a possibility of new regional policies and development strategies. Any co-operation and interaction between neighbouring countries will impact on the collective defence conceptions in the region.

The principal strategic question is what can be done to promote effective civilian control, in a structural and historical context, conducive to autonomous and highly politicised military establishment? Any interest in dealing with the issues of post-conflict Sudan and transition to sustainable democratic option will bring to the fore even more normative questions regarding the role of the armed forces.

The second set of questions is perhaps the most obvious. What type of mechanisms of power within the establishment, and by extension, the Sudanese state most vulnerable considering the limited capacity to monopolise and deploy violence and maintain it institutionally? Is the management of the ongoing civil war too important to the integrity of the country to extend that it necessitating to be left to the generals? Or is it too vital to the country not to be left to the generals? Is the post-conflict Sudan bound by national security priorities developed by the existing military establishment? How an alternative national security concepts and practices are evolved, developed, become, and remain, structured within a sustainable democratic order of governance?

Thirdly, to what extent will the rising domination of the military establishment be a powerful hurdle limiting the possibilities to subject itself to civilian control? What concrete steps are necessary to create a political climate where military subordination to civilian rule will be perceived as acceptable and feasible? Is it feasible to preserve the core and vital interests of the military establishment (institutional autonomy, assets, access to and control of resources, militias networks, organisational hierarchy ... etc) in order to guarantee positive transition to democracy? What potential for conflict between the establishment factions (hardliners us softliners; military-as-government us military-as-institution)? How to explore the nature of factions within the military establishment? What kinds of ties bind officers to one particular faction and their relative importance? To what extend will this be useful in any decision to reform the military in post-conflict Sudan and in the process of democratisation itself? How to produce a blue-print that is agreeable to reduce the military establishment's political power and at the same time contains potential for conflict with civilian authorities?

On the other hand, will the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) formula help the transformation from a case of ultimate military dominance, through military participation in governance, to one of some level of military involvement? Undoubtedly, all these questions will form the most challenging hurdle yet facing the redefinition of socio-political institutions of the future Sudan and beyond.

In the Sudan, the prospects for peace and democratisation are closely associated to the future of the country's military establishment. Indeed, the resolution of the armed conflict and a peace settlement with the SPLM and the NDA, against which much of the armed forces mission had been targeted, improved chances of regional co-operation, and greater emphases on sustainable development pose a new set of challenges about the role of the army.

Simple Hypotheses

In the Sudan where political contenders too often brandished the K-47 automatic rifle and not the pen or the ballot box, I hope that in a post-conflict Sudan the mere absence of coercion is itself noteworthy. Moreover, I believe that in the experience of other countries the civilian control is a gradually incremental and lengthy process that takes serious efforts, resources and time to complete; it is bound to lag well behind democratisation itself. Furthermore, military establishment attitudes toward civilian rule cannot be better understood without disaggregating the officer corps, taking seriously the candid debate among competing factions (ideological, religious, ethnic, regional... etc) over the army's role, and the military-economic linkages in the post-conflict Sudan.

Thus far, for the sake of informed answers I assume that the military establishment will try to maintain, consolidate acquired position or resist, with varying level of success, the winds of changes in a post-conflict Sudan. Indeed, political power cannot by default transform

preferences into a feasible course of action; it must negotiate its will through governing institutions.

The precise answers to the strategic questions raised earlier have yet to be compiled. Nevertheless, based on their tentative boundaries and the historical analysis of the Sudanese experience the following set of 6 hypotheses will be guiding indicators that requires further examination. These will be tested alongside the military establishment responses to the issues of routes to democracy, shifts in development strategies, accountability, institutional reforms, mission of the army, and access to resources. These hypotheses are:

One
The higher the prestige (legitimacy, credibility, reputation) of the elected civilian government and the lower prestige of the military establishment, the more likely the success of the civilian tactics (procedures towards change) to limit sphere of influence and subordinate the military establishment.

Two
The stronger Civilian governmental actors (norms, structures, rules of procedures ... etc) and supremacy the less likely for the military establishment to succeed in making influence to preserve autonomy and privileges, the more effective for civilian policymakers to contain military manoeuvres around it and advances.

Three
The more role of the military establishment in non-military development-related areas, the more insertion of the army in domestic structures, the more difficult to subordinate the military establishment, the less stable the post-conflict regime.

Four
The military establishment will vigorously defend their survival as an autonomous institution. Other related privileges will be defended to the degree that is critical to survival or maintenance of core interests.

Five
The higher levels of political instability and economic crisis, the more "decisive" the military establishment will perceive its interest as vulnerable, the more likelihood that the leadership will tolerate risky means (passive or active) of confrontation.

Six
The more shared the interest across the various sectors of the army (resources, equipment, and management), is less likely to be reduced by civilian authorities, the more likely the success of the military establishment in defence of this interest.

Ways Ahead
In July 2002, the Ingas regime under the command of General al-Bashir (now Field Marshal) in Khartoum signed with the SPLA General Grang Machakos Protocol in Nairobi. Fourteen months latter on September 25th 2003, the two warring parties, influenced by their military concerns and background, signed an agreement in Nivasha on the security arrangement. Then on January 7, 2004, the Ingaz regime and the SPLM signed an Agreement on Wealth Sharing, and by May 27th signed an Agreement on Power Sharing. The deal is going to be finally concluded by the end of 2004.

In the prevailing international, regional, and national context, there are few if any viable alternatives to the pluralistic democratic option. Nevertheless, it is very disappointing to witness the absence of any impact of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the cold war on the Sudanese situation. However, the failure of the military establishment to monopolise violence and defeat the SPLM, the rejection of authoritarian regimes, and increasingly vigilant monitoring and international sanctioning of group rights abuses will add more to a favourable transitional environment to a post-conflict Sudan. Here, I hope that this brain storming session guided by this paper would lead to better focusing on the policy implications that will be considered by regional and international partners for the post-conflict Sudan. Indeed, governments friendly to Sudanese people, international NGOs, and regional institutions have a critical role (technical assistance. monetary support, and political pressure), though secondary, in restructuring the Sudanese reality. In particular, those partners seeking to help Sudan's transition to democracy through empowering democratic institutions of the civic society, institutionalisation of effective system of civilian control of the military establishment, and assist in expanding opportunities for mass political participation.

Sudan's historical experience underscores the interface between the forces of socio-economic interests and political setting (shaped by civil war, economic crises ... etc), on the one hand, and the questions of means and agency (dictatorial military or civilian regime) involved in the process of change, on the other, as essential to the realities of the post-conflict period. It is the central paradox of peace in Sudan: any agreement will oblige the Ingaz Islamic regime to share not only wealth, but power. Any such sharing will inevitably put the regime at serious challenge, given its past dependence upon tyranny, a brutally efficient set of overlapping military and security services in order to protect their monopoly of national wealth and political power. At the heart of this challenge are the interests of powerful Military-Economic axes.

Indeed, powerful financial and commercial interests backed by the might of the Islamic banking network played a significant role in funding, providing personnel, and facilitating the operation of June 1989 military take-over by the National Islamic Front. This is the less talked about issue even after 15 years of the event. Economic factors were a central cause in the war since 1983 (oil, water, land, and livestock …etc). More than 60 Militias were set-up by powerful Military-Commercial interests in cattle raiding, mechanised farming, wood, gum, gems, sugar, salt, gold, drugs, arms, ivory trade, and many other resources in the Southern and Western Sudan. This is, again, the most avoided issue and less talked about in Sudanese politics. General Lagu was right in pointing to the fact that there will be no peace in the Sudan if the military is not disengaged from politics. However, I will add to his demand that there will be no peace in the Sudan if the military establishment is not disengaged from the sphere of the economy and resources extraction.

For however much the occasion of stopping the civil war and such signing the peace ceremony must be cause for celebration, the realities consequent upon this purely symbolic gesture are all that matter in the end. The most crucial issue here is that for the international community to support a reconstruction and rehabilitation programme and pave the way for a sustainable peace in the Sudan that the military-economic linkages must be under scrutiny. Complete transparency about the covert and overt connection, direct or indirect, should be a precondition for any support.

Yet, any proactive outcome of answers to the aforesaid set of hypotheses in relation to the more precise strategic questions, posed earlier by this paper, may open the door for civilian's triumph over the military establishment each and every time an issue is in dispute. It strives to have something to contribute to the struggle for democratic transformation in the Sudan. That is the desired significance of this contribution.

PAPER 9

The Question of Identity
A Root Cause of Vilence in Sudan

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As a matter of fact, the issue of identity has been, and still is, mostly problematized and debated in the aesthetic field, and artists and critics from various art forms have engaged with this difficult issue since the advent of Sudanese nationalism in the 1920s. Different discourses concerning the cultural basis of modern Sudanese literature, visual art, music, and dance were introduced in different phases of the debate. The terms Arabism, Afro-Arabism, Africanism, Islamism, and Sudanism have developed within these discourses as defining concepts describing the country's ethnic and cultural origins, thereby serving as identity constructs.

The last census in 1993 placed the population at 29 million, although current estimates are 33 million. Sudan is home to 57 ethnic groups subdivided into 570 tribes, speaking 134 languages. About 70 percent of the population are Muslim, 25 percent are followers of indigenous religions, and 5 percent are Christian, although these figures are thought to be unreliable because of the accelerating process of urbanization and the influx into towns of immigrants and displaced people, due to either war, drought, or economic decline.

As agreed by many, there are three aspects of the Sudanese crisis: the political, the economic, and the cultural aspects. The latter, in my judgement, has received less attention than the other two. Therefore, my aim in this short paper is to stress the question of identity as central to the cultural aspect of the crisis, and to suggest that perhaps one of the best ways to address this complex question in the Sudanese context, is to pinpoint which of the 570 ethnic groups is the source of the identity crisis in the country, what is the nature of this crisis, and why identity turned out to be a crisis.

If we look at the map of Sudan, it is clear that the war zones and potentially rebellious regions coincide with the main historical core cultures of the country. DarFur Sultanate (1445-1916) in western Sudan; the Nuba Mountain culture where Taqali kingdom developed; the chiefdoms of southern Sudan, including the Nilotic Dinka, Nuer, and Shiluk, and the Azande as the largest; the chiefdoms of the Beja in the east, and the major core culture of the central Nile valley, namely the heartland of the Nubian civilization which extends from the border with Egypt in the north down to the edge of rain forests in the south. Ethnic and cultural ties between these core cultures are well known.

My main concern is the culture of the central Nile Valley, because this is the region where the cultural and identity crisis originated. Historically, in the centre of this region we have the most developed part of the country, namely the capital and the area, called Jezira, south of it. At the time of independence in 1956, the capital area contained over 85 percent of all

commercial companies, 80 percent of all banks, 73 percent of all industrial establishments, 70 percent of all industrial labour. The situation now is even worse. Traditionally, the majority of the inhabitants here, namely, the Arabic-speaking and Nubian-speaking Sudanese, claim Arabic origin. Also from these inhabitants emerged the northern ruling class who inherited political power from the British and ruled the country since independence. Again it is this northern ruling class who turned traditional identification with Arabic origin into ideology, as a means of maintaining political power and monopoly of the economic resources of the country. In other words, they want to impose their own conception of identity on the rest of the ethnic groups. These ethnic groups rejected this imposition.

In current Sudanese political discourse we have the term Centre, which geographically refers to the developed part mentioned above, and at the same time refers to the social economic, and ideological content in the term northern ruling class. This is significant, because those who view the Sudanese crisis as a North-South conflict use the descriptions North and Northerners indiscriminately, as referring to the Arabic-speaking and Nubian-speaking Sudanese in particular but with no socio-economic differentiation.

The term Periphery simply means the marginalized and unprivileged regions in terms of development and that are dominated and suppressed by the Centre in terms of politics and culture. In this sense, the portion of northern Sudan to which the northern ruling class ethnically belongs is also a Periphery, although culturally is not subjected to suppression in the same manner the other peripheries are being suppressed.

Now, the adoption of Arabic identity as ideology – we must bear in mind that Arabic identity always denotes the Islamic content as well - has long been institutionalised within the Sudanese state, in the sense that it manifests in the state's institutions and in the behaviour of those who control these institutions. This institutionalisation has taken place at the expense of the rest of the cultures in the country. I shall illustrate this institutionalisation process by three examples from politics, education and the media and music:

In 1939 the Graduates Congress, the first political platform of the Sudanese nationalists, which was dominated by the same groups and figures who later ruled the country, suggested in a note on education presented to the colonial authorities, that education should be oriented towards the Arabic and Islamic, but not African, culture, because the Sudan had much in common with "the Arabic countries of Islamic Orient." (*Note by the Graduates Congress on Education in the Sudan*, July 1939, University of Khartoum Library, Appendix V, quoted in Beshir 1969: 152. Two dominant figures in the Congress were its chairman Ismail al-Azhari, head of the NUP, later the DUP, the first Sudanese Prime Minister and afterwards President of the country, and Mohamed Ahmad al-Mahjoub, Prime Minister a number of times during the 1960s and a leading personality in the Umma Party.)

The first lesson in the Arabic grammar syllabus used in the fifth grade of primary school begins with the following introduction:

"When the Prophet, God's blessing and peace be upon him, was sent forward with the message, and Islam spread into the world and the Islamic conquests were many, the Arabs entered Egypt, ruled it, and introduced Islam into it. Then they moved into Sudan from Egypt, some of them

coming from Hijaz [in Arabia]. They defeated the Nubian Kingdom and established the famous Sinnar Kingdom, which is known to us as the Black Sultanate or the Funj Kingdom."

This is gross fabrication of Sudan's history. In fact, the Arab-Muslim armies were blocked by the Nubians in 651, and the country has never been conquered by the Arabs or become part of the Islamic Empire. Also, it is a simple historical fact that the Funj Kingdom was established by a section of the indigenous population of the central Nile Valley called the Funj, and lasted from 1504 to 1821.

Our third example from the media and the field of art shows that fourteen of the twenty-one Directors and Deputy Directors of Sudan Radio from independence in 1956 until the early 1980s came from Omdurman families (Omdurman is the largest of the three towns comprising the capital), while the remainder came from the other two towns of the capital. In this type of situation there is no chance for anyone with a provincial accent to hold any leading position in either Sudan Radio or Sudan Television. In addition, the members of the committees that permit the broadcast of new singing voices and approve new songs also came from the same area. It should be no surprise that not only do all modern Sudanese singers come from the Arabic-speaking groups, it is simply inconceivable that a singer with an accent could ever be a member of this elite.

It is very fortunate, however, that the main movements in the Peripheries opposing the government in the Centre view the successive regimes of the Centre, both civilian and military, as a minority, as a political elite, and not as a particular tribe or ethnic group. This is the mainstream line of thought within these movements.

Equally important is that this mainstream thought agrees with the historical view, particularly that given by new schools of Sudanese historiography, that identification with Arab origin goes back some centuries into history and turned into an ideology used by the ruling class to support and maintain its political power. The transformation of Arabic-Islamic identification into an ideology and as a means for maintaining political power went through certain stages and took certain forms.

According to historians, late eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of a middle class made up of a rising commercial community, educated elite, called ulama, or the learned whose education was mainly religious, and Sufi leaders and their associates. That also was the time when these groups proclaimed themselves to be Arabs, and a flood of genealogies was produced tracing them to various distinguished Arabs. That also was the time when commerce with the Middle East began to develop rapidly.

This alliance with their Arabic-Islamic identity continued to influence the Sudanese political landscape since then, and the modern northern political class is its modern form.

This alliance is consolidated in the nineteenth century, during the Turkish rule (1821-1885) and the Mahdist rule (1885-1898), and took its modern form with the advent of the nationalist movement in the 1920s and the formation of the political parties in the mid 1940s.

Two political groupings based on the largest Sufi sects in the country, namely the Ansar and the Khatmiyya, emerged as the biggest political parties. The commercial class and new capitalist elites allied themselves with either of the two. Politically ambitious individuals among the intelligentsia joined this alliance. In other words, the old alliance now took a modern form.

The cultural aspect, with the question of identity central to it, occupies a crucial part in the strategy of this modern ruling class. Practical measures taken in the cultural domain became particularly necessary as a means to counter the demands of federalism by the other parts of the country, or the peripheries, spearheaded by the south, and at the same time to consolidate their political and economic power.

Theoretically, the northern ruling class believes in the idea that the process of acculturation in the country is in favour of Arabization and Islamization, that Arabic culture is superior and spreading and will eventually assimilate the rest of the cultures in the country. It also believes that Arabization and Islamization processes will keep the country together, and will ultimately consolidate its monopoly of power. Therefore, it is logical in the view of this ruling class that this process should be accelerated using the machinery of the state and its resources. This policy was first put into practice by the first military rule (1958-1964) and led to the formation by southern Sudanese of the Anya Nya guerrilla army in 1963 and the escalation of civil war.

In 1968, an attempt was made by the ruling class to introduce an Islamic constitution and impose an Arabic-Islamic identity on the country and its people, something that led to political chaos followed by the military coup, which brought Nimeiri to power.

In 1983, an attempt was again made by the military regime of Nimeiri to impose this identity on the entire country by declaring the Islamic sharia laws. The result was the outbreak of civil war in the south, the downfall of Nimeiri, and the spread of war to the northern parts of the country for the first time.

In 1989, the Islamists, who are actually the fanatic segment of the ruling class, seized power in a military coup and used the Islamic concept of jihad, holy war, to turn the country into an Islamic state.

The other political forces and movements opposing the regime in the Centre adopted the concept of Sudanism as an alternative identity construct. It is interpreted as ethnically, culturally, and politically inclusive and provides the basis for a democratic, decentralized, and secularist state where identity is based on Sudanese citizenship.

The National Democratic Alliance, the opposition umbrella which brought together all of the political and military organizations, including the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA) and Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) fighting in Dar Fur, issued Asmara Declaration of principles in 1995 in which it adopts the strategies necessary to tackle all aspects of the Sudanese crisis including the cultural one. These strategies, in fact, reflect what is meant by Sudanism.

More specifically, reconsideration of the cultural policies so that they reflect the diverse cultural composition of the country, is a put as a priority.

Central to these policies is the re-writing of the country's history by permitting freedom of research and allow scientific findings on Sudan's history and cultures to reach the public.

Another important strategy is to reconsider the educational system and educational curricula to render them democratic and representative of the country's pluralistic nature.

* For an elaborate discussion of the problem of identity in Sudan see the author's recently published book: *Art, Politics, and Cultural Identification in Sudan* (236 pp, 2004) published by Uppsala University in Sweden.

PAPER 10

Bargaining for the spoils of war

The Somalia National Reconciliation Process

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This paper examines the Somalia National Reconciliation Process. I argue that the desire to form a government based on clan is not always a genuine one. The Somali Peace Process offers political leaders an opportunity to tap into new sources of wealth if a new government will be established. This explains their willingness to cooperate. Many faction leaders, some of which are labelled 'warlords', are at the brink of economic collapse with marginal returns. They were losing credibility among those whom they are claiming to represent. The business class turned its back to the faction leaders organising their own militias.[56] Lucrative businesses, except the charcoal trade are in decline. This applies to the livestock sector as well as to the banana trade. Remittances are channelled through informal banks, which are protected by private militias and hence are protected from predatory and oppressive action of Mogadishu's warlords. Most people in southern Somalia are living in poverty, leaving little room for predatory behaviour and real taxation. While domestic resources are drying up, warlords are begging for military assistance from neighbouring countries. In Kenya, several Somali leaders hope to tap into new sources of wealth. This also applies to the Transitional National Government (TNG), which had to note a drop in foreign assistance over the last few years. The TNG's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, explains: "The TNG received financial and humanitarian support from Libya and Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. Eventually, the assistance became less and less, in particular in the year 2001. One of the reasons why everybody is willing to compromise is because nobody can survive without the assistance from outside. So it is better to reconcile."[57]

In the course of the process, the genuine objective of reconciliation has been overshadowed by the struggle for political posts in a possible future government. The objective of this paper is to analyse potential linkages to resource competition on the national and the international level. In this respect, the conference offered an unique opportunity to test the argument whether regional conflicts over resources, such as land, are localised events, and how competition over land and property is articulated at the national and the international level. Therefore, it is crucial to identify key players of the Somali peace talks, their motives and political agendas. Nevertheless, this fourteenth reconciliation process remains fluid making it difficult to identify fixed political alliances.

Besides, the following paper discusses some of the problems of state formation in Somalia. The critical question remains how important is state formation as opposed to economic factors and identity politics as both an explanation for causing violence and its perpetuation. The Somali statelessness highlights the importance of statehood to regulate trade or redistribute

[56] In Mogadishu I was told that business men use each other's security apparatus. They have joint security agreements with cooperating partners allowing each other's use of secure trade routes.
[57] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 22 November 2002.

wealth. In this context, Doornbos and Markakis argue that "the clan came to rival the nation. This was the pattern of the civil war during the 1980s, and remains the pattern of the current conflict. In the struggle for positions in the state of the future – this is what the internecine struggle is about – the clan is the invariable controlling element."[58] Respectively, conflict in Somalia can be interpreted as a struggle for political posts. This became apparent during the Reconciliation Process at all stages of the negotiations.

A new beginning – the Arta peace process?

The most comprehensive 'bottom-up' peace initiative after the beginning of the civil war is commonly referred to as the Arta peace process. In September 1999, Djibouti's President Ismail Omar Guelleh used his speech to the fifty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly to express his concern about continued human rights violations, absence of government structures and continued clashes in Somalia. He lobbied for support among neighbouring states, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the former Organisation of African Unity, Somalis themselves and the Somali diaspora. The Somali National Peace Conference eventually took place between May and August 2000 in Arta, Djibouti. This peace initiative was in many ways different from earlier peace conferences. The process of participation was more driven by Somalis rather than outsiders, drawing participants from women's and minority groups.[59] This conference was the most inclusive and representative peace initiative since 1991. All major clans were represented from the beginning although faction leaders from Mogadishu did not participate.

On the morning of 8 August 2000 when the conference concluded, many observers already saw that the peace initiative had failed. In the course of the meeting, Somaliland and Puntland withdrew their delegations, as it became clear that the conference did not serve their interests. When the proposed location of the Transitional National Assembly (TNA) was changed from Baidoa to Mogadishu, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) leadership withdrew their support. In spite of these setbacks, the Somali National Peace Conference enjoyed backing from the UN Security Council, the United Nations Political Office for Somalia, the African Union, the League of Arab States, the Organisation of Islamic Conference, the European Union and some African states including Djibouti, Egypt, Libya and Eritrea. The TNG enjoyed support from influential Mogadishu-based business people and some Arab countries. There were confirmed reports that Libya sent a ship load of weapons to the former capital in early 2002. Also, Saudi Arabia and Qatar financially supported the TNG.[60] A member of the Transitional Government confirmed this assertion who claimed that Saudi Arabia gave US$ 10-15 million, Qatar US$ 3 million and Libya US$ 2 million to the TNG.[61] But there were also very critical voices of the Arta process, for instance by the renowned Somali scholar, I. M. Lewis, who is concerned that a Somali political elite of the former Barre government may hijack the conference for vested interests. He argues that...

> ...what the UN calls a government has not been legally elected by the Somali public. It is merely an idiosyncratic selection of participants, belonging to – but not actually representing – different clans, from the Djibouti conference bazaar, whose protracted proceedings were dominated by ex-ministers of the discredited regime of the corrupt

[58] Doornbos, Martin and John Markakis, "Society and State in Crisis: What went wrong in Somalia?," *Review of African Political Economy* 21.59 (1994): 86.
[59] United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia S/2000/1211* (New York: United Nations, 2000).
[60] Interview in Mogadishu on 15 December 2002.
[61] Interview in Merka, southern Somalia, on 31 August 2002.

> dictator General Mohammed Siyad Barre – many of whom Somalis accuse of war crimes.[62]

In spite of the shortcomings of the conference, a 245-member Transitional National Assembly with a President and Prime Minister and a 25-member cabinet was inaugurated in October 2000 in Mogadishu, and was overwhelmingly welcomed in Mogadishu. The TNG succeeded in achieving formal representation in the UN General Assembly, the League of Arab States, the African Union, forming the first Somali representation for a decade.

The mandate of the Assembly was to establish an administration, judiciary, police, law and order in southern Somalia within a three-year period which expired in August 2003. By then it had achieved very little. It controlled only parts of south-Mogadishu. Strategically important locations and assets, which generate revenue, such as the international airport and the seaport, remain closed. The TNG struggled in attracting sufficient funds to sustain their ambitious policing, demobilisation and rehabilitation programme. Donors adopted a 'peace dividend approach' only giving money to regions that enjoy peace and stability which does not apply to most of the areas the TNG claims to control. The recent Secretary-General's report of 2002 expressed reservations to opening an UN office with international staff in Mogadishu because of the volatile situation. On 21 February, the UN Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that "Somalia remains one of the most dangerous environments in which the United Nations operates. [...] Under these circumstances, a comprehensive peace-building programme cannot be launched in Somalia."[63] An earlier report dated 11 October 2001 did not dismiss the peace-building programme but indicated its reservations for setting up an office in Somalia, in particular in Mogadishu: "A security assessment of Mogadishu undertaken in late February, 2001 concluded that the security situation did not make it possible to deploy a peace-building office in the country. Since then, the Secretariat has also reported to the Council in informal consultations that the security situation in Somalia has not improved and remains, by and large, the same today."[64] The reprinting of local currency by business people and faction leaders led to hyperinflation and street protests resulting in mistrust of the TNG. The TNG enjoyed public support in the first year, but it seems that a Somali-wide support has diminished.

The TNG hoped to mobilise more bilateral and multilateral funds and aid from the Bretton Woods institutions through international recognition. This is unlikely unless the TNG shows progress in the reconciliation process. Several faction leaders, some of whom belong to the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) with its headquarters in Baidoa oppose the TNG. They are linked with faction leaders in Mogadishu and the former President of Puntland, Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf.

Reconciling differences – The Somali peace process

At the last IGAD summit in January 2002, its members agreed to urge the three 'frontline states' Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya to accelerate the peace process in Somalia. This initiative later to be known as the Somalia National Reconciliation Process came after no less than thirteen unsuccessful Somali national reconciliation efforts. The Process started in October

[62] Lewis, Ioan M., *UN 'Peace Conference' creates new Somali Warlord and re-ignites Somali Wars*, 2000, Internet Forum, Somaliwatch, Available: www.somaliwatch.org, 31 October.
[63] United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia S/2002/189* (New York: United Nations, 2002).
[64] United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia S/2001/963* (New York: United Nations, 2001).

2002 in Eldoret and has been moved to Mbagathi (Nairobi) in January 2003. This reconciliation effort was designed to bring together the so called frontline states, the EU, the US, the League of Arab States, all important military and political groups, individual warlords, traditional leaders and members of 'civil society' groups.

The term 'civil society' in the Somali context needs some qualification. The Somali term for 'civil society' bears the meaning 'unarmed groups'.[65] Since there is no Somali government it seems less meaningful to divide the society into a public sector, a private sector and civil society. Hence, the use of the term 'civil society' embraces all groups outside the political sphere including religious groups, traditional elders, members of the diaspora, NGOs, academics and business associations. Civil society leaders at Eldoret continuously accused political groups of site-lining their interests. When civil society members of the Leaders Committee were denied access, a fight started between Mowlid Ma'ane Mohamoud, Chairman of the Somali African Muki Organisation, and a civil society member. In a later incident on the same day, a prominent civil society member was beaten up close to the conference site.[66]

The claim of civil society leaders for legitimacy is disputed. Many of the civil society members do not enjoy authority and they have no means of establishing their representative credentials within Somalia. The question of the role and composition of civil society during the negotiations has made the peace process more complex: "The commitment of donors like the EU Commission to promoting civil society's role in the conference has complicated the issue further by creating competition for aid resources while increasing the suspicion of faction leaders," as an ICG report states.[67] It then continues: "The term [civil society] is problematic at the conference where some to whom it is applied are respected figures [...], while others have no greater claim than a custom-made business card or the funds to buy a return ticket to Eldoret."[68] A formula for their incorporation remained elusive.

The role of the Ethiopians as one of the three frontline states is crucial for successful diplomatic negotiations. As one diplomat explained: "There is no political solution for Somalia without Addis Ababa."[69] The prospects that Ethiopia would play a more constructive role are linked to the role of Islamist organisations, such as *al-Ittihad*, within Somalia and in a prospective government. Ethiopia's leadership expressed concern about militant Islamists since Egypt and the League of Arab States have backed the Transitional National Government.

Ethiopia had a long-standing interest in supporting a potential government that would not challenge the Ogaden border in the South of the country. Ethiopia sees herself threatened by Somali military activities. The Ogaden war against the Somali junta in the late 1970s made Ethiopia aware of the danger of a strong Somali state. The Ethiopian Somali National Regional State or Ethiopia's Zone Five hosts a population of around 3.5 million people. Even today, the ambition of a pan-Somali state continues to enjoy support among Somali leaders. In February 2002, United Somali Congress (USC) faction leader Hussein Aideed publicly

[65] Interview in Merka, southern Somalia, on 31 August 2002.
[66] IRIN, "Fighting breaks out at Peace Conference," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 28 January 2003.
[67] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia* (Mogadishu, Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2003), 3.
[68] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 16.
[69] Personal communication with German Embassy in Nairobi, in April 2002.

expressed his interest "to bring back the Ethiopian and Kenyan Somalis," however "through peaceful means".[70] He claimed: "I consider Zone Five (in Ethiopia) to be part of Somalia."[71]

Another source of concern is political Islam in Somalia. Somalia has long been considered by the Ethiopian government as a base for fundamentalist Islamic movements attempting to secure a foothold in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Government blamed bomb blasts in hotels in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa on *al-Ittihad*, an organisation which became increasingly influential following the disintegration of the Somali state. As a reaction to these terrorist acts, Ethiopian troops advanced in 1996 to Luq in Gedo region close to the Ethiopian/Kenyan border, and defeated *al-Ittihad* strongholds. According to an ICG report, about a dozen of MPs have publicly announced their affiliation with the Islamist group.[72] Moreover, the TNG's first security committee included some well-known *al-Ittihad* members. In Lower Shabelle, particularly in Merka, *al-Ittihad* members were active in managing the port. Unless more members of the government and Parliament distance themselves from *al-Ittihad* members, chances for meaningful negotiations appear dim.

In spite of looming diplomatic setbacks, the three frontline states decided to hold a meeting in mid-April 2002, which was ultimately postponed to the end of September. When the EU indicated its financial support, the conference went ahead on 15th of October 2002. The purpose of the meeting was to deepen the process of reconciliation between competing non-state administrations. IGAD extended its invitations to the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council, the Transitional National Government, the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA), the Puntland administration, Hiran, Gedo, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army and the Jowhar administration.

Notwithstanding, the President of the TNG, Abdiqasim Salad Hassan already indicated that he wanted to see the focus on a renewed dialogue between the administrations of Somaliland and Puntland.[73] This mirrors the TNG's early resistance to enter into a meaningful dialogue with opposing factions or the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council. This might explain the President's absence from Eldoret. He later joined the process in Mbagathi (Nairobi). After the Arta conference, the TNG's political power decreased and by 2003, the TNG was competing for power with regional non-state administrations. The TNG tried to extend its sphere of influence in the past months but failed to establish community-based administrations in neighbouring regions. When a delegation of the TNG headed by the Minister of Interior Dahir 'Dayah' arrived in Merka in late August 2002, inhabitants of Merka opposed the speedy move of the TNG to establish a regional administration.

Behind the scenes it was clear that the TNG had to demonstrate progress in establishing regional administrations if it wants to claim a significant proportion of the seats during the IGAD peace talks ultimately aiming at international political recognition. Controlling only the southern part of Mogadishu without access to the main seaport, the international airport and Parliament buildings, it clearly faced a crisis of political legitimacy. The TNG delegation that stayed in Merka for more than a week finally did not succeed in establishing a district council.

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[70] IRIN, "Interview with Hussein Aideed," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 3 February 2002.
[71] IRIN, "Interview with Hussein Aideed".
[72] International Crisis Group, *Somalia: Countering Terrorism in a Failed State* (Nairobi, Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2002), 18.
[73] ICG interview in Mogadishu on 20 February 2002, cited in: International Crisis Group, *Somalia: Countering Terrorism in a Failed State*, 23.

In the end, only the district judge was appointed who is from the less powerful Digil sub-clan Garre. Observers said the mission was doomed to fail from the beginning as the proposal made by the Minister of Information, Abduraman Haji Aden 'Ibbi', was unacceptable to the local community.

In the absence of a functioning government, processes of localisation took place shaping their own but locally accepted institutions. Even where regional administrations are functioning, day-to-day political authority tends to be carried out on the municipal, village or even family level. As the 2001 Somalia National Human Development Report states: "Clan elders, *shari'a* courts, business coalitions, militia leaders, prominent social and religious figures and selected or self-proclaimed political leaders collectively form the mosaic of polities that shape local governance."[74] Somalia's long period of civil war has forged a typically localised identity. Somalia was known for having a strong nationalist identity in Africa, yet Somali society is now organised along clan lines that tend to be exclusivist and sectarian in nature. In the absence of a government over the past decade clan affiliation gained importance in providing security, job opportunities, and access to valuable resources in an increasingly insecure environment. Over the past few years, several non-state administrations emerged.

The process of radical localisation is reflected in the EU's approach to support the formation of a decentralised government based on existing non-state administrations, such as the TNG, RRA, JVA, Jowhar Group and Puntland, better known as the 'building block' approach.[75] The building block approach acknowledges the political reality in southern Somalia. Emerging non-state administrations are seen as 'blocks' of a federal system of governance. This pragmatic recognition of existing administrations has shaped the debate at the IGAD peace talks in Kenya. In theory, potential blocks could be Somaliland dominated by the Isaq clan, a Majerten polity in Puntland, and a Digil and Mirifle territory in Southwest Somalia. However, basing potential building blocks on clan is not sufficient to form a viable federal state. State formation has to go beyond the question of power-sharing of Somali faction leaders. Bryden argues "what matters most is what cannot be shown on maps: the quality and legitimacy of national and sub-national leadership; the effectiveness of local administrative arrangements; the restoration of basic human rights and the rule of law".[76] Yet, at the time of writing in the year 2004, it seems unlikely that such an building block approach is feasible. Instead, in the absence of strong and accountable federal institutions the re-emergence of a strong and centralised state could be a likely scenario. This development can be observed in neighbouring Ethiopia.

The most politically stable and economically viable block, Somaliland, declared its independence on 18 May 1991 shortly after the outbreak of the civil war in southern Somalia, and since then has sought international recognition. In theory, negotiated re-unification of Somaliland with southern Somalia in a federal or confederal framework is a likely scenario. However, it is far from being practical. Somaliland's administration would only accept a confederation of two equal parties as the minimum acceptable arrangement. But given the trend of federalism in the South, this would imply a fairly complex formula for asymmetrical sovereignty.

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[74] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report, Somalia 2001* (Nairobi: United Nations Development Programme Somalia Country Office, 2001), 134.
[75] For a detailed discussion see Bryden, Matt, "New Hope for Somalia? The Building Block Approach," *Review of African Political Economy* 26.79 (1999).
[76] Bryden, "New Hope for Somalia? The Building Block Approach": 136.

Puntland's peaceful political transition under an elected President, Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf, has swiftly descended into political instability and violence when his democratic mandate expired in June 2001. He did not recognise his successor, Jama Ali Jama, leading to upheaval in the north-eastern part of the country. Jama Ali Jama recalls his defeat: "Yusuf was elected President in 1998 until June 2001. Elections were held on 14 November 2001. On 18 November 2001, I took over the presidency but on 21 November 2001, Yusuf attacked my residence with 500 [militia men] and 14 'technicals' and killed eleven of my staff. I escaped through a miracle. I fled to Bosasso. Yusuf attacked Bosasso in May. I preferred leaving and to avoid the armed struggle."[77] Today, Yusuf is the *de facto* leader but maintains his grip with force rather based on popular support.

In a similar way in May 2002, the leadership of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army under Colonel Hassan Mohamed Nur 'Shatigadud' announced the formation of the political entity of Southwest Somalia. This led to a violent dispute between 'Shatigadud' and his two deputies Sheik Aden Madobe and Mohamed Ibrahim Habsade in July 2002. In subsequent fighting for political supremacy, Sheik Aden Madobe emerged as the new leader of the RRA. Further, the state of Southwest Somalia shall include Bay, Bakol, Gedo, Upper and Lower Juba, Lower and Middle Shabelle region going far beyond the RRA's jurisdiction. It is therefore questionable how this building block can become a political reality.

Likewise, there are smaller political entities (or building blocks) who are represented at the peace talks. The chairman of Jowhar administration, Mohamed Omar Habeeb 'Dhere', claims to represent the East-Central Somali state consisting of Middle Shabelle and parts of Galgadud region. The Somali National Front represents the Marehan clan claiming territorial control over the region Gedo. Since 1999, the so called Juba Valley Alliance took over control in Kismayo, the major exit port for charcoal in the South. The JVA constitutes an alliance of Darod (Marehan) and Hawiye (Haber Gedir) clansmen. The JVA closest ally is Abdiqasim Salad Hassan's Transitional National Government. Abdiqasim being from Hawiye/Haber Gedir/Ayr supports the JVA militarily against General Hersi 'Morgan' (Darod/Majerten) who claims popular support in the region. It appears that the only functioning building block is Somaliland, and its administration distanced themselves from the Somalia National Reconciliation Process.

This process of localisation stands in contrast to the Somalia National Reconciliation Process in Kenya which comprises only invited key figures from the military, politics and the civil society to participate. It is hard to believe that reconciliation is successful on the international level between a few powerful individuals. Even if reconciliation takes place, it is uncertain if these forces can build and promote good governance. The International Crisis Group argues that "although those at Eldoret represent significant military and factional forces, it is by no means certain that they collectively possess the capacity to establish a functional national administration".[78] Yet, reconciliation can be conducive to the peace process if reconciliation between individual faction leaders can take place.[79] For this reason, IGAD invited those faction leaders and representatives of non-state administrations in southern Somalia who are most powerful.

[77] Interview with Jama Ali Jama in Eldoret, Kenya, on 17 November 2002.
[78] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 3.
[79] For example between the two warring faction leaders of the Abgal/Daud sub-clan, Omar 'Finish' and Musa Sudi. Musa Sudi Yalahow (Hawiye/Abgal/Wacbudan/Daud/Quebys) supports SRRC militarily. He fought against Omar 'Finish' (Hawiye/Abgal/Wacbudan/Daud/Irobe) over territorial control in Mogadishu who used to be his former militia commander in Mogadishu.

Structure and purpose of the reconciliation process

In September 2002, former Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi presented a three-phase plan for the reconciliation conference to the IGAD Council of Ministers. This plan envisaged the participation of some 300 Somali military, political, traditional and civil society leaders who would agree to a cessation of hostilities and would form a decentralised all-inclusive government. From the beginning, it had been argued that Somalis should take ownership of the process started with the help of IGAD. The three phases of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process would be managed by the frontline states under Kenya's chairmanship. Analysts believed that Kenya would have little vested interests whereas Ethiopia and Djibouti's national interest would cancel one another out.

The first phase of the process began on 15 October 2002. At the time of writing in July 2004, the conference was still taking place. For phase one, IGAD invited Somali military, political and civil society leaders who would discuss and endorse two core issues in plenary and special committee sessions: first, to endorse the rules of procedure for the conference; second, to sign a "Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and Principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process".[80] The second phase is designed to form so called 'Reconciliation Committees', which would address six different sets of core issues. Expected outcomes of the second phase of the reconciliation process were *inter alia* the development of principles for land and property rights and the development of principles for addressing the concerns of frontline states and regional security. The former addresses an issue which is crucial for the fair distribution of valuable domestic resources, whereas the latter takes Kenya and Ethiopia's security concerns into consideration.[81] The third phase will focus on structures and mechanisms for implementing the agreements concluded by Somali parties. The expected outcome would be a federal government based on a power-sharing arrangement.[82]

Although expected outcomes are clearly defined in IGAD press statements, there is little clarity about what these outcomes mean. For example, the term 'federal' means different things to different people. Some Somalis interpret 'federal' as a political entity based on one or a few major clans. This is the case in the self-declared independent Somaliland and Puntland. The regions are more homogeneous in terms of clan composition compared to regions in the south, such as Lower Shabelle or Bay region.

Others allege the dominant Hawiye clan of opposing a federal system because they want to expand their dominance on a national level. In this context, Hussein Aideed representing the Hawiye/Haber Gedir/Saad clan and Chairman of the Somali National Alliance argues that possible southern federal blocks are too heterogeneous to be based on clan:

> When we say federal we do not mean a federal state of small states in the South. We mean the British and the Italian colony. You cannot sub-divide these former colonies because we have one culture, one language. What type of federal [state] will you have? For example Lower Shabelle, if the Digil form a federal block, if the Mirifle form a federal block, if the Hawiye form a federal block, this is impossible because, in the South, the economy, the culture is mixed. In tribal terms, only the Isaq and the

[80] Unpublished framework document of the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference.
[81] Unpublished framework document of the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference.
[82] Unpublished framework document of the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference.

> Majerten from Puntland have their own state. Any new regions you create will create new problems; there might be even civil war.[83]

Accordingly, the International Crisis Group states that "unless unitarians can prove otherwise, clan-based 'protectionism' (federalism) will remain popular among non-Hawiye clans".[84] A good example is the experience of the TNG. Many Somalis consider the TNG as a vehicle to advance the President's sub-clan's, the Haber Gedir/Ayr, own interests. The TNG's claim to represent the whole of Somalia was interpreted by non-Hawiye clan members as an effort to legitimise the Haber Gedir's military expansion, in particular in Mogadishu, Lower Shabelle and the Juba valley. Further, the TNG has a weak record of devolving power to the local level. Regional autonomy as a cornerstone of the transitional charter but has not been implemented. These different perceptions of political concepts have to be addressed before a new government can take office.

The first phase concluded relatively rapidly on 27 October 2002 when the Declaration, became to be known as the Eldoret Declaration, was signed by 22 Somali 'leaders'. The signatories committed to the following main principles:

- Creation of federal governance structures
- Creation of a Charter or Constitution
- To abstain from the conduct of hostilities
- Use peaceful means in the resolution of all disputes
- Implementation of UN arms embargo (UN resolution 733 of 1992)
- Guarantee safe access for humanitarian agencies
- To combat all forms of terrorism
- Monitoring and implementation of the agreed accords

The signing ceremony in the presence of diplomats and other dignitaries, most notable former President Moi, created hope to overcome the protracted crisis in southern Somalia. Doubts about the commitment of the signatories emerged after fighting erupted in Gedo, some parts of Mogadishu and in the Juba valley. Fighting that erupted in July 2002 in Baidoa among the leadership of the RRA continued. At the beginning of December, Puntland leader Abdullahi Yusuf left for north-eastern Somalia to strengthen his supremacy while the legitimately elected President of Puntland, Jama Ali Jama, remained in Eldoret. The Declaration paved way for the formation of the Leaders Committee, which comprises most of the signatories though its composition was neither comprehensive nor representative. Important eminent Somali figures, such as Jama Ali Jama and Sheik Aden Madobe (RRA) were absent. As we shall see in the following section, the exclusivity of the consultations and negotiations blocked progress in Eldoret.

Though expectations among Somalis living in Somalia were low, the turnout of Somalis at the conference in Eldoret was larger than expected. Although the official allocation of seats was 300, proposed in the framework document, some 1,000 Somalis showed up at the conference site. Through corrupt practices and forging of official batches, the official number reached 800, costing the organisers some US$ 80,000 per day to feed and to accommodate the delegates. For some delegates, may be a free meal and a hotel room was sufficient for participation. Thus, it is difficult to detect real commitment. Many of the participants are self-

[83] Interview in Soy, Kenya, on 18 November 2002.
[84] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 6.

appointed without the legitimacy to represent their people in Somalia. An ICG report reiterates this view that "whatever their differences, the faction leaders and civil society representatives at Eldoret share a common trait in that they are almost without exception self-appointed".[85] This contradicts Somali custom, where representation is determined by asking local communities to elect a representative giving him or her a clear and defined mandate. This did not happen in Eldoret, and this is seen by analysts as one of the major obstacles to a successful outcome.

After the signing of the Declaration, the delegates had to identify participants of the six Reconciliation Committees comprising 75 delegates who would discuss core issues of the second phase of the reconciliation process. These include constitutional matters and broad-based governance (1), peace-building, disarmament, rehabilitation and reconstruction (2), land disputes, property and minority rights (3), institution building and resource mobilisation (4), regional and international relations (5) and reconciliation, human rights and ethics (6). In a revised version of the framework document, the important issues of minority rights and human rights were taken off the agenda. Representatives of Amnesty International paid a visit to the conference expressing concern about the inclusion of war criminals in a new government. This concern is real, since there are several 'leaders' involved in the conference who are accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Among these, the most notable was General Hersi 'Morgan', son in law of the former dictator and responsible for the 1988 bombing of Hargeysa. Consequently, a specific committee dealing with war crimes was set up. By mid-2003, the following committees had completed their draft reports: Federalism and provisional charter (1), demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (2), land and property rights (3), economic recovery, institution building and resource mobilisation (4), conflict resolution and reconciliation (5) and regional and international relations (6). Land and property disputes are among the most grievous obstacles to a successful settlement. Although most of the papers represent a genuine effort to tackle difficult issues, hardly any committee can claim that their report was based on a broad consensus.[86] Besides, a wider Somali audience was not able to participate in the deliberations of the conference papers.

The missing provision in the framework document for minority rights is worrisome, too. For example the *Jareer*, who earn a living, as wage labourers or subsistence farmers in the riverine areas are considered a minority, although numerically speaking, they are not, especially in the South. They have been subject to discrimination and exploitation for the past decades resulting in a large number of internally displaced persons and refugees. A recent newspaper article confirmed the resettlement of 10,000 Somalis in America. The refugees, who found temporary refuge in Kenyan camps, are *Jareer* or Bantu who fled from the inter-riverine areas.[87] The omission of minority rights reflects the weak position of these groups to lobby for the accommodation of their interests.

The final proposal to form the Reconciliation Committees suggests a total number of 23 members for each committee. There was hope that the committees can extend the debate beyond the question of clan distribution and power-sharing and refocus the deliberations on the core issues of the conference. The second phase also aimed at involving Somali and international technical experts who can accomplish the substantive part of the process. Analysts hoped that they can compensate for the shortcomings in the overall leadership of the

[85] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 15.
[86] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*.
[87] Njeru, Mugo, "10,000 Somali Refugees Fly to the US Next Month," *The Daily Nation* 20 January 2003.

conference. In July 2003, the reports of the Committees two to six were accepted by the plenary.[88]

The last and third phase which begun on 22 May 2004 would amend and endorse the conclusions and recommendations presented by the six Reconciliation Committees. Only then negotiations over power sharing would start, placing it last within the conference framework, rather than first, as it had been in previous deliberations. It became clear in the first months when disputes over the distribution of seats blocked process, how important it was to take the emphasis away from the issue of power sharing in order to let the debate of technical issues prevail. Since then, consultations over the selection of MPs continues in spite of a 'breakthrough agreement' in January 2004 formulating the selection criteria and the number of seats in Parliament.

After the Eldoret Declaration was signed, delegates and IGAD's Technical Committee debated the allocation of seats. In some cases political leaders received invitation letters before the deliberations started but had to realise that the figure stated in the original invitation letter did not correspond with the records of the secretariat. The criteria for the allocation of delegates were somewhat arbitrary and non-transparent. Once the number was way above the original 300 delegates, it took months to reduce the number of delegates. One member of the Technical Committee admitted that there was no master list for issued conference batches. As a consequence, illegally forged or traded batches could not be distinguished from official ones anymore.

When numbers were to be reduced, a dilemma arose whether the allocation of seats should be according to political faction or to clan. Both criteria were mutually exclusive. The factional representation suggested 262 seats to be distributed among sixteen factions with 100 additional seats allocated to the civil society.[89] The sixteen political groups did not match with the signatories of the Eldoret Declaration, some were added whereas others were omitted with seemingly little logic. The factional clan allocation favoured certain clans with approximately 140 seats for the Hawiye, 90 for the Darod, 60 for the Digil-Mirifle and 20 for the Dir. This roughly corresponds with a list of 21 "Somali Leaders" issued by the secretariat including eight Hawiye, eight Darod, two Digil-Mirifle, two Dir and one Bantu. The choice of factional representation already triggered several localised conflicts within Somalia increasing the destructive level of radical fragmentation.[90]

Conflict even became an instrument in order to be heard in the negotiations. This assertion was confirmed by a statement given by a Bimal clan leader: "Now, we are up in arms, the Bimal, the Digil and the Banadir people, the traditional communities of the area, we are up in arms to defend our own rights. And I think we are right that we are taking up arms; and we hope the international community will address the reasons why we have to resolve to that kind of struggle."[91] The violent struggle of the *Jareer* for self-determination can be interpreted along these lines. In the run-up to the conference, there were frequent armed clashes,

[88] Schlee, Günther, *The Somali Peace Process and the search for a legal order (unpublished paper)* (Halle/Saale: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, 2004).
[89] International Crisis Group, *Salvaging Somalia's Chance for Peace*, 4. A previous proposal suggested 268 seat distributed among nine political groups including Somaliland and a discretionary quota of 32.
[90] The mini-state around Jowhar with Mohamed 'Dhere' as Chairman draws support from the Abgal sub-clan Warsangeli. While these mini-states can create security for the region, they are often exclusive in nature based on patronage networks. Besides, it is unlikely that newly emerging administrations are economically viable to exist disconnected from urban areas.
[91] Interview in Baidoa, southern Somalia, on 9 February 2002.

including Puntland, Bay region, Mogadishu, Middle and Lower Shabelle region. The promise to form a delegation at the Somalia Peace Process led to the creation of several new non-state administrations. Even faction leaders were designated with a certain number of delegates, Osman 'Atto' was invited with ten delegates.[92] This did not go without violence and killings as the case of Baidoa clearly demonstrates where forces loyal to the Rahanweyn Resistance Army disintegrated in warring factions in July 2002 lasting for several months. It seemed that one major criteria to be heard at the reconciliation process was to be in a position to exercise physical force. Several observers criticised IGAD for this attitude, especially representatives from the unarmed factions, such as the coastal people or certain minority clans, as the Midgan.

Clan representation was based on the 4.5 formula that enjoyed wide support among delegates. This formula was used in the Arta process to allocate seats of the TNA in 2000. This means that a parliament that consists of 450 members would comprise 100 MPs each from the four major clans, the Darod, Hawiye, Digil-Mirifle, Isaq, Dir, and 50 MPs from minority clans. One of the proposals envisaged a total of 400 delegates with 84 seats allocated to the four major clans, 42 seats to minorities and 22 additional seats filling a discretionary quota. The clan system had the advantage of being more just in the distribution of seats among major clans compared to factional representation. On the contrary, there is the danger that attention is diverted from substantial issues of reconciliation and disarmament towards an over-emphasis on clanism. Another constraint was that the militarily strongest clan, the Hawiye, saw their position jeopardised by a reduction of seats from 140 to 84. Others argue that a clan-based administration would select candidates on the basis of clan rather than merit. A prominent Bimal politician reaffirms this view claiming that the Hawiye do not possess the political skills to run a government, calling it an educational gap. In fact, one delegate said that the quality of teaching in the former regime was very low despite a broad literacy campaign. But "there is a difference between literacy and knowledge," he concludes.[93]

It was one of the major shortcomings of the Kenyan organisers not to have set clear criteria for the reconciliation process. It could have saved vast resources and time. Before discussing obstacles to the peace process, I will concentrate in the following on motives and political agendas of the delegates, the frontline states and other actors.

Motives and hidden agendas

During several interviews, informants explained that the main motive for reconciliation is the worsening security situation in southern Somalia. Most delegates reiterated the need for a formal government, thus echoing the desire of the general public. The truth is, that mounting pressure from outside, especially from the front-line states, IGAD, the EU and the United States, led to the first round of reconciliation talks. UN Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, Ambassador Winston Tubman, reiterates this view: "The UN went to Somalia to invite most of the political leaders. There has been a lot of pressure. Others did not want to be left out. [...] I do not have the impression that faction leaders came because they could gain in short terms in participating in the peace process. The main motive was that there is a stalemate in the country."[94] The Chairman of the Somali Patriotic Movement, General Aden Abdullahi Nur 'Gabiyow', mentions reconciliation: "The main reason is to establish a government and to solve disagreements."[95] The Chairman of the USC, Mohamed Qanyare

[92] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 22 November 2002.
[93] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 10 November 2002.
[94] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 8 November 2002.
[95] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 7 November 2002.

Afrah, argues along these lines: “We have no separate motives, because [we long for] reconciliation, for peace in Somalia. The Somali problem is not about the economy; Somalia has a problem with security.”[96]

In fact, the security situation in southern Somalia deteriorated further in the year 2002. The once promising regional administration of Bay and Bakol region, the RRA, split along clan lines into two camps. The regional capital Baidoa changed hands several times leaving many people dead and thousands displaced. Mogadishu experienced heavy clashes leaving 60 people dead when Musa Sudi Yalahow’s militia clashed with forces of the Transitional National Government on 24 May 2002.[97] Clashes continued in the former capital throughout the peace process leaving 50 people dead in March 2003 and 60 people dead in May 2004.[98] Similar clashes occurred in other parts of southern Somalia. In only one week during my stay in the capital clan clashes left six people dead, several more people died in ambushes and revenge killings.[99] With reference to kidnappings, I learned about a case where two children were abducted by a close relative. The demand for ransom was based on the unwillingness of the victims’ father to financially support the kidnapper’s clan, to which he belonged too. Some kidnappings even serve the purpose of collecting dept. The debtor is kidnapped while his family has to pay for the debt and the cost of the kidnapping.[100]

‘Political leaders’ are hardly affected by increased insecurity. This may explain the general public’s low expectations of the peace process. At the beginning in October 2002, with the signing of the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities, Somalis were still optimistic, which was mirrored in a strengthening of the Somali shilling in Mogadishu’s Bakara market. While enthusiasm inside Somalia soon faded away. Despite the signing of the Declaration in Eldoret violent clashes continued throughout southern Somalia. In March 2003, renewed clashes occurred between two Mogadishu-based warlords, Omar Mohamoud Mohamed ‘Finish’ and Musa Sudi Yalahow. According to United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, more than fifty people – many of them civilians – were killed in Medina district in Mogadishu.[101] Ten months since the beginning of the reconciliation process, public confidence in the peace process is close to zero.

In order to gain a seat in IGAD’s Leaders Committee, faction leaders instrumentally use the political unit ‘clan’ in order to claim legitimacy. Clan identity was strong factor to mobilise military support during the civil war and before. One delegate rightly claimed that putting “the civil war on a tribal basis is a cover for political leaders”.[102] Root causes, such as unjust distribution of resources, politics of exclusion or economic decline were neglected in the discourse of clan hatred. In a similar way, this applies to factional representation when self-styled political leaders claim legitimacy without having neither territorial control nor popular support. The conference chairman and former Kenyan Foreign Minister, Elijah Mwangale’s

[96] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 22 November 2002.
[97] IRIN, "Over 60 killed in latest Mogadishu Fighting," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 28 May 2002.
[98] IRIN, "Death toll mounts as fighting in Mogadishu continues," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 13 May 2004.
IRIN, "Militias on Looting Spree as Mogadishu Death Toll tops 50," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 4 March 2003.
[99] Minutes of weekly meeting on security and social activities on 11 December 2002 compiled by Mogadishu-based local and international NGOs and UN agencies.
[100] Marchal, Roland, *A Survey of Mogadishu's Economy* (Nairobi: European Commission/Somali Unit, 2002).
[101] IRIN, "Militias on Looting Spree as Mogadishu Death Toll tops 50".
[102] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 22 November 2002.

correspondence diplomacy had excluded all those delegates, who were not part of the Leaders Committee by abolishing plenary sessions. This fostered a spirit of secretiveness and hindered an open dialogue among conflicting parties. Furthermore, this strategy decreased the level of transparency, a common concern among many delegates.

As a consequence of Mwangale's authoritarian style and the change of government in Kenya, he has been replaced by Ambassador Bethwel Kiplagat, a career diplomat experienced in conflict resolution in the region. Taking the mounting criticism into account, Mwangale's replacement was expected by observers. Kiplagat's appointment was welcomed by both Somalis and non-Somalis who are hopeful that this would re-vitalise the reconciliation process, told United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network.[103] Since his appointment in January 2003, he has shown great diplomatic skill and leadership in bringing together the conflicting parties.

On the state-level, Djibouti and Ethiopia had clear but hidden agendas. The conference dynamics were much influenced by the polarisation between the TNG and the SRRC with Djibouti and Ethiopia lining up behind their proxies. Ethiopia and Djibouti have divergent interests in the process and outcome of the peace process. Ethiopia considers a strong Somalia as threat to its national security. The 1977/78 Ogaden war is a powerful example for potential threats that can originate from a militarily strong Somali government. When Djibouti backed the TNG, Ethiopia provided military assistance in form of training, personnel, equipment and arms to the SRRC. For instance, Ethiopia militarily supported the illegitimate rule of Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf in Puntland. In terms of extremist Islamist groups – a major concern for the Ethiopians – there is little evidence that organisations, such as *al-Ittihad*, were able to maintain their military strength and political influence in the past two years. Western diplomats see the establishment of a government as a chance to monitor and to stop terrorist activities in the Horn of Africa. At Eldoret, neither *al-Ittihad* nor *al-Islah* groups were vocal in the peace talks.[104] In contrast to the Arta conference in 2000, the Eldoret talks offered little opportunity for religious organisations and leaders for meaningful participation since they came under pressure from other countries because they were suspected of having affiliations with radical military movements, such as *al-Qaida*. Conversely, Islamic humanitarian agencies are common in contemporary Somalia but are largely involved in educational and health services, building on a long-term strategy for permanent engagement.

The strong diplomatic engagement of Ethiopia in favour of the SRRC was observed by many delegates. Daniel Yifru, Director for Political and Humanitarian Affairs of IGAD explains: "Ethiopia's security concerns are real; it would be naive to believe that Ethiopia will give up on it."[105] Besides, many Somalis consider for good historical reasons the Ogaden as part of a greater Somalia. One delegate suggested that "if the people in Ogaden have equal opportunities within Ethiopia, it can ease tensions between Somalia and Ethiopia".[106] This deepened the already existing polarisation of the delegates and led to the formation of an anti-Ethiopian coalition, the so-called Group of Eight (G-8) whose members did express their sympathy for the TNG.[107] Several delegates raised their concern about Ethiopia's strong

[103] IRIN, "Kenya appoints new Special Envoy for Peace Talks," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 20 January 2003.
[104] International Crisis Group, *Salvaging Somalia's Chance for Peace*, 6.
[105] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 31 October 2002.
[106] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 19 November 2002.
[107] The G-8 consists of Colonel Abdirizak Isak Bihi, Chairman of the Somali National Front (SNF), Mohamed Qanyare Afrah, Chairman of the United Somali Congress, Osman Hassan Ali 'Atto', Chairman of USC/SNA (United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance)/SRRC Nakuru, Omar Mohamoud Mohamed 'Finish',

influence in IGAD's Technical Committee, which held executive powers in the peace process. Ali Mahdi, first interim president after Barre's regime, stated that: "the Technical Committee is monopolised by the Ethiopians".[108]

Conversely, Ethiopia seeks a constructive dialogue in terms of economic cooperation, as one Somali journalist explains: "After the secession of Eritrea, the policy of Ethiopia [toward Somalia] takes a new direction. Today, Ethiopia needs Somalia for commercial purposes. Eritrea's secession came during Somalia's civil war in 1994/95. It seems that Ethiopia supports a federal structure [in Somalia]; that's why Ethiopia is more involved. Some of the explanations of Islamist extremism posing a threat to Ethiopia do exist."[109] He concludes that "Somalia is a victim of the conflict between Egypt and Ethiopia. Somalia is caught in between".[110] Some argue that Ethiopia supports a federal structure with Abdullahi Yusuf heading the new government. This could lead to renewed fierce fighting to "a war we have not yet seen," Ali Mahdi warns.[111]

Kenya has long-standing historical ties with Somali population and today, Kenyan-Somalis have become an integral part of Kenya's political and social culture. Apart from the large influx of Somali refugees, illegal immigrants and cross-border organised crime, Kenya does not have a direct interest in Somalia and accordingly, is considered neutral. Besides the frontline states, the League of Arab States, Egypt, the EU and the USA[112] sent their envoys to the conference. Only Italy sent an Ambassador to Eldoret on a permanent basis. Representatives from the League of Arab States, like Egypt, are present but rarely engage openly in the deliberations. This is similar in the case of the EU who is the main sponsor of the reconciliation process. The EU member states have an interest in a functioning Somali government not only for security reasons but also for practical ones. The EU, the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions need governments to operate in a similar way, as colonial governments needed chiefs to operate. Where there were no chiefs, colonialists invented them.[113]

Land disputes and property rights

One major obstacle to the peace process is the issue of land and property. This contentious issue is directly linked with the role of resources in conflict within Somalia. Among the six Reconciliation Committees, one committee was established to deal with land disputes and property rights. The terms of reference for this committee include "a detailed proposal on legal mechanisms for the settlement of disputes," and the "resolution of political disputes over

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Chairman of USC/SSA (United Somali Congress/Somali Salvation Army), Jama Ali Jama (Puntland), Colonel Bare Aden Shire 'Hirale', Chairman of the Juba Valley Alliance, Sheik Aden Madobe, 1st Deputy Chairman of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army. Ahmed Omar Jess (Somali Patriotic Movement) replaced Mowlid Ma'ane Mohamoud, Chairman of the Somali African Muki Organisation (SAMO)/SRRC Nakuru. Correspondingly on 2 December 2002, a joint declaration by the TNG and political groups formerly close to the SRRC was signed to end hostilities between factions and the TNG in the capital Mogadishu. This was rather an effort of some faction leaders to criticise Ethiopia's role in the reconciliation process than creating peace in the former capital city.

[108] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 8 November 2002.

[109] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 19 November 2002.

[110] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 19 November 2002.

[111] ICG interview in Mogadishu in January 2003, cited in: International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 4.

[112] There was a general feeling among delegates that the US was represented on a lower diplomatic level than one would have hoped. Personal communication with conference participants at Eldoret, Kenya.

[113] Ranger, Terence, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

occupied land and property" through clan and regional efforts.[114] The final report was submitted for consideration to the plenary of the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference in July 2003.

At the beginning, the committee adopted principles of compensation or restitution for the loss of property. As a result, issues related to property loss cannot be simply resolved with oral concessions and forgiveness.[115] The committee wisely categorised the various land and property disputes in its report rather than passing judgements on which historical period to consider.[116] Focusing only on the period after the collapse of the regime would neglect land grabbing by government officials turning them into legitimate owners of the disputed land. Several interviewees within southern Somalia mentioned disputes over land ownership, which were not limited to the past twelve years. As one Somali aid worker stated: "In terms of land disputes, there are multiple claims. For example in Merka district, the Sheikhal, Bimal and *Gibil ad* claim to have first settled in the region. The problem of land disputes started during Siyad Barre. He neglected the central regions and as a consequence, people migrated to Lower Shabelle."[117] This migration has been relatively peaceful. Lower Shabelle also became a focus for settlement schemes of those affected by droughts. The 1973/4 drought led to settlements in Kurtunwarey, Sablale and Brawa district in Lower Shabelle. Notably after the Somali-Ethiopian war in 1978, further refugees were settled in the region. Today, some of these areas are now occupied by non-resident militias. Since the breakdown of a central authority, only those clans moved into the rich agricultural areas of Lower Shabelle who had the support of their militia. A Hawiye clan member argued that "the Haber Gedir took over land because they were armed; others like the Bimal would have done the same but with more harm".[118] The land and property rights committee refrains from specifying clans and people as victims or occupiers. Though it states that "human rights violation and forceful alienation of land and property is the norm".[119] Further, the report list a number of farms of both Somalis and foreigners which remain occupied by armed militias including banana farms in Lower Shabelle.

Yet, it is difficult to draw the line from which date to start with land disputes. Disputes dating back to the former government hold the disadvantage of investigating titles awarded under former governments since much of the pre-war documentation has been destroyed. Going even further back to colonial times would bear the risk of opening irreconcilable claims and counter claims.[120] Yet, the committee's draft report considers "issues regarding land and property rights, whether farmland, pastoral land, residential or business property, to be the root of the conflict between the colonists and the Somalis, and also among the Somalis themselves in the civil war".[121]

Land disputes mainly over grazing areas and water points in the central and northern regions have been arbitrated following a more traditional pastoral norm. Competing claims to living

[114] IGAD, *Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, Eldoret, Kenya: Committee III: Land and Property Rights. Draft Report* (Eldoret: Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, 2003), 2.
[115] Schlee, *The Somali Peace Process and the search for a legal order (unpublished paper).*
[116] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 7.
[117] Interview in Merka, southern Somalia, on 23 September 2002.
[118] Interview in Merka, southern Somalia, on 23 September 2002.
[119] IGAD, *Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, Eldoret, Kenya: Committee III: Land and Property Rights. Draft Report*, 14.
[120] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*.
[121] IGAD, *Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, Eldoret, Kenya: Committee III: Land and Property Rights. Draft Report*, 40.

space (*deegaan*) addressed rights to access water and pasture.[122] Today, disputes over traditional clan territory involves clear political and economic interests. Most clans have a clear idea about territorial claims in towns and villages. These territorial claims are often linked to identity in particular in the coastal towns of Lower Shabelle. An elder of the *Gibil ad* or *reer* Merka community in Merka justified territorial claims of *reer* Merka people with being the 'original inhabitants' of Merka: "Before the Italians came, the town had three doors which were shut [during the night] and everybody who was not invited had to leave the town. Then, the Bimal clans settled from the North, possibly Ethiopia. They arrived in the region in 1520. They were told to settle outside Merka; they used to come in the morning to sell their milk."[123] Over time, clear clan boundaries, as once existed in Merka, have shifted through peaceful migration and changing ownership over land. As a consequence, clan-based land disputes have became complex making it difficult to agree on points of reference.

A network of social relations, remained important to access land and resources in an area that goes beyond the clan's or family's *deegaan*.[124] This applies largely to pastoralists and to a lesser extent to agriculturalists. Sharing resources, information and labour was essential to Somali herders and agriculturalists alike to cope with the variability and uncertainty of ecological conditions. This system of resource sharing and negotiating agreements to use land has been altered over the past twelve years. Farah, Hussein and Lind argue that after the collapse of the dictatorship competition for land and natural resources increased: "From 1991, with no central authority to distribute resources and mediate competing claims, rights to access, use and own land and resources became increasingly fragmented as competing clans asserted their claims to different land and natural resources."[125] In defending their claims to *deegaan*, clans and sub-clans acquired arms often resulting in violence. Customary rights to access, use or control land and resources lost importance and became inconsequential.[126] Consequently, less powerful clans passed alliances with stronger and armed clans. Accordingly, the *Jareer* might have sought a strategic alliance with the Haber Gedir clan in order to oppose economic exploitation and political exclusion by resident clans, like the Jido.

In order to avoid recent conflict over land and property, the designated Reconciliation Committee has given priority to colonial land tenure practices and its social and economic impact. Certainly, a discourse about colonial land practices and the call for reparation payments is acceptable to most delegates. Only, the pressing issue of land occupation by armed militias and the demand of their withdrawal from the agricultural areas in the South has received little attention by experts and faction leaders alike. Though the report demands that "all militias who hold occupied territories by force shall be ordered to withdraw, so that evidence on rightful ownership can be gathered with out intimidation"[127], it is hard to believe that the report's recommendations will be met. People who are affected by oppressive policies of armed non-resident clans hardly speak out because of fear and terror. These root causes of the conflict ought to be addressed sooner than later if a peaceful solution for Somalia is sought, as an ICG report states: "The Lower Shabelle and Lower Juba are unlikely to know lasting peace as long as their leaders impose themselves by force."[128]

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[122] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 7.
[123] Interview in Merka, southern Somalia, on 22 September 2002.
[124] Farah, Ibrahim, Abdirashid Hussein and Jeremy Lind, "Deegaan, Politics and War in Somalia," *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, eds. Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2002).
[125] Farah, Hussein and Lind, "Deegaan, Politics and War in Somalia".
[126] Farah, Hussein and Lind, "Deegaan, Politics and War in Somalia".
[127] Schlee, *The Somali Peace Process and the search for a legal order (unpublished paper)*, 21.
[128] International Crisis Group, *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*, 8.

The committee report acknowledges the problem that those who occupy land illegally would lose their livelihoods. As they are largely from the pastoral areas the report recommends to enable them in productive activities through development programmes, such as restocking, range management, livestock marketing, small-scale irrigation and the establishment of crafts and industries.[129] This view is reiterated by the Speaker of the TNG, Abdalla Derow Isak: "The only solution is a government which can effectively release the land to the legitimate owners, [illegal occupants] have to be returned but with assistance."[130] He continues that the type of needed assistance "depends on the area, whether livestock or fishery is important. For example in Bakol, you can improve the health of the animals, construct waterholes."[131]

Conclusion: Prospects for peace

The paper has shown that hidden agendas and personal greed of several political players at the Mbagathi peace talks are an obstacle to true reconciliation bringing lasting peace to Somalia. A successful outcome of the conference depends on several factors. First and foremost, it depends on political will of the delegates to cooperate and to form a prospective representative government, whether its structure will be federal, confederal or central. In this respect, the question of effective leadership is crucial. When asking Mohamood Abdi Noor, a Senior Agricultural Specialist of The World Bank, about the role of institutions, he answered: "Who runs institutions? Human beings, right? [...] Institutions are really weak in Africa. We need strong leadership."[132] This view is echoed by some experienced Somali politicians, among those the former Prime Minister Abdirazak Haji Mohamed, who would prefer the establishment of a strong central government with an effective and accountable leadership rather than a weak decentralised clan-based government. In addition, a federal state is likely to consist of several mini-states where eventually one major clan would dominate each mini-state economically and politically.

Secondly, it depends if the proposed strategy can work to co-opt military leaders and warlords into a civil government. Many analysts have their doubts if warlords can become civil servants. To counter-balance the influence of faction leaders, the second phase was especially designed to bring professionals and academics on board who can carve out the principles and mechanisms, which input to an all-inclusive government. In the second phase, political and military leaders were only be granted observer status. In parallel, localised reconciliation efforts must be encouraged and acknowledged as a major contribution to the peace process.

Thirdly, it depends to what extent IGAD's Technical Committee is capable of managing the conference in a conducive manner preventing corruption. At one stage, reports suggested that the conference was on the verge to collapse due to corruption.[133] Above all, it depends to what extent Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and members of the League of Arab States can overcome their differences, and are able to form a united and firm position regarding the core issues of the reconciliation process.

In achieving fair representation of all clans, the delegates adopted the clan formula of 4.5. Many analysts argue that this formula cannot work since the Somali society is too fragmented.

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[129] IGAD, *Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, Eldoret, Kenya: Committee III: Land and Property Rights. Draft Report.*
[130] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 3 December 2002.
[131] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 3 December 2002.
[132] Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 27 November 2002.
[133] Barasa, Lucas, "Kalonzo to meet IGAD Ministers to save Somalia Talks," *The Daily Nation* 14 January 2003.

This notion is reiterated by Dr Sharif Salah Mohamed Ali who speaks on behalf of the civil society at the Somali peace talks:

> Today the major problem in Somalia is not clan reconciliation. The major clans, the Darod, Hawiye, Rahanweyn, Isaq, Dir clans were fighting at the beginning of the 1990s. There were clashes [between clans]. Today you have conflict within the Harti Abgal, actually today the process of reconciliation starts from the ground. [...] Musa Sudi and Omar 'Finish' are almost relatives. This kind of generation who has two brothers fighting each other like Cain and Abel. This is a terrible thing. [...] This is a trajectory down to the level of brother. They cannot stop because their militia is there. But they do not have any contact with them. Their militia can do anything, they can come to Musa Sudi's home and tell him to stay at home.134

His last comment touches on a problem that can diminish the prospects of peace, namely the political legitimacy of some of the delegates who signed the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities. Many of the invited delegates are self-styled leaders with little popular support or real power in the country. Some of the delegates are from the diaspora or refugees from neighbouring countries. Further, clan identity or ethnicity has been hijacked by urban-based political elites to succeed in the scramble for resources and power. Clan has become an instrument to mobilise resources in order to deploy, and to maintain power.

Other important players were absent. A good example is the leading business elite based in Mogadishu and other urban centres. They support the creation of a formal government, which could serve their interests. Today, influential business leader are disconnected from political factions. They maintain their own security forces including security arrangements with other business men to use trade routes in a reciprocal way. They provide public goods, such as water and electricity, "all the things a government is supposed to do", noted Muhammad Jirde Husayn, an executive member of the Dubai-based Somali Business Council.[135] They argue, they were denied any support, such as the provision of public goods, by any political group including the TNG. They would, however, support the creation of a formal government provided it is powerful enough to provide security and can fulfil basic administrative functions, such as regulating the financial markets.

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134 Interview in Eldoret, Kenya, on 30 October 2002.

135 IRIN, "Business Community to support All-Inclusive Government," *United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network* 27 May 2003.

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PAPER 11

The Nairobi Somali Peace Talks

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The IGAD led Somali peace conference, which is the 16th conference to resolve the Somali crisis. It began in the Kenyan western town of Eldoret, on October 15th, 2002. The IGAD Technical committee in the framework of Frontline States acted as mediator and represented Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. This was in line with the mandate given to them by IGAD Summit of Khartoum, January 2002. The conference split into three phases, its first leg culminated with the signing of much violated declaration on cessation of hostilities and rules of participation in October 27th, the same year.

Of the sixteen peace conferences held for Somalia, 12 were exclusively turned towards faction leaders. Except Arta peace conference in Djibouti (2000) that was the 13th attempt and based on civil society, the rest floundered. The Arta peace conference ended with formation of Transitional National Government (TNG). The 14th conference held in Awaso founded the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) and thus became a front to derail the TNG. This umbrella brought together political factions reportedly backed by Ethiopia. The 15th conference held in Kenya was aimed at reconciling the TNG and some opposition factions.

The groups involved in the IGAD led peace conference are Somali parties, IGAD and International community. On the Somali front, the conference promoted participation of three main actors constituting TNG, political factions and civil society.

II. Structures engaged in Somali peace conference

Both domestic and external actors were engaged in the peace conference. The nature of structures engaged in the process contributed to their side of the problem; the IGAD technical committee lacked cohesion while the Somali leaders committee suffered mistrust and became talking shop for the conflicting Somali actors.

In the domestic scene three categories were invited to the conference at the onset and represented the Somali groupings. This included Political factions, administrations and civil society. The political factions are those from SRRC, and G8 political Alliance while administrations included Puntland and Transitional National Government formed in Arta (TNG). The civil society was drawn from Women groups, Youth, Traditional leaders, Intellectuals and Religious leaders. All the other groupings shared similar concern and understood civil society as representing their fears.

Domestic

The domestic structures first began with leaders committee, which brought together signatories to the declaration on cessation of hostilities, and rules of participation signed in Eldoret, October 27th, 2002. Those signatories together with four members of civil society

formed the leaders committee. The leaders committee became one of the challenges to the conference but were disbanded silently after Safari Park retreat of 9th January 2004. A group of respected personalities from civil society called National Resource Persons were assembled. Their interventions was misconceived and sent negative signal to political factions and representatives from IGAD member country. They dispersed after suffering frustration from both actors within Somali political scene and some members from IGAD Technical Committee.

The other structure was the plenary that was made up of 366 delegates for phase two aimed to debate on the six working committee reports. Though the plenary was to be the overall structure to decide on amendments to working committee reports, timely interferences by leaders committee and IGAD Technical Committee ruled out success of such possibility.

Second phase Arbitration Committee was formed to arbitrate on complains generated by question of conference participation that became dominating factor in the first and second phase. They were disbanded at end of second phase and National Arbitration Committee for third phase was nominated from the respective Somali clans. This committee was responsible for distribution and selection and in particular attending to disputes encountered in the process of power sharing. The capacity, experience and competency of the arbitration members was questioned by some in view of the challenges posed by power sharing phase. However, the arbitration committee members cited interferences and undermining of their decisions by some members of IGAD facilitation committee.

Finally, the Somali Transitional Federal Parliament was born in August 2004. This is the core institution to finalise the remaining part of the government structures. President was elected and Prime Minister appointed on October and November this year respectively. The cabinet is expected to be named shortly.

Regional
On the external front, IGAD technical committee representing frontline states countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya in managed the conference first, but was later in Kampala Summit of October 2003 revisited and replaced with IGAD Facilitation Committee. The Facilitation Committee represented the six IGAD member countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda and African Union. The facilitation committee had both ambassadors and ministerial level. Kenya retained chairmanship of these two-adhoc structures. As the mandate of IGAD facilitation committee expired and need for participation in post-conflict Somalia was deemed necessary, the recent IGAD Ministerial meeting held on the sidelines of UN Security Council meeting on November 17th, 2003 adopted a new mechanism proposed by executive secretary of IGAD to be called " IGAD Monitoring and Follow up Team (IGADMOFT" as replacement to the previous structure.

International
International Partners Forum known as IPF represented the international community in the process. The IPF were source of financial and advisory support to IGAD in running the conference. The IPF brought together UK, Italy, USA, European Union, Denmark, Norway, Arab League, Egypt, Finland, France and United Nations among others. All the structures engaged in conference lacked cohesion and institutional capacity to address challenges in the process.

III. Phase two

Discussions on the charter and other working committee reports
The second phase of the talks started in Eldoret and was eventually moved to Mbagathi on February 15th, 2002. This phase concentrated on production of six reconciliation committees' reports. Deliberations and approval of the first five reports went smoothly at the plenary while the discussion on the charter took longer than expected. Different versions of the charter were prepared and eventually merged into one document for discussion at the plenary following a political agreement by the leaders on July 5th, 2003 on the main principles for the charter. However, some groups denounced this agreement. A team of Somali lawyers, assisted by a Kenyan constitutional expert, worked on improving the language and structure of the document and incorporating the amendments suggested by the delegates. However this was interfered and sectarian influences gave leeway to determine the final shape of the charter. By the beginning of September 2003, the charter was reportedly revised article by article but failed to bring on board crucial proposed amendments.

During the discussions on the charter, some political leaders and their entourages walked out and returned to Somalia citing discontent with the management of the conference as the reason. In an effort to promote inclusivity and give legitimacy to the peace process, the international community asked for few days pause to the talks to encourage the return of those who left for Somalia in protest. Amongst those who left the peace talks were Abdiqassim Salad Hassan (TNG president), Barre Aden Shire (Jubba Valley Alliance), Musse Sudi (USC/SSA) and Osman Ato (USC/SNA Nakuru). Despite the fact that several Somali leaders accepted the request of the international community to pause the conference, other faction leaders accused them of having a hidden agenda and trying to derail the peace conference.

IGAD convened a plenary on September 15 to endorse the final document, including the agreement reached on Article 11. Most of the leaders returned to Nairobi between September 14 and 15, except for Musse Sudi Yallahow who was reported to have sent a delegation to represent him.

On September 15th, 2003, Abdiqassim (TNG) and his new informal alliance (which had been meeting in Mogadishu the previous week) requested to be given a few days to study the draft charter before it was taken to the plenary. The rest of the leaders responded negatively and threatened to leave if they were granted the extra days. The group in support of the charter responded aggressively and negatively to any attempts to amend the charter or refer to the rules of procedure without intervention from the conference mediators. The plenary, that included non-delegates, seemed to be headed for endorsement of the charter by acclamation – similar to how the agreement was reached on July 5th, 2003 and the grounds on which some of the stakeholders rejected that agreement. The Rules of Procedure, which should govern in such a situation, was disregarded thus raising questions on the intentions of the plenary session and the role of the mediators. The Somali participants did not act with restraint and the mediators chairing the plenary acted like observers. Hence, the tense atmosphere added to the suppression of views, and led to the walkout of a civil society group.

According to the arguments of the civil society members, faction and political leaders had been given too much power during the process. One of the political leaders had the following to say, "the dissenting voices deserve not to air their views as none of those shouting spilled out a glass of water during the civil war." The interpretation of this comment was, 'how much you killed that mattered, not mere activism.' Many of the leaders who spoke felt that the

compromise that had been reached was a major breakthrough that was to be celebrated and adopted. One of the political leaders pointed to the role of civil society and blamed them for undermining the progress of the peace talks. However, recognizing that reconciliation is not imposed and that the environment where it is to take place must facilitate trust and confidence in the reconciling parties, any fear – real or imagined – must have been addressed patiently. In the current case, the faction leaders seemed to indicate that the civil society represents their fears and is hence, in their perspective, not the credible and deserving partner to reconcile with.

But why should the faction leaders be afraid of the civil society or even certain individuals in this category of participants? Possibly because they see them as potential rivals for the leadership of the country and maybe even rivals for their leadership in their factions or clans. Others are said to fear the possibility of being made to face a court or tribunal to answer charges for the war crimes they committed. But why believe that only the civil society in the peace process is capable of producing the two scenarios they fear most and not anybody else? The political factions were in favour of exclusive ownership of the process, while some members of the civil society asked for inclusive ownership.

IGAD's factor and Somali political scene

Djibouti, which was part of the IGAD Technical Committee, the structure responsible for management of the conference, announced withdrawal from the technical committee on October 18th, 2003. Its claims included mismanagement of the conference and violations on its collective responsibility. It ruled out possibility of participating within the framework of frontline states. Responding to that, IGAD Summit held in Kampala Uganda, October 22 – 24, the same year reviewed Somali peace process and disbanded technical committee replacing thus with an expanded committee bringing together all IGAD Member States and called IGAD Facilitation Committee on Somalia. The IGAD`s engagement was elevated to Ministerial level. Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni replaced the Sudanese president as chairman of the IGAD Summit.

Since Kampala Summit, Ethiopian engagement in the peace process reduced and adopted what others called silent withdrawal. All their representatives to Somali peace talks were recalled to Addis Ababa. Ethiopia was either not represented or participated in ambassadorial level in several IGAD Ministerial Facilitation Committee meetings.

After the September 15 adoption of the charter by section of the Somali political groupings which generated walkout and ultimately the formation of National Salvation Council in Bal`ad October 2003, efforts were made to narrow down the differences and bring back the dissenting voices that included TNG President Abdikassim Salad Hassan and others led by faction leader Musse Suddi Yallahow of USC/SSA. Members of the IGAD International Partners Forum (IPF) proposed framework to bring together the protagonists under one roof. The framework known as Retreat was launched by the Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki and his Ugandan counter-part Yoweri Kaguta Museveni in a Nairobi Hotel, on January 9th, 2004. The Ugandan President who is chairman of IGAD Summit met the Somali groups in pre-retreat discussions one day before the date of launching the Retreat. Museveni in his launching speech warned the Somali groups on implications of the slow genocide ongoing in Somalia. The Retreat was meant to narrow down conflicting views held by Somali groups on the charter and in particular the contentious articles, which included selection of the members of parliament.

In a deal brokered by the former Kenyan Foreign Minister, Kalonzo Musyoka, Somali leaders reportedly agreed on an harmonised version of the contentious articles in the charter. The Retreat was initially planned for 11 days but lasted 20 days. The retreat finally culminated with the signing of Safari Park Declaration at State House Nairobi, January 29th, 2004. The Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki witnessed the ceremony attended by all Somali warring parties including president Abdikassim Salad Hassan of TNG.

However this commitment, like previous ones, was dishonoured and political groupings affiliated to SRRC denounced the declaration before the ink dried up. They claimed that Safari Park Declaration was a plot to fight back gains made so far in the process and give credit to a clique that was derailing the peace talks from onset. In what was seen as repetition of action perceived to be rewarding, some leaders from SRRC withdrew from the conference and camped in Jowhar to announce an opposition front headed by Mohamed Omar Habeeb "Mohamed Dhere" of Jowhar administration in February 2004. His group, called 'National Organizing Council' – a council by name - brought together faction leaders including Gen. Morgan and Sheikh Adan Madobe of RRA among others. As an evident demonstration of extent of the external influences, discomfort or withdrawal of either Djibouti or Ethiopia from conference had its negative implication in the local political scene.

Observable challenges
The challenge in the process included external actors and their ability to influence forces in local political scene to their interest. The divergent view held by the Somali actors were founded on the conflicting approach applied by the regional actors and in particular Djibouti and Ethiopia. Such tendency took centre stage when local entities lacked vision and would end up singing to the tune of incoherent regional interests.

State formation had priority instead of reconciliation, which was to be driving force. Any structure formed without reconciling the conflicting local actors would end up in confusion. The parliament vs. cabinet as well within cabinet and parliament would pose threat and demonstrate vulnerability of the Government. Indeed reconciliation is a long-term process and would be instrumental both within the actors in the process and wider population at home (Somalia). Progress could be expected in an environment of peace and stability and this would be only realised if reconciliation were given priority.

IV. Phase three

Unity of purpose by IGAD and power sharing phase
President Museveni announced at the launching of the Retreat that he would unify the opinion of international community on Somalia. As immediate challenge, differences of approach within the regional actors and in particular Ethiopia and Djibouti required addressing. At a time absentees, opposition, mistrust and conflicting approach stalled smooth running of the conference, the two rivals - Ethiopia and Djibouti came up with new unity of purpose that sent strong message to their respective loyalists in Somali political arena. The Somali political groups who boycotted the process returned and conference took forward steps.

The IGAD Ministerial Facilitation Committee met Somali clans separately for endorsing principles and guidelines to move the process to its final leg. All the Somali clans endorsed the principles and guidelines and the ministers subsequently launched beginning of phase three on May, 22th, 2004. The third phase that entailed power sharing involved all Somali clans to distribute, select and ultimately submit names of their nominees to the 275-member

house of Somali transitional federal parliament. Of 275 slots, the four major clans of Hawiye, Darod, Dir and Digil/Mirifle were entitled to 61 seats each while conglomeration of minority groups known as fifth clan was allocated 31 slots.

The rules of procedure for phase III was overlooked by IGAD Facilitation Committee and took the role of the relevant Somali actors in the distribution and selection process. Some names were brought on board without the consent of the traditional leaders and sworn in violation of the rules of procedure and the relevant articles in the charter.

An arbitration committee representing all the groups assisted distribution of the seats for the clans that failed to share their allocation. The selection process involved many actors and it is here that some IGAD Member States pushed their agendas. This generated dissention with some accusing IGAD of assuming the role of Arbitration Committee away from their mandate.

The process of distribution and selection of the clan nominees to the transitional federal parliament was undertaken in the background of accusations and claims for unfairness. The IGAD Facilitation Committee allegedly overstepped their mandatory role and assumed duties of Somali Arbitration Committee. The clan nominees were sworn in groups and finally on September 15th, 2004 the house speaker, Sharif Hassan Sheikh Adan won with 161 votes against 105 of his runner up Sheikh Adan Mohamed Nur “Sheikh Adan Madobe”. Complains about corruption and external influences were reported in the exercise. The two deputy speakers were also elected to the office on September 22nd, 2004.

Presidential election and appointment of prime minister

The presidential race, which grew hotter, encouraged submission of over 70 applications. This was limited following mandatory submission of non-refundable fee amounting to $ 2000.00 per candidate. The initiative reduced the number of candidates with remaining 26 contestants participating in the first round of the presidential election held on October 10th, 2004 in Nairobi, Kenya. Col. Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmed emerged winner with 189 votes of the 270 MPs present of the 275-member house. IGAD Ministerial Facilitation Committee witnessed the exercise. The president elect was inaugurated and sworn in, October 14 in the presence of seven heads of State and governments who were mainly from Eastern and Central Africa.

The heads of state and government witnessing the ceremony included host President Mwai Kibaki, his Ugandan counterpart and chairman of IGAD Summit Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and Nigerian President and chairman of AU Summit Olesegun Abasanjo among others. The Summit then held meeting in Nairobi the following day and resolved to recognize the Transitional Federal Government led by Yussuf while maintaining their appeal for others to follow suit.

There seems to be wait and see attitude adopted by some countries. With Abdullahi Yussuf winning the election opposition is imminent from Somaliland and Mogadishu. Somaliland and Puntland clashed over the ownership of Sool and Sanag region. However all would depend on his choice for premiership and composition of the cabinet to be formed. In some quarters president Yussuf was known for authoritarian style of leadership but many are observing his likelihood of wearing conciliatory approach as pledged in his inauguration speech.

In his inauguration speech the president elect appealed for 20, 000 pacification force. This tone was also repeated in his visit to African Union Headquarters in Addis Ababa.

Before appointment of prime minister, President Yussuf in a speech to the parliament asked them to harmonise articles 46 and 47 to be clear on his assignment. Having known the direction parliament would take that limit cabinet positions to sitting MPs, compromise was made with a sitting lawmaker from the preferred candidate for Prime Minister, Ali Mohamed Geedi. Mohamed Dhere of Jowhar administration vacated his parliamentary position to pave way for Ali Mohamed Geedi and the latter was sworn in November 3rd, 2004.

The lawmakers in the same day debate on the relevant articles for appointment of premiership and proponents of restriction to parliament won. The move meant that beneficiaries of prime minister and cabinet would be parliament and not from outside. The decision made by the lawmakers that limited space to them disconnected possible public support due to what was seen sectarian tendencies.

After 23 days in office, Somali Federal Transitional president Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmed appointed Ali Mohamed Geedi as his Prime Minister. Few dignitaries witnessed the function held in a Nairobi Hotel on November 3rd, 2004. Mr. Geedi was involved in the NGO world before his appointment and is veterinarian by profession. He was lecturer in the faculty of veterinary medicine in Somali National University before fall of Siyad Barre regime. He is reportedly client of Ethiopia like the President elected. As victim of failed motion to appoint prime minister and cabinet from both within parliament and outside, the latter was rescued after a sitting lawmaker from his sub-sub clan (Mohamed Dhere of Jowhar Administration) vacated to allow his appointment. He was sworn in as an MP several hours only before his appointment.

The Prime Minister announced his first cabinet line in December 2nd, 2004. The 27-member cabinet was seen as lacking clan balance and competency. The three deputy prime ministers were also avoided in the first announcement and this according to others was attributed to fears of fall-out. Demonstrations for discontent were echoed from within Nairobi and some regions within Somalia.

The remaining list of cabinet was released in ceremony held in Nairobi. This included 7 Ministers with portfolio, 8 State Ministers and 33 Deputy Ministers. The appointees were sworn in a ceremony attended by the president and representatives from IGAD and IPF. In a short speech made at the ceremony, President Yussuf appealed for the support of the parliament to see through implementation of the government programmes. A government that would rely on donor handouts such a bloated structure was seen as discouraging. To others, the appointment lacked inclusivity and misplaced the few competent officials. According to observers, main ministries went to particular group while the appointments itself was sectarian. The following day, one cabinet minister and four deputy ministers resigned and accused the government for bloated cabinet and lack of inclusivity.

The lawmakers on their side accused the government for violating the procedures for appointment and assured to table motion to bring it down. In a motion supported by 95 lawmakers, the parliament introduced debate to sack the government of Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Geedi. The debate degenerated into fist fighting and several cabinet members were hurt in the scuffle. The president and his prime minister were unavailable at the time of the debate. With the motion supported by 153 members, the speaker finally announced the

motion to bring down the government successful. What transpired in the house and in particular conduct of lawmakers at this time was assessed by many as unprofessional and lacking sense of maturity. The MPs argued that the government violated relevant articles in the charter and by laws. The appointment and the subsequent swearing in without confirmation of the house were illegal. However others including members of the cabinet argued that decision was invalid unless prime minister requested confirmation from the house.

The attempt was feared to create crisis but the president acceptance of the parliamentary decision simmered down the situation. The president in a ceremony held at Nairobi hotel re-appointed Ali Mohamed Geedi as prime minister. The president acknowledged his acceptance of the parliamentary motion but noted discrepancies in the charter. He hailed that the parliament were haste in their decision and would waited for request of the prime minister. He hailed the risk of accommodating the 275-member house into the limited cabinet posts.

V. Conclusions

With the process dogged by domestic and external challenges the wishes of the majority Somali population has to be an overriding factor. The integral part of the population is yearning for a government. The emergent structure has to be supported but on the basis of giving priority to and promoting reconciliation. Reconciliation is to be undertaken at several levels beginning within government structures and then in Somalia. A similar effort is to be directed to regional actors (IGAD) whose division has serious impact on Somalia. The international community on its side has to come in with coherent interventions and support reconciliation initiatives within Somalia and exercise art of diplomacy to ensure that regional cohesion is maintained within IGAD.

The kind of government opted for by the citizens is one that promotes rule of law and protects its citizens from brutality and senseless destructions witnessed in the last 14 years. It has to uphold to the charter and honour its own commitment. It should also respect human rights and subscribe to universal declaration of human rights and other relevant standards. The government has to give significant space to civic thoughts and initiatives as an instrument for development. Public commitment on human rights and space for new thinking based on democratic principles is the basis to restoring trust and confidence between the government and the citizens who were exposed to acts of terror and gross human rights violations.

Closeness to the population and developing homegrown initiatives founded on consultations would build image and acceptance as prerequisite to gain support of the public in addressing challenges of war to peace transition. With the move to limit cabinet appointment within parliament raising many more questions than answers there is need to emphasize on professionalism, competency and other relevant capacities as specified by the charter.

PAPER 12
Statement
Status of IGAD Peace Initiatives

Chief of Conflict Prevention,
Management and Resolution.
Peter B. Marwa
IGAD
Djibouti

There are seventeen conflicts in the Horn of Africa at different levels intensity. IGAD by way of its Charter of 1995 is supposed to take a lead in the resolution of all of conflicts in the region. But due to a number of challenges, IGAD at the moment is only able to be involved in only two - the Sudan and the Somali conflicts.

Sudan conflict because of its potential risk of spreading and destabilization effect in the region.. Somalia perhaps because nobody else is interested.

Besides the two there are three more violent conflicts in the regions now, the Northern Uganda conflict where LRA is committing gruesome massacres, the Eritrea, Ethiopia border conflict and more recently the Darfur conflict which was until recently a low intensity conflit.

The LRA rebellion was classified a terrorist organization; the region cannot be involved in a mediation effort under those circumstances. The UN a senior Organization to IGAD is involved in the resolution of the Ethiopia and Eritrea conflict while the Darfur conflict has been taken over the AU and UN and the field is therefore crowded.

The capacity of IGAD to mount multiple mediation initiatives is limited and seriously handicapped by lack of resources. This more or less defines the extent of its foot forward.

My presentation will inform on the status of the Sudan and Somali Peace process, where we are in the processes. In the course of the discussion I might attempt to point out some of the challenges that we have faced and our view on the way forward.

Sudan: Peace Process

When I was here last May I painted a very hopeful picture of the process. I hinted then that we expected the parties to sign a Final and Comprehensive Agreement by July or August of last year.

Well, we not have a final and Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Sudan yet, but the parties have signed incrementally four Agreements namely; the Security Agreement, Wealth Sharing Agreement, Agreement on the Conflict Areas and the Power Sharing Agreement. Adding to the Machakos Agreements on state and religion and referendum for the Southern Sudan that completes the six Agreements that were envisaged in this process.

Last month an agreement on Cessation of Hostilities was nearly secured. Negotiations were however suspended due to disagreement on a core point which touches on the Securtiy Agreement.

We think however a number of weaknesses have crept into the process which have weighed heavily negatively on the process. But at the time of suspending the talks the parties had agreed on up to 75% of what was on the table. Owing to sensitivities in this process we have agreed not to divulge details on the areas they agreed.

But of course the parties are yet to undertake negations on the Implementation modalities which will include the International and Regional guarantees.

Our experience in this process is that nothing should be taken lightly and what we see as the final short paces to be taken by the parties could still protracted and difficult to achieve.

Although we paint a rosy picture of this process there are glaring problems:

The direct Negotiation Approach we have applied has been effective. Four out of the six Agreements have been signed under this approach. The two Principals Vice President Ali Osman Taha and Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement leader John Garang have cultivated a goodwill and understanding which we credit for the great strides made so far. Their absence during the negotiations on the cessation of hostilities may have been the cause of the lack of progress on the more difficult issues under negegotions.

The Darfur conflict has taken glory and recourses from this process and as the Darfur problem lingers on the international Community seems to give it all the attention and the fear is a opportunity could be lost to resolve Southern Sudan problem.

The next move is to break the impasse. Consultation were undertaken a week or so ago when the Special Envoy visited Khartoum and Juba for consultation with the principals. From this consultations we think a way out could be found. The aim is to get the two principals at the venue of the negotiations and therefore provide a level of decision making that can break any deadlocks,

Somali Peace Process
Where are we in this process?

The good news is we now have 203 Members of Parliament selected from the sub sub clans and sworn in as MPs. With this development the process has reached an irreversible point.

The MPs are now involved in the discussions on the election of the Speaker.
The bad news is the remaining unworn in MPs include MPS from the State of Puntland.

The 10TH Ministerial facilitation committee which met on the 21th August to launch the Parliament failed to mediate the Puntland list of MPs. The difficulty was, there are two lists submitted by two sets of leaders from Puntland.

The Ministers felt that accepting the List from one side which excluded important leaders would be failing to master a major reason of the Conference that is reconciliation and

inclusivity. Consequently the Minister found it hard to swear in MPs from one submitted by one side.

The matter was referred to the Arbitration Committee with clear instructions that they should resolve the matter.

The determination of the Mediator is that between now and the 15th this problem will be resolved and a Government formed.

By and large this process is coming to an end. The attention is now focused on the following problems:
Challenges in the ongoing Somali Peace Process include:

The cohesiveness of the Government that will be formed is what worries the mediators. Judging from what is happening now like for each list of MPS submitted there is several others, lists endorsed by so called genuine traditional leaders. If that at this point all these counter claims are that many how will it be when a government is finally constituted. Will it be able to function.

The security of the capital city is of concern to the mediators and the International Community. There are plans to sit the government in Villa Somalia and UNDP is already working on renovating the Villa but given the security problems it is doubtful how soon that government can be settled in Mogadishu.

The sustainability of the new Government is another worry the watchers are concerned about.

The peacekeeping role has been given to the AU and UN but given the past experience all are worried whether the international community will bear its responsibility towards the peace keeping role. first by offering the Monitors and supporting the process. Going by past experience when we floated the idea of peace Monitors last year only one Country offered to send two monitors -

Will the Armed factions allow the disarmament and reintegration of their forces to take place The time the new Government will take to settle build state structures and institutions is a challenge of the highest order.

The continuation of reconciliation inside Somali to heal the wounds of war, is a challenge for Somalia – enmity is deeply rooted and revenge is possible. How will the reconciliation be maintain and will it work

The Somali National Reconciliation Conference has reached an irreversible point. The will be always those who dissatisfied and a machinery for addressing those who raise complaints and it is a Somali owned mechanism.

PAPER 13
Statement

H.E. Ambassador Zeinab Mohamed Mahmoud
Sudanese Embassy
Sweden

To start with, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the organizers of this conference for inviting me to partake in the deliberations of this important academic forum and to address its distinguished participants. I feel confident that our African sub-region stands to benefit enormously from the wealth of ideas that will be disclosed during the course of this conference.

For over three decades, the Horn of Africa has unfortunately been afflicted by a recurring cycle of crises and warfare that have undermined its promising potential and transformed it into one of the most traumatized areas of the world. However, we now find ourselves at a crossroads of our history at which we can glimpse ahead greater hope for peace and rehabilitation in the Horn of Africa and it is incumbent upon our generation to make the right choices so that we may successfully turn the wheels of progress and build the foundations for sustainable development.

The countries of the Horn of Africa are now attaching more importance than ever before to the need for conflict resolution as an essential requirement for development and are earnestly working towards this end under the general umbrella of IGAD and other regional agencies. The different wars that have erupted in the region have been the main contributing factor to the failure of development initiatives, the increase in poverty, and hunger and the underdevelopment of infrastructure in the Horn of Africa. This is the sad reality which we must urgently confront.

The reasons for conflict in the Horn have been manifold but most of them become characterized as inherently ethnic in nature. This characterization can be greatly misleading because conflicts usually arise over differences in interests such as issues of economic resources or political access, and not because of actual ethnic animosity per se; however, disaffected parties in the Horn of Africa have typically expressed their political aspirations in the name of their ethnic group for mobilization purposes. This is problematic because expressing conflicts in exclusive ethnic terms can be disruptive and may encourage disintegration and the dismantling of existing states.

A viable solution to the predicament of continuous ethnic strife that the Horn of Africa experiences is regional integration. Forging a regional identity may remove this disruptive emphasis on exclusive ethnic identities. Despite the diversity of the sub region and the unique set of problems each country in the Horn of Africa has, there is now increasing realization that the concerns of the region are inter-linked and that the search for solutions will be more successful if it stems from regional roots. The Government of Sudan strongly upholds this point of view and fortunately the mechanism for this regional integration is already in place in the form of IGAD. Such integration would not be superimposed, as empirically, there exists fertile ground for it to actually occur.

The Horn of Africa has great potential for integrated development because of its abundant resources which offer ample opportunity for the enhancement of cooperation and for realizing food security and raising the standard of living for the people of the region. Moreover, the strong social and cultural affinities in the region and its geographic unity would greatly encourage integration. I would also like to add that the countries of the region can benefit tremendously through mutual cooperation within the framework of the New Partnership for Africa's Development Programme (NEPAD). The fact remains, however, that the only way to benefit from this huge potential would be through the establishment of peace in the sub-region.

The presence of an authority that enjoys regional legitimacy and is designated to address conflicts would be extremely instrumental in the restoration of peace in the Horn of Africa. The involvement of IGAD in conflict management and resolution has proven to definitely be a step in the right path, and it must be further strengthened. The IGAD peace initiatives in Sudan and Somalia have been, to different extents, successful in bringing conflicting parties to the negotiating table. The consequent peace agreement that has been reached in Sudan is a great example of the success of the IGAD mechanism and just a mere sample of what IGAD can achieve in the future. The six protocols for peace between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/SPLA) have put an end to the longest war in contemporary African politics. This war has been a tragedy with an immense human cost and the suffering it has brought upon the people of Sudan is not quantifiable. The first protocol was signed in Machakos, Kenya in July 2002 and constituted a framework for the resolution of the following issues:

1. The structure of government,
2. The question of self-determination and,
3. The relation between state and religion

The following five protocols were signed in Naivasha, Kenya in the period between September 2003 and May 2004 and dealt with the following issues: security arrangements, wealth sharing, power sharing. and the resolution of the conflict over the disputed regions of Southern Kordofan, the Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile, and Abyei.

The protocols have set the detailed ground rules for establishing a well-balanced and equitable relationship between the central government and the government of Southern Sudan. The final comprehensive peace agreement is due to be signed soon.

The other problem that has greatly captured the attention of Sudanese, regional and international public opinion is the conflict in Darfur. I would like to seize this opportunity to shed some light on the background to the conflict and on the steps presently adopted by the Government of Sudan to resolve the problem.

Darfur occupies the northwestern part of Sudan and its population is composed of approximately 80 different ethnic groups. It may tentatively be possible to distinguish between the inhabitants of Darfur in terms of occupation, as either sedentary agriculturalists or nomadic pastoralists. The agriculturalists occupy the fertile central part of Darfur and are mostly African ethnic groups. Darfur's pastoralists, however, are mostly of Arab descent and consist of the nomadic camel-herding tribes of northern Darfur and the nomadic cattle herding tribes of Southern Darfur. The distinction between the two groups has traditionally been

occupational rather than ethnic especially as Darfur enjoys a high degree of cultural and religious homogeneity.

You may perhaps wonder where the roots of dissention culminate. Traditionally, the nomadic pastoralists of Darfur would migrate in search of water and grazing land in the dry season and these migrations often resulted in infringements in the land of the agriculturalists. However, beginning in the mid 1980's when much of the Sahel was hit by drought and desertification, scarcity of resources resulted in tension between the two groups and seriously challenged tolerance and amicable co-existence.

Unfortunately trouble escalated when the use of modern weapons was brought into the equation, and the wisdom of tribal elders was no longer sufficient to maintain political stability, and thus sporadic clashes between the two groups eventually developed into full-fledged armed conflict. For reasons of mobilization, the situation was politicized by local elite to incite an increase in traditional ethnic identification and group solidarity, and consequently the conflict evolved into a militia-based ethnic strife.

Since February 2003, the escalating military conflict in Darfur resulted in confrontations between the government and two armed rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The precarious situation in Darfur has unfortunately resulted in death, desolation and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of civilians. And as is so often the case in war, a lot of misinformation has been propagated such as the false claims of ethnic cleansing and genocide which Sudan is currently confronted with.

The Government of Sudan recognizes the extent of the problem in Darfur, and is committed to finding a rapid solution to the problem and to addressing the grievances of the people of Darfur. In cooperation with the regional and international efforts exerted in this regard, the Government of Sudan has established a comprehensive action plan for Darfur and is actively working towards the restoration of peace in the region. A Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement with the rebel groups has been reached since April 2004 but has unfortunately been breached on numerous occasions. The government has made a declaration of amnesty for those who lay down their arms and has delegated an independent national investigative committee, headed by a former Chief of Justice, to look into the human rights violations that have occurred.

On July 3rd, 2004, the Government of Sudan and the United Nations have signed an agreement committing both sides to resolving the grave situation in Darfur and to meeting the humanitarian needs of the affected population. On August 8, 2004, the Government of Sudan has signed the "Darfur Plan of Action" with the United Nations, which is a document aimed at creating the necessary conditions for the restoration of peace, security, stability and development in Darfur through a number of measures which include:

1. Establishing safe areas, and
2. Controlling, restraining and disarming militias.

The Government has also signed a memorandum of understanding on Darfur with the International Organization for Migration, on August 21, 2004, to set up a plan to facilitate the voluntary return of displaced persons. It has consented to the deployment of a team of human rights monitors from the United Nations and of ceasefire monitoring forces from the African Union. The Sudan Government is optimistic that the model of the six protocols for peace in

Southern Sudan can also be implemented in Darfur and is committed to finding a political solution through the on-going African Union sponsored peace talks in Abuja, Nigeria.

The issue of national reconciliation is presently of utmost importance to the Sudan and to the rest of the Horn of Africa and occupies the top priority for all the governments of the region. However, peace is only the first step in the long road to development. The Government of Sudan has devised a plan of action, to be implemented during the transition to a post-conflict society, for the rehabilitation of Southern Sudan and Darfur and for counteracting the destruction and desolation of war with development projects. A serious effort must be exerted to build the necessary infrastructure, to provide vital services, and to promote reconstruction and voluntary return of displaced persons. During this important phase, the involvement of the partners of IGAD and the international community will be of paramount importance.

I believe that in order for peace to be sustainable, it will be important to explore strategies for strengthening the culture of peace and deepening its roots in the Horn of Africa region and to set up the tools for the prevention of recurring conflicts. An important stabilizing factor will be strengthening the framework of regional integration in the Horn of Africa. Solidifying the conflict management capability of IGAD will provide a venue for disaffected groups to express their grievances instead of resorting to warfare.

Moreover, we must explore ways to benefit from the specific cultural heritage of the region in reconciliation and the promotion of tolerance. We must also find ways to terminate all forms of marginalization, to achieve total grassroots participation and to enhance the role of women in development. We must do all this to attain a culture of peace; but these are no easy tasks and the way to attain them still remains to be found through the concerted efforts of academicians.

The vital role that may be played by academic researchers and strategists in this regard can never be over emphasized. It is conferences like this one that formulate the guidelines that we must utilize to attain sustainable peace and development. It is your role, ladies and gentlemen, to publish your ideas and to let your voices be heard so that we may all discover the correct path towards creating a culture of peace and all that it entails.

I would like to conclude by expressing the gratitude of the Government of Sudan to the Government and the people of Sweden for their generous support to the people of Sudan and particularly the humanitarian aid presented to the regions of Darfur and Southern Sudan. I would also like to thank the kind sponsors of this conference and especially the Mayor of this charming city of Lund for his generous hospitality.

PAPER 14
Statement

Charge De Affaires Daniel C. Tanuel
Embassy of the Republic of Kenya
Sweden

It gives me great pleasure to be here again for a second time for this conference, on the Horn of Africa.

Since we were here last, a lot has transpired in the Horn of Africa. Some good, some bad. On a positive side much has been achieved on the quest to seek for solutions on some of the conflicts in region. The people and government of Kenya continue to be committed on peaceful resolution of the conflicts that have plagued the region in the past.

Article 18 of the Agreement establishing the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) states that member states shall act collectively to preserve peace, security and stability which are essential prerequisites for economic development. It is with this premise therefore, that the government of Kenya has been engaged together with other member states in seeking solutions to some of the conflicts in the region.

An overriding question to the conflicts in Africa is why early warning signs are often ignored until too late and at an immense cost to human life? The Lethargy exhibited by African states should be discouraged and a more proactive attitude adopted.

The Director of Conflict Prevention at IGAD, Mr. Peter Marwa on Friday gave an overview of the current status of the Somali and Sudan Peace Processes.

In order not to sound repetitive, I can only say that the Somali case is a complex one. Looking at what has transpired during the last three years since the reconciliation conference was convened first at Eldoret and now in Nairobi, one is left wondering or totally confused at what the problem is in Somalia. The complexity of the Somali Peace Process can further be illustrated by the recent swearing in of the Somali transitional Parliament, when a total 72 members were not sworn because their names had not been agreed upon. The ceremony to swear in the members of Transitional Parliament has been agreed upon after an acrimonious and drawn out negotiations involving a host of clans, civil society and religious leaders. I could go on with a list of issues that keep coming up as soon agreements are about to be arrived at. At times I wonder whether there is a genuine commitment to have a functioning government in Somalia or not. To me the Somali peace process has become the proverbial on step forward, two steps backwards. I hope I am wrong.

On Sudan there has been much progress leading to the signing of three latest protocols between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). The protocols were signed on 26th May 2004 in Naivasha, Kenya. The protocols are on the Resolution of conflict in Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile states, the Resolution of Abyei conflict and the resolution on power sharing. With this progress in place,

the Sudan Peace Process has entered a new phase than portends peace not only in Sudan but in the region as a whole.

However the successes achieved on the Sudan Peace Negotiations are about to be eclipsed by the Darfur Crisis. The African states must take all the necessary steps to resolve this conflict as soon as possible before it engulfs the whole region. The International Community can only come to Africa's aid if the African states themselves take the initiative. It is on this accord that the efforts taken by Nigeria the current AU chair should be lauded.

In conclusion, I would like to welcome the proposal put forward by the representative from UNESCO on Friday of the need to establish a center for anticipatory studies and regional integration in the region. Please come to Nairobi, we shall not tire in hosting any efforts that can benefit the region.

Finally I wish to thank the organizers, the sponsors and the Mayor of the city of Lund for making it possible for this conference to take place. The discussions and presentations during the conference have been of great value to me, an eye-opener to the immense potentials in the region and the challenges that must be surmounted in creating a stable and prosperous region.

PAPER 15

Developing a New Vision for our region

Creation of Centre of Anticipative Studies for Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa

Dr. Ali Moussa Iye
UNESCO
France

During the first Conference here in Lund, I presented a somehow controversial paper on the role played by the intellectuals of our region in the dramatic situation of the Horn of Africa. I deliberately used the term "betrayal" to describe our incapacity to question the fundamentalist discourses and racist prejudices of our societies and cultures. I analysed how the intellectuals throughout our region have been seduced, suborned and instrumentalised by the regional power holders.

In this paper, I listed the political obstacles, the ideological snares and the psychological reflexes that we need to overcome in order to find out alternatives to the tragic situation in our region. Among these constraints, which limit our capacity to build a new vision, I mentioned the following:

- The use of **mythologies** on the origin of our people to justify political claims and legitimise hegemony and domination.
- The perpetuation of a **zero-sum mentality** inherited from the time of crusades or jihad, which leads us to view cultural, religious and ethnic distinctions in terms of primordial difference or contradiction impervious to compromise.
- The **obsession with territory**, which reduces the interest and the relations between our peoples to territorial claims and counterclaims.
- The **feudal mentality** and political culture inherited from the reign of autocracy claiming legitimacy from God or from History and considering the source of power out of the peoples.

In this paper, I stressed the urgent need to emancipate ourselves from these cultural patterns and to develop a new vision for our region that could revitalise the "better" that our peoples have in common and the "best" that they can build together. I ironically affirmed that the Horn of Africa has had more than its fair share of liberation fronts and concluded by saying that what is badly needed in our region is rather a movement for the liberation of critical thought and independent mind.

For the second conference of Lund that I unfortunately could not attend, I have prepared a paper in which I continued my reflection on the collective patterns and individual behaviours that might partly explain the human and political disasters in the Horn of Africa.

In this paper, I questioned our responsibility in the moral crisis of our region. I criticised our tendency to overvalue the external causes and to avoid reflecting on the crucial notion of individual responsibility. I tried to understand our mentality of victimised peoples who prefer

to consider" the Hell as the product of the Others" as observed by the famous French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre.

Beyond this psychological need to find escape goats to transfer our culpability, I noticed that the peoples of the Horn of Africa really dislike seeing the shameful side of their social life analysed and exposed in public.

We generally overestimate ourselves and feel degraded by detailed report on our weaknesses and our sins. Instead of discussing about the inner reasons of our complicity in the decadence of our nations, we prefer cultivating the nostalgia of our lost innocence.

Through concrete and symptomatic examples from Somalia, Ethiopia, I argued why the moral crisis that we are witnessing today is a particular one, which is shaking the very fundamental values of our societies, in order to seriously respond to this disaster. I stressed the need to develop new intellectual and psychological approaches, new literary tools, new forms of expression; in other words, new words and ways to understand ourselves and face the ugly images in the mirror of our reality. I conduced that since wrong rhetoric about our fate has become a part of our problem, we need to learn to ask at the right questions in the search for solutions.

For this third conference, I of course, have not found solutions to any of the problems I was mentioning to you. I do agree with those of you who think that these kind of contributions are not that much constructive. It is true: the new generations from the Horn of Africa are fed up with the lamentations of their elders who have contributed to the making of this sad fake that they now are regretting. They are right to show their fatigue of these disgusting comments on their present and pessimistic anticipation of their future.

I am also aware that it is always easier to criticise a situation and deplore the behaviours of others. It is much more difficult to formulate feasible proposals and translate them into concrete action.

Since my reflection on the betrayal of intellectuals, among whom I naturally include myself, I tried to think positive about our problem and begin to envisage possibilities of constructive action. I focused my reflection on how to overcome this mental confusion, which forbids us to transcend our political and ethnic pettiness and think beyond the short-term interests of our ethnicity, beyond the emotionality of our expectations.

I got the conviction that far from being a fatality or a biological incapacity, the intellectuals' patterns in our region are the result of a certain interpretation of our history and a certain vision of our future. The dominant perceptions on the Horn of Africa have so far privileged some specific facts such the intrigue and the competition among power mongers. over other equally important aspects such as the solidarity and sharing of common interest between the peoples.

I realised that it was these interpretations on the Horn of Africa that have failed to apprehend our reality and not our destiny that has lost its promises for a better life. I am convinced that we are able to reconsider our past with different eyes and reinvest our future in different way.

Before changing the situation of the region, we need to change first the glasses through we are apprehending this reality. We need to change the mindset that we inherited from the cultures of confrontation and violence based on a wrong perception of our interests and ennemies.

This reflection led me to the conclusion that we need to develop new kind of exchanges and dialogue between intellectuals of the region in order to build other interpretations of the Horn of Africa that could enhance mutual understanding, solidarity and hope of changement.

It is why, for this third conference, I came with an initiative, which I think, could interest some of you because it is more solution-oriented than problem-based.

Rationale of our initiative

As you know, the geopolitics of our region can be characterised by two strong sentiments rooted in the boundaries inherited from colonial partition of Africa and in the process of nation-building. One is the identity divide in a region rich with ethnic, religious and cultural diversity. The other is rooted in the uneven distribution of the natural, economic and political resources. Most of the prejudices, discrimination and related conflicts that opposed our peoples could be attributed to this potent identity based factors generated by the perceived or real imbalances in the sharing of these resources.

Today, the Horn of Africa is witnessing another period of upheaval marked by new rivalries for its position and resources. Following the independence of Eritrea, the chronic instability generated by civil wars in Somalia and in Sudan and global fight engaged against terrorism after 11 September, the regional stakes focus more than ever on the issues of security, confidence-building, power-sharing, access to sea, fresh water and infrastructure facilities.

The prevailing concepts and paradigms on the Horn of Africa, notably those inherited from the Cold War, have shown their limits in correctly comprehending the new trends in the region. Therefore, the situation calls for a **new approach that could differentiate itself from analyses overestimating the antagonism and divergence of interests among peoples**. A new approach that is likely to take into account the common aspirations the inhabitants of the region. Now that all which could have contributed to widening the gaps between communities in the Horn has been done, it is time to look at the other face of the region's reality, highlight the common fate of all peoples in the Horn and reconstruct bridges that have been destroyed.

Beyond the imperative of intellectual integrity, which compels us to revisit the mistakes of the past, the plight of our war-torn societies can no longer allows us the luxury of concentrating on issues which stir up hatred and exacerbate division. Time has come to concentrate our efforts on finding ways to facilitate a pacific and beneficial coexistence. In other words, it became **urging to develop in this region studies and exchanges that lay stress on the sharing of common ideals, values and interests among peoples.**

It is time for the intellectuals of the region to shift from ethnocentric and primordialst approaches and build an holistic approach taking properly into consideration the common aspirations of the populations, generally ignored by the circles of power and by the existing studies centres in the region. This new reflexion should highlight the potential of our societies to ensure the transition from the culture of confrontation to a culture of peace.

To that end, we are suggesting the creation in our region of a **Centre of Anticipative Studies and Regional Integration** in the Horn of Africa which could offer an adequate framework for researchers, opinion leaders, and policy makers to exchange their new visions. This initiative attempts to respond the wishes of numerous intellectuals and scholars from the region and from the Diaspora who have expressed the need of an independent "Think Thank" that could facilitate regular exchanges and debates on issues of importance for the Horn of Africa.

The particularity of our initiative

The main originality of this initiative is that it will focus on anticipative and scenario-building approaches in the analysis of the regional issues. It will encourage exchanges that will go beyond the usual analysis on the past and current situation and explore the different and possible scenarios for the coming decades.

The scenario-building approach is, according to Koosom Kalyan, a member of the South African Mont Fleur Scenario Team, "**a new methodology which encourages disciplined, systematic thinking about the future. a critical role of scenarios is to present different possible pathways into the future to challenge conventional thinking and encourage debate in a process of learning**".

Through the anticipative approach, our initiative is aiming to build a learning process among intellectuals in the exchanging of contradictory ideas without losing the sharing of common ideals.

I would like to quote another expert, **Mr Adam Kahane** , to explain the advantages of this aproach. He wrote in the Preface of Destino Colombia Process: **the technique of scenario development is a tool that stimulates debate about the future, facilitates conversation about what is taking place in the world around us and helps us make decisions about what we ought to do or avoid doing. It offers a very useful approach to strategic planning and describes what must be done to accomplish desired result"**

This anticipative approach has been experienced in South Africa, in Colombia and in Guatemala to facilitate the rebuilding of post-conflict societies. It shows its usefulness in "**knitting together social fabric, seeking reconciliation and creating a common vision in fragmented societies**" as observed by an expert of the **Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations** in Geneva.

The purpose and objectives of our initiative

The main objective of this Centre is to think about the common future of our peoples and contribute towards the search of, and agreement of mutually accepted alternatives to the problems of our region. Our proposal is of course in line with the preoccupations of the IGAD, African Union and NEPAD to develop early warning, prevention, and sustainable policies at the regional level. It aims at helping to shape the direction and destiny of our region from the common will of its citizens.

The specific objectives of the Centre are:

- To contribute to building a strong consensus on a long term vision favouring stability, sustainable develop0ment and regional integration.

- To Create a “think thank” dynamic to reflect and exchange on specific issues concerning our region.
- To produce studies and analysis that may contribute to the formulation of proactive policies responding to the new challenges of our region.
- To organise periodic training sessions in the field of intercultural dialogue and regional integration gathering various stakeholders.
- To encourage universities and research institutions to develop focused studies on the main trends in the region, anticipative and scenario-building approaches.

Status and autonomy of the Centre

The credibility of this type of centre lies in its **independence**, that ti will have to prove in the choice of issues to debate, and in the **objectivity in studies** that will conduct. The studies and analyses conducted and encouraged by the Centre **will be action oriented**.

Their main objective will consist of influencing policies and engaging strategies of action fostering participative development, pacific cooperation and mutually beneficial integration of the countries of the Horn of Africa.

This autonomy and independence of the Centre are crucial given the rarety of institutes in the Horn of Africa responding to the exigency of such credibility. To that end, an Ethical Code of conduct will be elaborated in order to ensure the independence of the Centre. The Centre will function as an open exchange network on an international scale and will regroup intellectuals and professionals from the countries of IGAD, as well as those from the Diaspora.

Programmes of activities

In the first phase, the Centre will establish a three-year programme including the following activities:

- Organisation of 2 seminars per year on particular issues to be defined by the governing body.
- Completion of 2 or 3 studies/analyses by consultants every year on crucial issues for the sub-region or for specific countries within the sub-region.
- Publication of a quarterly Web-journal in French and English (also available on printed version)
- Publication of the results of studies and the proceedings of experts meetings.
- Update of the website and the set-up of databases (human resources, studies, bibliographies, meetings etc) and documentation.
- Follow-up of contacts and cooperation with other organisations and forums
- Participation in meetings and conferences organised by others similar institutions.

The initiative has raised the interest of UNESCO, which has provided the necessary budget for its launching activities. It also raised the interest of other institutions such as the Secretariat of IGAD and the Regional Bureau of Heinrich Boll Foundation.

The budget provided by UNESCO has served to launch a feasibility study on the creation in our region of **a Centre of Anticipative Studies and Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa.**

This study has been undertaken in the region during this summer by a Somali consultant, Mr Mustafa Ismail who was supposed to present to you the findings. Unfortunately, he could not be able to attend the conference.

In the absence of the consultant, let me give you a brief information on this studies that UNESCO has commissioned in order to assess the utility and feasibility of such a Centre in our region.

The main objectives if the studies were to:

1. Assess the activities and impact of regional organisations dealing with regional integration and cooperation in the Horn of Africa: degree of integration, achievements and shortcomings, impact on human security, peace and regional stability, relevance of research and the role of intellectuals in the process of regional integration.

2. Assess the existing institutions, centres or structures for geopolitical and prospective research in the sub-region: analysis of research and policy advocacy capacities (constraints, strengths and weaknesses), contributions and priority areas of activities (programmes evaluation) resources, recent trends and opportunities.

3. Identify professionals in Africa and in the rest of the world and resource-persons within African Studies Associations.

4. Study the feasibility of a centre specialised in anticipative reflection and scenario-building methodologies on the Horn of Africa: mission statement, mandate, objective, code of conduct, expected results of the centre, organisational and administrative structure, legal status, Bye laws, methodological approaches, priority areas of activities, programmes and budgets, strategy for partnership and fundraising, outcomes.

The study confirmed the necessity of such a Centre and its complementarity with the missions and activities of the existing research structures and institutions.

The study also showed that the establishment of yet another research Centre in the region can only be justified if a capable and committed core group with far sight, clear vision and a strong sense of mission assume the responsibilities. In the initial phase, this group will need the support of a committed and patient donor that is prepared to provide the necessary freedom from pressures and constraints that generally endanger such initiative. Equally important is the fairness of the collaborators, the host country and regional governments to avoid undue influences.

The study proposed to involve the Greater Horn of Africa and include in the project all the countries that are members of IGAD.

The study recommended that in the preparation phase the initiators should adopt a low profile in their contact with regional governmental authorities. In the initials phase, the project should be discussed at a professional level with scholars, intellectuals and concerned non-governmental partners. It is stressed that it is important for the project to be perceived as an initiative emanating from the intellectuals of the region. This ownership is paramount for the credibility of the project.

The study also recommended that a step-by step approach should be adopted to better manage the usual obstacles in institution-building process. It particularly recommended a two-phased approach in which stakeholders can have sufficient time to build confidence and make the appropriate choices and decisions.

The study proposed to establish this centre in a country where everybody can feel secure and comfortable and has identified Djibouti, Headquarter of IGAD , as a potential site.

The first phase, which should last about 2-3 years, consists of establishing a forum of intellectuals of the Greater Horn of Africa. This main aim of this light and informal structure will be to organise each year 2 meetings on specific issues on the region.

Before each meeting, a series of focused studies related to the themes defined should be undertaken in order to give deep insight on the issues and offer different perspectives. These studies will serve to professionalize and feed the debates.

During this phase, a website will be also created to publish the results of the studies, the proceedings of the forum and the recommendations formulated towards policy makers.

This trial period aims to facilitate capacity-building in the management of contradictory point views and consolidation of consensus on certain regional issues of common interest. It is important at this stage to avoid any formalisation of the process.

It is proposed to establish on Ad Hoc basis a small Coordination Unit of 2 qualified and committed professionals living in the region to provide the necessary administrative support to the forum during this first period.

Based on the lessons drawn from the experience with the Forum of intellectuals during this first phase of 2-3 years, the Steering Committee of the project will then discuss the possibilities and modalities for the establishment of a permanent Centre of Anticipative Studies and Regional Integration in the Horn.

The study proposed to organise a preparatory meeting in Djibouti in December 2004 gathering 2 intellectuals from each of the 7 IGAD countries to discuss in details all the issues. This meeting will more particularly discuss the following issues:

- Elaboration of an Ethical Code of Conduct
- Organisation and coordination of the Forum of intellectuals
- Definition of themes to be discussed during the coming meetings of the Forum

UNESCO has already committed to fund the preparatory meeting as well the first regular meeting of the Forum. The Regional Bureau of the Heinrich Boll Foundation has also committed to provide funds other meeting of the Forum.

PART II
Ethiopia - Eritrea

PAPER 16

The Roots of the recent Conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia

An Interpretation

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The outbreak of war between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1998 came as a surprise even to experienced observers of developments in the Horn. Long-term sympathizer and writer about Eritrea Dan Connell (2004) confesses that "I /.../ was as taken by surprise as anyone." Richard Reid, a historian working in Asmara University 1997-2002 and a specialist on the history of the independence struggle, makes the same confession: "...the war /.../ took most (including the author) by surprise when it first came to public attention..." (Reid 2003, 374).

Even the inhabitants of Asmara appeared unprepared for such an event. A UN officer stationed in Asmara, with close relations to the Eritrean community, later told me that she heard the news through foreign mass media in reports originating in Addis. Only several days after the outbreak were news about the war made public in Asmara itself.

To make sense of this war was – and still remains – difficult. By the time of the outbreak, I shared the dominant perception that Eritrea was once again subjected to the aggression of its adversary Ethiopia, where its secession and independence had not been fully accepted by all segments of society. Two years later, I had the opportunity to discuss the war with Ethiopian colleagues in Addis Ababa University. They painted a very different picture, placing the burden squarely with the Government of Eritrea and its post-independence politics. Later on, colleagues in Asmara University rejected such views and argued for a picture reverse to that of the Addis academicians.

Reid (2003, 369) refers to the same problem: "Virtually everyone who has written on Eritrea-Ethiopia laments the lack of objectivity in the field, usually only to find themselves accused ... of the same failing." He is obviously concerned that his own account of the background to the war will be seen as 'anti-Ethiopian' only because it is "to some extent 'Eri-centric' in its deliberations..." (idem., 370).

This paper seeks to expose and reflect on the history of relations in the area that are linked to the eventual emergence of Eritrea as an independent nation and its relations to the Ethiopian state and nation. While its focus is on the period from 1974 to 1991, the understanding of EPLF/TPLF relations during this period requires that events much further back in history are brought up for discussion.

My purpose is primarily to bring to attention factors of the past that need debate and clarification as part of the work to bring about a joint understanding of the conflict. Only where a minimum of such understanding has been achieved can the joint search for ways to handle and eventually defuse the conflict begin to give fruit.

Different modes of analysis

Dan Connell's recent (2004) decision to dissociate himself with the Eritrean leadership is an apparently painful turnabout by a journalist who since the mid-1970s has spent much of his

professional life with and around the struggle for a free Eritrea.[136] A personal friend of the president from the time of the late 1970s, his eyes are very much on the personal leadership of EPLF, later Eritrea and PFDJ, and the results of that leadership. Connell needs an answer to the question why things have gone wrong, and he finds it in the personality of Isaias. He recalls a conversation some time after the 1978 evacuation of the city of Keren during the front's Strategic Retreat. Asked how he could maintain his resolve at that difficult moment, Isaias said to Connell: "When I am challenged, I become more stubborn – more and more rigid. I'm very emotional."

But, says Connell, “where Isaias' personal strength and single-mindedness were virtues during the protracted liberation struggle, they have turned into barriers to Eritrea's maturation and development and no longer serve the interests of the nation. It is time for him to move on...”.

Connell’s approach is not unusual among journalists, who like to develop personal relations to representatives of the processes they report on, and who depend very much on personal links for the “inside news” that is crucial to their work. It is however problematic, in that it ignores the context within which leadership develops, succeeds or fails. Any leader, whatever her/his personality, is in need of supporters. To lead is to interact with the circumstances, the people who accept or reject leadership. Their reaction to a leader depends on how they perceive problems and possibilities, and how a particular leadership responds to that perception.

In his analysis of factors behind the Eritrea/Ethiopia conflict, historian Richard Reid avoids all focus on individual members of either EPLF or TPLF. Thus for instance, his version of the “personality approach” of Connell is to characterise a movement. In regard to EPLF during the struggle, he finds that “the movement recognized quite quickly that only a powerful strain of intransigence could get them where they wanted to go... The resoluteness of the Eritrean struggle contrasts with the much more equivocal... position of the TPLF...” (Reid 2003, 394). This characterisation is very similar to Connell’s picture of Isaias, who certainly has made his imprint on the movement from the very beginning. What matters is that ‘intransigence’ and ‘resoluteness’ here are presented as a matter of necessity for EPLF, while for Connell they characterise the leading member of the movement.

The vital importance of Isaias’ leadership for the successful struggle for independence is confirmed in many accounts (e.g. Connell 2001). Like the case was for instance with Zimbabwe and Mozambique in the early post-independence period (see e.g. Egerö 1987), he has most likely continued to exercise a strict leadership even after 1991. Nevertheless, however important a personal leadership may appear in a particular historical phase of a movement or a country, its role is determined by a series of factors around the particular leader. To neglect these is to lose the deeper ‘understanding’ required to unveil the dynamics of history.

Tracing roots in the early colonial history and before

If the post-1993 conflicts need to be traced back to relations between EPLF and TPLF from their emergence as organisations, these relations themselves need to be understood in the light of history. That history has created very different geo-political conditions and thus the need for different approaches, is self-evident. But history is also known to influence the growth of identities, perceptions and attitudes, themselves important factors in the creation of Self and Other in a movement.

[136] ”The Eritrean Revolution has defined me for most of my life”, says Connell (2004), and takes the reader through numerous personal experiences entailing “personal sacrifice, also risk.” In order to reach his new position on Eritrea, he is forced to re-evaluate much of what he saw happening in Eritrea during the 1990s.

One source of dissensus between the two movements relates to social formations and aspirations before the Italian colonisation. Particularly important for TPLF in its search for a historical base was the period of Emperor Johannes, whose victory over Egyptian forces in the 1870s opened for an expansion into the highlands north of Mereb River, today's border. During the period up to 1889, when these lands were lost to the Italian competitor, Johannes entertained plans for a Greater Tigray embracing all Tigrinha-speaking peoples on both sides of the river (Bondestam 1989[137], 26ff; Reid 2003, 384).

Johannes' claims of a close historical connection between the occupied lands and the Abyssinian kingdom were apparently unfounded, as also confirmed by the border definitions in the agreement on Eritrea signed later between Emperor Menelik and Italy (Bondestam 1989, 33). Nevertheless, the 'Greater Tigray' idea survived to appeal to the 20th century movement of opposition against Amhara rule from Addis.[138] For TPLF, to assert that Tigray as a modern nation can be traced back to the era of Johannes was also to subscribe to his historical claims on Eritrean lands.

During the period of Italian colonisation, Ethiopia changed its character. The most important event was that the death of Johannes led to a shift of the centre of power from Tigray to Shewa. With the permanent establishment of a national centre of power in Addis Ababa, Tigray became part of the periphery. The issue of Eritrea/Tigray borders and relations was overshadowed by the long-term interest of the Ethiopian government to incorporate the whole Italian colony with Ethiopia.

The significance of post-WW2 events

When Italy lost its colony in 1941 it had contributed distinctly to the creation of a collective Eritrean identity. Negash (1997, 16ff) mentions two important factors: the industrialisation and economic growth in Eritrea, engaging Eritreans as workers and benefactors; and the crucial role given to Eritreans in the Italian conquest and pacification of Ethiopia during WW2, with around 60 000 Eritrean soldiers serving in its forces. A third factor; the Italian "rasist ideology" of the 1930s, might according to Negash have added to the way the participation in conquest affected how Eritreans saw themselves in relation to Ethiopians.

With the defeat of Italy, Britain took over its role as colonial power. The Western powers had different ideas about the future of Eritrea. Various scenarios were entertained, among them the partition of Eritrea in the direction of old emperor Johannes' dreams. The final decision is articulated in a UN resolution of 1950: to establish a federation with Eritrea as "an autonomous unit ... under the Ethiopian Crown" (Negash 1997, 70).

In choosing a federal solution, the West said no to Eritrean independence[139] while recognising that the case of Eritrea was different from that of the Tigray, Oromo and other 'nationalities' ruled by the Amhara government. The provisions of the resolution and the constitution prepared by UN for Eritrea could nevertheless have permitted the country to pursue its development along the road created by the Italians, with industrialisation and modern government as important ingredients (Bondestam 1989, 78). That would however inevitably

[137] Unfortunately never published in English, Swedish author Lars Bondestam's well documented analysis of *Eritrea's right to self-determination* from 1989 provides important historical data and interpretations that complement those of Reid. Bondestam was well acquainted with Ethiopia before and during the rule of the Derg. He had close links to EPLF and had made many visits to Eritrea when in 1989 he was killed by a land mine inside the country.

[138] Italy certainly contributed, by creating a 'Great Eritrea' region of all Tigrinya-speaking areas during the occupation of Ethiopia (Negash & Tronvoll 2000, 8).

[139] Compare the cases of Italian Somalia and Libya, who could move towards independence. One factor behind the special treatment given to Eritrea was US strategic interests in the Red Sea basin (Bondestam 1989, 68).

widen the gulf between Eritrea and Haile Selassie's feudal Ethiopia, building up for an eventual Eritrean breakaway that would stimulate similar movements elsewhere in the country. That Addis very soon chose to overrule UN and incorporate Eritrea could therefore not have been unexpected to any party.

The outcome of such a step seemed inevitable, and had in fact been predicted years before: "…Eritrean discontent and eventual revolt, which /…/ might well disrupt both Eritrea and Ethiopia itself" (Trevaskis 1960, quoted by Bondestam 1989 p.80). The Ethiopian decision to dissolve the federation left aspiring Eritreans with only one option, that of regaining autonomy, indeed creating their own state.

Neighbouring Tigray was in a completely different situation. Greater Tigray had never existed, and remained a possibility. The events since the death of Johannes had moved Tigray to the periphery of Ethiopian development, marginalized in terms of both power and material progress. A Tigray-based opposition faced two different options, neither of which was easy to discard; either work to replace the Amhara government, or struggle for secession and the creation of the state of Tigray. In the first case, a successful Tigrayan movement would as a government have to address the case of Eritrea according to the interests of the state of Ethiopia – i.e. whether or not to keep Eritrea within its borders. In the second, the creation of a viable Tigray would inevitably bring to life the old vision of Johannes of a greater Tigray that includes the Tigrinya-speaking areas of Eritrea. Thus it could be argued that the risk of a future conflict with Eritrea was an integral part of the geopolitical context of the Tigrayan struggle.

The development of the struggle

This dilemma for the Tigrayan opposition has influenced relations to Eritrean movements from the start. Reid (2003, 381) rightly describes the relations between the various Eritrean and Ethiopian movements as "complex and convoluted". While it seems clear that creation of the Tigrayan nationalist movement was done with Eritrean assistance, the development of relations was marked with conflict and misunderstandings as much as with cooperation. For the Eritrean side, to get the Ethiopian military engaged in domestic conflicts was of clear strategic interest. In terms of Tigray, the problem was compounded by the existence of common borders that were not always well defined, and by the resurgence of old competing claims over land. In addition, the relations were coloured by the internal tensions between ELF and EPLF.

The complexity of the situation is illustrated by the ideological developments among the opposition in Ethiopia. One organisation, EPRP, had in 1974 developed military competence through training and practice in Eritrea, offered by EPLF. Possibly influenced by Ethiopian radical debates over the Eritrean 'colonial question', EPRP changed its position on the Eritrean question away from supporting Eritrean independence (Pool 2001, 148). The ensuing break between EPRP and EPLF contributed to move EPLF closer to TPLF.

At the core of the conflicts between EPLF and TPLF were, in the analysis of Reid (ibid. 383) and other writers, the ambiguous situation of TPLF: "Was it to be an exclusively 'Tigrayan nationalist' movement, or should it regard itself as the vanguard of a democratic Ethiopian alliance? The resolution of this basic question would involve conflict with the Eritreans..." It appears that TPLF initially leaned towards the first line; its manifesto of 1975 defined a Tigrayan as anyone who spoke Tigrinya, which is the language of central highland Eritrea. Only much later did it unequivocally opt for the second, thereby explicitly respecting Eritrea's right to independence (see e.g. Gilkes and Plaut 1999, 10).

The contrast to EPLF is stark. Most likely based on the experiences of ELF and its inability to create a nationalist movement embracing Christians as well as Muslims, the EPLF leadership opted for a secular movement guided by one goal – national independence within the borders of the Italian colony. Everyone living within these borders – ethnic and religious differences aside – was to be made part of this struggle, on equal terms. This meant that historical facts and references were of little interest, and EPLF did not during the struggle engage in debates over such issues.

The differences made for a pragmatic orientation to cooperation, where positions could change according to circumstances. While EPLF and TPLF in the early 1980s cooperated in ending the ELF as a movement inside Eritrea, a few years later they appeared to be bitter enemies. The differences seem much related to those that sparked of the 1998-2000 war. Already in the 1970s, ELF had claimed the right to areas once more contested in that war, with armed conflict as a result. After ELF was destroyed as a fighting force, the issues resurfaced, this time with EPLF as the Eritrean partner. In spite of special efforts, the matter was not settled. Reid (2003, 388) sees this as related to the wider question for TPLF of the definition of a "Tigrayan nation-state", reinforced by the losses of land suffered by the province under different imperial governments, and by TPLF's interests to secure an outlet to the Red Sea within a future border demarcation.

Another reason a solution could not found was the firm position of EPLF not to engage in any serious discussion on the matter. TPLF's response was to accept to postpone the solution to a future stage, while also making it clear that it would not be forgotten. So hot was the issue that cooperation broke down between the two movements, a situation lasting for three years. Only around 1988 did they resume cooperation, in preparation for final victory over the Addis government.

With all the international observers – and the Eritrean diaspora – closely watching developments in the struggle against the Derg, both EPLF and TPLF must have handled the public dimension of their differences with great skill. Little was reported, little understood, of the tensions between the "brothers at war"[140] that would resurface soon after the victory over the Derg.

It did not take long after the 1991 ceasefire and peace before conflicts arose along contested stretches of the border. A summary of recorded border incidents by Tekle Fessehatzion (2002) starts with a border violation at Badme in 1992, followed by similar events every year until the outbreak of war in 1998. Reid (2003, 374) certifies that "minor, localised border clashes had been taking place since at least 1993, gaining in intensity in the middle of 1997." A similar example of their special relation, related by Negash & Tronvoll (2000, 20), was the TPLF support to EPLF opponents in Eritrea, which started in 1985 as a tactical move and lasted until 1994 (when EPLF assassinated central Eritrean opposition leaders in Tigray).

The affinity of language and geographical proximity could not balance the imperatives of the different wars fought by EPLF and TPLF, borne by different historical conjunctures and carried out in different contexts of experiences and leadership ambitions.

Concluding comments

In the middle ages there existed in Sweden a special version of the duel – the two men to fight are tied closely to each other with a belt and equipped with knives prepared in such ways that no fatal cuts could be made. The 'belt fighters' statue (see graph) by Swedish artist Johan

[140] The title of a recent account of the war, by Negash and Tronvoll.

Molin, commemorating this fighting model, could indeed serve as an illustration of the relation between Eritrea and Tigray.

Though formally independent nations, Eritrea and Ethiopia remain closely linked through the historical formations of societies and power relations along the Red Sea coast and the highlands. Tigray and Eritrea have cultural bonds and economic dependencies seemingly impossible to break. Says Reid (2003, 377): "Certainly, the 'Tigray issue' for Eritreans, and the 'Eritrea issue' for Tigrayans, is a distinct one within the broader arena of Eritrean-Ethiopian relations, because there is a closeness – whether uncomfortable, or snug, or both – between Eritrea and Tigray which is clearly not demonstrable for relations between Eritrea and other parts of Ethiopia."

While the Italian colonisation laid the ground for today's Eritrea, it did not – indeed could not – erase those bonds. EPLF's persistent efforts to create and consolidate a national identity over and above ethnic and religious identities have certainly borne fruit, as seen not least in the 1993 referendum that paved the way to formal independence. But ethnic identities are known to have a long life, and to be amenable to mobilisation during periods of hardship. To balance political demands based on religion and/or ethnicity will remain a challenge for the Eritrean leadership.

For TPLF it has been impossible to make a real choice between the 'nationalities' or ethnic line (secession of Tigray) and the national. Tigray's past as the centre of domination of Ethiopia, its subsequent subordination to Addis and the Amharas, and the modern history of ethnically based resistance to a national power that is based in an ethnic group and inevitably favours its own people – all this made the national project for the struggle both inevitable and insufficient.

The politics of decentralisation implemented by the TPLF leadership after 1991 is a strategic adjustment to the deep ethnic tensions within Ethiopia. It marks an unconventional way to address the historical legacy of Ethiopia by creating a state that is no longer based on a military domination of other ethnic groups by the one in power. At the same time, it might carry the seeds of its own collapse – by institutionalising ethnicity in the constitution, it also reinforces the very identities that have to take second place for the nation to prosper.

This particular dimension of TPLF politics can also be seen as a way to keep the door open for Tigrayan secession, should the national project fail. As we have seen, it is an option resisted by EPLF from the start. The Eritrean leadership is also on its guard. Interviewed in October 1998 on the cooperation resumed ten years earlier between EPLF and TPLF, a representative confirms that there has been no reconciliation either ideologically or politically, "…only a military relationship. Ideologically never, politically never. We maintained our differences. *So we always say it is a tactical relationship, not a strategic relationship*." (quoted from Negash & Tronvoll p.20, italics added)

The internal pressures on the TPLF-controlled government to act on Eritrea should not be underestimated. There was at the time of Eritrea's independence, says David Pool (2001, 193), "a widely shared opinion in Amhara political circles that Eritrea was an integral part of historic Ethiopia, that a loss of access to the Red Sea ports was a national disaster, that a return to federation should have been part of the [Eritrean] referendum proposals, and that behind it all was a sinister Tigrinyan conspiracy." In this light, the 1998 Badme border conflict was an opportunity for the government to make clear that its aim was to "defend Ethiopia and Ethiopian nationalism", among others with the deportation of tens of thousands of Eritreans.

With the recent war the two governments are locked in positions of conflict similar to those of the two movements in the mid-80s. That time the stalemate was overcome by military advances that opened for a final blow to the Mengistu government. What compelling reason will there be this time to bring the two partners together again?

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PAPER 17

Eritrea and Ethiopia After the Algiers Agreement

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The sudden eruption of border dispute between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1998 and its rapid escalation to full-blown war jolted many people. Two months before the war, the two leaders were acclaimed as a new breed of African leaders spearheading what President Clinton called at that time the "African renaissance". Both leaders were considered peace-loving, democratic-minded leaders who worked closely to bring about peace, stability and prosperity to the Horn of Africa. The relationship between the two countries after the overthrow of the Mengistu regime was so warm that some hardline Ethiopian politicians even referred to the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the EPRDF Coalition, which is led and dominated by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), as co-rulers of Ethiopia.

When hostility erupted between the two countries, it created immense anxiety and sadness among both peoples. While citizens of both countries were hoping for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, the regime in Addis Ababa officially declared war on Eritrea, and the conflict escalated to the extent of air raids in the Eritrean capital and the northern town of Ethiopia, Mekelle. Many observers were perplexed as to why the two countries could not sit and resolve the problem peacefully. After three rounds of bitter war (1998, 1999 and 2000), and immense loss of life and property, the two countries signed the Algiers Agreement to settle their dispute through arbitration with the UNO, USA, EU, OAU and Algeria as observers and guarantors of the Agreement.

Four years after the signing of the Algiers Agreement and two and half years after the Eritrean-Ethiopian Boundary Commission (EEBC) officially disclosed its ruling, tension between the two countries is at its peak, and a spectre of war is haunting the peoples of the two countries. Ethiopia, after making certain complaints over the EEBC's ruling, has officially rejected it as "null and void". While announcing Ethiopia's rejection of the EEBC's decision, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia added: "We have made it abundantly clear that we will not shoot at anybody, Eritrea included" forgetting that by rejecting the EEBC's decision and refusing to withdraw from Eritrean territories, he is preparing the ground for war.

Causes of the War

Many people attempted to provide explanation for the sudden turn of things in the relations of the two countries in 1998. The possible causes of war, as provided by various analysts, included increasing political tension in Ethiopia, pressure by hardline groups on the Ethiopian Prime Minister to take tough policies towards Eritrea or even retake it as a whole, hegemonic aspirations and power rivalries, the issuance of the Eritrean currency Nakfa, failure to delimit the boundary immediately after the referendum, growing rift among the EPRDF coalition and even within the TPLF, etc. The underlying, or root causes may be many, but the immediate or triggering factor was the unilateral publication of a map of Tigray Regional National State that incorporated Eritrean territories in a number of places, particularly the Badme, Tserona

and Altiena areas. This was, however, preceded by a number of prescriptive moves by local authorities in Tigray.

It is quite clear now that below the seemingly friendly relationship between the two countries at the national level, relations at the border areas were not so amicable, particularly after the Eritrean referendum. Eritreans who live along the border disclosed that the politics, economics and social norms that regulated life along the border were suddenly being changed by Tigray authorities immediately after the referendum. For instance, they started to detain Eritrean livestock that crossed to their territory, and charged up to 1000 Nakfa per camel to release them; Eritreans selling or buying inside Tigray had to pay a special tax amounting to 3% of the value of transaction; the crops of Eritrean farmers just across the border in Tigray were destroyed, etc. There were also frequent unwarranted incursions into Eritrean territories by Ethiopian armed forces "in pursuit of Afar guerrillas" as the prime Minister of Ethiopia, Ato Meles Zenawi, tried to justify in his exchange of hand written letters with President Issayas Afeworki. No country has the right to violate the territorial integrity of any other country even in pursuit of its enemies without prior permission from its neighbours. But the Ethiopian authorities went beyond that, and even dismantled Eritrean administrative functions at Adi Murug, and replaced it by their own. These were, deliberate prescriptive moves, intended to lay grounds for claims on Eritrean territories, and the publication of the Map in 1997 was only a culmination of these activities.

Parallel with these developments, negotiations were going on. According to Tekie (2003), between 1993 and 1997, at least thirteen face-to-face meetings were held along the border of which six were in 1997. These meetings were unable to resolve the problems, because Ethiopian authorities continued to take Eritrean territories and evicted Eritrean from those territories. In the same process, they started evicting Eritreans from Badme, and when unarmed members of the Eritrean armed forces tried to discuss the issue with their Tigray counterparts, Tigray armed forces shot and killed members of the Eritrean armed forces, leading to the incident at Badme on May 5, 1998.

The Ethiopian regime declared war on Eritrea and closed all avenues for peaceful settlement of the incidence; instead, it was actively engaged in its maximum escalation. Eritrea was presented as the aggressor when it was Ethiopia that had occupied Eritrean territory; the border and all communications with Eritrea were closed; massive military personnel and equipment was deployed along the border and it even opened new fronts along the border, all of which were far from the contested areas; diplomatic corpse was reduced; they threatened to bomb any commercial airlines, liners, tankers, cargo ships, etc heading for Asmara or the Eritrean ports; Ethiopia bombed Asmara and other Eritrean towns; itrounded and deported innocent Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean origin living in Ethiopia while keeping many in their various prisons in naked violation of international conventions on the treatment of civilians during; it whooped hatred against Eritreans. Through such moves, the regime expected to increase the pressure on the Eritrean government to bow to its demands.

Ethiopia’s strategy of escalation of the war was and still is partially fuelled by its jingoistic desires to project itself as hegemonic superpower in the Horn. By controlling Ethiopia from Tigray, the present government hopes to dictate its will over the Horn by its perceived military and demographic supremacy. Thus the regime is trying to change and reorganize regional power and political relations to its own advantage. Through this reorganisation, it hopes to constrain or even totally eliminate political and power rivalries by its neighbours. The regime further believes that it can consolidate its hegemonic power, political influence

and international prestige only if it gets access to a maritime position in the strategically important Red Sea coast. Through such a maritime position, it hopes to boost its power and influence in international relations relative to the power of other countries here, particularly that of the Sudan and Egypt with which Ethiopia is entangled in river-water politics. Thus, the regime tried to use the border dispute as a spring board for its political and territorial intrusion into the Red Sea through which it hoped to extend its political influence. What it failed to realise was that it takes not demographic supremacy, but economic and technological supremacy to sustain hegemonic power. Moreover, the pursuit of hegemonic aspirations in the background of faltering economy is quite dangerous, and carries with it the seeds of self destruction.

The Algiers Agreement and its Aftermath.
After three rounds of massive military offensive against Eritrea, the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities was signed in Algiers on June 18, 2002, while Agreement Between the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Government of the State of Eritrea, in which both countries agreed to settle the dispute by arbitration, was signed on 12 December, 2000.

The Algiers Agreement stipulated the formation of three neutral commissions, viz. Boundary Commission, Compensation Commission, and Commission to Study the Root Causes of the War. The first two commissions have been established but the third has yet to be established. The mandate of the Boundary Commission, composed of five members, two of which were selected by each country, and the fifth and president by the selected commission members, as stated in Article 4, No 2. was "…to **delimit** and **demarcate** the colonial treaty border based on pertinent colonial treaties (1900, 1902 and 1908) and applicable international law" with no power "…to make decisions *ex aequo et bono" (empasis added).* No.11 of the same Article further stated that the Commission was empowered to "…adopt its own rules of procedure based upon the 1992 Permanent Court of Arbitration Optional Rules for Arbitrating Disputes Between Two States". Each country was to provide its claims and evidences to the Commission within 45 days after the effective date of the Agreement which were to be provided to the other party by the Secretary. No. 15 of the same article reads: "The parties agree that the delimitation and demarcation determinations of the Commission shall be **final and binding**. Each party shall respect the border so determined, as well as territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other party" (*emphasis added*). The Algiers Agreement was similar in its contents to the peace proposal suggested by Eritrea in May 1998 following Ethiopia's declaration of war on Eritrea. It is also similar to the Security Council's resolution 1177 of June 26, 1998 that stated that the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of either country and the use of force to resolve the dispute was unacceptable; that the boundary line between them has to be delimited and demarcated taking into consideration colonial treaties and international agreements relating to the issue. The Algiers Agreement was hailed as a "victory for the voice of reason, for the power of diplomacy" by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

The EEBC disclosed its decision on April 13, 2002. Ethiopia was quick to claim victory. Ethiopia, through its Foreign Minister, Mr. Seyoum Mesfin, hailed the decision as the prevalence of the "rule of law over the rule of jungle", announced its acceptance, and called upon the international community to pressurize Eritrea to accept it. It looks Ethiopia believed that Eritrea would reject the Commission's decision, because the Commission awarded Ethiopia Eritrean territories which were not claimed by Ethiopia, particularly in the central

sector of the border. Eritrea announced its acceptance and the UN Security Council also accepted the decision.

The physical demarcation was expected to follow after the announcement, but it has not occurred yet. Once Ethiopia knew that Eritrea has accepted the Commission's decision, it presented a long complaint regarding the decision and the process pursued by the Commission, conveniently forgetting that it had agreed that the Commission would adopt its own procedures. It accused the Commission of failing to take "situations on the ground on the border region", when actually it was the same situations that Ethiopia was trying to create on the ground that led to the war in May 1998. The complaint and demand put foreword by Ethiopia was rejected by the EEBC and the Security Council. Parallel with this complaint, however, Ethiopia continued to settle people in the Badme town, the town that sparked conflict, and its environs, and other parts of the Temporary Security Zone (TSZ). The UN Security Council instructed Ethiopia to stop settlement of people in September 2002, but Ethiopia continued with its settlement project. In a letter written to the UN Secretary-General on September 19, 2003, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Mr. Meles Zenawi, described the work of the Boundary Commission as "illegal and unjust", stated that the Commission and the peace process were in "terminal crisis", and demanded for an alternative mechanism. Dismissing the criticism against the Commission by the Prime Minister of Ethiopia as "misconceived and misleading" the President of the EEBC Commission, Sir Elihu Lauterpacht, in his letter, dated 7 October 2003, responded: "There is no crisis, terminal or otherwise which cannot be cured by Ethiopia's compliance with its obligations under the Algiers Agreement, in particular its obligations to treat the Commission's delimitation determination as final and binding". He further reminded the Prime Minister that the ruling was totally consistent with international law and the provisions of Algeirs Agreement. In a letter written by UNSC, the Ethiopian Prime Minister was also told that the Commission's decision was final and binding. In a speech that the Prime Minister made to his Parliament on October 16, 2003, he declared the Commission's decisions "null and void". The Commission, which was preparing to start the demarcation, after two postponements, on the 14th of October 2003 and conclude by the 14th of July 2004, announced that it was postponing demarcation indefinitely.

This is typical of Ethiopia's pattern of immediate acceptance and subsequent rejection of agreements observed by many analysts (Tekie, 2003). For instance, Ethiopia was quick to accept the Framework Agreement and Modalities of Implementation prepared by the then OAU and USA (led by former National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake), but when it realised that Eritrea had also accepted the two documents, it rejected the Technical Arrangements on Implementation prepared by OAU, UNO and USA, and launched a massive military offensive in May 2000. Such pattern of acceptance–rejection is calculated to project Ethiopia as peace-loving country to the international community, but at the same time to keep the conflict as an instrument of policy to maintain a conflict potential so as to trigger conflict when there arise any opportunity to do so. The conflict with Eritrea is being used by the regime to gain political ground in the country, particularly the sympathy of hardline political groups to make up for the loss of popularity that it suffers in many parts of the country. Indeed, ever since the eruption of the conflict, Ethiopia has always convinced itself that its gains lie in the escalation and protraction of conflict and it has been employing various means to shy away from the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the conflict. It is now clear that Ethiopia was forced to sign the Algiers Agreement by its inability to advance to Asmara in its 2000 offensive, and it signed the agreement half-heartedly. The rejection of the EEBC's decision by Ethiopia is simply a continuation of this policy, which essentially aims at

blocking the peace process from advancing, and implicitly signals Ethiopia's disengagement from the peace process.

The current rhetoric in Ethiopia is dialogue or war. Dialogue is in principle desirable, but the question is dialogue on what and when? The decision of the EEBC is no longer open for dialogue, for at least three major reasons. Firstly, once the "final and binding" ruling is open to negotiation, it is automatically annulled, and there will never be a viable alternative to it. Given the sequence of events that led to the Algiers Agreement and bitterness created by three rounds of war and deportations, and given that discussions on border issues in 1997 when the relationship between the two countries was so friendly failed, it is quite clear that the results of the EEBC's arbitration is no longer amenable to bilateral negotiation (Tekie, 2003). As one diplomat was quoted saying by the ICG in reference to Ethiopia's call ofor dialogue, "…if you step so much as a foot away from the agreed-to process, you end up in a quick sand without a way out" (ICG, 2003: 12), simply because the dispute will be bogged down in endless wrangling. There can not be any substitute or alternative mechanism to the EEBC ruling, and any departure from the Commission's decision will only fortify the current deadlock, increase tension and inevitably lead to the flare-up of another war. The only road to durable peace is, thus, to maintain and respect obligations arising from the Algiers Agreement including the unconditional and speedy demarcation of the boundary.

Secondly, it will be a bad precedent-setting case and provide the prelude to other countries to reject agreements they signed if the outcome is not in their favour. As. Filli (2003) has rightly observed, " what is at stake here is sanctity of international arbitration, integrity of international court of arbitration, and most of all the preservation and prevalence of the rule of law". This is the same rule of law that the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Mr. Seyou Mesfin was referring to in his letter to the Security Council announcing Ethiopia's acceptance of the EEBC ruling. Ensuring compliance with the EEBC's ruling squarely lies with the guarantors of the agreement. and failure to do so will jeopardise similar present and future agreements. It needs to be stressed that rulings given by internationally recognized bodies are decisions of the international community, and rejection of such rulings is an act of misdemeanour against the international community. Obviously, dialogue on other issues can not occur before the demarcation of the border, and even if it occurs it is likely to be sterile as it will occur in an environment of mutual suspicion and mistrust. Knowing that dialogue on the boundary delimited by the EEBC is unacceptable to Eritrea and maintaining the peace process in a deadlock, it seems that Ethiopia is actually trying to avoid dialogue after demarcation with Eritrea.

Lastly, but more importantly, dialogue on the delimited boundary line will take the peace process steps backward. Instead of moving forward to peacebuilding – the process of normalizing relations and reconciliation – it will neutralize the whole Algiers Agreement, and bring back the whole process to the peacemaking stage, where the two countries have to sit and try to come with a new settlement. It should be emphasised that the Algiers Agreement has all the provisions not only for the cessation of hostilities between the two countries, but also for identifying and removing the root causes of the war, and the only way towards durable peace is compliance with it.

The Way Forward Towards Durable Peace

Peace is enormously needed. The international community, particularly the guarantors, should not allow another war to erupt between the two countries, and they have the have the obligations to enforce compliance with the Algiers Agreement. Neither should it expect that the problem will dissolve away itself with time. Indeed the Ethiopian Prime Minister has recently warned of renewed war. The peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia have suffered not only loss of life and property in the war, but also time and resources, and similar loss should not be allowed.

The two countries are among the poorest in the world. It is surprising that countries like Ethiopia that find it difficult to mobilize resource to feed their populations find it easy to do so for the execution and pursuit of war. Indeed, both countries have built the military capacity to destroy each others' economy without building the corresponding economic capacity to rebuild it. At present both countries face massive humanitarian crisis. According to US government's Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWS), 12.8 million people in Ethiopia will be unable to meet their food needs in the 2004/05 production year, and the figure will rise to about 17.3 million in 2007/08. (IRIN,14 Oct 2003). Eritrea has similar problems where currently close to 1.9 million is threatened by food shortages caused by unfavourable weather and internal displacement caused by the war. Entertaining war as an option against this background is not only political madness, but also crime against humanity. The peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia are war-weary, and long for a conflict-free future. They have seen more than their share of misery, displacement, family disintegrations, poverty and famine, destruction, etc. They need peace to mobilise and redirect their resources to the reduction and ultimate eradication of poverty and other problems created by backwardness.

Furthermore, peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia will play a pivotal role in resolving other conflicts in the Horn. There has always been a poisonous interaction between intrastate and interstate conflicts in the Horn. Many analysts have shown how the war between the two countries has been resonating with other conflicts in the region. Few even have gone to show how the two countries might be fighting proxy wars in the neighbouring countries (Leenco Leta, 2003; Gilkes, 1999). Peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia will thus lay the ground for collective security, cooperation and prosperity in the Horn by allowing both countries to be constructively engaged in the prevention, mitigation, management and resolution of conflicts in the region.

Peacebuilding is a very complex mission. Peace does not come with the signing of agreements and silence of the guns, or with a decisive military victory, or with delimitation and demarcation of a boundary, or even with overthrow of governments. Peace has to be desired and worked at. Durable peace comes by tackling the roots of conflicts and the hindrances and problems to peace with care, wisdom, and sustained political will and commitment.

Peacebuilding is a long process, i.e. a succession of agreements, commitments, redress, normalisation of relations, mutual respect and trust, declaration of the wrongs committed during conflict, apologies and forgiveness, compensation, reconciliation, strict observance of international laws and codes of political behaviour, etc, not necessarily arranged in that order. An important dilemma faced here is how much justice will be traded or even compromised for the sake of durable peace. For forgiveness and reconciliation to be meaningful and effective,

there has to be a sense of some degree of justice being done on part of victims, so that they do not feel betrayed in the peace process.

The first step towards building durable peace is the realisation by the regime in Addis that there is no substitute for peace. This seems a simple statement, a tautology, but in essence, it implies interest in peace and the imperative to refrain from using military options to settle disputes, and hence the preparedness to live peacefully with neighbours. It implies an "intrinsically motivated effort" (Rothman, 1992) to bring the dispute to an end in a peaceful way, treat the dispute and war as a "dysfunctional relationship" that has to be removed to pave the way for ultimate reconciliation, cooperation and "positive peace", to use Perkin's (2002) words. Pursuing this as a political principle requires full appreciation of peace dividends, and the political will, determination and commitment to uphold it. The EEBC's arbitration results should not be seen as zero-sum outcomes, but as win-win outcome given the numerous opportunities that peace offers. Once the significance of this simple statement and principle is realised and appreciated, there will be a shift from the exercise of military might to the exercise of wisdom and reason to resolve any issues or misunderstanding that might arise between the two countries. Clearly, using war as an option and threatening war if one's adversary does not yield to demands is incompatible with peacebuilding efforts.

The second step is the speedy and unconditional implementation of the Algiers Agreement and observance of international laws. This is a critical step in the process of moving from hostile to peaceful relations between the two countries. Only demarcation of the boundary will build mutual confidence and pave the way for dialogue for the normalization of relations and consolidation of the peacebuilding process. It is important to underline here that abiding by the Algiers Agreement means upholding the sanctity of colonial boundaries, respecting the legal dictum of *uti possidetis*. Let it be understood that the colonial treaties form the legal frameworks for African boundaries, and any decisions reached on the basis of them are absolutely legal and just. Any attempt to remove or modify boundaries instituted by colonial powers is quite dangerous. The founding fathers of the OAU realised this danger and wisely agreed that "respect for boundaries existing at the time of national independence" was an important prerequisite for peace in the post-independence Africa. What is required of the present leadership in Ethiopia is the exercise of the same wisdom to observe and uphold that principle.

The importance of upholding the sanctity of legally delimited boundaries becomes clear when it is realised that boundaries are directly related to the sensitive issues of territory and sovereignty. First given legal basis in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which is considered the first international law, territory and sovereignty form the legal basis for modern inter-state systems on which is anchored modern politics (Jackson 1999). As Taylor (1996:159) has rightly observed, respecting sovereignty means to "... reciprocally recognise each other's legitimate existence within the framework and norms of the inter-state system". Any move or intent that violates this principle, or rejects agreements related to it, is an outright violation of the superior legitimacy of territorial integrity and sovereignty of states, and hence violation of the first international law. Thus respecting this principle means respecting the values that sovereignty and territorial integrity defend and uphold, and mature politicians understand and take it as a framework within which they deal with one another. As an international law that is enshrined in the Charters of the UNO, OAU and other international organizations and laws, it regulates the mutual relations of states, and politicians are expected to adhere to the norms and standards of sovereignty in conducting their politics. Seen from this perspective rejection of international agreements and international laws relating to it is tantamount to rejecting the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. Regional hegemonic aspirations that aim at changing the norms and frameworks within which political relations are conducted is equally incompatible with the exercise of modern politics. The Ethiopian regime needs to understand these basic norms.

After demarcation, the two countries can opt either to live peacefully without any interaction or move towards normalization and cooperation as friendly neighbours. It is in the latter context that dialogue becomes a tool to deal with numerous interconnected issues including taking cooperative dispute/conflict management initiatives. Political settlements and peace initiatives that focus on the present conflict only are no guarantee for durable peace; they should also include mechanisms that aim at removing conflict potentials on one hand, and promoting cooperation between adversaries on the other. As Groom and Light (1994:132) have rightly observed, among a number of issues that need to be tackled if durable peace is to prevail, addressing the residuals of conflict, one of which is the "mutual sense of victimisation, deserves priority. This can be tackled by diligently and sincerely working to remove residues of bitterness, hatred and mistrust with a balance of justice. The removal of such residues of conflict implies the removal of latent sources of future conflicts and violence. It is only when such residues of conflicts are removed that interaction and cooperation among peoples could be revitalised and bolstered.

There are a number of residues of conflict that carry with them conflict potential that the two countries will need to resolve through dialogue after compliance with the Algiers Agreement. Some of the key ones include:

- Depoliticising border issues, particularly those incidents that led to the war in 1998;
- Designing mechanisms to handle transfer of territories and people during the physical demarcation as per the Algiers Agreement to mitigate possible dissent and feeling of victimization by affected populations;
- Use the bond between people living around the common border as basis for cooperation. The division of the same ethnic group between two or more states by colonial boundaries is often taken as a disadvantage and major cause of conflict in Africa. The boundary lines imposed by colonial powers, are considered as arbitrary and artificial lines that split same cultural groups into different states, and hence incompatible with geographical distribution of ethnic groups and/or traditional power structures, but this is not unique to Africa, and the artificial nature of African boundaries is overplayed. All boundary lines are artificial in the sense that they are imaginary lines imposed on geographical space by men. Even in Europe, we find ethnic groups like the Germans, Italians, etc. divided between two or more countries. Thus colonial boundary lines as root causes for conflict in Africa are overexaggerated. Borders have been used for triggering a conflict with a targeted neighbour as cover-up for ulterior motives for obvious reasons. Borders are directly linked to the sensitive concepts of sovereignty and territory, which are positively and favourably accommodated in the charters of international organisations and international laws. Thus, they are used mainly to mobilise internal support and attract international sympathy. With judicious handling, the division of the same ethnic group between two neighbouring countries can be changed into an advantage for co-operation, mutual development and ultimate political and economic integration. This can be done if innovative mechanisms are designed to change the political pressures created by people at the border into opportunities for peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Through such political and economic mecahnisms, border friction can be loosened,

and the divisive impacts of boundaries could be ultimately minimised or even removed.

- Access to ports: Ethiopia boycotted Eritrean ports immediately after it declared war on Eritrea. Ethiopia has survived for six years without using Eritrean ports, and it can continue to do so if it desires. Eritrea too has survived for the same period without economic interaction with Ethiopia and can continue to do so if it desires. However, it will in the mutual interest and benefit of both countries to negotiate how to use Eritrean ports.
- Developing mechanisms for compensation: the Compensation Commission has started its work, but both countries can discuss how to address the issue of compensation.

By addressing such outstanding issues, dialogue will contribute greatly to the normalization of relations and promotion of cooperative relations between the two countries. Thus, after demarcation the move towards building durable peace between the two countries could continue as a long process of dialogue continuously building trust, reinforcing cooperation among the border people and the two countries at large, and ultimately leading to harmony and mutual respect.

In the aftermath of a bloody conflict that was accompanied by gross violation of human rights in which over 75,000 Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean origin have been stripped of all their properties and inhumanely expelled, adjudication is highly imperative. This simply means that the wrongs that were committed on innocent citizens during the conflict should be acknowledged. This clearly requires courage and farsightedness. Once such adjudication is sincerely made, moral, economic, social, and psychological redressing, compensation and ultimately forgiveness, can be made. This will build mutual trust between the two countries, remove the conflict potential and lay the ground for putting forth new programmes and higher goals of mutual benefit in their peace agenda. Since this has direct bearing on the causes of the war, the Commission to Study the Root Causes must be established soon to study the true causes of the war.

Finally, there has to be public dialogue and debate, the devolution of power, and the involvement of civil societies. Public dialogue, allows “representative citizens from conflicting parties” to participate in “…designing steps to be taken in the political arena to change perceptions and stereotypes, to create a sense that peace may be possible…” (Suanders, 2004). Public participation contributes to the overall process of transforming hostile relationships to friendly ones. The initiative taken by religious leaders of both countries could be broadened to include wider representation, particularly community leaders. The role of civil societies is equally important in peace-building and its maintenance, and they should be allowed to play their constructive roles free of the interfering hands of the state. However, for civil societies to play their constructive parts, they should carefully define their objectives and areas of interest. Unfortunately, in the Horn, may of them have close affinities with either the state or political parties, and as one observer put it, many of them act as front organizations of either the state or its opposition (Merara, 1999). This does not only fragment their activities, but also immensely reduces their potential contribution to peace building and stability.

Problems

Peace process in the Horn of Africa in general, and that of Eritrea and Ethiopia in particular is likely to face a number of problems. Eritrea and Ethiopia are located in a region where the political terrain is criss-crossed by clashes of interest at various levels. There are hegemonic,

political and economic rivalries that go beyond both countries. This has created a favourable condition for intervention by external forces that may drag both countries to war easily. The two countries should thus be sensitive to potential causes of war such as quest for power, hegemonic leadership, and other forms of competition that undermine stability and bilateral relations. Hegemonic aspirations in particular may set in motion power rivalries that lead to further conflicts and destabilization. Moreover, political processes that occur in any country of the Horn have the potential to open old wounds and entangle both countries in another war. Thus potent, cooperative dispute management mechanisms for the settlement of disputes such as mediation and arbitration, as well as mechanisms for observance of agreements and settlements must be provided. Strengthening regional and Pan-African organisations like IGAD and AU, particularly their conflict management, prevention and resolution functionaries is immensely important for conflict prevention, management and resolution in the Horn. Moreover, the regional organisations could be used as forums where grievances are voiced and misunderstandings peacefully resolved. Such organisations could also find ways of institutionalising peace process for their member countries, and through this institutionalisation, the politics of exclusion, competition and confrontation can be transformed to politics of accommodation, tolerance, adherence to international laws, peaceful coexistence and co-operation.

Another problem is the rising number of violent and non-violent opposition groups across the entire area of the Horn, which are forging alliances between them on the basis of common interests and objectives irrespective of the geographical distances that separate them. The emergence of these opposition groups is often due to increasing political marginalisation and economic peripheralisation of certain segments of people, and more importantly certain ethnic groups by some Horn states. Socio-economic development and internal stability can not be attained in a country where segments of its people are excluded from its political and economic dynamics. Political marginalisation and economic peripheralisation inevitably breed dissidence and stimulate conflict. The growing number of opposition forces, both violent and non-violent in Ethiopia, for instance, could have adverse effects on the on-going peace initiatives. As internal opposition grows, the regime may be tempted to instigate war with neighbours as a means of deflecting attention and diffusing internal tension. Moreover, the opposition groups are often used by some Horn states to advance their own interests and provide them with weapons and political support. However, opposition group-state associations are not stable and often shift as the relationship between states that sponsor them change. This adds to the unpredictability of political events in the Horn. Through these opposition groups, even states outside the Horn may easily be drawn to the Horn politics and/or conflict.

Changing and unpredictable nature of Ethiopia’s stand is another problem. Ethiopia initially held the position that relations with Eritrea will not be normalised until the present government in Eritrea is removed. Now it is demanding dialogue on delimitation of a boundary that has already been delimited by a neutral commission as per the agreement signed with Eritrea. Such moves are calculated to maintain the conflict potential between the two countries. This tends to heighten mistrust between them and will lead to the establishment of large armies. This in turn aggravates what Steinbach (1982:26) calls “mutual threat perception”, and through it to the build-up of tension and conflict potential.

Resource scarcity in the face of growing population, and economic stresses consequent upon it, is another potentially destabilizing factor. Although the relationship between population growth, environmental degradation and poverty are still controversial, the level of technology

and resource base as it stands today in the Horn is not commensurate with the population growth rates of the Horn states, which stands at 3-4% per annum. Due to a number of geo-physical and human processes, the resource base of the Horn, and hence its population supporting capacity, is steadily declining. The deterioration of the resource base often leads to population movements and subsequent clashes, particularly along borders. As mentioned earlier, water scarcity, which may be aggravated by climate change, is at the heart of this conflict potential in Northeast Africa as a whole.

The problems that the Horn states face in making and building peace are varied, but they are not impossible to tackle. With political will, sustained commitment, mutual recognition and collective effort they can overcome them. There is now a genuine desire for peace by the overwhelming majority of people in the Horn as well as the international community, which can be changed into a peace force potent enough to restrain belligerence. If this ray of hope is maintained and nurtured, there is much chance that children in Horn will grow, live and prosper in peace.

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PAPER 18

The State of Horn of Africa Conflicts and their Challenges to its Security Architecture

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Eritrea was a province of Ethiopia from 1961 to 1991. But, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) waged protracted struggles for independence which Eritrea obtained in may 1993. Similarly, the *Tigray* People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which was established in 1975, waged a relentless armed struggle for regional autonomy and the democratization of the Ethiopian state and society until 1991.

Subsequently, the TPLF was joined by a constellation of opposition movements of various nations and nationalities which included the *Amhara, Oromo, Afar* Somali, Southern People and other nations and nationality movements to form the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) which ousted the *Mengistu* regime.

On the positive side, the key development of the early 1990s was Ethiopia's endorsement of the *principle of self-determination* which was pertinent to the Eritrean question. This was to be realized via the endorsement of the concept of an internationally supervised referendum which resulted in the creation of the State of Eritrea in May 1993.

Equally positive was the immediate cordial bilateral relation established between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the political and socio-economic spheres. Nevertheless, the cordial relationship between the two countries was brief as it was rudely interrupted by the onset of the Ethio-Eritrean conflict in May 1998. Luckily, the Ethio-Eritrean war is now over. Albeit, the UN peacekeeping force still remains in place to prevent a renewed flare up of the conflict before the task of delimitation and demarcation is finalized.

In addition to the end of the Ethio-Eritrean war there are some redeeming features in the peace efforts on the Sudan and Somalia. They are being brokered by some of the IGAD member states. Unfortunately, there are also set backs, which can adversely affect the security architecture of the Horn of Africa and its environs.

The above negative trends might impact the final peaceful settlement of the Ethio-Eritrean conflict via the delimitation and demarcation process, which was expected to begin in the last quarter of 2003. It may also have negative implications on the normalization of relations between the two countries and other states of the sub-region.

In this connection, one should mention the fact that Ethiopia the Sudan and Yemen have formed a common front for economic and security cooperation. In fact, Ethiopia, the Sudan and Yemen had

convened several meetings at summit and ministerial levels from 2002 to 2004. Naturally, this is not positively viewed by the Eritrean government. Nevertheless, Eritrea has also joined the *Sahel-Sahelian* cooperation grouping and this is not favorably considered by Ethiopia and some of its neighboring states. Both factors add a further complicating dimension to the already tangled web of relation in the horn of Africa and IGAD sub-region.

While the above provides a brief general context to the Ethio-Eritrean conflict, it has also been complicated by the verdict of the boarder commission which Eritrea has accepted on legal grounds, but Ethiopia has rejected on the grounds of social and political considerations. The next section will examine the nature of the verdict and why both countries have responded to it in significantly divergent manners.

THE BCEE DECISION ON DELIMITATION AND THE ISSUE OF EFFECTIVE

We are committed to genuine and lasting peace not only in Ethiopia but also in the Horn of Africa. If genuine and lasting peace is to prevail in Ethiopia, as well as in the Horn region, the basis of negotiation for the settlement of the dispute that exists between Ethiopia and Eritrea must be the boundary that prevailed between Eritrea and the rest of Ethiopia in 1993, just before the independence of Eritrea, and not the treaties of 1900, 1902 and 1908, that have long been dead and buried.

Cited in the Petition issued by five opposition parties to the EPRDF[1]

The Algiers Peace Agreement is thus based not only on treaties between unequal but also on treaties that have been trodden upon by colonial Italy and renounced by the same nation in the Peace Treaty of 1947. Therefore, genuine and lasting peace cannot prevail on the basis of such glaring injustice. The Algiers Peace Agreement obligates Ethiopia to surrender territory to Eritrea, one of the major consequences of which is rendering Ethiopia, a country with a population of about 65 million people, landlocked and making the present border status a fait accompli.

Cited in the Petition issued by five opposition parties to the EPRDF[2]

When the border Commission issued its rulings in April 2002 it was generally assumed that Badme was awarded to Ethiopia. The Eritrean government had then played down the importance of Badme. It even ridiculed it by drawing parallels between it and Hollywood and Los Angeles in the state of California in the US.

K. Abraham 1

The Decision of the Border commission on Ethiopia and Eritrea (BCEE)

The delimitation decision of the Boundary Commission was made public on April 13, 2002. This was well received by both countries. Nevertheless, as is manifest from the introductory excerpts, some of the Ethiopian Opposition Parties were averse to it. In fact, the opposition groups mentioned in the citations had subsequently come out with a petition that was address to the UN Secretary General, Mr. Koffe Annan.

Upon the release of the rulings of the Border Commission (April 2002) there was lack of clarity concerning the allocation of contested areas like *Badme*. In fact, those who were

sympathetic to Ethiopia had an optimistic reading of the decision of the commission so much so that the Ethiopian government issued a statement to that effect.

Nevertheless, events later cast doubt on the fate of the Township *of Badme* and areas close to it. This was compounded by statements which were issued by the Eritrean government that the township was allocated to Eritrea. But, there were also some who said although *Badme* was allocated to Eritrea much of its environs were given to Ethiopia.

The real outcome of the delimitation is not expected until after the demarcation is finalized at the end of 2003. This will determine the future of *Badme* and parts of *Irob* and other contested areas. However, according to diplomatic sources even assuming that the village of *Badme* is allocated to Eritrea, Ethiopia is expected to make a net gain of 8,000 Square kilometers of land. The same diplomatic sources also say that, *Badme* would probably fall 1.8kilometers inside *Eritrean* territory.

The Controversy over Badme

Whatever the outcome of the demarcation, the debate around *Badme* in the *Ethio-Eritrean* Media was centered on the following issues:

The assumption that *Badme* was the cause that sparked off the conflict which is distinctly different from the cause of the conflict;
The confusion around Badme as the cause of the conflict *vis-à-vis* the act of aggression which actually triggered off the territorial dispute at Badme and its environs; and The fact that the three principles namely the colonial treaties, international law and effective administration which were accepted as the basis of the work of the border commission were not given enough and equal weight.

The debate around Badme as the cause of the conflict was particularly acrimonies in the Ethiopian press for many reasons. One reason for this was that some people genuinely confused *Badme as the locust of the initial conflict verses aggression as the real cause of the conflict*.

The above confusion was partly because of the great significance which the township had acquired because of its *symbolic significance*. This, in turn, was a result of the extensive coverage which the locality had received in the national and international media. The coverage given to contested areas like Badme, Sheraro, Irob, and others was so wide so much so that they have become household terms in virtually every *nook and cranny* of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

A second reason for the prominence of Badme is that the loss of tens of thousands of lives during the war was associated with the *retrieval* of the township. This has led many to believe that Badme was in fact the real cause of the war which resulted in the loss of the said lives and the destruction of property worth millions of dollars. Yet, while this perception represents the emotional side of the issue which should also be respected, '*a* distinction should be made between the "causes and loci" of the conflict.

Yet another factor which gave prominence to Badme is the politicisation of the issue. The Eritrean authorities have capitalized on the alleged award of Badme to Eritrea by giving it extensive media coverage.

Eritrea's Reaction to the Rulings of the BCEE

As noted above, the centerpiece of the hardened position of the two countries is the much speculated about fate of the township of Badme which was the flashpoint of the two-year border war. Eritrea had overplayed the significance of the township of Badme. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian Authorities had only made their position clear by signaling that they would not accept the rulings of the border Commission over territories that were historically administered by Ethiopia.

The hardened position of the Eritrea government that it would not accept dialogue over the ruling of the BCEE was made very clear in a press statement made on May 12, 2003. The statement was issued by the Eritrean Acting Minster of Information who said that his government wanted "to put an end to rumors circulating that there could be a dialogue on the border issue". Furthermore, he rejected any notion of dialogue regarding the border issue with Ethiopia, stating "the matter is closed and hermetically sealed".[3]

One clear indication of the above statements is that Eritrea wants to take advantage of the ruling of the BCEE as it is. Again, this was manifest in another press statement by the Eritrean Acting Minister of Information which was read out to the International Media. The statement was centered on the explanation of the Boundary Commission issued on April 13, 2002. In this statement, he underlined that the BCEE had made it "crystal clear that the case was put to rest once and for all". Further, he emphasized that it was "unequivocally unacceptable to concoct new notions on the pretext of dialogue and search for leeway, as if the Boundary Commission rulings are not exhausted".[4]

What is more, the Acting Minster added, "as this logic is simply just wishful thinking" based on "the whims of the unconvinced, they should be aware that final means binding". He went on, "this is a very serious matter, there is no dialogue to be carried out on this issue on our part". [5]

He even used invective words to play down the significance of the Ethiopian request for a review of the ruling of the BCEE adding, "The chapter is closed and hermetically sealed. Innuendos that dialogue is underway regarding the matter are sheer and blatant lies. As far as Eritrea is concerned, the matter is sacrosanct and airtight in its finality". He concluded, "dialogue of any kind was unthinkable as the case was put to rest on April 13, 2003". [6]

Early Eritrean reaction on the possible award of Badme to Ethiopia came from the highest leadership in Eritrea. Nevertheless, as news of the award of Badme to Eritrea surfaced, the Eritrean Authorities totally reversed their earlier position of belittling Badme. Instead, they started to magnify and glorify the township out of proportion.

The above response was part of the Eritrean attempt to politicize Badme. This, naturally, has had an inevitable repercussion on the way Badme is perceived by the Ethiopian and Eritrean publics. Yet, "windswept, dusty and stiflingly hot, the border town of Badme hardly seems a contentious place."[2]

As noted earlier, the importance of Badme stems from the fact that it was the flashpoint of a costly border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. This happened on May 6, 1998. The cause of the war was aggression. But, Badme was the location where the initial conflict was ignited.

The above had resulted in confusion around the cause and locus of the conflict. The Eritrean government added to this confusion by projecting Badme as the *real cause of the conflict*. The intention behind this is to create the perception that Eritrea, after all, fought for a territory which is genuinely its own. This is hoped to give a legal justification for the Eritrean action. But, implicit in this is also the acknowledgment that Eritrea started the war.

Yet contrary to the above, the Eritrean authorities have also been trying to give the impression that Ethiopia was the *provocateur*, which started the conflict at Badme. The logic behind this argument is to create an equation between the possible award of Badme to Eritrea and the cause of the conflict. This logic is then extended to imply that Ethiopia is responsible for much of the destruction which took place during the war for which compensation will probably be paid.

But, Ethiopia makes a clear legal distinction between the *Eritrean* aggression which triggered off the conflict and the location where the initial conflict took place which was Badme. It also argues that Eritrea had tried to change the reality on the ground by invading *Badme* which was administered by Ethiopia for decades. Ethiopia also posits that aggression was an illegal way of establishing the ownership of the township, regardless of which country it legally belongs to.

The above line of argument also implies that the legal ownership of *Badme* was not as evident as the *Eritrean* authorities had tried to make it sound. In fact, this was why a Border Commission had to be established. The border commission was tasked to delimit and demarcate the boundary line between the two countries with out *any prejudice to Badme or other contested localities.* Ethiopia further argues that the agreed guiding principles which the border commission had to follow were *relevant Colonial Treaties, applicable international law and effective administration.*

Ethiopia also rejects the *Eritrean* argument of projecting *Badme* as the cause of the conflict on another count. It argues that it did not have any military presence along the border which was why the *Eritrean* forces could invade and occupy *Badme*. This clearly underlines the Ethiopian position that it could not have started the war.

Ethiopia's Reaction to the Rulings of the BCEE

The view expressed by Eritrea that there should not be dialogue on the rulings of the Border Commission is clearly at variance with the expectation of Ethiopia which has demanded for a review. Ethiopia's request is predicated on the firm conviction that the BCEE had committed a serious *error of omission* by not taking in to account the issue of *effective administration.*

While the Eritrean side has gone out of its way to reap political dividends out of the award of Badme to it, nevertheless, the Ethiopian side has continued to direct its appeal for a review to the Border Commission. Hence, it seems not to have been perturbed much about the over orchestrated presentation of Badme by the Eritrean government. One reason for this is probably that Ethiopia believes that this is a matter for Eritrea and the BCEE to worry about. A second plausible explanation for the lukewarm Ethiopian reaction might be that Ethiopia is said to have wan the greater part of the environs of Badme.[7]

Another possible explanation for Ethiopia's reticence is that it believes that the onus of

working on a political engineering which can lead to an innovative exit out of the controversy rests with Eritrea and the BCEE. Hence, it seems *business as usual* as far as Ethiopia is concerned. In fact, the Ethiopian Authorities have been criticized by some of the local private papers for not publicizing the decision of the border commission on the allocation of territories and the reaction of the government to it.

All the same, the Ethiopian Authorities seem to be convinced that they should not be engaged in polemics that would amount to *much ado about nothing*. They have, therefore, chosen the *option* of *silence* until the BCEE takes an initiative, possibly in consultation with the UNSC.[8]

The position of the Ethiopian government is also clear on another count. It has reiterated that it could not accept the ruling of the Border Commission on to other cardinal counts. One factor is that the issue of effective administration has been glossed over. A second reason is that the BCEE has failed in its mission of finding a *final and permanent peaceful settlement* to the conflict. It has also made it very clear that this task of the BCEE remains clearly stipulated in the *Algers* December 2000 Final Agreement.

Ethiopia has also tried to bolster its claim over locations like *Badme* on the ground that such areas were administered by it for decades. Further, it strongly argues that it had lodged its complaint to the border commission in good time. Besides, it has argued that it had provided all necessary evidence which bolsters its case, but to no avail.

Ethiopia's comments on the views of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission Submitted on May 2, 2003

Ethiopia and Ertrea were requested to submit their comments regarding various aspects of the demarcation process at the London Meeting of November 8-9, 2002. In line with the request of the Border Commission the two countries submitted their comments on January 24, 2003. As a result, the Parties met with the Commission in London on February 8-9, 2003.[3]

Subsequent to the above meeting, the President of the BCEE issued the 8th Report of the Boundary Commission which was made public on March 10, 2003. Its observations were also presented to the Parties on March 24, 2003. In its covering letter to the Observations and its Demarcation Instructions of March 21, 2003, the Commission invited the Parties to respond to the Comments of each other submitted on January 24, 2003. The two sides were also asked to comment on each other's proposals regarding the delimitation and demarcation of Tserona and Zalambessa.

In line with the above the Government of Ethiopia had submitted its reactions on the following issues. One of the issues on which the Ethiopian government reacted had to do with the authority and obligations of the Commission based on the Agreements reached between the Parties, the April 2002 Decision and other applicable legal standards. One issue raised by Ethiopia in this connection was that the Decision of the commission, "clearly provided for 'adjustments and variations' to the provisional boundary coordinates set out in the Decision's Dispositif." Bolstering its case, Ethiopia referred to Section III and the attached pages of the transcript of the February 8, 2003 meeting of the Commission.[4]

Ethiopia also expressed surprise about the Report and Observations of the President of the Commission which was negative on its Comments of January 24, 2003. Further, it expressed displeasure that the Commission chose to publicize the matter in spite of the fact that the Commissions rules provide for confidentiality.

In addition, Ethiopia alluded to various misstatements made by the commission which are contained in annex VIII. In conjunction with the misstatements reference was made to the Observations of the commission which, *inter alia*, stated that, "Eritrea had provided evidence of Eritrean acts of governmental administration for the town of Badme." Nevertheless, the Ethiopian government rejected this as a fabrication because, "Eritrea had not provided even a single document showing the Eritrean administration of Badme. Instead, Eritrea had acknowledged Ethiopia's administration."[5]

The Ethiopian government also added that Ethiopia in contrast, had provided ample documents showing its governmental administration of the town. Ethiopia also dismissed the view of the Commission that, it had submitted maps "showing Badme as being on the Eritrean side of a 'distinctive straight line'." It vehemently argued that it had never submitted such maps. Further, Ethiopia argued that Eritrea had in fact submitted maps which showed Badme as an integral part of Ethiopian territory.[6]

Ethiopia also pointed out that the commission had committed serious factual mistakes in Sections IV and V with reference to "Fort Cadorna, Acran, the controlling nature of the Dispositif, the division of border communities, and the "northern and western fringes of the Endeli projection."[7]

Further, Ethiopia argued that the review of the record and field work should have served as a basis for "adjustment of coordinates in the Dispositif to accord with the record before the Commission."

In its reaction Ethiopia also raised questions regarding 'applicable legal standards' which the border Commission should have adhered to in order to realize its legal obligations correctly. This, it agued, would have permitted, "appropriate revisions to the Dispositif coordinates." This is explained in some detail in Section IV of its comments.[8]

Further, Ethiopia observed that the commission's failure to make such adjustments could jeopardize the validity of the April 2002 Decision which it had accepted "on the reasonable understanding that the Commission will carry out the tasks it has set for itself in that Decision and that applicable legal standards would be used."[9]

In addition, in Section V Ethiopia has provided information which could be of assistance for studies on the ground. Such information was then hoped to lead to subsequent revisions of the Dispositif coordinates needed to demarcate the boundary. Ethiopia considered the data as valuable because it is not, "manifestly impracticable or inconsistent with new information derived from more accurate maps now available or with the work of the field staff which was carried out or which will be carried out as per the Commission's instructions after the April 2002 Decision."[10]

Finally, in Section VI Ethiopia alludes to the fact that under paragraph 4(16) of the December 2000 Algiers Agreement, that the United Nations has the important role of addressing "problems and anomalies identified by the Commission. " But, it also regrets that the

Commission had demonstrated manifest reluctance not to use this provision. Yet, it further argues that "no demarcation can be final until such problems are resolved so that the fundamental object and purpose of the Algiers Agreements which established the peace process can be achieved."[11]

Ethiopia's Position on the issue of Effective administration

As noted above, clearly Ethiopia is displeased with the rulings of the BCEE on the probable award of some of the contested areas to Eritrea. It has buttressed this by producing all necessary administrative, legal and other types of evidence which underscore that territories like *Badme* were under its jurisdiction before the outbreak of the conflict and even much earlier. [15]

Another strong argument which Ethiopia had banked on, but which the BCEE seems to have disregarded is the conclusion grown by the OAU Committee of Ambassadors which was designated to investigate whether the contested areas were administered by Ethiopia or Eritrea. In issuing its report to the OAU High Level Delegation on 4 and 5 August 1998, the committee concluded:

With regard to the authority which was administering Badme before May 12, 1998 and on the basis of the information at our disposal, we have reached the conclusion that Bedme Town and its environs were administered by the Ethiopian authorities before May 12, 1998.[16]

It should also be noted that the above conclusion of the committee of Ambassadors was endorsed by the High Level Delegation of the OAU. It did this during the conclusion of its meetings of November 7 and 8, 1998. In connection with this, it had also issued a statement to be delivered to the two parties by its chairman. Here again, a statement which underscored its approval of the conclusion drawn by the committee of Ambassadors was incorporated.

In fact, it was in conjunction with the above statement that the high level delegation also approved the proposals for a *Framework Agreement* to the peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two countries.

Nevertheless, as discussed in earlier chapters neither the conclusion drawn by the OAU committee of Ambassadors and the OAU high Level Delegation nor its subsequent endorsement by the United Nations security Council(UNSC) were able to convince the Eritrean Authorities to withdraw their forces from the territories which they had occupied. Hence, a military confrontation was inevitable as can be discerned below:

Ethiopian military response was at first slow – in May 1998 the Ethiopian military included no more than 56,000 members. On May 25, 2000, Ethiopian forces had retaken Zalambessa. By the end of May 2000, all of the occupied Ethiopian territory had been retaken and Ethiopian army units had moved into defensive positions within Eritrea. A Cessation of Hostilities agreement was singed on June 18, 2000 in Algiers. Paragraph nine of that agreement provided for the redeployment of Ethiopian forces from positions taken after February 6, 1999, and which were not under Ethiopian administration before 6 May, 1998, within two weeks after deployment of a UN. Peacekeeping Mission. [17]

Arguments and Counter-Arguments of Ethiopia and Eritrea

The position of the two countries regarding the correct boundary line as per the 1902 treaty signed between Ethiopia and Italy is amply explained in their Arbitration Counter-Memorials. The excerpts from pages 163 to 172 in particular give copious details on the matter.

Eritrea argues, "Ethiopia, Britain and Italy all recognized what Eritrea calls *the boundary's classical contour*". On the other hand, Ethiopia rejects this as 'manifestly incorrect'". Ethiopia's line of argument on this is that, "at the time the Treaty of 1902 was signed, all three parties agreed that the boundary followed the course set out in Ethiopia's Memorial". Further, Ethiopia argues that it had repeatedly protested against Italian attempts at encroaching on "areas lying east of the agreed-upon line". [2]

Consistence with the above, Ethiopia has also presented additional pieces of evidence that contradict the existence of a boundary running north from, "the *Tomsa* to the junction of the *Mereb* with the *Mai Ambessa*". It bolsters its position on this by furnishing evidence of the various administrative activities that "Ethiopia, Tigray and Tigray's territorial units were engaged in to the west of Italy's so-called *classical boundary*".[3]

Further, Ethiopia rejects any acquiescence by it to the Italian attempt at encroaching on the territories that were administered by it. It bolsters its argument on its *effective administration* of the contested areas some of which were more sparsely populated than others, as follows:

Although the area lying between the Maiteb/Mount Ala Tacura region and the Italian claim line is very sparsely populated – and thus not subject to the intensity of administrative activities that one finds in more heavily populated regions such as Gulomakheda, there is still a substantial body of Ethiopian effectivités which disproves any notion of Ethiopian "acquiescence" in the Italian claim line.[4]

Ethiopia's Proof of Its Effective Administration

The proof of Ethiopia's *effective administration* is centered on information and documentary evidence provided under the following rubrics:

a. Civil administration
- Election, Appointment and Payment of Local Officials;
- Licenses of Business and Trade;
- Land Distribution and management;
- Administration of Mineral Resources;
- Administration of Forests; and
- Government Surveys
- Collection of Taxes
- Administration of Justice and Maintenance of Public Order
- Policing Activities
- Administration of Schools, Health, Public Welfare and Resources
- Religious and Social Affinities
- Ethiopian Orthodox Church Administration

More detailed information on the above and a map is attached in the annex VII.[5]

Public Reactions

There were also strong reactions regarding the probable award of *Badme* to Eritrea from private individuals and the media of both countries. Several articles were for instance published in the private papers in Ethiopia such as the *reporter, Moged, Ethiop.* They carried articles which lamented the loss of *Badme* and criticized the government for its loss. Similarly, critical articles were published on papers which presented the other view by playing down the importance of Badme. Such critical articles argued that aggression was the cause of the conflict not Badme. They also posited another war should not be fought over Badme or any other location as this would unfold massive loss of lives and destruction of property on both sides.

Further, critics of the war argue that the loss caused by the last war was too costly for both countries to contemplate countenancing another conflict. Besides, while the last war was justly fought to repel aggression Ethiopia does not have a genuine cause for a war this time around. Indeed, many argue that the cause of the last war had made it possible to mobilize the Ethiopian people around the government. But, this was so because of the genuine case of aggression felt by Ethiopians everywhere.

Nevertheless, the public response to a war call by the government this time around is not likely to be well received. In fact, many Ethiopians anticipated that the response to such a call would in all likelihood be unenthusiastic, as the cause would amount to a rejection of a verdict to which both countries had committed themselves.

Hence, as Prime Minster Meles Zenawi argued Ethiopia should only seek justice through peaceful means rather than resorting to war. The option of fighting should only be considered when and if Ethiopia is attacked by Eritrean forces as was the case in May 1998.

Informed analysts have also argued that another war is absolutely unnecessary regardless of which territories are awarded to whichever country. They find even less justification for fighting another war in view of the fact that Ethiopia has made a net territorial gain of 8,000 Square Kilometers compared with what it had before the onset of the conflict in 1998.

While this is the general picture which obtained in Ethiopia in mid-2003, nevertheless, the public reaction in Eritrea which was officially instigated was mainly predicated on the celebration of the award of Badme to it. Besides, Most such reactions came from the official organs of the Eritrean government which reflect the wish of the party. They include the Eritrean radio and one or two papers including *Hadas Eritrea.*

Reactions also came from private individuals who seem to hold identical views with that of the government. One such example was an article published via the web-site *Asmarino.com* village by an individual by the name *Binyam Tewolde*. Binyam magnifies the importance of Badme out of proportion and pays tribute to the government of Eritrea who in his view deserves glorification. His argument is predicated on the fact that the award of Badme to Eritrea was a vindication of justice to the Eritrean people.

Nevertheless, Binyam is not without many critics on the Ethiopian side. For instance, in response to Beniam's article Alula Ezana had the following to say:

Binyam Tewolde the Asmarino.com village idiot is at it again. He seems to be on a one man crusade with the goal of annihilating Tigray and its inhabitants. His latest temper tantrum is focused on the Badme issue. In his latest diatribe, he attempts to convince the readers that Badme is the main issue and Badme is the end all of all ends. Binyam sees the world in is own image and fails to comprehend that forces way beyond his comprehension are at play and will ultimately generate an output contrary to that contrived by his mind.[12]

Further, Alula attacks Benyam on the count of the unreliability of his source of information stating, "Circumstantially evident that Binyam's main source of information is Shaebia.com. It is clearly evident that his thinking is dictated by information posted by the elites in Asmara. His deductive reasoning can only be attributed to information gathered from the interviews and news which refer to certain Eritrean officials." [13]

In addition, Alula finds fault with the motive and intention of Binyam which he sees as misguided, contrived and to 'grand' for the orbit of mind of Biniyam. He writes, "Binyam's juvenile and unsophisticated approach is to get the Amharas, Tigrayans and Oromos at each others throat. I am not sure why he has not learned from past failures. I think he ought to think long and hard about how the man in Asmara tried to arm the OLF and get them to incite a civil war in Ethiopia during and after the 1998-2000 war."[14]

Alula then reprimands Binyam adding, "Binyam, can you not see that your wish failed miserably? Please do not deny this was not the case. It is amply documented in the mainstream and internet media". He then advices Biniyam to recognize the fact that the Amharas are not gullible and that they are unhappy that the EPRDF was too generous to Eritrea. Further, he underscores the wish of the Amharas to restore the control of Ethiopia over Assab.[15]

Alula then goes on to explain to Binyam that it would be difficult for him to drive a wedge between the Amharas and Tigrayans stating, "Binyam's worst nightmare is the inevitable. Binyam and his likes fear that the Tigrayans and Amharas are going to learn to live with and respect one another. This will happen for many reasons which will be cemented by the very common culture that both brothers share. Other than language Amharas and Tigrayans share identical cultural religious and traditional values. As a result they also share common fears and have common enemies." Allula then indicates to Binyam that the Amharas and Tigrayans "will and are reconciling."[16]

Furhter, Alula underscores the commonalities shared between Amharas and Tigrayans by alluding to their websites which carry similar messages stating:

Even now Binyam is confused because when he logs into Aiga, Deki Alula, Hmbasha, Tigrai.net and other Tigrayan based websites, they are becoming more and more indistinguishable than the traditionally Amhara websites. This shows that the mode of thinking in both camps is narrowing and that a common platform is being created from which a common approach will be launched.[17]

Alula then underscores the anxiety of Biniyam and Eritreans like him adding, "this stark reality is what Binyam and his ilk fear most and that is why they are vainly trying to create a wedge". He then goes on:

"Unfortunately for people like Binyam, this trend is heavily reinforced and weighted down. Nothing will stop this natural reconciliation. Both Amharas and Tigrayans will need to compromise and accommodate each other. This will happen not by chance but because it is required by the laws of survival. This is what will preserve the integrity of both peoples who share so much history and culture with one another. The wall that Binyam is trying to repair is being torn down by the forces way beyond his control." [18]
On another note, Alula gives counsel to Binyam to be more concerned about the problem in his own country sating:

Binyam ought to be a bit more concerned by what is happening in his neighborhood. The small mind sees the Badme issue as the big picture. The Big mind sees Badme as a small picture and sees a Big picture way beyond what Binyam's small Mind can comprehend.[19]

The above dialogue between *Alula* and *Binyam* typifies the internet war wedged among Eritrean and Ethiopian intellectuals. Unfortunately, nevertheless, much of it boarders on slanders and invectives which do not add value to the peaceful settlement of the conflict. All the same, however, such polemical exchange of words between the two sides highlights the intensity of the emotion harbored due to the war and its residual effect. Even more regrettable is the fact that such emotional outpouring comes from official Eritrean media organs. It is therefore, scarcely surprising that people like *Binyam, Alula* and others are engaged in such polemical diatribe. After all, there action is a reflection of what is officially done particularly in Eritrea.

Popular Reactions

Critical views centered on Badme did not only come from the private papers or opposition parties to the EPRDF. Indeed, they also come from the residents of the township and other contested areas. According to an *IRIN* news report issued on May 6, 2003, a number of residents of Badme had voiced the view that they would rather die fighting for their land than accept the rulings of the Border Commission. For instance, a man by the name Abraha Tesfaye, wept as he declared that the real border between the two countries is the Mereb River.

Abraha went on, "this is my country, how can the Eritreans come and rule my land". Tears were streaming down his face as he said this. He added, "I was born and bred here and just because we are poor and we don't have money for fighting, it does not mean we have to give our land away."[20]

Another resident vowed to fight to death to prevent the territory being handed over to Eritrea. According to UN sources, all were adamant in stating that they would prevent anyone who tries to construct border posts. One reason which is widely used in connection with the future of Badme is that many had lost their lives and the lives of their children for the sake of Badme. This is why another resident said, "I don't think demarcation can take place until this issue is resolved." [21]

Further, according to the secretary of the administration, there were no plans in place to "sensitise" the community about a potential movement of people from the township to other locations.[22]

Many of the residents of the area had, in fact, heard the news of the probable award of Badme to Eritrea via the Eritrean radio. In the main, however, the reaction of the residents of the area

stemm from the conviction that such a ruling compromises their national identity and right of domicile in the area where they were born and breed.

Similar views were voiced by officials of the administration of Badme. Some said, "we will never give Badme to Eritrea." This view was, for instance, expressed by Afeworki Gebre-Hiwot, who is an official of the administration. He went on, "The people will not accept this and they will fight for it".[23]

Afeworki further stressed, "we would be on the side of the people and stand by them." But, he also expressed his optimism for a peaceful resolution to the latest controversy surrounding the beleaguered town."[1] Afeworki even went as far as saying that he would not "vouch for the safety of the boundary commission staff who were expected to start demarcation in a month, and whose security depends on the governments of the two countries."[24]

The above types of defiance which were heard in other quarters are putting both countries on a collision course, which neither wants nor can afford "while the international community desperately struggles to avert a renewed crisis.[25] The government itself is also grappling hard with what to do next as it waits for the response of the BCEE to its complaint. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin had denounced the commission for "belittling" Ethiopia's calls for a variation to the now delimited 1,000-km border. What is more, the mere mention of the boundary commission "inflames passions in this otherwise sedate town, with its tree-lined dusty main street".[26]

The Probability and Possible Consequences of another War

The Ethiopian government seems to be firmly convinced about the risks of a relapse to new battles, even if they were to be one by Ethiopia again. According to some annalists, the reason for the worry of the Ethiopian government is that the retrieval of Badme and other contested areas after the loss of many lives would not, after all, be appreciated by the Ethiopian people. On the contrary, it might whet the appetite of the public for more territory, particularly the port of Asab.

The necessity for the retrieval of Assab is especially underscored by the predicament of Ethiopia as a land-locked country. Moreover, the loss of Assab in particular and that of Eritrea in general have been themes of vociferous criticism of the government by some of the private press. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Ethiopian government has adopted a *wait-and–see* policy, pending the outcome of the review of its application by the border commission. [6]

The importance of Assab for Ethiopia is also underscored by the fact that most other harbors which Ethiopia could use are generally more distant than it. The following table which shows the distances between major Ethiopian cities such as Addis Ababa, DireDawa, Mekele and Bahir Dar and ports that could serve Ethiopia such as Port Sudan, Massawa, Assab, Djibouti, Berbera, Mogadisu, Kismayo, Bossasso and Mombassa underlines the factor of proximity which makes the port of Assab of greater significance for Ethiopia.

The strong basis of the Ethiopian argument is that the border commission did not take in to account the principle of *effective administration* seriously enough. In other words, Ethiopian officials have contested that the wish of the residents of the contested areas including thier 'national identity, history, culture and the like' were not considered.

Interestingly enough, the arguments of the government are also consistent with what the people of Badme and other contested areas have expressed (See Reporter, Amharic edition May 4, 2003). In fact, a similar view has also been voiced in many parts of Tigray and the rest of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, this does not *necessarily* mean that all Ethiopians including those in the government are on the threshold of another war. Neither does it mean that the government is seriously contemplating an all-out war.[8]

The Risks of a Relapse to a New War

Given the above, therefore, the best bet for the Ethiopian government is still a *wait-and-see* stance. But, this does not mean preparations for eventual self-defense have been ruled out. On the contrary, the general sentiment in the Ethiopian leadership circles and many other areas in Ethiopia is that, this time around the country should not '*be caught napping'*. [9]

In other words, many are wary about the risk of history repeating itself. They do not want to see a re-play of the past error, which allowed the Eritrean army to drive into Badme without any resistance along the Ethiopian border which was virtually undefended by the regular army except by a few members of the militia.

While this applies to the situation on the Ethiopian side, nevertheless, the Eritran media has re-invigorated its propaganda campaign against Ethiopia. It has mainly capitalized on the alleged award of Badme to it. It has also tried to create a new *construct* equating the award of Badme with the question of 'who caused the war?'

But, analysts have found fault with the above conclusion which they see as being based on a wrong premise. The truth, the analysts argue, is that the conflict was caused by the initial act of aggression which was committed at the township of *Badme*, *Shiraro* and their environs. Hence, the issue of who started the war is contingent upon who committed aggression first. This still has to be determined.[10]

Hence, the award of Badme to whichever country should not prejudice the conclusion about who committed aggression. In fact, this was why the border commission was established in the first place. The issue is important because, *theoretically or even practically*, the question of who committed the aggression is intrinsically linked with the issues of compensation and/or reparations.

Further, according to some reports, the preparation for war is being feverishly pursued by the Eritrean government. This view is re-enforced by media reports of recruitment and training of combatants and the re-call of the reserve army including ex-combatants. The Eritrean justification for such preparations is worry about a possible Ethiopian offensive. But then again, the same can be said about Ethiopia's justification for its preparation.

Against the above welter of confusion centered on claims and counterclaims of territories one cannot *totally rule-out* the possibility of a relapse to some skirmishes. Nevertheless, the risk that minor skirmishes might develop into a full-scale war is exceedingly limited. All the same, both the international community and the Border commission must be seized with the search for a *peaceful and innovative exist* out of the current stalemate of 'no war no peace'.[11]

UN Assessment of the Risk of a Relapse to War

According to the UN Force Commander in Eritrea and Ethiopia there was no reason why the demarcation of the border between the two countries should not have begun in July as scheduled. This view was articulated by Major General Robert Gordon, in a video-linked news briefing given in both countries which also indicated that the military situation was calm. [12]

The above statement also contradicted reports of a shooting incident across the Mereb River, allegedly involving the Eritrean armed forces supported by tanks. This report which was widely circulated earlier thus seems to have been exaggerated. In fact, according to the General the report was described as not only nonsensical but also 'alarmist and fantastical'. In the same statement the General also made it clear that, "no such heavy equipment and no Eritrean armed forces operate within the Temporary Security Zone". He further amplified his statement by alluding to the fact that exchanges of small arms fire in the area took place "probably between militia and local villagers".[13]

There has not been official reaction to the above statement by the Ethiopian side, but it is probably safe to assume that it is not averse to the facts.

General Gordon also stressed that the relative peace which obtains in the demilitarized zone (which is necessary for the demarcation process) was satisfactory. He underscored this stating, "while demarcation was the domain of the independent Boundary Commission as far as the Force is concerned, there were no impediments which I could foresee". By this he meant that he saw no reason which could hamper the demarcation process from starting as per schedule. [14]

Gordon also bolstered his statement by alluding to the demobilization process which is underway in the Ethiopian army. In this connection, he described Ethiopia's commitment to the demobilization process as moving on a fast 'track'. He then referred to his meetings with Ethiopian military chiefs about which he expressed confidence that Ethiopia was "restructuring its forces in a responsible way". [15]

Observation

Against the above background the border demarcation which requires peace in the demilitarized zone was expected to start in the eastern sector in July 2003. Nevertheless, the Eritrean decision not to enter in to dialogue on changes to the rulings of the Boundary Commission remains unchanged. Likewise, Ethiopia's stand on the demand for a review of the rulings of the border commission regarding areas that were previously administered by it is very firm and determined.

The risk of war need not be exaggerated anymore than it has. Nevertheless, the position of both countries remains entrenched with a wide rift that has yet to be bridged. The hardened stance of the two countries doesn't auger well for a smooth transition from the delimitation exercise to the demarcation process. It is in the light of this that an innovative political engineering should be sought out of the stalemate. The onus of finding a creative exit from this will probably remain with the BCEE and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). They are expected to find a way of guaranteeing *the permanent final peaceful settlement of the conflict* promised by the Algiers December 2000 Agreement. [16]

PAPER 19

Ethiopia and Eritrea
Conflict and Human Rights

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This paper examines the 1998-2000 border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea and presents proposals for a broad international strategy for promoting peace and reconciliation in the face of fears of a new war which could have further long-term effects on human rights and development in each country.[141]

The paper addresses issues related to the theme of this conference – promoting "a culture of peace" – and draws links between peace and human rights as set out in international and regional human rights treaties and standards. It puts forward a human rights perspective largely absent in the growing literature on the war and its causes and consequences.

The paper does not intend to engage in wider discussion in the academic literature[142], within the Ethiopian and Eritrean contemporary and historical contexts, of competition over natural resources, territorial ambition, the regional balance of power, domestic political pressures, the uneven transition towards democratic governance and economic liberalization after the brutal marxist-leninist dictatorship of 1974-1991, national sovereignty and security in the era of globalization, and centralized state power versus regional autonomy in the multi-ethnic state. References to some of these questions are made at different points in the paper as they arise from this human rights approach.

It would be a disservice to the objectives of this conference if the discussion became a mere platform or sounding-board for those defending either government's position or supporting any political opposition group. This conference is not "peace talks" and there is no "resolution" coming out of it to be negotiated word-by-word by opposed sides or their supporters. It is a serious and positive effort to discuss how war and its horrific costs might be prevented, and to promote peace and human rights - not to label one or the other side "the aggressor" or "the victim of aggression", "the victor" or "the vanquished".

The threat of a new outbreak of hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea requires close attention and preventive action by the international community, including the UN Secretary General and the UN Security Council, as being a danger to regional peace and security as well as to the border populations and others directly affected. It would also be likely to exacerbate other conflicts in the Horn of Africa and could have a negative effect on the current peace processes moving forward in Sudan and Somalia, on account of the two countries' connection with those conflicts.

[141] The paper does not necessarily reflect the position of Amnesty International on all issues.
[142] See the Select Bibliography.

A second inter-state war would be likely to result on new human rights abuses, similar to those committed in the last war. It might also provide a cover for either government to distract attention from other issues of human rights and governance. Both international as well as local pressure for human rights improvements in both countries should be maintained to promote a culture of peace and human rights, with alert attention to the specific human rights risks of a new war. Issues of human rights and justice are integral to longer-term objectives of conflict-resolution, democratization and development in both countries and the whole Horn of Africa.

The cost of the previous war was crippling to the economies of the two countries, which are among the world's Least Developed Countries. With their diaspora support, they purchased weapons from western countries, bought arms secretly from eastern Europe or other sources, or fought with arms used (or captured) from supplies never paid for by the former Dergue government in Ethiopia.

The un-quantified impact of the war has been its cost to development and the humanitarian crisis in both countries, which rank among the poorest in the world. The cost of the UN peace-keeping operation was estimated in early 2004 at US$180 million. This is not far from the total UN aid appeals for both countries for 2004143, which have not been achieved. The UN appealed for US$147 millions for emergency humanitarian relief for half of Eritrea's population facing food shortages as a result of drought and the consequences of the war, with 22% of children reportedly suffering from malnutrition. The UN also appealed for US$85 millions emergency relief for 7.1 million people in Ethiopia facing food deficits.

Avoiding inter-state conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and also helping to prevent and settle violent conflicts between their governments and their opposition groups, as well as between opposed internal communities, should be a key part of human rights policies of governments, inter-governmental organizations and international NGOs which have a special political or aid relationship with the two countries

2. Conflict in the Horn

The Horn of Africa has been embroiled in numerous and varied conflicts in recent decades. The Ethiopia-Eritrea border war of 1998-2000 was a rare modern example of inter-state warfare between opposed armies. Not unexpectedly, it has also been conceptualised variously by observers in a civil war frame, because of the close historical relations between the two sides.
Other armed conflicts involving Ethiopia and Eritrea in recent years have included:

- the 30-year struggle for the independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia, won by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in 1991, which was also marked by some fighting between the two rival Eritrean forces (the Eritrean Liberation Front, ELF, and EPLF, of which only the EPLF was militarily significant after 1982)
- the 17-year struggle to overthrow Mengistu Haile-Mariam's USSR-supported Dergue government in Ethiopia by the former marxist-leninist EPLF and the Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF (latterly the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF, victorious in 1991), who were in alliance but occasional conflict: this also involved other armed opposition Ethiopian groups

[143] www.un.org/depts/ocha/cap

- continuing ethnic-nationalist armed struggles by the Oromo Liberation Front, OLF, and the Ogaden National Liberation Front, ONLF, and other groups in Ethiopia against the EPRDF government
- Eritrean armed opposition to the post-independence Eritrean government, centred on a recently-revamped ELF-based coalition
- separate Islamist groups fighting against the new Eritrean and Ethiopian governments, some in alliance with other armed political opponents.

In addition, both countries have been involved to varying degrees in armed conflicts in other neighbouring countries:

- Eritrea was in conflict with Yemen in 1995 over a maritime border issue (the Hanish islands), which was finally settled by the International Court of Justice at The Hague in 1998, when Eritrea accepted the judgment against it
- Eritrea has had cross-border conflicts with Djibouti and Sudan
- Ethiopia repelled an invasion from Somalia in 1977 with Cuban military assistance: it subsequently backed armed Somali opposition groups against the Siad Barre government, which went on to overthrow the government in 1991, with the Somali National Movement (SNM) unilaterally declaring an independent Somaliland in the northwest

- Ethiopia at times supported one side in the Djibouti civil war in the 1990s
- Ethiopia has supported the Somali Reconciliation and Reconstruction Council (SRRC) coalition faction in Somalia against the Djibouti-backed Transitional National Government (TNG), partly to secure its border against an Islamist political group: Ethiopia is now playing a positive role in the move towards creating an inclusive Transitional Federal Government for the Somali state which collapsed in 1991
- Eritrea supports the armed Sudanese opposition National Democratic Alliance (NDA)

Both Ethiopia and Eritrea support each other's armed opposition. Eritrea hosts the OLF, allied to the ONLF, which are fighting the Ethiopian government in the Oromia and Somali regions. The opposition Eritrean National Alliance (ENA), based in Sudan and supported by Ethiopia, contains armed groups including ELF factions and a Sudan-based Islamist group. Eritrea and Ethiopia frequently take opposing sides in regional fora, such as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), although Eritrea has played little part in the IGAD-sponsored Somali peace talks.

Much of the conflict in the region has not involved regular troops from either side or their actual military involvement. A pattern developed, characteristic of the Horn probably more than any other part of Africa, involving what has been described as a "chequer-board" scenario of conflict, where "my enemy's enemy is my friend". In each country of the Horn, conflicts have been fuelled by neighbouring countries in the form of providing political support or a presence in the country, or clandestine weapons, training, or safe passage to armed opposition groups. This pattern of conflict has dominated regional state relations in the Horn in recent decades, and is still a major obstacle to regional stability.

In several of the current conflicts, there seem to be no conflict-resolution activities or external mediation in process.

There have also been dozens of violent inter-communal conflicts at local level, particularly in Ethiopia in the past few years, resulting in some thousands of killings of civilians. In

Gambella town in the southwest of Ethiopia in December 2003, hundreds of members of the Anywaa (Anuak) ethnic group were reported killed by mobs of "highlanders", with federal soldiers and regional police also involved.

3. Aspects of the 1998-2000 war

The 1998-2000 war between Ethiopia and Eritrea inflicted casualties of up to a total of 100,000 on both armies and led to massive population flight and material destruction in the border fighting zones. There were many violations by both sides of the Geneva Conventions, which were war crimes. Ethiopia has been a party to the Geneva Conventions since 1969. Eritrea did not become a party to the Conventions until after the June 2000 cease-fire, despite earlier requests for ratification, although it claimed to respect and observe them.

The war escalated swiftly from a confused border incident and engaged the two national armies, which were then rapidly expanded and re-equipped. Eritrea's new post-independence conscript army was led by the former EPLF liberation force, while Ethiopia's purged Dergue army, headed by the TPLF liberation force, was supplemented by new and sometimes semi-forced recruitment. Both countries were alleged to have recruited child soldiers aged under 18 years. The two countries' armies were approximately evenly matched, with about 300,000 soldiers each, though Ethiopia has over 15 times Eritrea's population. From the beginning there were extensive mediation attempts by the world's major powers and international and regional organizations, which were often frustrated by intense and bitter recalcitrance on both sides, despite the human and development disaster it was evidently bringing on both populations.

The war began with an incident in early May 1998 in the small town of Badme, which was under an informally-accepted Ethiopian administration. A previous border incident in 1997 had led to the formation of a joint Border Commission between the two governments to consider the question of the boundary, which had not been demarcated at the time of Eritrea's independence in 1991. This had not acted with any urgency, since there did not appear to be a major problem, as the two governments had been on generally good terms. Relations between the two governments, however, began to deteriorate soon afterwards, particularly when Eritrea set up its own separate currency and effectively stopped most border trade and crossings. This particularly affected the border region of Tigray, from which the Ethiopian ruling group (TPLF) originates and which has historically had close links with the Eritrean highland areas, sharing a common language, culture and religion, with considerable inter-marriage144.

In the 6 May 1998 incident, Ethiopian militia reportedly killed an Eritrean colonel and one or more soldiers in an altercation. Neither side, nor any independent body, has provided a clear detailed account of the incident. Shortly afterwards, Eritrean troops moved into the town in force. Ethiopia considered this a violation of its territorial sovereignty and when Eritrea refused to withdraw, the Ethiopian EPRDF-controlled parliament declared war.

The war was fought in the border areas in three phases, starting with artillery exchanges at the border, followed by air strikes by each side on 5 June. A moratorium on aerial warfare was agreed on 14 June under international pressure. From the beginning and especially between the phases of heavy fighting, there was intensive international and regional mediation activity,

[144] Reid 2003.

as each side rapidly expanded its military forces. International pressures failed to stop Ethiopia's deportation of about 70,000 Eritreans between June 1998 and February 1999.145

The war ended with a ceasefire in June 2000, with Ethiopian forces controlling much of southern Eritrea. This was followed by a Peace Agreement signed in Algiers in December 2000 under the auspices of the UN and African Union, with US and European Union mediators. Ethiopia withdrew its troops, giving way to a UN peace-keeping force (the UN Military Mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea, UNMEE) administering a 25-kilometre wide buffer-zone ("Temporary Security Zone") along the whole 1000-kilometre border between Sudan and the Red Sea.

Violations of the Geneva Conventions were committed to different degrees by both sides during the war146. They included, with regard to prisoners of war (POWs), some suspected killings, ill-treatment and forced labour, denial of medical treatment and family communication. With regard to civilians, there were killings by bombings, widespread detentions, rape, ill-treatment, mass expulsions and deprivation of citizenship, seizure of properties, and destruction of buildings. Several hundred thousand civilians from both sides were displaced and tens of thousands have still been unable to return home. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) eventually finalized the contentious exchange of POWs in 2003, and continues to assist civilians of either side to repatriate voluntarily.

The Peace Agreement established an international Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission, which began its work in May 2001 under the auspices of the International Court of Justice at The Hague and its Permanent Commission of Arbitration147. Its task was to determine and demarcate the boundary between Ethiopia and Eritrea on the basis of colonial treaties of 1900-1908 and applicable international law. The Commission consisted of two members appointed by each side and a neutral president. It delivered its report in April 2002, which both sides had agreed in advance should be binding. However, unclarity remained over the precise geographical coordinates of the boundary on the ground. In March 2003 it became clear for the first time that the Commission had judged that Badme town, the flashpoint starting the war, was Eritrean territory.

Ethiopia has rejected the ruling. Eritrea has called on the UN Security Council to enforce it and refuses any reconsideration of the ruling. In November 2003 the Boundary Commission expressed concern at the lack of progress in the demarcation process, indicating that "if progress was to be made, certain rigid positions would have to be modified".

The Peace Agreement also set up a separate Claims Commission, containing two members nominated by each side (with legal advisors) and a neutral president, to examine and adjudicate compensation claims and liabilities by both sides. It took written evidence and heard several witnesses from both sides in camera but, like the Boundary Commission, it did not conduct any in-country visit. In July 2003 it judged that both sides were liable for ill-treatment of prisoners of war. In April 2004 it judged that both sides were liable for material destruction, rape, abduction, killings and ill-treatment of civilians on the Central Front (southern Eritrea and northern Ethiopia). It has not yet reported on the third and final issue - claims of abuses against civilians in the Home Fronts of both countries (i.e. in Addis Ababa,

[145] Human Rights Watch 2003 (a).
[146] Amnesty International 1999.
[147] www.pca-cpa.org.

Asmara and other non-border areas), which are likely to include issues of expulsions, detentions and ill-treatment of civilians, displacement of civilians and seizure of property.

The Claims Commission rejected Eritrea's argument that it had no liability because it had not ratified the Geneva Conventions, and ruled that Eritrea was liable under international customary humanitarian law. The Commission has not valued the liabilities, which might total several hundred million US dollars, or how payment should be made and enforced.

A third Commission on the causes of the conflict was also due to be set up under African Union auspices. It has not been convened, evidently due to the political sensitivity of the issue.

In the second half of 2003 there were widespread fears of a resumption of fighting. Both governments said they would not start another war. Ethiopia had reportedly demobilized about half its army since 2000, while Eritrea had maintained and extended national military conscription. In December 2003 the UN Security Council called for political dialogue to help solve the issue and the UN Secretary General appointed a Special Envoy for this purpose. In May 2004 the UN Security Council called on both states to "explore ways of moving the demarcation process forward" but demarcation of the boundary is still indefinitely postponed.

The multi-national 4,000-strong UNMEE force, which has also been helping with de-mining and humanitarian assistance to displaced persons, has had difficulties with both sides, including restrictions placed on its movements. In March 2004 the UN Security Council renewed its mandate for a further six months, although with reluctance in view of the cost and with expressions of frustration at lack of progress towards making its function and presence unnecessary. It is not clear if either side has been substantially re-arming or secretly buying weapons on the international arms market. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan visited both countries for private talks in July 2004 with his Special Envoy to Ethiopia and Eritrea, Lloyd Axworthy, whom Eritrea refused to meet.

Both countries have large and involved diasporas in western countries originating from refugee flight from the Dergue, and also from the post-1991 governments in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Many are now naturalized citizens of foreign countries, with relatively few voluntary returnees. The two diasporas, although containing many government opponents, contributed considerable funds to their respective governments during the war, notably through the Eritrean government's obligatory 2% development tax, which also gave access to government services.

The aftermath of the war includes the unresolved problems of thousands of war-time refugees and internally-displaced persons (IDPs) in the two countries and elsewhere. One special refugee problem has existed since the war for two categories of asylum-seekers: (i) Eritreans who lived in Ethiopia and were stripped of their Ethiopian citizenship but had no ties or loyalty to Eritrea; and (ii) those of mixed Ethiopian-Eritrean marriages or descent, who were not fully accepted as citizens by either Ethiopia or Eritrea, were discriminated against and suspected of being potential enemy agents. After the war ended Ethiopia allowed the remaining estimated 100,000 Eritreans long resident in Ethiopia to remain as resident aliens and in early 2004 offered citizenship for some – but not for those who had not participated in the 1993 Eritrean independence referendum, who were thereby regarded by both sides as Eritrean citizens. Even so, the Eritrean minority in Ethiopia might again become a target for

persecution, and so may Ethiopian residents in Eritrea and people of mixed Ethiopian/Eritrean families in either country.

4. The human rights background

There are serious human rights issues in both countries148. These have variously included large-scale arbitrary and indefinite incommunicado detentions of government opponents and suspected supporters or members of armed opposition groups; "disappearances", torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners; arbitrary killings of civilians; unfair trials of political opponents; restrictions on the media and freedom of expression; restrictions on freedom of association for political parties and trade unions; restrictions on the activities of NGOs and religious faiths; restrictions on academic freedoms149; and retention of the death penalty. In each country, the constitution contains important human rights protections and international and regional human rights treaties have been ratified by the government, but these safeguards have been frequently ignored.

Comparisons between the situations in the two countries are unavoidable, given their long inter-related history, but it would be an exaggeration just to view them as "mirror-images" of each other.

Ethiopia allows opposition political parties, private media and independent NGOs, including some human rights organizations. However, there have been widespread arbitrary detentions of suspected political opponents, and the weak judiciary has shown little evidence of independence. Some freedoms have substantially increased in recent years (though more in Addis Ababa than outside it) and especially so in comparison to the previous 17-year Dergue regime which ended 13 years ago150. However, the considerable restrictions in all of these areas - especially as regards the last elections in 2000151 - are feared likely to increase as the May 2005 elections draw near. It remains to be seen whether the National Human Rights Commission and Office of Ombudsman established in July 2004, out of an international conference in 1998, will have the necessary impartiality and effectiveness to make a strong impact on the complex human rights situation.

Eritrea allows no opposition parties, private media, independent NGOs or human rights organizations. The September 2001 crackdown on dissent silenced the growing calls for democratic reform. There has been widespread arbitrary secret detention and a lack of judicial independence. There is intensive religious persecution targeting minority Christian churches. Torture and arbitrary detention are the established punishment for army deserters, military offenders and conscription evaders – including for hundreds of asylum-seekers (mostly army deserters) who were forcibly returned to Eritrea by Malta and Libya in 2002 and 2004 respectively.

Both governments host and support each other's armed opposition to some degree. In each country, there have been extensive reprisals and abuses by the security forces against civilians suspected of supporting armed opposition groups.

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[148] Amnesty International 2004, and annual report articles, www.amnesty.org.
[149] Human Rights Watch 2003(b).
[150] In Ethiopia there are several hundred senior and lower-level members of the former government on trial or awaiting trial since being arrested in 1991 for human rights abuses.
[151] Pausewang 2000.

Both governments are resistant to human rights scrutiny and campaigning by international or local human rights organizations, restricting access by international human rights organizations (including Amnesty International) and journalists. Ethiopia allows some internal human rights debate and conducts a degree of dialogue on human rights with the international community, though making few concessions, whereas Eritrea has taken a more isolationist position.

5. Fears of a new war

The International Crisis Group (ICG) in September 2003 warned of the likelihood of renewal of fighting between Ethiopia and Eritrea on account of Ethiopia's refusal to accept the Boundary Commission's ruling in April 2002 in particular regard to the border town of Badme, though it accepted other parts of the ruling. The fears are that, as in 1998, a minor incident - accidental or contrived - with or without a military build-up, could spark off a new round of fighting, which international mediators and UNMEE might be unable to prevent. Whether there is any possibility of compromise on the border ruling or a "third way" is not yet evident, though ideas may have been floated by concerned third-party governments and others152. Scenarios of "no war-no peace" situations would be inherently unstable. Fears of a new war arose in the second half of 2003, though reducing somewhat in 2004.

An underlying factor of tension is the political pressure within Ethiopia, including from within the ruling party and parts of the internal opposition, for rejection of the border decision. Some question the 2000 Peace Accord, call for Ethiopia to regain access to its former Red Sea port outlet at Assab, or are against Eritrea's independence. Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi has said that Ethiopia will not start a new war but has warned of the possibility of an eruption of conflict, while affirming respect for Eritrea's independence.

Eritrean President Issayas Afewerki has said Eritrea will not start a new war.

The two governments (formerly close allies), their two leaders (said to be close relatives), others among their political and military leadership, and their peoples have had closely inter-twined relations, both during the EPLF and TPLF fighting against the Dergue, and after the overthrow of the Dergue and the independence of Eritrea in 1991. In the post-Cold War situation, there has been no superpower rivalry fuelling a conflict, nor any significant international backing for one side against the other. There is no clear particular economic interest to either side or to any external party in the disputed Badme border area.

Diplomats, academics, NGOs, specialist journalists and commentators, and friends of both sides, have mostly set a priority on reconciliation and conflict-avoidance, and have not pursued accountability issues in regard to war abuses or blame-pinning for the outbreak of fighting in 1998. Their general feeling has been that nothing should be done to provoke either side into accusing critics of being partisan and into taking rash action, given the heated and uncooperative attitude of both sides in the peace talks during and after the fighting.

During the war there was a vitriolic "propaganda war" between Ethiopia and Eritrea in government statements and the state media and websites, which was reflected also in civil society groups in each country and among both diasporas and their (mainly opposition) websites, and including their partisan foreign supporters. Each side demonized the other,

[152] For example, Clapham 2003.

published disinformation and made exaggerated accusations of human rights abuses, while denying abuses by its own forces. This seemed to be about to start again in 2003.

The two diasporas – which both include many government opponents - have not connected with each other on any common issues of human rights and have mostly not begun any post-war reconciliation. Many Ethiopians talk of "the unity of Ethiopia", by which some mean the re-absorption, possibly by force, of Eritrea within Ethiopia, while Eritreans are concerned about "the survival of Eritrea as a state". Most support their own government's position on the border ruling, even those who oppose it on other internal political issues. Now as before, there have been few public or even private expressions in either country's civil society or diaspora of unconditional anti-war or pacifist opinion.

After the war, the Eritrean internal political opposition mobilized to demand democratic reforms but was suppressed in September 2001 with detentions – including of EPLF veterans and war-time political and military leaders who were publicly accused by the government of being traitors during the war (which they denied, although they have not been taken to court or charged). The increasingly critical private media was closed down. The Eritrean diaspora now contains substantial opposition voices, such as the non-violent Eritrean Democratic Party (formerly the Eritrean People's Liberation Front-Democratic Party, EPLF-DP, consisting mainly of former EPLF members), and the armed opposition ENA. The ENA supports Eritrea's independence but aims to overthrow the government, and seems willing to collaborate with Ethiopia for this purpose.

The Ethiopian internal opposition, weakened during the 2000 elections and under continued pressure from the ruling party, formed a new alliance in 2003 - the United Ethiopian Democratic Front (UEDF) - to oppose the EPRDF government in the forthcoming May 2005 elections. The OLF, allied to the ONLF in fighting the Ethiopian government, is based in Eritrea.

Currently there is little international media interest in the threatened conflict, partly because both countries restrict access to the country and border areas to journalists, but mainly because of greater media attention to other worse conflicts and humanitarian crises in the region - in Darfur in western Sudan, Burundi, Somalia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and northern Uganda. The current humanitarian crisis of food deficits and increasing emergency food dependency and child malnutrition in the Horn affects both countries deeply. However, there has been little international criticism of the extent to which the disruption and costs of the previous war contributed to this crisis, nor warnings of a worse disaster in the event of a new war.

The two governments are apparently not talking to each other and are probably resistant to any third party pressing them to talk. Even the threat of US aid sanctions (e.g. the US House of Representatives draft resolution 2760 in 2003, which has not proceeded further) may not have had much impact on Ethiopia's rejection of the border ruling. Third-party governments, NGOs, strategists and commentators do not appear to be as yet speaking out strongly about the risks of war, or taking steps to try to prevent it.

6. Human rights consequences of a new war

There has been no published evaluation of the 1998-2000 war in terms of "lessons learned", but on the past record and in the light of relations since then, a second war might bring the following human rights consequences**,** as well as heavy military casualties:

- massive displacement of people and heavy material destruction in the fighting zones, or other areas of extension of conflict beyond the border areas
- violations of the Geneva Conventions, including abuses against prisoners of war and civilians, reprisals against the Ethiopian or Eritrean minority communities in each country, and restricted access to prisoners of war and civilian internees by the International Committee of the Red Cross
- resistance to pressure against human rights abuses
- restricted access to journalists, diplomats and NGOs to monitor human rights
- a "propaganda war" inhibiting impartial monitoring and prevention of human rights abuses
- long-term economic disruption and set-backs to development and poverty-reduction plans at the national levels
- worsening of the humanitarian crisis imminent in both countries, requiring increased international emergency aid
- in the diasporas, heightened animosities, holding back possibilities of reconciliation between civil society on the two sides, and leading to the two diasporas fuelling the conflict financially and politically
- the two governments may also use the situation as a cover to repress dissent and as an excuse to sideline human rights issues, for example in relation to democratization in Eritrea and elections in Ethiopia in 2005
- new internal displacement of people and flows of refugees to neighbouring countries and thence to other countries in the world, requiring international protection and assistance.

In the event of war, it would be vital for the international community – UN, African Union, IGAD, US, European Union, in particular – to be prepared to mobilize fast to mediate between the two sides, prevent escalation of the conflict and stop weapons transfers to the belligerents. Measures would be needed to protect vulnerable civilians and ensure there was no impunity for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

7. Preventing a new conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea

The 1998-2000 war started over territorial and sovereignty issues and led to major violations of both humanitarian law and human rights law. This affected other non-conflict-related rights issues too, as regards arbitrary detention of the states' own citizens, torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, and political killings. Both in war-related and non-war-related situations, there has been the same apparent impunity for perpetrators of abuses, and the same lack of justice or redress for the victims. Freedom of opinion and expression, and the legitimate rights of human rights defenders, have also been subject to suppression.

The inter-state conflict has had regional repercussions, which are inter-twined with conflicts internal to each country. These internal conflicts – involving, for example, Ethiopia and the OLF, Ethiopia and the ONLF, Eritrea and the ENA - arose partly from human rights

grievances which have not been addressed, and have led to a cycle of major human rights abuses.

There is also a third level of conflict, possibly more avoidable, which has arisen between local communities over resources, ethnicity, religion, language or local boundaries.

The bottom line is the need to prevent a new war and its appalling consequences for human rights. The Boundary Commission's ruling was a point of departure but it has not settled the conflict, leaving the Peace Accord in jeopardy. The UN Secretary General's best efforts are required to ensure lasting peace and reconciliation, rather than lasting tension, in one of the African continent's disaster zones, which would represent an embarrassing failure of the Millenium goals.

A lasting peace agreement over the state border issue would remove the need for an expensive UN peace-keeping operation, remove obstacles to alleviation of humanitarian disaster, limit each country's diversion of resources from poverty-reduction to rising military expenditure and military mobilization, and make redundant these fears of new war related abuses of human rights. In Eritrea, indefinite military conscription (which currently provides no exemption even for conscientious objectors) would be less necessary and this could facilitate the return to civilian life of a major section of the country's educated and skilled manpower. General acceptance by governments and civil society of a "culture of peace" in place of both external and internal conflict would vastly improve regional security and inhibit a cycle of violent repression and violent opposition.

The following are proposed elements for a "culture of peace" strategy for conflict-avoidance and reconciliation**:**

1. Coordination of conflict-mediation between the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea by relevant governments and the international community, through the UN Secretary General, the African Union, IGAD, the US and European Union, including shuttle diplomacy (such as by the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy) to maintain dialogue and find creative ways to avoid the road to war.

2. The UNMEE peace-keeping force to remain in place in the "Temporary Security Zone" along the border as long as there is any threat of renewed conflict, with an early-warning system to prevent any particular incident sparking off a wider conflict and with monitoring of human rights issues.

3. Full public commitment by both sides to respect the Geneva Conventions, including giving open access to the International Committee of the Red Cross, and acceptance that anyone responsible at command and operational level for war crimes and crimes against humanity should be brought to justice, with no impunity tolerated.

4. Arrangements to be found for the border populations affected by the border issue, but never consulted, with special attention to the plight of those displaced in the last war, providing them with the opportunity to return to their homes and cross the border for trade and family visits.

5. Support for reconciliation and "bridge-building" between Ethiopian and Eritrean civil society groups, e.g. through faith groups153, journalists, academics, educators and human rights NGOs in the two countries and diasporas, and their international counterparts and regional specialists, to create communication and prevent conflict-related hatred, intolerance and discrimination on account of national identity.

6. Substantial progress in promoting and protecting human rights in each country so as to end impunity for human rights violations, remove the causes of internal displacement and refugee flows, and create a safe environment for refugee and IDP returns.

7. Advocacy in all appropriate fora – including by government, international NGOs and civil society groups in each country - for a lasting solution of the conflict, and of the need to recognize the long-term importance of the links between human rights, development and durable peace.

8. All parties to desist from and strongly discourage hate-speech against the other country and its people, and support the right to freedom of expression and opinion in advocacy for peace and human rights.

9. Establishment of mediation mechanisms for other major conflicts within each country, detached from the inter-state issue, and addressing the human rights grievances underlying them.

Conflict-prevention at this stage, allowing the two neighbour-states to co-exist peacefully and without fear of destabilization, would be much less costly than conflict-management after a second war, when reconciliation would be that much harder. There may be an impasse at the moment but a collision-course is not inevitable.

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PAPER 20

A Critical Reflection on the Horn of Africa's Human Rights Predicament

Case – A Gender-Based Perspective on the Somali Region in Ethiopia (Ogaden)

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The purpose of paper is to initiate a thought provoking analysis on and around the notion of human rights within the context of Africa, and particularly when considering human rights issues in the Horn of Africa. Human rights discourse needs to be re-conceptualized with regards to the continent of Africa. According to I. G. Shivji, this re-conceptualising is essential because: a) human rights discourse is backward, and b) this discourse is not ideologically neutral; and yet for the people of Africa human rights struggles sum-up their daily lives.

"Cultural relativism" permeates some levels of the debate on human rights, and whether as 'Western" concepts, these might not necessarily work in Africa. Moreover, another level of the debate relates to the validity and applicability of the concepts of human rights. Shivji (1989) argues that human rights concepts have universal validity and applicability; I believe and agree with this argument.

> *"To the extent the Western model of the state has spread to other parts of the world, the factors which gave rise to the need for constitutional guarantees and led to the evolution of the philosophy of human rights in the West become equally relevant in other parts of the world. (Kannyo quoted by Shivji, 1989:11)"*

So, establishing the fact that human rights concepts do apply and need to be adhered to in Africa and elsewhere in the world, lead us to the realization that it is important to be critical, in not only establishing whether or not these concepts are applied, but also, about how they are applied, and how they are defined as well as who defines them. For human rights concept to become relevant, these concepts need to be rooted in the real context of Africa with its complex historical legacies of colonialism.

According to Okoth Ogendo as cited by Shivji there ought to be a minimum content of human right which should include but not limited to:

> *"Life in the biological sense;*
> *Liberty including the security of the person or group;*
> *Freedom of conscience, expression, assembly and association;*
> *Freedom from discrimination;*
> *Self-determination" (Shivji, 1989:11).*

Human rights discourse is backwards:
Shivji argues that the dominant discourse on Africa and human rights fails to contextualize human rights ideology within the imperialist domination of Africa. For instance, in the human rights literature, we see frequent references to Bokassa and Amin as cruel perpetrators of human rights violations; but we never see critical reflections on the fact that Bokassa was France's protégé and we hardly come across any critical analysis around the question of who installed Amin into power, in the first place[1]. In addition to lacking critically relevant analysis of how certain leaders of Africa, who are notoriously known for committing human rights violations, came into power, the human rights discourse is backward because it does not take into account the continents context in terms of what is needed for the people of the continent.

For illustrations, in the context of the bourgeois ear, the 'right to private property' was central to the discourse of rights; taking priority over other rights. In present day Africa, the 'right to self-determination' and the 'right to organize' must be placed as central rights[1]. It is important to emphasize that, the right to self-determination continues to be valid even after the people have chosen some form of government. In other words, it is a right that needs to be continuously central as the people of any given society pursue their right for good governance. Equally important is the right to organize, the right to organize is essential in present day Africa; in revitalizing the capacity of the people for positive social change[1].

I would like to focus on the case of the Horn of Africa, particularly taking a glimpse at Ethiopia's poor human rights record. As we are all aware, most human rights violations in the world occur within states that have signed the covenants of human rights, Ethiopia is one good example.

Human rights violations are body counts, torture practices, an endless list of horrors, these violations seem beyond comprehension, madmen acting without reason. And moreover, *"the reports seem to be written by someone with the stomach of a physician and the mind of a statistician"* (David Matas, 1994:3). The poignant relevance of this point to the Horn of Africa Conference III, in Lund University is quite telling. This is a conference with objectives exploring how to transform the Horn of Africa from a culture of conflict and war to a culture of peace and conflict resolution. The suffering of the people of the Horn of Africa in the hands of autocratic and dictatorial regimes is well documented. And it is indeed the sufferings of these people that necessitate conferences like this to be held, so that a dialogue or dialogues can be had with regards to where to go from here.

Human rights violations and their discursive terms are not ideologically neutral
According to Matas (1994), human rights violations occur for a purpose; these acts don't take place in an ideological vacuum. Human rights violations in the Horn of Africa and else where are acts that represent manifestations of ideology. Matas further argues that, human rights violations are done on purpose, and at times can be the consequence of an ideology[1]. For instance, in Hitler's Germany, the ideology of racism took a totalitarian form.

Most of us wonder, what leads to acts of human rights violation. In an attempt to analyse the root causes of human rights violations, David Matas, looks at four ideologies as example causes of human rights violations; and these are: *"The national security state; religion; communism; and apartheid"*. I would extend Matas analysis to include Colonialism as one of the ideologies that can be factored as a root cause of human rights violations. The ideology of colonialism is wrong in so many levels; there isn't enough space in this paper to get into an in-depth analysis of such an ideology. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that the

people of Africa have been subjected to cruel and gross human rights violations through colonialism.

A critical glance at the current regime in Ethiopia:
The Somali region which is the focus of my analysis, is the most Eastern region in Ethiopia, it lies between Oromia to the West, Afar land to the Northeast, the Republic of Djibouti to the North, Kenya to the South, and the Somali Republic to the East[1]. There is a complex history to this region, and it is recorded and accounted for in a number of documents. This complex chain of historical events has contributed and led to the current state of conflict in Ethiopia, particularly in the Somali region. The Somali region was integrated into what was then the Abyssinian Empire at the end of the 19th century. This well known historical fact took place at the initial stages of European colonization of the continent of Africa. The fact that the Somali region was awarded, by the British, to the then Ethiopian Emperor, Menelik, highlights another important historical fact, that Abyssinia – now Ethiopia, was a player in the powerful game of divide and conquer in the Horn. These historical facts are well articulated by authors such as Louis FitzGibbon, and M. H. Khalif & M. Doornbos, who provide in their article *"The Somali Region: A Neglected Human Rights Tragedy"* (2002, Review of African Political Economy; no. 91: 73-94) an essential synopsis of the region's historical trajectory, which I would recommend for anyone interested in more historical information.

The one thing common to all the various regimes of Ethiopia had been the fact that they have brutally exploited the people and violated every aspect of fundamental human rights principles. For instance, at the time of the Monarchy, traditionally, exploitation and oppression were institutionalized attributes of Ethiopia's feudal society, being entrenched in the customs and laws, which administered relation between the ruling nobility and the mass of serfs. Based on this tradition, the Ethiopian socio-political establishments were devoid of basic human rights considerations[1].

Then in 1974 the Dergue regime of Mengistu H. Miriam came to power, after a long struggle and resistance to the human rights violations of King Haile Selassie's regime. The human rights record of the Dergue was so atrocious that even the unwilling had to acknowledge its existence, it surpassed its predecessor's record. The cries of the different peoples of Ethiopia have fell onto deaf ears, as far as the international community is concerned. Torture, disappearances and random detention marked the gory and unstable period known as the Red Terror during which several thousand civilians were massacred.

In 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power, re-writing the constitution, they brought with them economic liberalization, multi-party structure, and endorsed the existence of freedom of the press – only on paper. Chapter three of the new Ethiopian constitution adheres to fundamental human rights principles, this new Ethiopian constitution is notably comprehensive and human rights provisions are clearly stated.

However, the EPRDF went down the path its predecessors have gone, which is a path covered in gross human rights violations and marks the brutal suffering of the people of Ethiopia on the hands of their government. To the disappointment of the international community and many Ethiopians, international human rights organizations reported continuous violations of basic constitutional rights that this regime had written and vowed to protect[1].

Human rights violations, by the current Ethiopian regime, have been widely publicized. As quoted by Khalif and Doornbos, *The Economist* shockingly reported huge gaps between Ethiopia's written policy position on human rights and its practice:

> *"In the Oromia and Somali regions, the parties that had established strong local identities by fighting the Mengistu regime, such as the Oromo Liberation Front and Ogaden National Liberation Front, have been suppressed as 'terrorists'. Indeed, both these parties grew out of guerrilla movements. But the government also accuses the All Amhara People's Organization and Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Coalition of waging was, without producing much evidence that these parties use or advocate violence. People unwilling to join EPRDF, let alone those known to favour secession, are described as 'narrow nationalists'. They are often imprisoned and their meetings banned. In Oromia and Somali regions, human rights groups have documented hundreds of disappearances".* (Khalif & Doornbos, 2002:76)

According to *the Washington Post (April 13th, 1998),* the current Ethiopian regime had arrested and kept in detention more journalists, in the three-period of 995 to 1998, than any other government in the continent of Africa. The people of the Somali region and many other regions of Ethiopia have witnessed and suffered more than their share of violent aggressions by the state machinery. Women from the Somali region have recounted horror stories of how women deliver babies at home because it was/is not safe to go the hospital. It is challenging enough to have to walk for miles to get to any type of health care facility for these women, but it is even more dangerous for them to go to these so called hospital facilities because the military decides when to turn-off the power, and they had shut the power off while some women were having babies. So now these women risk their lives by delivering their babies at home with traditional midwives.

Gender-based analysis on the plight of Somalis in Ethiopia

As I attempted to do this research, I kept thinking about the plight of Somalis and particularly the women in this region. In an effort to situate the women of this region along the continuum of conflict/crisis, and peace negotiations, it is clear that these women always bore the brunt of all the state sponsored violence. It is a known fact that women and girls suffer disproportionately in armed conflict situations; and in addition women and girls are always targets of specific forms of violence.

'Violence against women and girls'[1] has been recognized as severe human rights violation because of the wide range of rights it violates at the same time[1]. In an armed conflict situation, the lack of stability inevitably leads to the escalation of all kinds of violence especially rape and other forms of sexual violence against women. The Somali region in Ethiopia is one of the most heavily militarized regions in the Horn of Africa. Because of the long standing ethnic based conflict, this region barely had a stable period which can be portrayed as violence free. Generally in conflict situations, violence against women is often times used as a weapon of war, for the purposes of persecuting the community that is deemed to be "the enemy". In the case of the Somali region, most of the residents of that region have been accused of collaborating with the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF); and have been subjected to arbitrary detentions, disappearances, killings and rape. The perpetrators of such violence against unarmed civilian women in this region are government forces. Although the underlying factors of violence against women are inherent in discriminations which deny

women equality with men, often times these acts of violence are pushed by discriminations but also further perpetuate gender-based discriminations.

The plight of women in the Somali region of Ethiopia is so brutal that it is heart breaking to find out that they are forgotten by the international community. This paper is indeed an attempt to provide these women with some voice, maybe by writing about them and raising their issues in conferences such as this, will eventually get them heard. Women and girls from this region are jailed, tortured, raped and harassed on a daily basis by government military personnel. They have no access to basic health care and education. They live in constant fear, fear of being accused of something that will land them in jail, where they are raped by soldiers. One of the horror stories that women go through, for instance, is a woman will be jailed with no proper trail and then raped by the guards of the jail, then will be released and told that she now can not leave the village, because they don't want these kinds of stories to be widely known. So, for instance, then that woman who could be sick, won't be allowed to go the nearest city with a hospital facility, she could become pregnant, if she does become pregnant, then she oustersized by other community members, because she is no longer a virgin, and she still won't be allowed to leave the village. These women not only live in fear, but they bear children, raise their children in the middle of ethnic-conflict, watch their children grow-up in this conflict situation and eventually either get killed or kill to survive.

I would argue that linking gender-based analysis with conflict/crisis and conflict resolution process is the central connection between adhering to fundamental human rights principles and implementing these principles for governments in the Horn of Africa. Efforts to address the root causes of conflicts in the Horn of Africa, particularly in Ethiopia, will not succeed unless women play a full and equal part in building the foundations of enduring peace. There is a vital role which could be played by women in peace processes for this region. However, women from the Somali region in Ethiopia have been excluded from all the attempts that were made in resolving this protracted ethnic based conflict in Ethiopia. This act of excluding women negates all the evidence from the literature on the gender dimensions along the continuum of conflict, peace negotiations, peacemaking, peacekeeping and reconstruction.

Black Feminist Thought

Gender-based analysis, Black Feminist Thought and Feminist Intersectional Theory are all relevant frames of analysis when reflecting on the plight of the women of the Somali region of Ethiopia. Black feminist thought in a trans-national context would provide an appropriate frame of analysis. Black feminist thought lies within the context of critical social theory in its commitment to justice for all oppressed groups. Moreover, as an approach Black feminist thought provides particular kind of knowledge that is gained from the intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender and nationality[1] . I would argue that extending this frame of analysis to the intersecting oppressions of gender and ethnicity can prove to be useful in the context of this region. There could be tremendous knowledge which can be gained from such analysis with regards to the plight of women of this region.

To conclude I would recommend that there is a need for genuine efforts to reach out to the women of this region. Evidence abounds in the literature that, lasting peace will not be attained if women are not participating in these processes. In addition, all the basic steps to "gender-dimensions of reconstruction" are essential to be appropriately covered. These include:

- Interventions focussing on women's needs.

- Gender-based approach to programming which consciously includes women and attempt to eliminate all gender related barriers.
- Put into practice "substantive" gender-equity strategies[1]

[1] M. H. Khalif & M. Doornbos. (2002). "The Somali Region in Ethiopia: A Neglected Human Rights", in Review of African Political Economy. No. 91: 73-94; ROAPE Publications Ltd

[1] "Women, Peace and Security". (UN 2002) United Nations Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325 (2002)

[1] I. G. Shivji. (1998) "The Concept of Human Rights In Africa"; Codesria Book Series, London

[1] I. G. Shivji, (1998) "The Concept of Human Rights In Africa"; Codesria Book Series; London

[1] ibid

[1] ibid

[1] History Centre; http://ogaden.com/History.htm

[1] Khalif & Doornbos

[1] M. H. Khalif & M. Doornbos, (2002) "The Somali Region in Ethiopia: A Neglected Human Rights", in Review of African Political Economy. No. 91: 73-94; ROAPE Publications Ltd.

[1] "According to Article 1 of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, "the term 'violence against women' means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". Further more in Article 2, the Declaration stipulates that "violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

(a) Physical , sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution

(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, wherever it occurs."

[1] Amnesty International (Oct. 2004); AI Index: IOR 52/004/2004

[1] Collins, Patricia Hill. (2002); "Black Feminist Thought: knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment", Routledge, New York.

[1] Zuckerman, E. & Greenberg, M.E.; (www.genderaction.org)

PAPER 21

Ethiopian Federalism
Autonomy versus Control
In the Somali Region

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One of the biggest obstacles to Ethiopia benefiting from the EPRDF's devolutionary policies does not lie, as the government's actions seem to suggest, with Amhara chauvinists wanting to resurrect a past ethnic hegemony which is surely buried, but with the Front's contumacious implementation of the policy, and its effort to control virtually every facet of the political process.[154]

In the 1990s in Africa, two sharply contrasting models on state society relations and the role of ethnicity in national affairs have emerged.[155] The first is the unitary dispensation that rejects ethnic classification of its citizens while minding the ill effects of race and ethnic based apartheid order. The African National Congress (ANC) and its allies opted for a strategy they think will insure the country's political and administrative restructuring, but one that will not perpetuate sectarian ethnic identity at the expense of citizenship.[156] Consequently, the post-apartheid regional administrative structure and boundaries are not based on ethnicity. Further, the populations in these regions elect their provincial councils, and have gained some degree of fiscal autonomy although South Africa remains a unitary state. A key manifestation of the system's competitiveness is the fact that opposition parties have governed two of the wealthiest and most populous regions for most of the past decade and the ANC has been unable to dislodge them until the most recent election in 2004. [157] Although the ANC won the most votes in Kwa Zulu-Natal and the Western Cape, it lacks majority in these provincial councils to unilaterally form regional administrations. This openness of the political process has made possible a significant degree of regional autonomy in a unitary system. The second model is Ethiopia's ethnic-based federal order. This model anchors citizenship on the ground of ethnic belonging. Advocates of this framework claimed that dividing the country into ethnic regions would recognize the country's primordial reality and bring past injustice to a quick end:

> Sometimes, people in Africa feel that they can wish away ethnic difference. Experience in Rwanda has taught us this is not the case. Experience in Liberia has taught us that this is not the case. What we are trying to do in Ethiopia is to recognise that ethnic difference are part of life in Africa, and try to deal with them in a rational manner. Rather than hide the fact that we have ethnic

[154] Young, J (1998) Regionalism and Democracy in Ethiopia, *Third World Quarterly*, 19 (2), pp 191-204
[155] For a sophisticated analysis of ethnicity and citizenship in Africa see Mamdani, M (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
[156] Maphai, V (1996) A Season for Sharing Power, *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (1), pp 67-81. For detailed discussion of state restructuring in South Africa, see Oldfield, S (2000) State Restructuring and Urban Transformation in South Africa: A Negotiation of Race, Place and Poverty. Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Minnesota.
[157] Opposition parties also have significant representation in provincial Councils in ANC governed regions.

> difference, we are saying people should express it freely. That, I think, pre-empts the type of implosion we've had in Rwanda .[158]

The intent of the Ethiopian approach has been to give greater autonomy to ethnic communities to manage their affairs.[159] The country's constitution sanctions decentralized and autonomous regional administrations, however, political praxis has been at odds with these principles.

Ethiopia's ethnic regions generate a continuing controversy regarding their long-term effects on the country's integrity. At one extreme, some predict that the centrifugal dynamics of Ethiopia's exclusive sub-national identities will lead to the country's disintegration, particularly since the new constitution guarantees the right to self-determination up to secession. Proponents of this thesis cite the former Soviet Union as a model of what happens when central government is weakened in previously authoritarian and ethnically divided societies.[160] Second, supporters of the ethnic-based dispensation note that the new federalism are novel departures for Ethiopia that cannot be reversed despite teething problems.[161] Third, other critics claim that the dominant party at the center has reneged on its democratic promise by illegally subverting free ethnic political mobilization.[162]

All three claims have some merit. An implosion of the federal system can become a reality if national leaders and regional authorities are unable to produce a legitimate political and economic system that matches the aspiration of different communities. It is also the case that the new order induced limited freedoms most Ethiopians enjoy. Finally, evidence suggests that those in power in Addis Ababa harass ethnic organizations in the regions that have centrist, democratic, or independence agendas.[163]

Other important aspects of the debate indicate that the dominant political party and economic practice will determine the viability of ethnic federalism.[164] The dominant party, Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), and its affiliates, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), has a strategic role in determining the longevity, character, and vitality of federated Ethiopia. The governing party's accomplishments are portrayed in one of

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[158] Meles Zenawi quoted in Steven P. Tucker, *Ethiopia in Transition*, 1991-98. Manuscript. April 1998, p. 23. Zenawi's misreading of the Rwandan catastrophe shows the superficiality of his party's reading of social conditions in the country and beyond. For a contrasting reading of Rwanda see, Mamdani, M (2001) *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

[159] Keller, E (1995) The Enthogenesis of Oromo Nation and Its Implications for Politics in Ethiopia, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (4), pp 621-634.

[160] For a more detailed discussion of these, see Tucker, Ethiopia. See also Ottaway, M (1994) *Democratization and Ethnic Nationalism: African and Eastern European Experiences* (Washington DC); M. Ottaway (1995) The Ethiopian Transition: Democratization or New Authoritarianism? *Northeast African Studies*, 2 (3).

[161] Henze, P (1998) Is Ethiopia Democratic? A Political Success Story, *Journal of Democracy* 9 (4) pp. 40-54. Young, *Regionalism*.

[162] Lata, L (1999) *The Ethiopian State at Cross Roads: Decolonization and Democratization or Disintegration* (Lawrence: Red Sea Press).

[163] Pausewang, S. et.al. (2002) *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Pretensions and Performance* (London: Zed). For a discussion of the authoritarian rule of the ruling party, see Harbeson, J (1998) Is Ethiopia Democratic? A Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime, *Journal of Democracy* 9 (4), pp. 62-69.

[164] Young,, *Regionalism.* Mengisteab, K (1997) New Approaches to State Building in Africa: The Case of Ethiopia's Ethnic-based Federalism, *African Studies Review* 40 (3), pp. 111-132. See also Mengistab (2002) Ethiopia: State Building or Imperial Revival? in A.I. Samatar and A. Samatar (eds) *The African State:Reconsiderations*, pp 177-190(Portsmouth: Heinemann),

two ways. Some describe the TPLF as liberating and democratizing.[165] Others paint a picture of a conniving, but ultimately Tigray dominated system.[166] These studies rarely examine the internal dynamics of ethnic regions to assess the actual balance of power between the center and regions. Two of the few such attempts are Markakis' sketchy research note and Khalief and Martin's decidedly uncritical presentation of the Somali case.[167]

Drawing on material from the Somali region, this essay posits that the post-1991 dispensation opened new opportunities initially, but the governing party's manipulation of internal regional politics derailed the promise of a autonomous and legitimate local administration that could remedy past ailments. The TPLF/EPRDF's capacity to manage regional authorities depends on the quality and legitimacy of local leadership and the political coherence of provincial communities. Thus, the best prospect for autonomous regions within the Ethiopian federation rests with collaboration between regional leadership that is accountable to local people, and a national authority that balances its interests with those of the federation. Conversely, the prospects for viable and autonomous regions dim when the regime in the center is domineering and the regional authority is ill-equipped.

This paper examines the political dynamics generated by Ethiopia's division into ethnic regions. Specifically, it demonstrates that the central government's attempts to tightly control regional political processes undermine the essence of regional self-rule that the federal constitution mandates. Making the situation more precarious, inept regional elites waste opportunities to enhance regional autonomy. The evidence was gathered from the Somali region (Region 5) since 1995 and is mainly in the form of individual and groups interviews. The names of all the sources are withheld to ensure their personal safety. Each source is numbered in the text.[168]

The rest of this essay consists of three parts. Part one sketches the forces involved in the initiation of Ethiopia's new federal system. It underscores the weakness of regional parties who were *invited* to the national conference that produced federal structure. The determination and ability of the TPLF to ignore many of the demands of major regional parties such as the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) created strong perception, from the start, that regional authorities served at the pleasure of the dominant party. The second section assesses political developments in Region 5 since the collapse of the old regime: It briefly summarizes the history of the region's liberation struggle, its relations with the Somali Republic, and highlights how the Somali military government (1969-1991) subjugated the population's desire for liberation to its agenda. The military regime's domination of the liberation movement undermined the capacity of the local population to craft a coherent regional project. This analysis is followed by an examination of the establishment of the

[165] Henze, *Is Ethiopia Democratic*?.
[166] Joseph, R (1998), Oldspeak vs Newspeak, *Journal of Democracy* 9 (4), pp55-61; Harbeson, *A Bureaucratic*.
[167] Markakis, J (1996) The Somali in Ethiopia, *Review of African Political Economy* 70, pp. 567-570. Khalief, M and Doornbos, M (2002) The Somali Region in Ethiopia: A Neglected Human Rights Tragedy, *Review of African Political Economy* 91, pp. 73-94. This piece provides a brief but general survey of the Somali experience in Ethiopia. Despite its usefulness two issues weaken its argument. First, Somali authorities in the region since 1992 are portrayed as victims only ignoring available evidence regarding the malfeasance of many and their opportunistic dealings. Second, the authors expose their biased agenda by confounding Somalis in the region with members of the Ogaden genealogical group. For instances, the authors talk about the responsibility of the Ogadeni intellectuals "…Ogadeni intellectual to persist in searching for the kind of accommodation and political solution that will serve the interest of the region and its people." (p.91).
[168] The author formally interviewed 125 citizens in five communities and had conversations with multitude of others between 1995-2002.

Somali region in 1991 and the role federal authorities played in determining which Somali party led the regional administration. Initially, the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)[169] became the only regional party openly opposed to the federal agenda to direct a new administration. Moreover, the reign of ONLF did not endure and the Ethiopian Somali Democratic League (ESDL) replaced it in the 1995 regional election. At this point, the Somali region had the most competitive regional election in Ethiopia. Despite this exceptional democratic transfer of power, federal authorities "indirectly" appointed the region's president; and the new ruling party made important changes in the ways the region was administered. However, federal authorities exploited internal party conflict and abruptly terminated its tenure. Furthermore, federal authorities not only forced a merger of the two Somali parties and created a new one, their representatives managed and directed the "congress" that established the new party. In the process, they "helped" appoint the new regional president. The imposed unification of the two Somali parties terminated competitive electoral competition in the region. These developments brought political practice in the region in line with the rest of the country. The Final section reflects on the consequences of fractious and inept local leadership and excessive federal intervention for regional autonomy and local democracy

Regional Authority and the new Federation

The TPLF's decision to use ethnicity as way to first mobilize the Tigray population (young, 1997)[170] and secondly other nationalities against the brutal military regime was an expedient and strategic decision, particularly given the Amhara colonization of the state. Having defeated the military oligarchy in its home territory by 1988, TPLF realized that it could not march to the national capital and impose a Tigray regime in place of the Amhara. Consequently, it formed the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which included junior partners from Amhara, Oromo, and other national groups. Many EPDRF members, particularly the Oromos (Oromo People's Democratic Organization -- OPDO) were prisoners of war in the camps of TPLF. Once it captured the capital in 1991, the TPLF led EPRDF convened a national conference. Those invited[171] to the conference belonged to ethnic based movements, some of which only formed recently. The EPRDF's most important new ally was the independent and popular OLF representing the largest ethnic group. Despite the collage of ethnic participants in the conference, the military victors clearly controlled the conference's agenda.[172] However, the collaboration of autonomous groups, such as OLF, enhanced EPRDF's credibility. The conference produced a national charter which laid the ground-work for the to be constituted Ethiopian federation. The transitional government that was then formed marched to EPRDF's tune with the TPLF as its political and military leaders.

The first major rift between the EPRDF and an autonomous national liberation movement, the OLF, became public in 1992.[173] The OLF claimed that EPDRF troops harassed and intimidated its people, and the dominant party's refusal to postpone the 1992 election led OLF

[169] ONLF was informally organized party and came into existence in the late 1980s. The word Ogaden is the name for one of the Somali genealogical groups that inhabit the region. Somalis from other genealogical groups maintained a distance from ONLF due to its clanish agenda and identity.

[170] Young, J (1997) *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: The Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975-1991* (New York: Cambridge University press).

[171] TPLF leaders could invite whom they wished. This gave them tremendous power over who represented various communities.

[172] Harbeson, *A Bureaucratic*

[173] Gilkes, P (1995) *Ethnic and Political Movements in Ethiopia and Somalia* (London: Save the Children Fund). Ottaway, *The Ethiopian Transition.*

to renounce the coalition.[174] OLF alleged that the election was rigged in favor of the dominant party and its supplicant Oromo ally, the OPDO.[175] The OLF withdrew from the transitional government. Shortly thereafter the Tigray (TPLF) troops humiliated the OLF by capturing 20,000 of its soldiers in camp. The defeat of OLF signaled that the victor was not going to be detracted from turning its agenda to the national program. Many informed people viewed the electoral "victory" of the EPRDF/OPDO in Oromia in 1992 and the harassment and persecution of the OLF as a bad omen for the constitutionally sanctioned federalism anchored on autonomous regions.[176]

The departure of OLF meant the removal of the largest and most popular party from the political scene. Political organizations which were junior partners in the EPRDF coalition, came to power in most of the country's regions after the 1992 regional election. The Somali region was an exception in this regard, since the ONLF formed the first regional authority. ONLF was neither a member of the EPRDF coalition nor an ally of the ruling party. The ONLF refused to participate in the dialogue that produced the transitional charter. Instead, it advocated immediate secession of the Somali region from Ethiopia. This party remained in power for a brief period. The Somali People's Democratic League (SPDL), a friend of EPRDF replaced it in 1995. The League was in turn displaced by the Somali People's Democratic Party (SPDP) in 1998. A narrative of the political history of the Somali region since 1991 shows the relative roles of ethnic political parties and the ruling party in Ethiopian federalism.

Politics in Somali-Ethiopia since 1991

Analysts often point out that the TPLF organizational and leaderships skills and its cadre's discipline as a major party and national asset.[177] The future role of other ethnic based parties in the evolution of the Ethiopian polity requires assessing the quality of these parties and their legitimacy. Establishing an ethnic federation acceptable to the various groups will require representatives parties from all communities to broker the necessary political and economic compromises. In an ideal world, ethnic equals will come together to create a federation on a mutual basis. But Ethiopia is not an ideal context. As an ethnic liberation movement, with national leadership ambitions that defeated the old regime, the TPLF resolved to remake Ethiopia under its tutelage. If, however, other ethnic liberation movements had significantly helped defeat the military dictatorship, then the nature of the post-Derg dispensation would not have been so lopsided. The TPLF movement introduced a democratically promising element into Ethiopia's political milieu. However, those militarily weak movements that had democratic aspiration were faced with a stark choice: stay in the game, within circumscribed limits, and try to push the democratic agenda from within; or to retreat to the bush and engage in liberation war. The immediate choice made by significant elements of the Somali community to play by the TPLF rules was the wise one. The alternative that ONLF advocated would have been catastrophic, as it would had thrust unprepared Somali population into war with Ethiopia's new regime.

Liberation Politics in Somali Ethiopia

A brief explanation of the history of the Somali-Ethiopian Liberation movement will shed light on the limiting conditions the Somali community had faced in the post-1991 period. The

[174] Lata,, *The Ethiopian State*.
[175] Others have confirmed the dominant party's manipulation of the election. Pausewang, S (1994) *The 1994 Election and Democracy in Ethiopia* (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights).
[176] Subsequent analyses have sustained this claim. See Pausewang, *Ethiopia Since the Derg*.
[177] Young, *Regionalism*

first organized liberation movement, the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), in the Somali territory under Ethiopian jurisdiction, came into existence a few years after Somalia gained its independence in 1960.[178] The Somali Republic's Constitution sanctioned liberation of Somali territories in Ethiopia, Kenya, and French Somaliland. This essentially embedded these liberation movements in interstate relations and, more centrally, in Somali regime politics. The liberation movement in Somali Ethiopia reached it zenith in 1977/78 when the military government in Mogadishu committed it forces to "assist" the struggle. The liberation movement had no autonomy from the Somali national army in this effort. Nonetheless, the Somali-Ethiopian population supported the war despite this stranglehold. Somali successes were momentary once the Soviets, Cubans, and Yemani contingents intervened and helped Ethiopian troops beat the Somali army. This defeat has been catastrophic for Somalia and the liberation movement. In Somalia an armed political power struggle among the elite ensued, culminating in the state's collapse and in the country's disintegration in 1991.

During the interim period, 1978-1991, the liberation movement lost its autonomy. Because the Somali military regime used the liberation movement for its own purposes many movement leaders became the regime's henchmen. Those who disagreed with the regime's tactics were forced to flee the country; the unlucky individuals rotted in jail. This treatment caused the movement to lose its identity and become a sycophant of the military regime.[179] The state's collapse and subsequent fragmentation of the Somali society into warlord territories and the rise of sectarian politics had dire effects on Somali-Ethiopian politics. Although Somalis have contributed significantly to the Mengistu regime's weakening, the liberation movement was politically and militarily a spent force in 1991. Many Somali-Ethiopians who moved to Somalia since the early 1960s returned to Ethiopia after May 1991. Some of these were senior military leaders and political entrepreneurs, steeped in sectarian elite games.

Chaotic Transition: Disorganized Elite and Federal Interventions

The viability of an autonomous Somali region in the new federation depended on the interplay between a fractured Somali elite and TPLF forces. This section demonstrates how disorganized Somali leadership created, in part, opportunities for federal authorities to determine which party ruled the region. The willingness of federal authorities to intercede in local affairs signaled the problematic nature of "regional autonomy" in Ethiopia. Regional autonomy means that local people are free to choose representatives that are accountable to them.

Most Somalis everywhere rejoiced over the collapse of the Mengistu government, particularly since former Somali regimes supported TPLF. But some Somali-Ethiopians had expectation contrary to the designs of TPLF. As TPLF troops gained control of the country, ONLF warned that Tigray troops should not cross into Somali territory. ONLF threatened war in the Somali territory if its warning was not heeded. Young men representing ONLF came to Addis Ababa, and the Sudanese Government began to mediate an agreement between ONLF and the EPRDF. ONLF representatives refused to adopt EPRDF's political scheme. Once EPRDF leaders understood ONLF's position, it began to search for other Somali groups. EPRDF announced that people could form their own political parties. Before long, names of a dozen

[178] The earliest resistance dates back to the early days of the 20th century. See Sh. Abdi, Abdi (1991) *Divine Maddness* (London:Zed). Samatar, S.S. (1982) *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mohamed Abdille Hassan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). See Colins, D (1960) *A Tear for Somalia* (London: Jarrolds), chapter 11. Chapter eleven depicts Somali resistance to Ethiopia.

[179] In fact, stalwarts of the Somali liberation movement claim that the Eritrean and Tigray movements received better support in the last decade of the struggle from the Somali government than they did.

political parties, supposedly representing various opinions, appeared. In the absence of an authentic liberation movement representing the Somali community, EPRDF sent for the remnants of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), languishing in Mogadishu. These individuals were brought to Addis Ababa. EPRDF proceeded with its agenda and allocated four seats in the national conference to Somali groups,[180] except ONLF. WSLF leaders, who received two seats, wanted Somali representatives in the national conference to be inclusive of all Somali groups; consequently, they decided to give one of its seats to ONLF.[181]

From the first encounter between the Somalis and EPRDF, three things became apparent. First, EPRDF *unilaterally* decided how many national conference representatives each participating ethnic group would have. These allocations were based on guess-estimates of the relative sizes of different population groups in the country. Second, the EPRDF decided which Somalis would participate in the conference. ONLF's initial exclusion from the participant list, implied that ethnic communities might not be free to choose their representatives. Third, the Somali region was going to suffer from social fragmentation in the absence of a disciplined, institutionalized and rooted liberation movement(s).

The 1992 regional parliamentary election did not change the political landscape. No organized and established political parties existed that could compete with one another on the basis of a political program. From the 37 Somali constituencies, 111 individuals were elected. ONLF, as a nominal political party, claimed the largest number of representatives. The newly elected representatives attended a seminar in Dire Dawa, the presumed capital of the Somali region, the transitional government organized. According to numerous infomants, Somali deputies paid scant attention to the conference proceedings but concentrated on lobbying for posts in Ethiopia’s first Somali regional government.

By counting all members of Ogadeni genealogical origin as the party's natural members, the ONLF wrongly assumed it had sufficient majority in the assembly to form the new government. Unfortunately for ONLF, many elected officials of Ogadeni descent did not belong to this party nor shared its clanist agenda. WSLF had the second largest group of elected members in the regional parliament. As the parliament proceeded to elect government officials from its ranks, active campaigning began for the executive committee posts, regional president and vice-president, and secretary. Abdillahi Mohamed Saadi organized his 33 genealogical group within ONLF and gained their support for his candidacy for President. Since Mr. Saadi was not ONLF’s official presidential candidate, his candidacy exposed the party's lack of internal coherence, discipline, and election procedures.

Meanwhile, other groups in the regional parliament were becoming alarmed by ONLF’s claim of being the majority party. Also concerned about ONLF's sectarian (exclusive to Ogadeni genealogical group) agenda and internal turmoil, these other groups began to rally around an agenda inclusive of all Somali groups. They nominated Sh. Abdi Nasir (an Ogadeni), who strongly supported an inclusive political agenda, for the regional presidency. Professor Abdillahi and Eid Dahir were their candidates for vice president and secretary. Those nominated for the 19 executive committee of parliament openings also represented a broad cross-section of the population. This inclusive approach forced ONLF to accept Saadi’s

[180] EPRDF retained 32 of the 87 seats in the Council of Representatives. OLF was given the next largest bloc, thus insuring EPRDF domination of the conference. See Tucker, *Ethiopia* pp.11.
[181] Note the fragmentation of the political elite -mirroring those in Somalia and how EPRDF encouraged this trend by distributing the seats among them along clan lines.

presidential candidacy rather than risk a split within its ranks and lose the chance to control the regional government.

At this point, the inclusive Somali group suspected the ONLF communicated with EPRDF authorities in Addis Ababa.[182] The ONLF complained to EPRDF authorities about 11 members of regional parliament, representing those areas the Somalis and Oromos were disputing, participating in the deliberation. For whatever reason, the EPRDF government intervened in local parliamentary matters and expelled 11 members from the regional parliament. These changes sealed ONLF's victory in forming the government, and Saadi was elected regional President.

The next major items on the parliament's agenda were the region's official name, flag, and the formal designation of Somali-Ethiopia's capital city. The two most contentious agenda articles were the identification of the capital city and the region's name. ONLF strongly argued for adopting Ogaden as the region's name. This motion was defeated, and the name, Somali Region, won approval. Once the debate on the selection of the regional capital began, ONLF leaders brought another faxed message from federal authorities instructing the Somali parliament to choose a town other than Dire Dawa since the Oromos also claim Dire Dawa as their city. ONLF supported EPRDF's position and proposed Godey, a small and remote town in the far reaches of the region, as the capital. An emergency meeting was called to consider Godey as the new capital. This proposal was approved to the chagrin of most Somalis. Despite these problems, this foundational meeting held in Dire Dawa resulted in the first major Somali *public celebration* in Ethiopian history.[183]

The newly elected Somali leaders went to Addis Ababa to be introduced to Ethiopia's transitional government. They met with then President Zenawi, Prime Minister Layne, and the Somali Minister in the central government, Abdimajid Hussein.[184] The Transitional government granted the Somali leaders a budget of six million Birr to finance their immediate regional agenda. The three Somali leaders remained in Addis Ababa despite the enormous and urgent duty of forming a functional regional and local administration. The ONLF administration took another four months to appoint regional department heads and district administrators. Such a lackadaisical attitude of the leaders boded ill for the region's viability. Two events illustrate this. First, rather than seeking professional advice about how to form a viable regional administration, they merely copied the structure of the Central Government. The only posts left out were uniquely federal departments, such as Foreign Affairs and Defense. Second, the three senior leaders and some members of parliament's executive committee divided the six million Birr among themselves to spend in these ways. The president and the secretary purchased vehicles with some of the money. The vice-president allocated some money for use in areas the Somalis and Oromos were disputing. When the executive committee members complained about being left out of the spoils, they were given a share of the money to purchase chairs and tables. These actions were taken without parliamentary approval and without recording the expenses.[185]

This inappropriate managerial approach displeased some executive committee members who complained to the federal authorities. They were told to convene their parliament and sort out

[182] Seven different sources including ONLF members confirmed this. Interviews 1 -4: Jigjiga, Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa, 1995, 1996.
[183] Interview 2: Dire Dawa, 1996.
[184] Abdimajid Hussein passed away in April 2004.
[185] Interview 3, Jigjiga, 1996

their differences with the regional administration. The group heeded this advice, returned to Godey, and requested an urgent meeting of parliament. Meanwhile, some ONLF members were disgusted with what they perceived as systemic corruption in the regional government and called for its dismissal.

Parliament was called into session. The first agenda item was to formulate operational rules and local laws. While debating these matters, disgruntled ONLF members intensified their demand for a change of government. Given the threat to his post from within the party's ranks, Mr. Saade, the regional President believed that non-ONLF parliamentarians were his allies. After all, they were not calling for his removal from office. In the meantime, a group of MPs, mostly from the Jigjiga zone, organized themselves as a parliamentary bloc (15 members) and pushed a collective "Jigjiga agenda." The Jigjiga bloc agreed to nominating their members to official posts based on merit. The group's cohesion made it into a powerful alliance within parliament whose support others sought. [186]

In an attempt to bring down the government, 13 appalled executive committee members resigned as a group. This precipitate action created an immediate crisis. Other executive committee members urged parliament to replace those who resigned. At this point, the speaker of the national assembly, Dawit Johannes, and a Somali member of the assembly, Abdulaziz Ahmed, came to Godey. They told the regional president that he could not stay in power legally with the resignation of 13 executive committee members; and urged parliament to reelect or replace the 13 members who resigned.[187]

A new campaign for executive branch posts ensued. ONLF abandoned its former office bearers and nominated Mr. Abdirashid Ahmed as president; Professor Abdiallhi as vice-president, and Abdi Illah as secretary. Other members of parliament formed a grouping called the United Zones (UZ) and nominated Mr. Hassan Gire, Mr. Abdi Illah, and Mr. Eid Dahir for the three posts. The latter group, whose core members were from the Jigjiga zone, negotiated with Abdi Illah's kinsmen and offered them the vice presidency. The two parties agreed on this. However, this covenant fell apart as Abdi Illah reneged and attacked Eid as unfit for the secretary's post. The UZ group withdrew from the agreement. A new executive committee was elected much to ONLF's chagrin. In September 1993, the committee elected the UZ group ticket to form the new government. [188]

The newly elected president and his associates went to Addis Ababa to meet the federal authorities. Apparently, the ONLF cadre asked the new non-ONLF --but Ogadeni-- president and his deputy to claim to be ONLF to boost the "Ogadeni" cause. The president did this in a national radio interview. The secretary, Eid Dahir, contradicted him on the same radio program. Despite the president's radio announcement, the ONLF cadre and loyalists harassed the new government in Godey.

President Hassan Jireh's team began to appoint new administrators for various posts. In a short period, they appointed 77 directors of offices, a number that exceeded the sum of the federal government's offices. The regime proceeded to appoint 261 teachers for every zone in the Somali region.[189] It was simply following a central government directive indicating this number of teachers *could* be hired per zone. The trouble with the Somali regime's approach

[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Interviews 3 and 4: Jigjiga, and Addis Ababa, 1996
[189] Interview 5: Jigjiga, 1997

was that nearly all its zones, with the exception of Jigjiga and maybe two other places in the region, did not have enough schools to absorb this many teachers. The starkest example of this misuse of regional resources was the deployment of 261 teachers to the Fiiq zone, an area with only one elementary school that could use about six teachers.[190] By contrast, Jigjiga with 53 schools, including the only senior secondary school in the Somali region, received the same number of teachers. Furthermore, most of the newly employed teachers did not have the necessary training and qualifications. Others were phantoms.

ONLF was unhappy about being excluded from partaking in the spoils and called for a parliamentary meeting in early 1994. The UZ group supported this proposition, but asked that the meeting be held in Jigjiga. ONLF did not like the change of venue but agreed to it as long as its key concern, formal debate over regional self-determination, appeared in the agenda. The UZ realized that it could not resist the inclusion of this item in the debate, as that would have handed ONLF a major propaganda victory. Moreover, the UZ added a point on the agenda that would free regional and federal authorities to fight Itihaad, the militant Muslim group. Most UZ members suspected that ONLF and Itihaad were connected. Parliament meekly discussed the Itihaad item and then approved it with overwhelming support. Then the meeting turned its attention to "self-determination."[191] The delegates agreed to form a parliamentary committee to negotiate with the federal authorities the terms of divorce. Most regional MPs had not read the federal interim constitution and the procedures governing regional self-determination. The few who had read it led the advocates of self-determination into a political confrontation with federal authorities by convincing them to form this committee.

The intense emotional nature of the parliamentary debate on self-determination sidetracked ONLF deputies from trying to bring down the non-ONLF regional government. The sense of victory felt by supporters of immediate self-determination was short-lived, for the committee never went to Addis Ababa to negotiate with federal authorities. However, when federal authorities learned about the Somali parliament's decision to pursue self-determination, they immediately demanded that the parliamentary executive committee call an urgent meeting of parliament to inform members of the illegality of their act and to reverse it. The meeting was called although many ONLF members refused to attend. The president left for Addis Ababa after giving his blessing to the meeting. Afterwards, key ONLF members convinced the president that if the parliamentary meeting continued it would do great harm to their interests. The President faxed a message to the executive committee, telling them that their meeting was illegal.[192] Furious about the president's acts, the committee decided to fire him. They also accepted his deputy's resignation who quit to protest the meeting.

Federal authorities intervened in regional political affairs for the second time. The Prime Minister's office changed its view about ONLF as the major party in the region. As parliament began to elect the third regional government, federal authorities reversed their earlier decision to expel MPs from the Somali-Oromo contested areas. The induction of these individuals into parliament enabled the UZ group to elect Ugas Abdirahman and Ahmed Makahiil, as president and vice president with Eid Dahir as secretary. The UZ group elected Ugas Abdirahman as president in late 1994 because the group thought him to share their inclusivist

[190] Ibid.
[191] This MP wanted to underscore that the Somali regions did not even have its police force or other security services. Therefore he was worried that the region might be plunged into a civil war without the presence of federal security system
[192] Group interview 1, Dire Dawa, 1997

political agenda. The new government decided to temporarily transfer the capital city to Jigjiga. President Abdirahman and his deputies journeyed to Addis Ababa to be acquainted with federal authorities. The president was interviewed on national radio and asked about the transfer of the capital from Godey to Jigjiga. He denied this has occurred, but others contradicted him. Tthe Somali federal minister, Hussein, met with the president, the secretary and one influential executive committee member. A heated debate ensued between the president and the other two. The secretary and the other executive committee member, with encouragement from the federal minister, impressed on the president that federal authorities were contemplating dividing the Somali region into at least two provinces because of internal political acrimony. The president was startled by this news and immediately told his colleagues that the discussion should come to an end.[193] In the meantime the federal Prime Minister went to Godey to explain to Somali elders the self-determination process as articulated in the constitution.

The agreement between the federal minister and the regional president and his deputies to work together for the common good did not prevent the president from pushing a sectarian political agenda once he returned to Godey.[194] Ugas Abdirahman, encouraged by 11 executive committee members, resisted the official transfer of the capital to Jigjiga. Moreover, he tried to halt the national census being conducted in the region. This last act infuriated the federal authorities, who asked the executive committee to come to Addis Ababa to consult with them. Prime Minister Zenawi inquired why the Somali region was not making progress and Ugas Abdirahman responded that the region's troubles were due to interference from people in Prime Minister's office. Other committee members disagreed. The Prime Minister warned the committee that the Federal government might have no choice but to convene a meeting of elders in the region and inform them that their elected officials were not working on their behalf.[195] He explained that the elders could then decide to fire them all. Premier Zenawi warned them that they had one last chance to reform and to act responsibly.

The executive committee returned to Jigjiga, fired the entire region's senior employees and began drawing up job descriptions and qualification for future employees. [196] They also dismissed the president, in early 1995, when he refused to carry out the decision to transfer the capital to Jigjiga. The capital of the region was subsequently moved to Jigjiga.

Political instability characterized the Somali region during this early period of transition in Ethiopia. The principal factor responsible for this condition was poor Somali leadership and the absence of disciplined political organizations that would hold leaders accountable. A secondary source of turbulence was federal interventions in which some members of the regional parliament were expelled and then reinstated to favor certain political outcome.

A Glimpse of Democracy and Regional Autonomy

The 1995 election marked a new beginning for the Somali region as a better organized political party with a broader popular base defeated ONLF. The Somali region became the only province in the country in which a governing party was defeated but retained a significant number of seats in the regional parliament. Meanwhile, federal leaders tacitly informed the new Somali party who its regional president should be. This act was a major

[193] Group interview 2, Addis Ababa, 1997

[194] Interview 6, Jigjiga and Addis Ababa, 1997.

[195] Interview 7: Jigjiga, 1998. The federal military selects the elders from various Qabelehs (neighborhoods) without consulting with residents. The government pays these elders and thus they are dependent on it.

[196] Interview 5, Jigjiga, 1997. An agent of the Prime Minister's office took part in these deliberations.

federal intervention that would seriously corrode regional autonomy. Despite electoral success, internal squabbles induced a major political crisis in 1997. This segment examines these developments.

As the political struggles noted in the previous section unfolded, another Somali political movement was slowly gaining ground. A handful of Somalis in Addis Ababa who were disturbed by the clanist thrust of Somali political parties gathered in 1991 to forge a more inclusive Somali organization. They convened a dinner with the blessing of the two Somali vice ministers in the federal government, Abdi Adan and Shamsudiin Ahmed. However, their attempt at political union fizzled away due to intransigence on the part of ONLF to compromise.[197]

In April 1992, some members of the group reconvened and formed the Committee of the Whole, with 12 members, each representing a political constituency. They elected three committee officers: Suliman Ahmed, Abdulaziz Ahmed and Hassan Fayanbiro as president, vice president and secretary, respectively. The 1992 regional elections were held before the Committee of the Whole made further progress as a political party.

The election marked another setback for the formation of a united Somali political coalition. After many meetings and deliberations, these groups assembled on February 12, 1994 at the unused military facility in Hurso, on the rail line 26 km west of Dire Dawa. The purpose was to form one political party, and participants agreed on a broadly representative system reflective of the proportions of various groups in the Somali populations. The 1500 delegates who assembled in Hurso affirmed the working group's decisions. Among the many decision endorsed were the party's name, the Ethiopian Somali Democratic League (ESDL), and party colors. The organizing committee also nominated Hussein, the federal Somali Minister, as the party's chairman.[198] Although Hussein was not a key organizing committee member, the delegates unanimously approved the recommendation. They also elected Vice Minister Shamshudiin Ahmed as Secretary of the party for similar reasons.

The new party had little time or resources to prepare for the 1995 national and regional elections. It sent a delegation to the Djibouti Republic to solicit financial support from Somali-Ethiopians and other Somalis. The group was well received and raised over $30,000 and several vehicles. The League confronted ONLF in the elections and won nearly two-thirds of the seats in the regional council and all in the federal chamber. *The competition between these Somali parties --with contrasting political programs-- meant that the Somali region had the most competitive and "democratic" elections in the new ethnic federation*.

The League then formed its central committee. According to the league's founding principles each major Somali group was to be represented by one person in the central committee.[199] The first act of the new regional parliament was to elect the 21 executive members.

[197] Group interview 3, Addis Ababa, 1995

[198] Interview 8, Addis Ababa, 1996, also Group Interview 2. Hussein was appointed to the ministerial post because he was close to the TPLF leaders. Many Somali MPs suggested that Dr. Hussein's close association with TPLF became a source of weakness for Somalis. They felt that TPLF leaders used him to micromanage Somali affairs.

[199] This was not strictly adhered to as one group received six spots, while two other group each had two appointments.

The committee then proceeded to elect a president, vice president, secretary, and then regional bureau heads. Before the party chose its candidates for these offices, it became apparent that the federal government *preferred* certain candidates. The League's vice chairman, apparently trying to carry favor with Mr. Dawit Johannes, a senior federal officer, showed the latter a list of individuals who would be the region's new leaders. Mr. Johannes informed the vice-chairman that the responsibility for selecting regional government heads rests with the parliament. However, federal authorities favored certain individuals.[200] This marked the third major federal intervention into the Somali region's local political affairs.

Hussein traveled to Jigjiga to participate in the formation of the new regional government. He called Mr. Eid Dahir and Mr. Ali Abdi for consultation,[201] and told them about the "advice" he received from federal authorities regarding who should be the region's president and vice president. President Zenawi preferred that Eid Dahir and Ali Abdi to lead the government. However, since Ali Abdi[202] was elected to the federal parliament, he could not become vice president. Hussein was concerned about the federal authorities' "favored" list because Eid and the minister belonged to the same genealogical group. He was deeply worried about the negative political impact Eid's appointment would have on the party and its inclusive agenda. Mr. Ali Abdi urged Hussein to support Eid for the presidency, given his relatively superior performance as secretary in previous governments. The League's executive committee felt compelled to accede to the federal authorities' "recommendations". Mr. Eid Dahir and Mr. Abdiallahi Mohamed were elected president and vice president. The former acting president, Makahil, who refused to transfer authority to the newly elected officers, was arrested and later sentenced to seven years in prison.

A party with a more coherent political agenda began to govern the region for the first time, and the constant intensive internal competition for posts that marked previous regional government diminished noticeably. The party's unity enabled the executive committee to put into place regional administrative regulations and submitted them for parliamentary approval. Parliament and the government were acting as partners in the region's rehabilitation. The League authorities began to bring forth annual recurring and capital budgets, with the help of technical advice from the Prime Minister’s office, to the federal government.[203] As the regional administration became relatively more systematic and accountable, the budget allocation began to increase. Unfortunately, given the region's limited absorptive capacity a large portion of these funds were unused and reverted to the federal treasury. As the region's capacity to utilize the budget grew, federal advisors, who have the final decision, made it difficult for the region to spend budgeted funds.[204]

The League government also strove to insure that political appointments to regional bureaus were inclusive of all Somali groups. In addition, a categorical decision was made to base all professional appointments on merit. The first major sign that the League government was serious about professionalizing its administrative and technical cadre was the mass re-examination of schoolteachers. Schoolteachers who wanted to keep their jobs were asked to submit original copies of their certificates and to take a re-qualification examination in 1996.

[200] Group interview 4, Addis Ababa, 1996
[201] Group interview 5, Jigjiga, 1997.
[202] Ali Abdi was one of the key candidates federal authorities tried to unseat in the 2000 election. He lost his seat in the federal parliament. Eid Dahir was removed from the presidency and severed nearly a year in prison and later released. The author visited Mr.Dahir several times during his interment. .
[203] For a discussion of fiscal reform in Ethiopia, see Keller, E (2002) Ethnic Federalism, Fiscal Reform, Development and Democracy in Ethiopia, *African Journal of Political Sceince* 7 (1) 21-50.
[204] Group interview 6: Jigjiga, 1998.

Unqualified teachers and those who failed the examination were fired. Moreover, all the phantom teachers disappeared from the region's payroll. Cleaning up the rest of the region's public services continued more tediously.

The League administration enjoyed a degree of legitimacy in the region, except in the areas where ONLF members or Itihaad, held sway. The government made some progress in its development program. For example, new water wells were drilled in the more arid parts of the region. Likewise, a teachers' training college and a nurses' training school were established in Jigjiga. Despite these tangible government accomplishments, the public remained concerned about the dominance of the TPLF military in the region and their excessive influence.[205] Some government members noted that part of this influence in the region was due to the impotence of some senior regional administrators.[206] Most individuals had two conflicting views about federal influence in the region. First, they approved of the military presence in the region because it prevented the spread of the Somali civil war into Region 5. Many noted that if ONLF came to power without federal military presence, its agenda would have forced most Somalis to resist its clanist rule. Second, the majority of public officials and the general citizenry felt that EPRDF's interventions into local politics and regional administration, except when Somalis sought such assistance, undermined local development. The vast majority of those interviewed thought that the federal authorities could remove any regional government from power if the latter digresses from EPRDF's agenda.[207]

In spite of these misgivings, the League government had a relatively long life span, two years, in contrast to its predecessors. The public thought that the regional government enjoyed EPRDF support although the League had not formally joined the EPRDF political umbrella. However, the public's perception was not accurate, as events in the summer of 1997 revealed.

Serious differences existed between the regional president and many of the party's executive committee members that gradually undermined the league's unity. Observers agree that the president failed to delegate authority to his regional ministers.[208] The gulf between the president and senior party colleagues was exposed in 1997 when the League initiated a dialogue with ONLF to explore the prospects of the two parties uniting. Participants in this discussion and others noted that the president tried to subvert the conversation by acting in contradiction to what the two parties agreed.[209] While the dialogue between the League and ONLF was occurring, the EPRDF government had its own secret negotiations with ONLF. The secret nature of ONLF - EPRDF talks troubled League members who became convinced that EPRDF had a different agenda than theirs.

The League president's management style and political behavior was reported to the party's chairman. The chairman informed the president about the party's concerns, but continued to support him. The tug of war between the president and the party's executive committee persisted. An incident in Jigjiga in the autumn of 1997 turned the conflict into a major political crisis. A guard of the regional police commissioner thrashed a head of a regional bureau. Many suspected the police commissioner of masterminding the incident since he was at odds with the victim. The President of the Somali Region failed to deal with the affair until public commotion compelled him to report the event to the executive committee. He tried to

[205] Interview 8. Interview 9: Jigjiga, 1997.
[206] Interview 10: Jigjiga, 1998
[207] Interviews11 and 12: Jigjiga, 1997, 1999. This has been the case for 5 times in previous years
[208] Interviews 13, 14, 16: Jigjiga and Addis Ababa, 1996, 1997, 1998.
[209] Group interview 7, Jigjiga, 1998. Those ONLF and League members interviewed confirmed this. .

rush through his decision on the matter without enough discussion and the executive committee refused to comply until further investigation was conducted. The president then left for the city of Harar.

The next day, fourteen executive committee members met. The police commissioner who was informed about the gathering sent a contingent of his force to surround the building where the meeting was held. The fourteen executive committee members discussed the president's "authoritarian" management style. They unanimously agreed, after lengthy deliberations, to remove him from office. Two committee members reported this decision to the League secretary who was in Jigjiga. Immediately, the secretary informed the party's chairman, in Addis Ababa, about the events. The secretary told the Chairman that the group of 14 requested a meeting with him; the chairman gave the Secretary the permission to do so. After a meeting with 16 central committee members, the Secretary reported to the chairman that the group endorsed the president's removal from office as they thought that their action would save the party and the government from more serious troubles. The chairman was not happy with this outcome and considered the group as coup makers.210

The Secretary returned to Addis Ababa and met with the chairman. Hussein noted that the group of 14 who met in Jigjiga did not constitute a quorum; consequently, their decision was invalid. He immediately called a Party meeting to undo the illegal decision of the 14 committee members. The Party met in Jigjiga and, contrary to the chair's wishes, upheld the dismissal of the President. The party also censored the group of 14 for not following party rules and recommended that parliament decide appropriate sanctions against them. This set the stage for a major political upheaval in the region

Farewell to Democracy and Regional autonomy

The Party's decisions were not implemented, and the federal authorities and the Party chairman began to talk publicly about the "coup" in the Somali Region. When Parliament met, it confirmed the Party's decision despite the *"illegal"* presence of EPRDF representatives in its midst. EPRDF agents tried to intimidate MPs to change their minds but they remained resolute. Moreover, the deployment of a new contingent of federal troops in Jigjiga did not frighten members of parliament. Parliament refused to lift the 14 MPs' parliamentary impunity against prosecution until a select committee completed its investigation.[211] Of the 14 MPs, one realized EPRDF's strategy was to force parliament to withdraw their impunity so federal authorities could put them behind bars. He spoke bluntly in parliament and then quietly slipped out of the country. Federal authorities organized a meeting for un-elected Somali elders, hand-picked by federal military, to undo the party's and parliament's decisions, but the elders declined to support the proposition. After much "cajoling", parliament succumbed to the federal agents' wishes and the 13 MPs were hauled into detention. They remained in police custody for two and one-half years. Finally, a local court convicted them, but they were released from prison immediately, having already served their prison term. The presiding judge was subsequently demoted for failing to give the prisoners a harsher sentence. The fate of this judge confirms claims that the judiciary is tightly controlled by the Administration.[212]

[210] A contingent of the local police force was sent to the area between Harar and Jigjiga to watch for the president's return. This force fired on a vehicle containing senior federal military officers who were accompanying the president. The military rounded up the police, and no one was injured.
[211] Interview 17: Jigjiga, 2000 and Interview 7, Jigjiga, 1998.
[212] Pausewang. *Ethiopia Since the Derge*. pp 253.

The party's chairman, backed by federal authorities, refused to heed the democratic wishes of members of the League and parliament. His actions plunged the League into a deep crisis. In defiance of the EPRDF's flagrant attempt to manipulate and intimidate members of parliament, the League unexpectedly decided to elect ONLF's secretary as the chairman of parliament.

The disorder in the League gave federal authorities the opportunity to remake the region's political landscape, by far the most intrusive federal intervention in the region's politics. Senior EPRDF cadre were assigned to manage the Somali region's "reform". These officials organized two separate meetings --one for the league and the other for ONLF.[213] Shortly thereafter, federal authorities called for the creation of a supreme unification committee. The Deputy Prime Minister of Ethiopia, a key EPRDF member, gave clear instructions that ONLF would chair the supreme unity committee, and the League would occupy deputy-chairmanship.[214]

EPRDF went ahead with its plan to unify the two parties.[215] Each party was told to go through self-criticism.[216] Senior EPRDF officials directed this process, a function legitimated when members were asked to raise their hand if they wanted EPRDF officials to participate. Given the presence of cadres, when this open vote was taken, many Somalis in Jigjiga told the author that people were scared to deviate from what the authorities wanted.[217] A contrived self-criticism involved party members admitting to misuse of regional resources.[218] The Party's chairman was stunned by these admissions as the charade unfolded. Those who refused to admit wrongdoing or condemn the process were fired. The same process took

[213] League and ONLF members who attended these meetings declare that the two parties had by then lost whatever autonomy they had.

[214] The Deputy Prime Minister's declaration exposed EPRDF's intention of creating ethnic parties that were accountable to them and not to local constituencies.

[215] Federal authorities told the League that it should form a joint government with ONLF for three months until it put its house in order. This agenda was forced on the League, and the recommended regional joint government was formed.

[216] Several participants in these meetings told the author how humiliating the sessions were for the Somalis. In Ethiopia, the term GimGeme, is used to characterize such "evaluations."

[217] Five participants in these deliberations told me that the League chairman was by then an instrument for the wishes of the EPRDF. They also noted that he was not his old self but seemed resigned to go through the motions.

[218] A new pattern of recruiting loyal and obedient political allies for the ruling party is emerging. An increasing number of regional authorities are sent to a training school in Addis Ababa called Tatiq. The first task of these political students was to confess openly to be corrupt and consequently remorseful. The recruits are then given a political education. Critics note that this ruling party strategy is designed to create political supplicants in the region. These people can then be easily discarded when necessary because they already admitted to corruption and other crimes. Some League members foresaw this scheme when their party was subjected to evaluation in early 1997. The EPRDF managers of the evaluations asked members to come forward and condemn the "coup" and admit to their misdeeds. Critics compared this affair to a Somali tale that goes as follows. A lion convened a meeting for wild animals and told that he was going on a trip, but he was worried about its gravely ill mother. It instructed the animals not to call him if his mother died. The lion took its trip and then returned after a time. Its mother had died in his absence. He convened another meeting upon his return and asked the animals the question: where is my mother? A hyena honestly answered the question. It was killed for disobeying the lion's instruction. Then came a zebra who reported, in order to avoid the hyena's fate, that its mother was still alive. It was killed for not telling the truth. Then it was the fox's turn. Having seen the fate of the truthful and liar, it quickly shaved the hair off one side of its head. Then the lion came to ask the fox the dreaded question. The fox turned and said to the lion "I would not have shaved this side of my head if you mother was alive." The lion was bewildered and asked again if mother was dead. The fox turned her head to the other side and retorted "I would not have left this side unshaven if mother was dead." The lion was not able to pin down the fox, and so the fox was saved. The moral of the story, according to critics, is that the only Somali party members who survived and got inducted to the new party were those who condemned the "coup" and admitted to being corrupt.

place in the parallel ONLF meeting. The two parties were then asked to select nine League and eight ONLF members to a joint committee that would work on the merger of the two parties. Shortly thereafter, the ONLF and League Central Committees met separately and selected 35 people from each party to represent them in the merger. The 70 ONLF/League members and 150 others brought in to take part in the convention met in Jigjiga in June 1998.[219] EPRDF officials openly managed these meetings. The highlight was the announcement of a formation a new party, Somali People's Democratic Party (SPDP). Neither the League nor ONLF approved the formation of the new party. A faction of ONLF reemerged as renegade party and claimed that its members who joined the new governing party were stooges of the federal authorities. By contrast, nearly all-former League members who were not selected to join the new party languish in political wilderness.

The engineering of the new Somali Party created unexpected circumstances at the federal level. The majority of Somali federal parliamentarians (MPs) and many former League members were excluded from the new party. Of the original 25 Somali federal MPs, three fled the country and sought political asylum. The chairman, who was the only Somali minister in the federal system, resigned and took a job with the United Nations in Geneva.[220] In addition, two MPs claimed to be neutral in the shifting political terrain, and three became members of the new party. Another was silent about his position. The remaining 16 members constituted the only organized Somali political opposition to the EPRDF agenda.

The new party consists of a 25 member Central Committee and nine executive members that they elected. The executive committee elected the region's president, deputy president and secretary.[221] Many senior regional government and party officials have attended the EPRDF's political education school (Tatiq) in Addis Ababa. Despite these attempts to "reform" the party, it remains crisis-ridden as indicated by the struggles between the regional president, his deputy and the party's executive committee in early 2002.[222] Federal authorities intervened in the struggle, and at one point *removed* the president from his post only to reinstate him two days later.[223] The struggle reemerged in the summer of 2003 and the president was removed from office. This federal intervention reaffirms the public's claim that the Somali party has little or no real political autonomy from the EPRDF. They cite four reasons in leveling this criticism.

First, senior ruling party officials managed and directed the process through which the Somali party was created. This is often contrasted with the absence of the EPRDF's significant strategic participation in the League's establishment. Moreover, the tactics used in abolishing the old Somali parties has scared current Somali political leaders sufficiently and convinced them that they serve at the pleasure of the EPRDF bosses. They point out that EPRDF's strategic use of un-elected elders selected by federal authorities to reverse parliament's decisions or to cajole that body into adopting the ruling party's agenda as testimony of blatant contravention of the regional and federal constitutions.

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[219] The law governing political party formation in Ethiopia requires that at least 750 delegates participate in the convention when a party is being formed.

[220] Some of Hussein old colleagues noted that he was frustrated by some of EPRDF's intrusive intervention in the region but remained in his ministerial post until he found a job with the United Nations. Obtaining the United Nations' job required the Federal government's support.

[221] *Profile of the Somali People Democratic Party* (Jigjiga: SPDP). A Party pamphlet.

[222] Interview 18 Jigjiga, 2002.

[223] The power struggle within the TPLF in 2001 that led to some of its senior leaders' ouster and imprisonment, has not altered the relationship between Somali authority and the Addis Ababa regime.

Second, EPRDF officials, known as regional advisors, openly participated in parliamentary deliberations at the highest decision-making level in the region, despite the claim that the advisors serve at the regional leaders' discretion.224 The notion that federal advisors are not decision-makers is theoretically valid. However, this is not how things work in the region.225 Numerous regional government officials and civil servants repeatedly told the author that the advisors intervene in intimate matters although "they are not supposed" to act in this manner.226

Third, the EPRDF has adroitly managed to frighten the regional leadership into submission. When the existing regional parties or individual leaders no longer serve EPRDF's purpose, it destroys them. The regional government's bizarre behavior in soliciting funds from the public for the war effort in 1999/2000 underscores the subservience of Somali leaders. Regional authorities required each rural community to contribute a specified number of sheep to support Ethiopian troops in the war with Eritrea. Village elders were responsible for collecting these "contributions". Several elders from five villages told me that they had no choice but to raise the desired number of sheep even if the villagers resisted. They added that the regional government was making these onerous demands just when a severe and prolonged drought devastated the livestock economy.227 The conduct of regional authorities in this regard appears to support the proposition that they derive their authority from Addis Ababa and only are marginally accountable to the Somali population.

Fourth, an item in the SPDP's program states that the 1977 Somali-Ethiopian war was an illegitimate and irridentalist Somali attack.228 I came across very few Somalis in the region that agreed with this claim. The public surmised that this was EPRDF propaganda and claimed that not a single Somali joined the Mengistu army to fight against the Western Somali Liberation Front and the Somali army.229 Furthermore, they pointed out that a similar item condemning the TPLFs' support for Eritrea's war of liberation should be inserted in TPLF party program.

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[224] Such advisors are the key instruments of controlling regional leaders. According to a recent study "Perhaps the most notable form of control is applied through the presence of Tigrayan 'advisers' at regional and local administrative levels. These 'advise' the local ethnic representatives who fill the formal positions." Pausewang, et.al. *Ethiopia Since the Derg*, pp 163.

[225] Numerous interviews with MPs and executive members confirmed this claim.

[226] In one instance, I was waiting for an appointment in regional government's main office and there was a large crowd gathered outside the building. A bus approached the building and then five men got of the bus and walked into the building. Members of the crowd began to talk about these individuals. The language they used to describe these individual was revealing. The five men were federal advisors. Three were Tigray, one Amhara, one Gurag. The commentators described the Tigray advisors as "Mareehan." Mareehan was the late Somali dictator's genealogical group. The point of the commentators was that a Tigray is a member of the privileged ruling family as were the Mareehan in Somalia.

[227] Interview 19: Jigjiga, 2000. Federal authorities' response during the drought-triggered famine of 1999-2000 alienated the population further. A Somali NGO distributed a report over the Internet, indicating that large numbers of people were dying of starvation in the Somali region, particularly in the vicinity of Godey. Federal authorities were unhappy with the report for it exposed its misplaced priorities of spending millions of dollars on weapons while significant number of citizens were starving to death. The NGO was forced to flee the country. Other NGO's noted that local authorities reported to the Federal Government about the crisis in the region, but the latter decided to conduct a study to find out whether conditions warranted its attention. In the meantime several thousand people died.

[228] This is noted on Page one of the party's program. X.D.SH.S (1999) *Barnaamijka Siyaasadeed EE Xisbiga Dimoqradiga EE Shacbiga Soomaliyeed* (No place or publisher).

[229] They contrast this to role Somali men played in the front lines of the Ethiopian war with Eritrea. In 2002 some of the war veterans demonstrated in Jigjiga to attract attention to their plight. The police killed two of the demonstrators.

The EPRDF waited for the 2000 national elections to get rid of its critics. EPRDF and its client Somali party engaged in all kinds of political maneuvering to defeat the renegade candidates and to bring compliant MPs into the federal parliament.[230] The EPRDF beguiled elders in such a way that the opposition would have no chance to compete effectively in the election. There were only two instances in which the strategy failed. The SPDP nominated candidates for all constituencies. Community leaders in the two areas refused to endorse the party's candidates. Instead they endorsed sitting MPs who were members of SEDL. The leaders of the two communities resisted the pressure since one of these two candidates had served his community well during the drought and famine, and had earned its respect and support. The second candidate stayed in touch with his constituency. The governing party realized it would loose in the two areas. Consequently, it decided to induct the candidates of the communities into the party without their consent. This about-face of the federal authorities and the SPDP shows that the only shield that elected regional officials have against federal intimidation is to maintain close ties with their constituencies. All other renegade candidates "lost" the election.[231] The victory resulted in that amenable MPs grateful to federal authorities assumed Somali parliamentary seats in Addis Ababa. The change signaled the end of an era in regional and Ethiopian politics and sealed the slight democratic aperture that permitted a degree of regional autonomy.

Field observation and extensive interviews support the public's claims that SPDP is EPRDF's creation. The SPDP's virtual collapse due to internal political conflict over the regions' population census and the list of candidates for the 2000 election fleetingly created a possibility for alternatives parties to emerge.232 However, none of the rival parties had the resources and EPRDF support to mount a credible challenge to SPDP. Not a single independent or opposition candidate won a seat in the federal parliament. In addition, keen observers note that federal authorities were dissatisfied with the regional president and orchestrated his replacement sometime before the election was held.233

Coda

A rationale for reorganizing Ethiopia's internal administrative division along ethnic lines was designed to grant ethnic communities regional autonomy to manage local affairs in order to eliminate past injustice and enhance the state's legitimacy. This reasoning is rooted on three assumptions: (a) ethnicity per se is the main cause of conflicts; (b) ethnic communities are internally homogenous and share a common political agenda; (c) state inefficiency and illegitimacy are due to the colonization of state institutions by certain ethnic groups. The first two assumptions are based on spurious evidence and confound the consequences with the causes of civil strife.[234] The last assumption contains important elements of truth in some regions. The validity of the circumscribed third assumption warrants that we carefully examine the nature of ethnic domination of a state and its consequences for political reform.

A case-by-case evaluation of the political history of particular counties or regions make general statements about the links between ethnicity, political reform, and regional autonomy tenuous. For example, a unified ethnic *coalition* that defeats the "ethnic state" creates

[230] It appears that SPDP employees are on the regional government's payroll. Field notes, Jigjiga, April 1999
[231] The author's conversations with people in five communities in the region indicate that the majority of the population in these communities thought the election was an exercise in fraud and intimidation. Field notes June 2001, December 2001. For comparative cases in other regions see Pausewang, et.al. Ethiopia since the Derg.
[232] Fieldnotes: Jigjiga, January 2000.
[233] The President was imprisoned shortly after the election. The author visited him in Jigjiga district jail.
[234] Samatar, A.I. (1997) Leadership and Ethnicity in the Making of African State Models: Botswana Versus Somalia, *Third World Quarterly* 18 (4), pp.687-707.

different *reform possibilities* than an ethnic liberation movement that topples the old ethnic state. In the first instance, one ethnic group will *not* control the new national defense force, because all participants would have contributed to the downfall of the old order and will jointly control different segments of the liberation army. Consequently, no single group can claim that it has liberated the country and, therefore, has the right to set unilaterally the reform agenda. In such cases, post-reform restructuring may factor in ethnicity as an important variable in balancing regional and ethnic representation, but in ways that will not reproduce old patterns of domination or generate new ones. In contrast, if one ethnic group's liberation movement defeats the old regime, then, other ethnic groups not represented in the *liberation army* may not have effective ways of keeping the new authority accountable.

The Ethiopian case is one in which a powerful ethnic liberation group (TPLF) decisively overthrew the old regime. This has had far reaching implications for the balance of power between different ethnic groups in the reform era and the nature of regional autonomy, as the Somali case shows. Four EPRDF acts exhibit the severely limited degree of freedom that Somali parties and regional governments have and the federal ruling party's preeminence. First, the selection of the Somali minister to the federal cabinet was the sole prerogative of the ruling party. This may have been appropriate during the transitional government in 1991-94 before regional and national elections were held. However, once Hussein resigned, the Prime Minister did not even consult with Somali Federal MPs in appointing his replacement.[235] Second, authorities in Addis Ababa selected the first and only League president in the Somali region. EPRDF leaders informed Hussein that they *prefer* Eid as the regional president. Federal authorities' practice of "helping" select Somali Region presidents has not changed. Current and previous presidents serve at the pleasure of the authorities in Addis Ababa.[236] Third, the intervention in the League's affairs, establishment of the SPDP, and EPRDF's use of non-elected elders to "discipline" the regional parliament to act "responsibly" makes a mockery of the federal constitution in word and spirit. Finally, the use of "advisers" in the regions undermines the elected regional leaders' authority. Consequently, regional authority and institutions remain shells rather than *developing* into autonomous structures within the federation.

These four moments demonstrate that the TPLF and its umbrella political organization, EPRDF, determine which Somali political party will govern the region and its leaders. The Somali region is not unique in this regard, as I discovered in my travels in several other ethnic regions such as Oromia, Afar, and the Southern Nationalities Region. The repercussion of this centralization of political power is that the Somali population has little choice in electing the party and the government that manage local affairs. The EPRDF has been able to sideline the Somali population's voice because the *national army* is mainly TPLF soldiers from the liberation days. Such an exclusion from the process has made Somali leaders susceptible to EPRDF pressure. This vulnerability combined with the incompetence and opportunistic tendencies of many Somali political leaders create conditions in which those individuals vie for personal favors from the federal authorities. Further, many Somali regional and federal parliamentarians reported that they feared for their lives if they disagreed with federal leaders.[237] Five of the past seven Somali Region Presidents and many others have served prison terms after they were forced out of office.

[235] This contrasts sharply with the way the government of national unity works in democratic South Africa. Junior partners in the unity government nominate candidates to their allotted ministerial positions. Presidents Mandela & Mbeki had no control over the nomination of IFP ministers.
[236] Group interviews 7, Jigjiga 2002
[237] Field notes 2002. Also interview 20 Addis Ababa, 2002

The evidence from the Somali region confirms that Ethiopia consists of ethnic provinces but the region lacks local autonomy that the federal constitution enjoins. When local populations are deprived of electing their representative a consequential element of regional autonomy is lost. This system subverts the prospect of democratic and autonomous regional institutional development. The absence of legitimacy enhances the role of the security apparatus in maintaining the federation and the defense machine is already devouring a major share of the country's meager resources.[238]

Ethiopia's "ethnic" and "decentralized" dispensation, despite EPRDF heavy handed dominance, is undoubtedly an advance over the old regime. Ethnic communities enjoy some rights. For example, Somalis, who were not recognized as a community in the Ethiopian polity, has been acknowledged to be the fourth largest population group (some say the third) in the country since 1992.[239] The official admission of the existence of a Somali region in Ethiopia contradicts old axioms that Somalis are not Ethiopian stakeholders.[240] Other benefits include Somali as the regional official language and medium of instruction in primary schools.

These vital gains are in peril as the regime clenches its control over regional affairs. This strategy has resuscitated old hostilities. The only way to rehabilitate the spirit of the 1991 political change is for regional communities to gain the freedom to choose their leaders. This case study confirms that re-drawing the country's administrative map into ethnic regions can not reform past ethnic-based political injustice. Legitimacy moored in local autonomy and democracy alone can seal the fate of the old order and secure a viable federation. Conversely, the perpetuation of current trends will deepen ethnic discord, and could undo the federation.

Finally, it was imperative to tackle the ethnic question frontally given the ethnicization of the state. Restoring the cultural and citizen's rights of the disenfranchised majority of the population was essential for building an inclusive polity. Dividing Ethiopia into "ethnic" regions appeared a reasonable and appropriate vehicle for redressing past grievances while maintaining the unity of the country. However, the power imbalance between those who hold authority at the center and regional leaders and cultural communities shortchanged the promise of the new era. It would seem from the evidence that a different ethnic political order is being constituted which could create a new hierarchical order that might impede the emergence of civic culture and accountable political order. The broader implication of the Ethiopian case is that simply reorganizing a country's administrative division along ethnic lines unless there is a legitimate division of powers can not neutralize the "ethnic problem". The challenge is how to undo previous disenfranchisement by enabling local communities to govern their affairs without creating another exclusive polity.

[238] As other researches have noted "While the army was reduced, local police forces were beefed up, and supported by various forces at regional and zonal level. Police and local militia act as control organs of the party at local level. According to Schroder's documentation, the total of all security forces is approximately the same as in Mengistu's time." Pasuewang, et. al. *Ethiopia Since the Derg*. pp 234.

[239] Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1999) *The 1994 population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Vol. II* (Addis Ababa: Central Statistical Authority).

[240] Wolde Mariam, M (1964) The Background of the Ethio-Somalian Boundary Dispute, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 2 (2), pp.189- 219.

PAPER 22
Statement

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I would first of all wish to thank the organizers of this important and interesting conference for inviting me to participate and allowing me to make a few comments on the causes of the war in the Horn with specific reference to the Eritrea-Ethiopia War. Time will not permit to present the long and complex historical background that the two peoples and territories share. Suffice to say that different parts of Eritrea, by virtue of its strategic location and its commercial and geopolitical significance, have always been a victim of various foreign aggressors during the pre-colonial era. Needless to say that as a geographic, political an unified administrative state, its international boundaries were clearly defined by the Italian colonial treaties of 1900, 1902 and 1908, along with all or most African states whose borders were also determined by colonial treaties in the early twentieth century.

After the Second World War, when the fate of former German and Italian colonies was being determined at the UN in 1959, Eritrea was denied its fundamental right of self-determination because it was assessed not to serve Anglo American strategic interests in the region. At the time with the establishment of the new state of Israel in 1948 which heightened tension in the region and the significance of the Red Sea and its security and stability to Anglo American economic, political and military strategic interests the powers to be's formula for stability in the region was to strengthen Ethiopia at the cost of Eritrea by finding a formula to affiliate Eritrea with Ethiopia. The UN, against the wishes of its people, thus federated Eritrea with Ethiopia. Therefore, Ethiopia's expansionist territorial ambitions, big-power strategic interests and inability or incompetence of the International community, especially the UN; to exert and exercise timely corrective and punitive measures can be said to be the cause of the long, bitter and protracted war of liberation that the Eritrean people was forced to wage between 1961-1913. The extent of economic, human and social damages that the war had caused is too painful to recite and has been well documented in a number of papers. Nevertheless, during the 30 years war of liberation the EPLF (Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front) has seen the wisdom of building strong and durable ties with many resistance movements within Ethiopia and especially with the TPLF (Tigray Peoples Liberation Front) who is the major force in the present Ethiopian administration. Many of the combatants of these movements were trained and armed in Eritrea and had fought side by side in many battles in Eritrea and Ethiopia against the common enemy and have developed real comradeship in arms. From the Eritrean side, this has been considered to be a major strategic and political investment that should contribute to peace and stability in the region. Indeed, after the fall of the Mengistu (Derg) regime, with the liberation of both the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples it was natural to see efforts geared at further developing and strengthening the ties and comradeship that was already built. High level commissions, led by the vice presidents of each country, were established to harmonize the systems across all sectors including defence, to remove obstacles and thereby create optimal environment for full cooperation allowing free movements of people and commodities, creating common and shared services for the peoples on the boarders. These efforts went beyond the two countries and joint efforts were also made to help build a strong community of collaborating countries within IGAD.

Unfortunately and regrettably, problems began to emerge in 1997 when an Ethiopian military contingent in hot pursuit of some Afar resistance movement went through Eritrea and on their return decided to disband the Eritrean administration post at Adi Murugh in the Bada region and decided to occupy it. Furthermore, very early in 1998, a number of Eritreans were evicted from their lands as the local Ethiopian administration has adopted a creeping system of expanding its administrative boarders. These were explained as actions taken by the local administration without the approval or knowledge of the central government and assurances were given for correction that never materialized. High-level commissions, led by each countries Defence Ministers, were also set up to study the situation, to identify the territorial claims by both sides and see if it can be resolved amicably and only as a last resort can issues be subjected to international arbitration. During these preventive diplomatic efforts no clearly articulated claims were submitted from Ethiopia and on the Eritrean side no claim other than the legal colonial boundaries could be made.

In my view, all the preventive diplomatic dialogue could not yield fruitful results in avoiding the conflict because it appeared Ethiopia entertained a hidden agenda that could not be articulated openly. The problem clearly cannot be only a boarder issue since such cannot be defined by force. Indeed, international boarders can only be sorted out by legal and peaceful means. During the course of this senseless and tragic war a number of revelations came out that might shed light to the hidden agenda. The official regional map of Tigray showed claim to large area of Western Eritrea. Other groups in Ethiopia, especially the Amhara group, also showed appetite for territorial claim. And as the war intensified, the intentions of the Ethiopian authorities to occupy Eritrea, change its administrative region, control the whole of Eritrea if possible or at least Assab if not by creating a puppet government began to take shape. The war erupted when Ethiopia declared war on Eritrea in 1998 using the occupation of a place called Badme as a pretext. This tragic war, which lasted two years (1998-2000), had catastrophic and devastating effects on both countries and peoples and has jeopardized the strong and friendly ties that were built between the two peoples.

A comprehensive peace agreement was signed in Algiers in December of 2000, designed to find a final and binding solution to the boarder issue and thereby settle the conflict once and for all. The peace agreement was brokered, sponsored, guaranteed and witnessed by President Bouteflika of the Democratic Republic of Algeria, the UN Secretary General Kofi Anan, the OAU (AU) Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim, US Secretary of State Madelein Albright and European Union Special Envoy Renato Seri. All these dignitaries have been signatories of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The fundamental tenets of the Algiers Peace Treaty include:

The establishment of an Arbitration Commission: In this regard article 4.2 of the agreement states “The parties agree that a neutral Boundary Commission composed of five members be established with a mandate to delimit and demarcate the colonial treaty boundary based on pertinent colonial treaties (1900, 1902, 1908) and applicable international laws. The Commission shall not have the power to make decisions ex aequo et bono”.

The Final and Binding Nature of the Decision: In this regard, article 4.1.5 of the agreement states, “ The partners agree that the delimitation and demarcation determination of the Commission shall be final and binding. Each party shall respect the boarder so determined as well as the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other party”.

Additional Obligations of the Parties: Article 4.1.4 stipulates " The parties agree to cooperate with the Commission, its experts, and other staff in all respects during the process of the delimitation and demarcation".

Punitive Measures that should be taken against the violating Party: Article 14 states "… The OAU and the UN commit themselves to guarantee the respect for this commitment of the two parties until the determination of the common boarder on the basis of pertinent colonial treaties and the applicable international law, through delimitation/demarcation and in case of controversy through the appropriate mechanism of arbitration. This guarantee shall be comprised of: a) Measures to be taken by the international community should one or both of the Parties violate this commitment including appropriate measures to be taken under Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN Security Council".

As we all know, after a long process of legal litigation by both parties that involved the submission of memorials and counter memorials as well as a hearing in The Hague, the Boundary Commission announced its verdict and decision on April 13, 2002. The Commission further issued, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it, detailed demarcation directions. Had Ethiopia honoured its treaty obligations, the entire boarder would have been fully demarcated by November 2003 to usher peace and stability in the region and to create condusive climate for the wounds to heal between the two brotherly peoples.

The Eritrean Government has accepted the Boundary Commission's decisions as it has done earlier in the boarder conflict with Yemen. Not because it has won in the litigation, it is indeed Ethiopia that has been awarded, by its own admission, additional sovereign Eritrean territories. But because Eritrea firmly believes that the only avenue for securing enduring peace is through the respect of the rule of law and the integrity of the arbitration decision. Ethiopia, on the other hand, has categorically rejected the decision of the Boundary Commission. In a letter written to the UN Security Council General Secretary Kofi Anan on 19 September 2003, the Ethiopian Prime Minister declared, " the work of the Commission is in terminal crisis". The Prime Minister dismissed the decision of the Commission as "totally illegal, unjust, and irresponsible" and requested the Security Council to "set up an alternative mechanism to demarcate the contested parts of the boundary".

Ethiopia's position contravenes its treaty obligations and violates key tenets of the Algiers Agreement. It is instructive to note that Ethiopia had accepted the Boundary Commission's decision when it was announced in April 2002. At the time, Ethiopia was vehemently urging the international community to put all possible pressure on Eritrea to secure its compliance. But soon after, Ethiopia retracted and began to place a litany of obstacles in the demarcation process, including through the establishment of new settlements in sovereign Eritrean territories in contra version of the Algiers Peace Treaty.

The humanitarian, security and economic consequences of Ethiopia's decision to flout the rule of law and induce a climate of tension and confrontation cannot be underestimated. Over 65,000 people in Eritrea continue to live in make shift camps unable to return to their home villages and towns that remain occupied by Ethiopia. The precarious security situation can only deteriorate with time. The legal ramification of allowing Ethiopia to scuffle the peace process is also not negligible. In Africa, the sanctity of the colonial boarders will be put into test. More broadly, the inviolability of international treaties and arbitration mechanisms shall be severely compromised, casting very serious doubts on the ability of the UN to resolve conflicts and promote global peace and security. The concept of fairness and fair play will

ring hollow if the standards of the international community are starkly different for big and small countries.

Therefore, as was stated earlier, once again Ethiopia's territorial expansionist ambitions, big-power politics and the inability and incompetence of the international community, especially the UN, to enforce the decision of its treaties and courts seem to be the cause of conflict and perpetual suffering of the peoples in the region in general and in Eritrea in particular.

In conclusion, substitution of enforcement of the final and binding decision of the Commission by any alternative diplomatic effort will not only be still born but is also fraught with grave legal consequences. It must be recalled that recourse was made to legal arbitration after a costly war because it was not possible to resolve the dispute through normal diplomatic means. The international community cannot and should not revise the whole process to embark on a new mechanism simply to appease the defaulting party instead of instituting corrective punitive measures as stipulated by the Algiers Agreement. We strongly believe that the only and durable way forward is to expedite the demarcation of the boarder on the basis of the Boundary Commission's decision, which is both final and binding. This is also the only way that the rule of law and the Algiers Agreement can re respected and trust and confidence in the international community's ability to resolve conflicts can also be strengthened.

PAPER 23

Addressing the Causes of War in the Horn and North-East Africa

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The theme of this year's conference is "culture of peace versus war culture". To do the subject justice it is appropriate to discuss thoroughly the causes of war in the region, because peace will come only when the causes of war are addressed or, even controlled. The theme of the conference itself is misleading because it gives the impression that war is accepted as a culture. War in this region is not caused by the willful indulgence of the people, or a value system that adores the warrior and war. It is this author's opinion that war in the region causes widespread misery and destruction; the people do not cherish it and prefer to live in peace. Wars in the region are results of unfinished de-colonization and attempts to maintain legacies of an anachronistic empire. This paper focuses on the causes of the conflict and by doing so will attempt to direct attention at identifying the workable approaches to eliminating the wars in the region.

Background

The Horn of Africa suffers from the scourges of internal conflicts and civil wars to border skirmishes and all-out wars. In revolutions people resort to violence and are prepared to pay the ultimate sacrifice when in their perception of the issues involved become matters of life and death, to quote Trotsky. On the other hand, according to Carl Von Clausewitz, war between nations is indicative of failure of politics and diplomacy. The end of high intensity wars are marked either by two combating sides getting exhausted, or opting for a negotiated settlement. The two parties in a dispute can conduct negotiations by themselves, or in the presence of third parties. The role of third parties ranges from acting as moderators, to mediation, and arbitration. In arbitration, the third party renders award or makes decisions, depending on the nature of the arbitration and prior agreement. Winner-imposed 'diktat' usually sows the seeds for the next war. The U.S. stands out as an exception to this norm. After the end of WWII, Germany, Italy, and Japan were given material and technical help to rebuild their industries and economies, and to democratize their political systems.

The end of the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia falls in the category of negotiated settlement through arbitration. The process went smoothly and the Border Commission made its final decision on the location of the border. The problem is Ethiopia reneged on its commitment to the terms of the Algiers Agreement, which was the basis for the settlement, namely that the two parties accepted the decisions of the Commission as final and binding. A lot of argument that comes from various circles in the Ethiopian side seems that they have changed their mind and are now going back to the 'diktat' approach. Other Ethiophiles such as Clapham unabashedly advocate for this stand. The Ethiopian government created the term 'dialogue' as a euphemism for 'diktat'.

What remains is enforcement of the decision. After all, the border has been delimited on paper, and there is nothing that can change that fact. The first precondition for peace, irrespective of whether the conflict is within or among countries, is ascertaining the rule of

law based on justice. The alternatives are lawlessness and law of the jungle, which are synonyms with a state of constant violence and war. That is why no amount of talk about cooperation and peace and the mutual benefits that may accrue from it will have any significant impact in fostering a culture of peace.

In the Horn of Africa, the sources of violence are the governments in Ethiopia, and to a lesser extent, the Sudan. Internally, they are torn apart by civil wars, and they both have a history of brutal attempts to repress popular uprisings. Mass killings and widespread repression is going on inside Ethiopia against the Oromos, Ogaden Somalis, and Sidama people. The mass killing of people in Gambella region has been labeled genocide. The Darfur genocide and the attendant human disaster affecting millions of people is a live proof of the behavior and nature of the regime in the Sudan. Ethiopia and Sudan have formed a tripartite alliance with Yemen with the purpose of destabilizing Eritrea and chocking it economically.

Ethiopia declared war on Eritrea and fought for two years under the false pretext that Eritrea has invaded its territory. After signing the Algiers Agreement of 2000 which ended hostilities, Ethiopia has refused to abide by the binding ruling of a Boundary Commission, because the ruling ascertained that the territories claimed by Ethiopia belong to Eritrea. Now the two countries are on the brink of another war.

Ethiopia has directly caused the disintegration of Somalia, and continues to prevent the formation of a cohesive central government. It openly finances and arms some clan members opposed to the formation of central authority. For all practical purposes, Somalia is the sacrificial lamb to protect Ethiopia from attacks by the Ogaden liberation forces. The Ogaden people should never be underestimated. For more than half a century they continue to be the scourge of the Ethiopian military. In 1977, they succeeded in controlling most of the countryside, while the Ethiopian military was confined to few garrison towns and posts. Siad Barre, the then president of Somalia committed a historical error by sending his troops and liberating the entire Ogaden. His act opened the way for Cuban and Yemeni troops under the leadership of Marshal Petrov, the Deputy Commander of Soviet Ground Forces to enter the conflict and push the Somali army out. This led to eventual downfall of Siad Barre and the coming of the warlords, many supported by Ethiopia. Thus, the conflict escalated from regional to a major international conflict with Cold War implications.

After the end of WWII, the Ethiopian emperor won the support of the U.S. as an ally in the Cold War and as a proxy for U.S. interests in the effort to keep the newly emerging African countries in the Western camp. To this end, he sent troops to Korea to fight on the U.N. side. Perhaps the most fraudulent deal of the Century was that the U.S. helped Ethiopia get Eritrea, and Ethiopia in turn would give the U.S. a military communication facility at Asmara, Eritrea. Before the advent of satellite communication, this facility was crucial for relaying global communication between continental U.S. and to outlying areas. This deal ushered in a thirty-year armed struggle which culminated in the defeat of the Ethiopian military, Eritrean independence, downfall of the repressive communist-military regime. The Eritrean war of independence saw the intervention of the U.S., Israel, and the Soviet Block on the side of Ethiopia.

Kenyan population living on the border areas with Ethiopia are exposed constantly to raids by Ethiopian soldiers. In these raids many Kenyans are killed and cattle and property stolen. The situation did not escalate to higher levels of hostility between the two nations due to the

magnanimity of the Kenyan government. How long can this attitude of permissiveness continue remains to be seen.

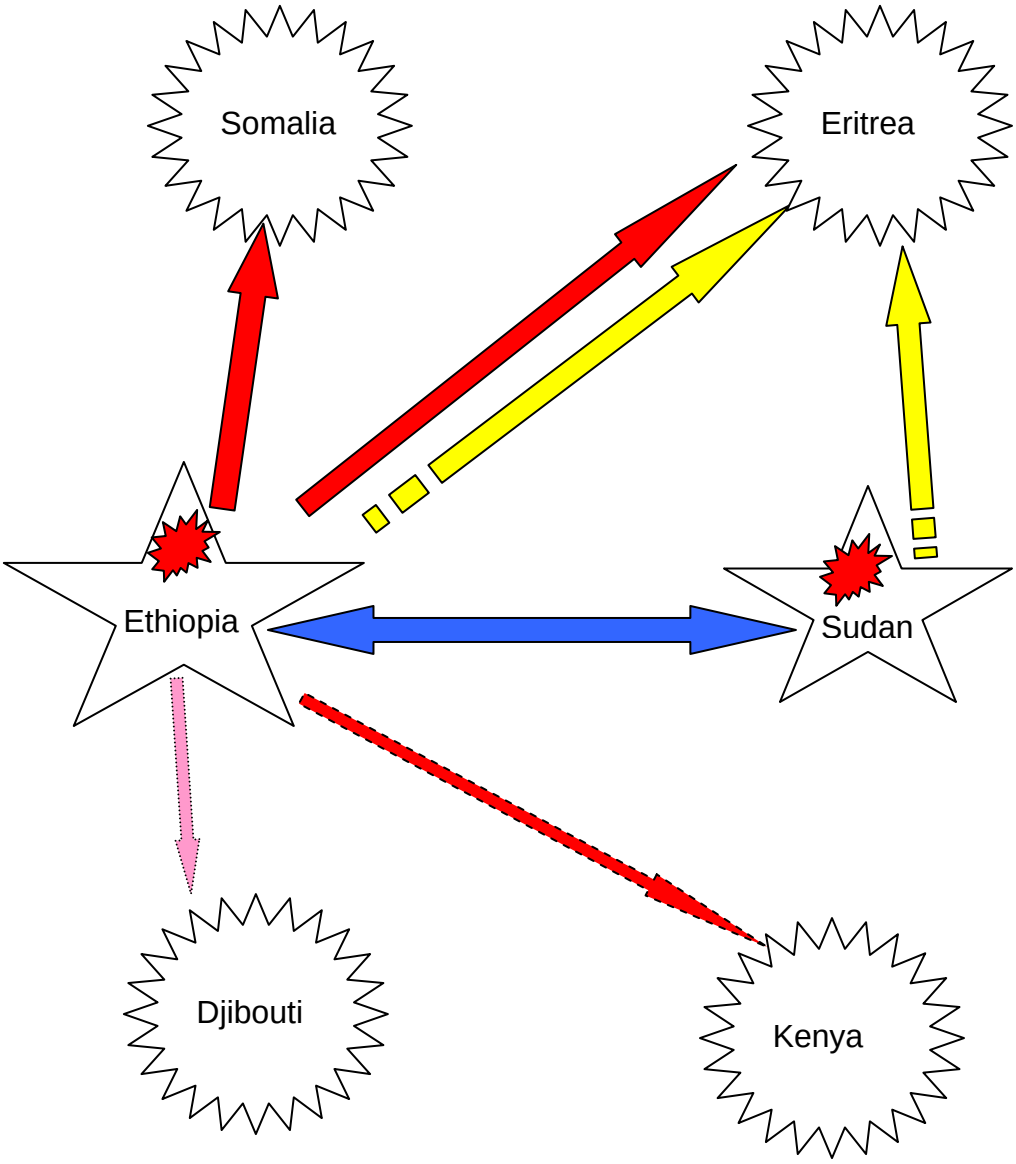
Djibouti lives under the shadow of Ethiopian envious eyes. The continued presence of French troops to protect an African country from a neighboring African country is perhaps an indictment of Ethiopia as a menace to its neighbors. It is true that in 1967 when Djibouti had to decide whether to stay with the French or be completely independent, both Ethiopia and Somalia were poised to attack the territory, should the French leave. Now Somalia is no more a threat. The only threat French troops are needed to protect against is Ethiopia.

A cursory look at the major conflicts and schematic presentation of the conflicts and the nations involved as aggressors and the victims presents the situation vividly

Major Conflicts in the Horn

1. The war between Eritrea and Ethiopia
2. The civil war in the Sudan between the North and South
3. The recent popular uprising in Darfur and the genocidal repression by the government in the Sudan
4. The Sudanese government's attempt to destabilize Eritrean society and attempts to introduce Taliban style Islamic fundamentalist regime in the country. Bin Laden was conducting the operation when he was in the Sudan, prior to his going to Afghanistan. Many Arab Afghans were killed or captured by Eritrea security forces.
5. Continued chaos and the condition of on-going statelessness in Somalia.
6. Continued invasion of Somalia and occupation of its territory by Ethiopia
7. Interference in internal political affairs of Somalia by Ethiopia aimed at preventing the formation of a unified government and restoration of peace, law and order in the country.
8. Continued armed uprisings of various ethnic groups and repression by the government in Ethiopia. Liberation fronts representing the Ogaden Somalis and the Oromo are the two most active. The Ethiopian Patriotic movement is active in the north-western part of the country, mainly in the Gonder region.
9. Incursions by Ethiopian troops into Kenya, allegedly to cut support for the Oromo Liberation Front.
10. Military alliance between Ethiopia and Sudan against Eritrea aimed at overthrowing the Eritrean government. Their strategy includes economic strangulation and resort to supporting use of terrorism against the people of Eritrea.

SOURCES OF AGGRESSION AND VICTIMS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA



KEY

Latent Threat

Military Incursions and Harassment

Alliance Against Neighbors

Direct Military Aggression

Sponsoring and Conducting Terrorism

Internal Unrest or Civil War

The stars in the perpetration of conflict in the region are Ethiopia and the Sudan. They are formally united in the unholy alliance, which includes Yemen. All their neighbors are the

victims. In addition, Ethiopia and Sudan suffer from chronic internal unrest and civil wars, which usually spill over into the neighboring countries. The net result is a destabilized region.

Causes of Belligerent Behavior of Ethiopia and The Sudan

The explanation for the belligerent behavior of Ethiopia and the Sudan can be found in the formation of the two states and their ethnic composition. Ethiopia is an empire state that expanded to its present borders during the scramble for Africa by European colonizers, a little over a century ago. Most of the internal conflict in Ethiopia is the result of continued struggle by people that were incorporated into the new state. In the Sudan the struggle is between people in the south and the north, who were brought together by European colonialism. After independence, the northerners dominated political and economic power in the country. The imposition of Sharia law on the country gave the conflict an added dimension.

The challenge for Ethiopia has been to find a way for establishing a viable nation that enshrines the aspirations and desires of the various ethnic groups and nationalities. A window of opportunity was created in 1991 after the downfall of the Derg. The war in Eritrea ended with Eritrea's self determination for independence. What followed was a brief period of cooperation between the two nations. However, the group that took power were carried away with the temptation of big nation ego and decided to resort to use of violence to stay in power rather than acquiesce to desires of the people. The result is continuation of repression against the various nationalities. At the moment there are major armed conflicts going on in the Ogaden, Oromia, and Western Amhara region, specifically Gondar region The long-term outcome of such a policy is the vicious cycle of repression and resistance. History proves that the people are the eventual winners in such a struggle.

The conflict with Eritrea goes back to the 1940s when Ethiopia started organizing, arming, and financing bandits (shifta) to terrorize proponents of independence movement. The bogus federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia was imposed by the U.N. and did not reflect the wishes of the people. The Eritreans tried to reconcile themselves to the situation and tried to make the federation work. However, the Ethiopian government was bent on destroying the federation right at the outset. After 10 years of maneuvering, the federal arrangement was abolished and Eritrea ceased to exist as an autonomous entity. This act led to a 30-year armed struggle, which culminated with the defeat of Ethiopa and the creation of an independent Eritrea.

Eritrea conducted a referendum, the results of which were endorsed by the new Ethiopian government,. For seven years, both Eritrea and Ethiopia were at peace. During this period the relations between these two countries were exemplary, indicating that the cause of the conflict was forceful occupation of Eritrea by Ethiopia and once this cause was eliminated peace reigned.

Alas, the respite was too short and proved to be the calm before a storm. Under the surface, the ruling group in Ethiopia was scheming to find ways of bringing Eritrea under its control. This led to the 1998-2000 war between the two countries. The two countries signed the Algiers Peace Agreement of 2000. The Agreement included the creation of a Border Commission to decide on the location of the border between the two countries. The ruling of the Commission is final binding. The Commission issued its verdict in April 2001. According to its ruling, Badme and most of the territories that were causes of the conflict belong to Eritrea. The Ethiopian government reneged on its own prior commitment to abide by the

Commission's ruling and refused to allow the border be demarcated. As a result, the two countries are on the verge of another war.

The enforcers of the Commission's ruling, the U.N. and African Union, and the United States have failed to act to enforce the ruling. On the contrary, the international community is rewarding Ethiopia with debt cancellation and generous aid, the highest in sub-Saharan Africa.

Ethiopia and Sudan have escalated their belligerence by directly conducting and sponsoring terrorism against Eritrea. There was at least one known attempt by the Sudan to have the President of Eritrea in 1997. The would-be assassin was a member of the Sudanese military. His confessions appeared on the Eritrean media. May 2004 bombing of a float in the celebration of Eritrean independence in the town of Barentu, and other bombings of civilian trucks, bars and public places were conducted by Ethiopian operatives. Again, the perpetrators of these crimes were caught and their confessions made public.

One would expect the Western world to raise a hue and cry over such acts of terrorism. But in a typical display of double standard, they prefer to stay tight lipped. Ethiopia is rewarded handsomely for its belligerent behavior and continued occupation of Eritrean territory illegally. Continued presence of U.N. forces will serve only as guarantors of Ethiopia's illegal acts, thereby becoming accessories of crime.

Ethiopia is beneficiary of a debt relief of U.S.$2.0 Billion in net present value. The relief will allow Ethiopia to borrow more money by reducing its debt to export ratio from 219% to 150%. Under the World Bank's sustainability rules Ethiopia could not qualify for additional loans. The Bank staff made the case for Ethiopia that it had suffered external shocks that forced its economy to under perform. The only shock one can think of is Ethiopia using the money it borrowed and aid given to her to buy arms and finance its war of aggression against Eritrea and Somalia. The irony is that the Bank goes on a reverse gear to find minor excuses to deny Eritrea any benefits.

The Way Forward for Eritrea-Ethiopia Relations

The world and the guarantors of the Algiers Agreement, namely U.N., African Union (A.U.), European Union, and the U.S. government, are now witnessing Ethiopia holding the peace process hostage. If the border is not demarcated and Ethiopian troops are withdrawn from Eritrean territory, then the likelihood of another round of fighting will become a reality.

The Ethiopian government is using dialogue as a ruse to couch its disobedience of the law. Once a verdict is given, the issue is not subject to discussion, and according to the "final and binding" clause of the Agreement, there is no appeal. Enforcement is the only thing that should follow. But enforcement requires compliance by the involved party or the use of coercion. Instead of complying, the Ethiopian government and its agents are crying "Dialogue".

The strategy followed by Ethiopia is to eventually bring Eritrea to the same level of culpability as themselves in the eyes of the world because the word dialogue sounds better than war. This strategy is similar to the age-old trick of defense lawyers that try to put blame on a rape victim for her predicament. The U.N. Secretary General's appointment of a special envoy is a blatant support of Ethiopia's surreptitious designs. The U.N. by not enforcing ruling of the Border Commission is falling into the pitiful condition the League of Nations

was in at the start of WWII. The A.U. is a captive foreign policy instrument of the Ethiopian government and the U.S. It is too timid to even express its stand on the Border Commission ruling and demarcation process. It has chosen to make itself totally emasculated and irrelevant.

For Eritrea the situation is clear. In the past, it did not attain its independence because of the sense of justice and fairness of the world community, but because of its commitment to be free. So will it be now to remain free. It is inconceivable to think that Eritrea will give up its right to its own land.

Peace can come to the region when Ethiopia accepts the reality of Eritrean independence and respects its obligations by allowing demarcation of the border to continue. Attempt to reverse Eritrean independence and encroachment on its sovereignty may eventually prove destructive for Ethiopia itself.

The way to go in the future is for the two countries to go their separate ways. If nothing else, the war has proven that the two countries can live independent of each other: Eritrea does not need to be an appendage of the Ethiopian economy and Ethiopia can live without Eritrean ports. What they need is peaceful neighborly relations and not necessarily friendly relations. Economic relations between newly-independent Eritrea and Ethiopia were viewed with suspicion and envy by both the Tigrayans and Amharas in Ethiopia. The Tigrayans believed that Eritrea thrived on using Ethiopian raw materials, cheap labor, and market for its products. If Tigray was to replace Eritrea in this equation, then it will be a quick and sure way for developing Tigray's economy. Other elements in the ruling Tigrayan group felt that maintaining close economic ties will lure Eritreans to come closer to Ethiopia's embrace, hopefully end up relinquishing their independence one day. The Amharas and rejectionists of Eritrean independence believed that Eritrea's continued economic relations with Ethiopia proved Eritrea's inability to support itself economically. Economic relations, according to these people, meant an alliance of unequals whereby Eritrea will be the sole beneficiary. In short, they saw a parasitical relationship. If the Eritrean economy fails then it will be a lesson for other nationalities in Ethiopia such as the Oromo who may want to secede from the union. Thus, they felt that economic relation with Eritrea was a bad policy. Besides, they felt that Eritrea and Eritreans living in Ethiopia were having it both ways. No matter which way we look at it, the attempt to have close economic ties with Ethiopia was a failure. If anything, it aggravated the situation. The Ethiopian side also knows this. It may be raised as part of the aim of the dialogue as the Trojan Horse to push their agenda for derailing the demarcation and to get concessions on the use of the Port of Asseb.

Conclusion

Once again, the causes of the conflict, which is mainly Ethiopia's legacy of colonialism and is enshrined in its domestic and foreign policy should be changed if Ethiopia is to survive as a nation. For starters, Ethiopians should accept the irreversability of Eritrean independence. After all, Sweden and Norway live in peace and harmony after the separation of Norway. The Soviet Union broke up into several states. Yugoslavia followed a torturous path, but ended up with the same result.

Eritrea is a maritime nation and it should be looking outwards to the sea and beyond. Once it turns its back to its neighbor in the south there will be no looking back. New economic alliance that consists of all littoral states of the Red Sea can be formed. Already Eritrea's trade has shifted from Ethiopia to Yemen, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. The Sudan can abandon its

flirting with the regime in Addis Ababa and be part of this alliance. States in this region have more complementary economies than between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Eventually Jordan and Israel may also join the group. Economic partnerships usually pave the way for security and military alliances. Dissociation from Ethiopia may after all prove to be a blessing for Eritrea.

As for Ethiopia it has more than its hands full in dealing with its internal problems and staying intact. A major source of conflict approaching zero-sum status if not handled properly is the issue of Nile waters. The present conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia will pale into insignificance when compared with the conflict that can arise because of the Nile waters. All Ethiopians and their supporters who have the long-term interest of the country at heart will be better advised to look into the future rather than create a hostile environment with their neighbors such as Eritrea and Somalia. Failure to heed the writing on the wall will be too costly.

Intellectuals from the region have an important role to play in sowing the truth. In the past, Ethiopian intellectuals advocated for war and reducing Eritrea to a non-state state. Some acted as advisers in the deportation of Eritreans from Ethiopia. Eritrean intellectuals reacted to these assaults and tried to cast an accurate picture of the conflict and the process of war.

PAPER 24
Statement

Minister Counsellor Nuria Mohammed
The Embassy of the Federal
Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Sweden

It is an honour and privilege to be able to participate in this Annual conference that has won the appreciation of the governments of our sub region, the civil society and the development partners. This platform, I believe, is one of its kinds, rarely available for us to discuss issues of mutual concern, lay the foundation for sustainable peace and forge ahead with genuine political and economic cooperation in our sub region.

The theme of this year's conference - the culture of peace versus war - is more relevant for a region that has become synonymous with devastating interstate and intra-state conflicts and influx of refugees. Confronted with renewed armed conflicts and rapidly escalating human and material costs, our task is twofold.

As a matter of priority we must strengthen our capacity to provide immediate humanitarian support to the victims of these fratricidal conflicts and ensure their active participation in the reconstruction of their respective communities.

As part of the above stated efforts we must also devise more effective strategies to prevent conflicts or any other activities that could undermine the peace and stability in our sub region.

One of the best means of preventing conflicts is through the promotion and building of culture of peace. Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.

In the constitution of UNESCO, in which our respective countries are a party, is stated as follows:

> " … A culture of peace is a set of values and attitudes, modes of behavior and way of life that reflect violence by tackling their root causes – solve problems through dialogue and negotiations among individuals and group…".

We have to deal with all internationally recognized barriers of peace, especially with those that bear relevance to the realities of our sub region. Stereotype prejudice and hate that are fueled by ignorance need to be addressed through conscious local, national and regional programs.

Poverty and all forms of economic and social marginalisation, the root causes of conflicts, deserve our collective and individual attention.

The culture of peace requires concrete actions. We need to give serious consideration to the seven programs of action identified in 1999 by the international community:

- Fostering a culture of peace through education.
- Promoting sustainable economic and social development.
- Promoting respect for all human rights.
- Ensuring equality between women and men.
- Fostering democratic participation.
- Advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity.
- Supporting participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge.

As members of a sub region that has witnessed a number of interstate and intra-state conflicts we need to have a vanguard role in the promotion of international peace. Active participation in international efforts of prevention and resolution of conflicts as well as post-conflict peace building and peace making efforts is of paramount importance.

It is against the backdrop of the cardinal principles, which I briefly stated above, that the people and Government of Ethiopia would like the present peace challenges faced by the countries of our sub region to be resolved.

We have campaigned in a major way for peace both at regional and sub regional forums, as peace in our country is inextricably linked with peace in the Horn of Africa and the African continent as a whole.

Ethiopia has been one of the few countries elected for a three years term to the Peace and Security Council set up by the African Union. Ethiopian defense forces are participating as part of the African Union multinational peacekeeping mission of the continent in Burundi and Liberia. Thousands of our soldiers are engaged in the exemplary task of post-conflict peace building activities.

As front line state and member of the Peace Facilitation Committee we are actively participating in the Somalia and Sudan peace processes. Recently the peace process for Somalia has achieved significant momentum as Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya have recently taken a strong common position in issues relating to peace in Somalia. Ethiopia as a front line state, directly affected, will continue to discharge its responsibilities until the brotherly people of Somalia achieves lasting peace.

We, however, would like to strongly underline that restoring peace and stability in Somalia is the primary responsibility of the people and the political forces of this country. The role of the IGAD member countries and the members of the International Partners' Forum is to give the necessary support to the constructive engagement of the political organizations, the civil society, the elders of the community. Each and every member of the society that has stake in the peace process needs to throw their weight on the forces that attempt to derail it.

The third phase in which we find the Somali peace process to date involves the formation of government and the constitution of the national parliament. At this juncture, it is source of

great satisfaction to the people and Government of Ethiopia to see the formation of Somalia Transitional Federal Parliament. I hope our brothers and sisters in Somalia will live up to their responsibility by strictly implementing the spirit and letter of the Nairobi Agreement in its entirety.

Similarly, we have actively participated in the IGAD Committee to bring to an end the Sudanese war that has ravaged the country for generations. We used the opportunity at our disposal due to our good contacts with both sides to the conflict to support the peace process. The people and government of Ethiopia will stand by both sides and with the brotherly people of Sudan and do all that is possible to implement the peace agreement. Similarly, the challenge faced by the people and government of Sudan in Darfur requires serious attention. The hope for lasting peace that we have witnessed in south Sudan should not be overshadowed by the recent crisis in Darfur. The government of Sudan together with the African Union is working hard to put in place a mechanism to address the humanitarian crisis unfolding in the region and to find a political solution to the problem. This concrete action taken by the people and government of Sudan deserves the support of the international community and we members of the sub region.

Ethiopia recognizes the role of enhanced and protracted cooperation with all its neighbors in ensuring sustainable peace and this lofty objective occupies an important position in the recently elaborated Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy of Ethiopia. Considerable grounds have been covered to improve good neighborly relations with the countries with whom we have common borders.

In this regard our relations with Sudan have shown significant progress from year to year. The agreement reached to undertake bilateral trade free from customs and duties has contributed to strengthening the economic relations side by side with the dramatic improvement of the political relations.

In the same vein significant work has been accomplished to strengthen the longstanding friendly relations with Djibouti. Joint plans have been prepared to improve the rail link, install a new broadband telecommunication service and to link the two countries with power lines. Currently the plans are found at different levels of implementation. We shall continue to work hard to maintain and deepen these relations.

Our relations with Kenya are historical and longstanding. We have established mechanisms to deal with issues of common interest. Our close consultation and cooperation regarding the Somali and Sudanese peace processes, our efforts to jointly deal with the security problems around the common borders and our joint undertaking to link the two countries with a sustainable road are illustrative of the good neighborly relations.

Despite our longstanding historical and cultural ties with the people of Eritrea, Ethiopia’s relation with this country has not shown any positive development. From the outset Ethiopia did its utmost to bring about a peaceful solution through diplomatic means to the conflict triggered by the aggression committed by Eritrea.

The first international initiative - the USA/Rwanda Facilitators' Mission - called on Eritrea to withdraw from the territories it had occupied and on the restoration of the previous administration. The OAU Heads of State Mission reached the same conclusions. These

subsequently formed the bases for the OAU's Framework Agreement. In both cases Ethiopia accepted the recommendations while Eritrea rejected them.

It is in the face of the intransigence of the Eritrean Government and consequent failure of all diplomatic efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution to the crisis that Ethiopia was compelled to exercise its right of self-defense and restore its sovereignty.

The Algiers Agreement of December 2000 was then the direct result of Ethiopia's successful reversal of aggression, rather than the success of international diplomatic efforts, which had been obstructed by the unyielding position of the Eritrean Government.

Ethiopia signed the Algiers Agreement and went without hesitation to the implementation of its different components because of its unwavering commitment of securing lasting peace with the fraternal people of Eritrea.

However, the Border Commission established in the light of the Algiers Agreement and the body given the major task of making lasting peace a reality, has not lived up to its responsibility. The Border Commission's decision on the demarcation is fatally flawed, principally because no ground survey was carried out. The Commission did not pay a single visit to the border areas, did not even undertake helicopter flights, and made no effort to consult the people and communities affected by the Border Commission's decision.

In so doing the Border Commission is negating its April 2002 decision, which clearly stated that the coordinates were provisional pending verification. In its observations of March 2003 it stated that there would be no verification process and the implementation of the boundary decision line would proceed immediately. This directive completely contradicts the Commission's decision of April 2002. The verification process cannot be disregarded. It is a breach of contract by the Commission. It is an illegal and flawed directive.

The Commission itself has admitted that the implementation of a mechanically drawn line would lead to "serious problems and anomalies" and "manifestly impractical situations". Practically speaking, it would lead to fractured and split communities and the displacement of people from settlements that in some areas date back several centuries.

A botched boundary demarcation process will defeat the whole objective of the Algiers Agreement, which was to bring about durable peace and stability, leading to normalization of relations.

Both countries need peace, but peace will not be brought about through a boundary demarcation process, which creates pockets of bitterness and resentment along the common border, which places "time bombs" among communities along the border that could erupt at any time and unravel the whole peace process. Whether or not it is final and binding, implementing the EEBC's intended demarcation as it is cannot lead to the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea. It can only defeat the object and purpose of the Algiers Agreement.

Ethiopia's commitment to peace, since the events of May 1998, has never faltered and this has been demonstrated by Ethiopia's readiness to accept the calls of the UN Security Council for dialogue. We accepted the mission of the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy, Mr. Lloyd Axworthy, and the proposed mission of the AU, to be led by its current Chairman. In sharp

contrast to this the Eritrean Government remains opposed to dialogue and diplomatic efforts and has refused to accept either the UN or AU missions. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the Algiers Agreement, which in its very first Article enjoins the two parties to “refrain from the threat or use of force against the other”.

Ethiopia’s position to the flawed boundary demarcation process springs from its commitment to peace, which cannot be built on uprooted and divided communities. Durable peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea cannot rest on communities that feel let down and wronged by those who mindlessly and with little sense of justice decide to split villages and even homesteads but rather requires, inter alias, a border arrived at through an examination of the geographical and human realities on the ground, and a border both communities can live with, in peace. Demarcation is not a matter of drawing a mechanical line, but a comprehensive task of laying the ground for lasting peace between the two countries in general and the communities living along the common border in particular.

In the light of the dismal failure of the Commission and where it has become more part of the problem rather than part of the solution, the need for comprehensive dialogue between the parties is a must as has been the case elsewhere in the continent. In this regard the experience of Nigeria and the Cameron is a case in point that must be emulated.

In the face of the peace that has eluded the people of Ethiopia and Eritrea, we are calling on the international community and on the countries of the sub region to give their full support to our efforts to bring about a lasting and comprehensive solution to the dispute, in accordance with the Algiers Agreement and thus prevent a situation that would create interminable chaos and instability in our region.

Your support and understanding is critical for durable peace in the region and for averting the planting of seed of future discord between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

PAPER 25
Statement

H.E. Ambassador Araya Desta
Embassy of the State of Eritrea
Sweden

It gives me a pleasure and indeed a privilege to be among you today at this superbly organized conference that has in the last two days discussed in depth the important phenomenon of "Culture of Peace VS Culture of War" concentrating on Horn of Africa.

May I also be allowed to join the previous speakers and express my heartfelt thanks to Mr. Abdillahi Jama, Chairman of the Somali International Rehabilitation Centre, his group and Mr. Larry Andow, Mayor of Lund City for hosting this enlightening Conference, for their fantastic hospitality and for the warm reception bestowed to us.

With a population of more than 100 million, it is a true fact that the Horn of Africa is a region of immense importance to the international community. It covers Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan. Other Nile Valley countries such as Kenya and Uganda are also inseparably linked to the Horn in many aspects. However, the Horn of Africa is situated in a highly sensitive zone that could significantly facilitate or disrupt global logistics and commerce.

The cold war era was characterized by the denial of civil and political rights to the people of the developing countries in the world including the people of the Horn Africa. Their fundamental rights to freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development were undermined. Although, the end of the cold war was expected to bring peace, stability, prosperity and conflict resolutions, we still witness heated conflicts, genocide, and destabilization of societies and governments.

The Horn problems aggravated by lack of development, heavy foreign debts, border conflicts and civil wars have become the source of the largest number of refugees, internal displacement of population, drought, famine and disease. Since the countries of the Horn are related geographically, historically and demographically a lot could have been done to improve the quality of life for the population of the region and its tarnished image. The solutions are inter-linked, if not identical.

On the contrary, previous devastating wars and continuing tensions among the countries in the Horn continue to wreak havoc on the region's economy restraining international investments and commerce.

On several occasions, it is stated that earlier colonial and subsequent Cold War politics were major contributors to the institutional structures that led to the violence. However, external influences have created major havoc in the past, and still are the main neighbor constraints. Somalia was a victim of such external interferences. Many parties were actually complicating the Somali crisis to further their own interests and ambitions.

Since 1991, Eritrea has exerted and still is exerting diplomatic efforts unilaterally and within the framework of the IGAD organization as well as the African Union (former OAU) for a realistic and workable solution to the Somali crisis. It is the sole belief and conviction of the State of Eritrea that the Somali crisis should be resolved by none, but the Somali people. The Somalis are the only ones capable of solving their problems and for sure they can narrow down their differences provided external interferences are curtailed. The role of the friendly and/or brotherly parties and others should be limited to assist them in creating favourable and conducive environment for the people of Somalia to resolve their crisis.

Mr Bethwel Kiplagat, Kenya's special envoy to the peace talks that have been going on in Nairobi, said the ceremony of last Sunday was the beginning of the end of a journey towards a strong, united, peaceful and democratic Somalia.

We hope this national reconciliation will lead Somalia out of its present crisis and open doors of peace, stability and prosperity before its people.

In the case of Sudan, Eritrea has always been supporting developments that would help bring a comprehensive peace in the Sudan, as that is interrelated to our national interest and security. We played a big role in the peace talks with SPLM in Kenya. We have our good will to the agreement and Eritrea is hopeful for its implementation. However, it can't be taken as a final solution to the problem in the Sudan. All other problems should be addressed and addressed accordingly with sincerity for an everlasting peace in the Sudan and the region in general. The strategic relations that we have with the Sudanese people have always been friendly and normal. Hence, a comprehensive political solution is a pre-requisite for a viable peace, stability, healthy neighborhood and prosperity. To live peacefully with your neighbour means to have peace in your home. This is a matter of principle.

It has been over two years, since the EEBC gave its final and binding verdict on the Eritrea-Ethiopia border dispute. Since then, the UN Security Council, the United States and the European Union have on several occasions, reminded and passed resolutions demanding that Ethiopia accept and unequivocally and immediately implement the decision of the EEBC. The international community has also repeatedly demanded the regime in Ethiopia to accept its legal obligations and respect the treaties it has signed in Algiers and abide by the final and binding nature of the Hague decision.

Indeed, the regime in Ethiopia is unique and alone in its refusal to abide by the findings of the Boundary Commission and to the resolutions of the UNSC. Eritrea has met all its obligations to the EEBC and is ready to implement the decision so that peace and stability could prevail in the region.

It is on record that Ethiopia accepted the verdict on the first day the decision was announced in The Hague and called it a victory of 'law and order' against 'the rule of the jungle'. The Foreign Minister of Ethiopia in his address on that day appealed to the international community to use its influence to pressure Eritrea to accept the verdict and extended his admiration to the members of the EEBC. As a sign of its acceptance to the verdict the regime in Ethiopia asked its people to sermonize and rally on the streets of Addis Ababa. When the EEBC confirmed that Badme, the origin site of the conflict, lies beyond the border line on the side of Eritrea, the regime in Ethiopia reversed its stand and was not shy to openly reject the same decision it formally accepted as final and binding.

It is not new for Eritrea to make a note of, in any dialogue for resolution of the border conflict, that the Ethiopian leaders would first jump and declare acceptance of any proposal, and immediately change their mind once they learn that Eritrea agrees to it. The case of the Technical Arrangements brokered by OAU in 1999 was a good example. The refusal and outright rejection to the EEBC decision by the regime in Ethiopia was, therefore, not a surprise to Eritrea.

The official letter sent to the UN Secretary General by the Ethiopian Prime Minister of Ethiopia on 19th September 2003 (a year and half after the decision) requested for a new "mechanism" to deal with the demarcation of the contested areas..

However, creating a substitute "mechanism" will have no legality and cannot be acceptable. The decision of the boundary Commission is final and binding in accordance with the Agreements signed in Algiers in the presence of the UN, USA, EU and AU (then OAU). A closed file cannot, legally, be reopened for discussion or renegotiation. The implementation of the Boundary Commission's decision is the sole mandate of the Boundary Commission. It cannot thus be substituted by an alternative mechanism. The details of demarcation, from aerial photographs to specifications of the pillars, have been worked out fully. The time frame and modalities were also worked out in detail. Thus, there can't be a new task or issue for discussion regarding demarcation.

The question of “dialogue” suggested by the Prime Minister of the Ethiopia, as an alternative to the Algiers Peace Treaty, is also illegal. The appointment of a "Special Envoy" by the UN Secretary General is a camouflage for derailing the work of the EEBC and appeasing the regime in Ethiopia. The State of Eritrea firmly believes that the issue of normalization of diplomatic relations or the creation of an atmosphere of confidence building will follow once the demarcation is fully implemented on the ground in accordance with the decision of the EEBC. Calling for dialogue while Ethiopia is still occupying sovereign Eritrean territory is just a perfect means to kill the decision and diminish the role of the EEBC. Purposely or naively, this issue was raised time and again by some countries and organizations.

I would like to take this opportunity, therefore, to ascertain to you that neither the Secretary General, nor any super power has such authority to retract the ruling of the EEBC and declare the Algiers Peace Agreement null and void. The international community doesn’t have such responsibility or authority, either.

A Special Envoy without any clear mandate, without terms of reference and with no specified agenda has no right to mediate. The last visit of the Secretary General was a good opportunity for Eritrea to raise and clarify its stand on this issue. He was told in black and white that the issue is not political, but a verdict of law. Hence, the assignment of a Special Envoy is illegal and not acceptable. The UN Secretary General has agreed to waive the Special Envoy's move. Therefore, as far as Eritrea is concerned, the issue of a Special Envoy is closed.

Furthermore, no one can be deceived by the outright lies of the regime in Ethiopia with regards to the border delimitation. There is no village or house that will be divided as the result of demarcation. If at all, such situations arise, it will be resolved during the demarcation and the EEBC has already included procedures on such issues in its verdict.

Furthermore, the implementation of the EEBC verdict is delayed not only due to the refusal of the regime in Ethiopia to abide by the verdict, but due to the weakness and reluctance of the

international community as well. Unless the international community in general and the guarantors of the Algiers Peace Agreement in particular assume their responsibility, the situation could easily deteriorate, leading to extremely dangerous circumstances. The only concrete option remaining for all the parties is to avoid side issues and engage with prompt demarcation of the border by the EEBC. If there is anything outside these, then it is only a dangerous ploy, which is intended to buy time or to try to fool Eritrea. This may backfire on its planners, at the end.

In conclusion, I would like to reassure you that Eritrea is dedicated to respect the International Law. With the memory of Ethiopia's surprise declaration of war in May 1998 still fresh in our minds, anything else would be unforgivable. Since, Ethiopia's primary choice is war; the consequences will be horrific devastation to the two peoples. This does not encourage the culture of peace, but the culture of war.

For the sake of justice and peace, it is imperative that the UN lives up to its Charter, principles, and commitments. It is also important that the guarantors stand by their commitment and show to Ethiopia and the rest of the world that rule of law prevails. To show reluctance and continue to be silent is a flagrant violation of the December 2000 Algiers Agreement. Article 14 of the Agreement gives the UNSC the authority to take measures against the offending party under Article 7 of the UN Charter.

Closing Remarks

Prof. Arne Ardeberg, Lund University

A new success

Given the success of previous Horn-of-Africa Conferences, we all expected a new great meeting. It is a pleasure to be able to confirm that this meeting was indeed as great as its predecessors, possibly even greater. This well organised and well attended, as the Horn-of-Africa Conferences have always been, meeting has, once again, proven its central role as a discussion forum for all groups related to the reconstruction of peace and prosperity in the Horn of Africa.

Many advantages

As its predecessors, the conference has benefited from a number of advantages. The organisers are as skilled as they are devoted, enthusiastic and hard-working. Many participants are long-time and eager supporters of the Horn-of-Africa case and also returning conference attendees. The conference attracts many participants from all of the countries directly involved in the shaping of new and improved conditions in the Horn of Africa. In addition, people from other countries but interested in the development in the region attend. Local meeting arrangements are, again as always, excellent. The success of the conference reflects a common strong desire for peace and justice in a region that has long been plagued by a variety of disasters.

A meeting place

As its predecessors, the conference has contributed to our grasp and understanding of the situation in the Horn of Africa. It has provided facts and analyses normally unavailable to many if not most of us. The sessions have revealed many sad circumstances and interiors but also examples of promising developments. The conference has given us many new explanations but also many new visions, and it has shown us several cases of positive activities. Also, the conference has provided much material for reflection. Still, maybe the most important aspect of the conference is that it has presented a meeting place and a forum for discussion between groups and individuals normally not getting together.

High time for positive solid action

While the success of the meeting is another positive step forward regarding the Horn-of-Africa policies, it is not, in itself, a guarantee of subsequent constructive activity. The conference and its advances need solid follow-up action in the field. Statements and discussions, however well-formulated and positive, are valuable but do not, as such, imply any radical change for the better. On the other hand, any ever so decisive and forceful action without a dialogue or discussion will bear the seed of disaster. Action without previous and adequate agreement and consensus is a mistake too frequent in the history of attempts at forceful crisis solutions.

Unfairness

Life is unfair, not to say deeply unfair. This is clearly a most unfortunate matter of fact. In the Horn of Africa, there is a sad display of numerous conditions profoundly affected by and, at the same time, contributing to deep unfairness. These conditions concern basic needs, wealth, freedom and safety, all highly necessary for the safe-guarding of an adequate quality of life.

Shockingly unfair distributions of most basic life-quality conditions affect countries, regions and continents. In a similar manner, they plague ethnic and religious groups. Such unfairness also creates and hurts people of different education as well as highly differently empowered groups. Widely different conditions further affect rich and poor and divide long-time settlers and recent immigrants. In an often highly brutal manner, unfairness is a question of gender.

Naturally, conditions such as those exposed lead to problems between governors and governed. They plague and undermine democracies, those in progress as well as those already established. The many and clear results of unfairness create instability and hatred, setting the scene for harsh military actions and dictatorial governments. These types of development, in turn, act to increase the already alarming measures of injustice, and a vicious circle is established.

Weapons instead of food

Obviously, the Horn of Africa and its people are treated very harshly by several unfortunate circumstances but also due to opportunistic involvement of both inside and outside elements. In addition, in many cases, internal antagonism seems to be somewhat of a rule rather than an exception. Food, clean water, medicine and welfare are very often commodities in sadly short supply, if at all available, while weaponry and ammunition all too often of seem to be available in any quantities, normally quite unclear from where and from whom.

The unfortunate and the fortunate

Comparing the conditions discussed is a sobering experience. The global unfairness is overwhelmingly strong, something that hits the Horn of Africa very hard. Extremely harsh conditions have plagued large part of its population during several years. Most people of the region have little or no access to most of the social services and the safety that is taken for granted in more fortunate parts of the world.

Unfairness is a firmly established part of global life and we are, in one way or another, part of it. Being idle spectators only, is being a part of the problem of worldwide injustice. As inhabitants in an especially favoured part of the world, we, people from the Nordic countries have an especially large responsibility.

Our support

However we define fairness, on a relative scale, Nordic people prosper, while sisters and brothers in the Horn of Africa suffer utter disaster. Clearly, we owe these sisters and brothers a helping hand. The people of the Horn of Africa do need our support. Moreover, we are fully able to provide essential help.

Obviously, we must do our utmost to exert all possible pressure on the Horn-of-Africa authorities, democratic or not. At the same time, we have to put pressure on our own and other governments outside the Horn of Africa, insisting on helpful action. Naturally, the same is true concerning international and national organizations and actions groups as well as all other groups with a potential influence on Horn-of-Africa affairs.

Exerting pressure on authorities is both natural and necessary. However, we cannot claim neither honesty nor decency nor expect to be taken seriously, as long as we do not do something ourselves. Simply, we must get up of our own privileged and comfortable armchair position and try to make an adequate contribution of our own. If we stay inactive, the indecency of the disasters in the Horn of Africa, so sadly exposed during this conference, is also our own indecency.

Who and what?

Then what can we do? At the end of this important conference, I like to direct that question first of all to some specific groups of people. The question naturally goes to all the enthusiasts sharing the honour of the result of the meeting. Also, I like to direct the question to myself, but, in addition, to the largely fully absent Swedish politicians and Swedish representatives all categories. Our clear obligations call for some decisive action. Although currently the situation in the Horn of Africa is, to a substantial degree, rather chaotic, there are many actions that can be taken.

Among easily compiled long lists of actions needed and helpful contributions to accomplish, there are some that seem especially urgent. Obvious examples concern youth education, continued training and studies. Equally natural are actions in terms of medical care, medicine and welfare. Other items concern food, clean water and safety. We can add public administration and law and still be far from a situation of normality.

Support rather than export

Most importantly, we should not attempt to export and implement our own home-made solutions. Doing so is an act resulting from, at best, a lack of reflection, or, possibly, ill-managed arrogance. Instead, we should do our utmost to support the local and expatriated Horn-of-Africa experts and their solutions. We do not have to look for these experts. They have been well represented in this conference.

Providing such support, we can, in a significant manner, improve the general quality of life in the Horn of Africa. We can also show our local sisters and brothers that they are not left completely alone in their fight for survival and a decent life. We can live up to some modest degree of decency and make a contribution to an improved world.

If we do not try to provide such support, we should stop discussing the horrors of the abuses in the Horn of Africa. Instead, we should scrutinize our own actions and willingness to do something actively rather than just criticizing other parties and their behaviour. Let us all endeavour to do our utmost.

Gender issues

With all and very good reasons, we have, during this conference, referred to the virtues of involving more women in the peace processes. We have, again with all and good reasons, praised a multitude of so called female values. This is, in many ways, very positive. However, there is one circumstance that we consistently tend to drop from the agenda.

From our rather well documented experience from public schools, it seems obvious that women systematically accomplish better than men. In addition, the gender differences are often rather strong. This occurs in all school programmes in which women are reasonably well represented.

In the universities, a rather similar picture prevails. Women excel in undergraduate studies and programmes. Again, all study programmes show similar pictures, as long as women are represented in significant numbers. Currently, women are also in majority in most free universities with comprehensive faculty structures. The tendency is, often, broken only for higher studies, in which the representation of women is small enough to make them exceptional.

Thus, as long as women are not marginalised, they tend to take the academic lead. This is a fact often shattering the self-esteem of male society. Further, it regularly leads to a zoo of exotic explanations. Some of these explanations point out that girls are educated to be more ordered. Another, similar, explanation is that girls tend to concentrate more and that they seek more reassurance. It is claimed that girls in general follow instructions better and that they are more flexible.

A simple explanation

Instead of adding to the lists of esoteric explanations, we might try to look at the phenomenon of female academic superiority in a somewhat more cool manner. What about the most elementary of all possible explanations? What if women statistically simply are smarter than men?

Before male self-esteem suffers irreversible damage, let it be noted and understood that the academic superiority of women is of a statistical rather than of an individual nature. Nevertheless, drawing two stochastic samples from a batch of undergraduate students, one women only, the other men only, it is more than likely that the first group will outperform the other.

Even if the female superiority turns out to be only mildly pronounced, which is questionable, we have to face a clear fact. Excluding women does not only imply a gross injustice and indecency. It clearly implies excluding the best performers. Doing so is clearly catastrophic not only for the women concerned. It is a grave mismanagement of the intellectual resources of our society.

Male reactions

We, the men, and not least those of us belonging to the dinosaur age group, should not fear the participation of women. We should rather feel flattered that women accept to work with

us. Welcoming and trying to engage them is a safe way to superior problem definition, better analyses and smarter conclusions. From this, we all benefit.

Thus, in the interest of society and all of us, let us ask women to take a much more active part in all work and decisions. Turning more specifically to the issues of special relevance to the Horn of Africa, let us be insistent. Let us not only invite but let us proactively ask women to take leading roles in committees, in working groups and in advisory boards.

Finally, let us not just express our interest in inviting women for improved work. Let us ask them now and insist. We need their help and advice with high urgency. Let us show that we have understood this and that we act in a sensible way. Notably and naturally, the goal of participation of women should never fall short of 50 % of the members of the groups in question.

Conclusions

In conclusion, let us continue and strengthen our actions in a proactive manner aimed at the liberation of the Horn of Africa and its people from the disastrous situation and development now prevailing in the area. Let us continue to criticise all poor and undemocratic performers. At the same time, let us, in the first place, look critically at our own roles and actions. Let us try hard to improve our own behaviour and contributions.

Last, but certainly not least, please allow me to thank, once again, on behalf of all participants in this conference, the organisers of the meeting. Again, you have made an effort as skilled as remarkable. There are many individuals and organisations deserving our deep thanks. Still, it is not more than proper to close with a very special thank to our great super-enthusiast and leading example. Thank you, Abdillahi Jama!

Conclusion and recommendations

In conclusion, this kind of Conference is needed. It is an important forum for peacebuilding issues for the Horn of Africa region, and also for individuals' countries in the region. We have seen many different aspects of peacebuilding linked to the specifics of the region. We note the difference between dialogue and coexistence, as instruments for peacebuilding. We note the importance to bring on women as an integrated part of all aspects of peacebuilding.

As the organizer, SIRC strongly supports Dr. Ali Moussa Iye's plan for supporting peacebuilding initiatives in the region. We recommend therefore to all stakeholders, including donors and participants, to adopt Dr. Iye's plan to develop a new kind of exchange and dialogue between intellectuals from the region to build and enhance mutual understanding and solidarity. It is also vital that as a mechanism or instrument for this an establishment of a centre of anticipative studies and regional integration in the Horn of Africa.

Appeal

As organizer of this conference, we would like convey an appeal to the governments in the Horn of Africa. We ask you and all non-governmental movements and organizations to resolve all exisiting and potential disputes and conflicts in a peaceful manner in accordance with the Charters of the United Nations and African Union.

We specifically urge the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea to find a peaceful solution to the current stalemate in your relations.

We also urge the government of the Sudan and movements in the Darfur region to find a peaceful solution to the current human tragedy.

Finally, we urge newly formed Somali Government to respect and fulfill the needs for national reconciliation, peace-building, and national unity.

To all governments of the Horn of Africa, we urge you to respect all the elements of human rights, and give women equal rights as men. We also urge you to serve for all your citizens of your countries, with respect to democracy and rule of law.

We ask all citizens on all levels of the societies of the Horn of Africa to commit yourselves to a culture of peace instead of a culture of war.

Finally, we urge the international community to enhance its role in supporting peacebuilding and sustainable development in the Horn of Africa.

APPENDIX

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

There were more than 150 Participants each day at the conference with a wide range of backgrounds. Besides that, more than two hundred persons enjoyed the Horn of cultural evening show in the second day of the Horn of Africa conference. The participants' conference of the preceedings and workshops discussions among others were included:

- **Larry Andow**, Mayor of City of Lund, *"Welcoming and opening remarks"*
- **Zeinab Mohamed Mohmoud,** Sudanese Ambassador to Sweden, "*Statement"*
- **Nuria Mohammed**, Minister Counsellor, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia in Sweden, *"Statement"*
- **Gultie Berhanu**, 3rd Secretary of Ethiopian Embassy in Sweden
- **Araya Desta**, Eritrean Ambassador to Sweden, *"Statement"*
- **Yonas Manna Bairu,** Counsellor Embassy of Eritrea in Sweden
- **Daniel Tanui**, Kenyan Charge di'Affairs, Sweden, *"Statement*"
- **Mikeal Sönnerback**, Program Officer, Horn of Africa, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- **Inger Björk,** Secretary General, Forum Syd, *"The importance of civil society organisations in the transformation from war to peace with examples from different parts of the world"*
- **Helena Holver,** Programme Officer, Form Syd
- **Peter B. Marwa**, Director, Conflict Prevention for East African Countries, Inter-Governmental Authority for Development, "*The Status of IGAD Peace Process of Sudan & Somalia"*
- **Claudette Werleigh,** Director, Conflict Transformation Programme,Johan Svensson L&P Horn of Africa Representative, Life & Peace Institute, *"Theoritical Reflections on Peace-building in Somalia – Experience of Life & Peace Institute"*
- **Dr. Tarekegn Adebo**, Research Coordinator, Life and Peace Institute, Uppsala, SIRC Consultant, "*Post-Conflict Peacebuilding for Democracy –Democracy &Human Rights in the Horn of Africa "*
- **Dr. Kinfe Abraham**, President, Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development, "*The State of the Horn: with special focus on the Ethio-Eritrean Conflict"*
- **Bethlehem Araya**, Co-chair, conference organizer, WePot AB, Ideon Research in Lund
- **Dr. Arne Ardeberg**, Professor, Former Vice Chancellor of Lund University, *"Closing remarks of the conference"*
- **Dr. Salah Al Bander**, Director, Sudan Civic Foundation, Cambridge University, SIRC Consultant; "*The Post Conflict Sudan – The triangle of National Security, Democratic Change and Sustainable Peace "*
- **Angela Bystrom**, European Union Co-coordinator, Lund
- **Dr. Abdi Mohamed Gandi**, Professor, University of Besancon, France, *"The Nairobi Somali Peace Talks"*

- **Dr. Martin Hill**, Senior Researcher, Horn of Africa, Amnesty International, *"Ethiopian and Eritrea Conflict and Human Rights"*
- **Dr. Christian Webersik**, St. Antony's College, African Studies Centre, Oxford University, "*Bargaining for the spoils of war – The Somali National Reconciliation Process"*
- **Dr. Ali Moussa Iye**, Program Officer, UNESCO, Paris, France, SIRC Consultant, *"Anticipative Studies & Scenario-Building Approach – Developing a New Vision of the Regional Co-operation in the Horn of Africa"*
- **Abdillahi Jama**, SIRC
- **Dr. Anders Narman,** Professor, Gothenburg University, *"The Greater Horn of Africa - Conflicts and the Civil Society"*
- **Dr. Janis Grobelaar,** Professor, Chair Department of Sociology, University of Pretoria, "*Lessons learned - South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commisssion*"
- **Dr. Maxi Schoeman, Head department of Political Science**, University of Pretoria,
- **Dr. Mehari Gebre-Medhin**, Professor, Uppsala University, UNESCO Swedish Commission, *"Reflections on indicators of a decent society – lessons from the Horn of Africa"*
- **Dr. Mohamed Abusbib,** Lecturer, Uppsala University, "*The Question of Identity – A Root cause of violence, Sudan"*
- **Fowsia Abdulkadir,** Msc, human rights activist, Toronto, Canada, *"A critical reflection on Horn of Africa's human rights predicament: Case – a gender-based perspective on Somali region of Ethiopia"*
- **Nadia Guled,** SIRC
- **Dr. Göte Hansson,** Professor, Department of Economics, Lund University
- **Dr. Zemenfes Tsighe,** Professor, Dean Department of Social Science, Asmara University, "*Eritrea and Ethiopia after the Algiers Agreement"*
- **Gillian Nilsson**, Head International Secretary, Social Democratic Party, Lund
- **Dr. Abdi Ismail Samatar**, Professor, Department of Geography and MacArthur Program on International Peace and Co-operation, Minnesota University, "*Ethiopian federalism – Autonomy versus Control in the Somali Region*"
- **Dr. Elisabeth Woldegiorgis,** Head Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, "*Art as a definer of shared heritage & enduring legacies"*
- **Joes Frans**, Swedish Member of parliament, "*Democracy, rule of law & respect for human rights – experience from Sweden"*
- **Nicklas Svensson**, SIRC
- **Liban Wehlie**, SIRC
- **Dr. Håkan Wiberg,** Professor, Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, Denmark, "*Peace, Democracy and the Horn of Africa"*
- **Count Pietersen**, Former South African United Nations Ambassador, SIRC
- **Dr. Bereket Yebio**, Assistant Professor, Malmo University,
- **Abdullahi Elmi Mohamed**, PhD candidate, Institute of Technology, StockholmSIRc Consultant
- **Dr. Abdalla Mohamed Jama**, Karoliniska Institute, Stockholm, SIRC Consultant
- **Dr. Welde-Ab Yisak,** President of the University of Asmara, *"Statement"*
- **Dr. Yokoub Abdi Aden**, Karolinska Hospital, SIRC Consultant
- **Dr. Bertil Egerö,** Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Lund University, *"Roots of the Eritrea-Ethiopia conflict – An interpretation"*
- **Engineer Ishael Siroiney**, SIRC Consultant

- **Dr. Sven Rubensson,** Retired Professor, Department of History, Lund University
- **Dr. Redeie Bereketeab,** Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, "*Building a Culture of Peace in the Horn of Africa"*
- **Abdi Jama Ghedi,** former Somali National Univesity lecturer, Chariman of Daryeel Association, SIRC Consultant
- **Anna Björn,** Lund Kommun
- **Sahra Abdullahi,** SIRC,
- **Zamzam Mohamed**, SIRC
- **Mohsen Abtin,** Head S-Association International and Member of Lund City Council
- **Associate Prof. Ferrow Embaie**, Lund University
- **Girma Awake,** Chairman of Ethiopian Association in Lund
- **Hannan Awad,** Board Member Sudanese Association in Lund
- **Dr. kamal Jamil**, Board member Sudan Association in Lund, Lund University Hospital, Sudan Association Lund
- **Dr. Diya Awadi**, Chairman Sudanese Association in Lund, Malmö General Hospital
- **Ahmed Zarouk**, Board Member Sudanese Association In Lund
- **Nadia Osman,** Chairman Sudan Association in Lund
- **Engineer Mohamud Boss,** Chairman Center for Maritime, Reconstruction & Rehabilitation – Somalia, SIRC Consultant
- **Mustafa Nasradin,** Chairman Ertrean Association in Lund
- **Kemesgen Belay,** Board Member, Eritrean Association in Lund
- **Howida Eid,** Board Member, Sudan Association in Lund
- **Rahel Haile**, Director Deab Travels in Lund
- **Amira Osman,** Peace Studies Department, University of Bradford, *UK*, "*Engendering Peace Process and Peace Reconstruction*"
- **Dr. Ulf Johansson Dahre,** Researcher, Department of Sociology, Lund University, "*The Role of Reconciliation in Peace-building*"
- **Dr. Zufan Araya,** Research Scientist, Biolnvent International AB,
- **Dr. Göran Djurfeldt,** Professor, Department of Sociology, Lund University
- **Mahdi Ali**, Göteborg, SIRC
- **Deeq Mohamed Qaaje**
- **Abdullahi Sh. Hussien**, Journalist Somaliweyn, Göteborg
- **Marianne Hedenbro**, Foreign Editor, Sydsvenskan
- **Dr. Abdulhadi Khalaf**, Assistant Professor, Lund University
- **Nina Widstrand,** Miljöbiblioteket, Lund
- **Lena Rössel,** Programme Officer Migration Issues, Social Mission, Stockholm
- **Joakim Björkman,** Student Linköping Univerity,
- **Baffour Ankomah,** Editor NewAfrica Magazine, London, UK
- **Amun Abdullahi,** Reporter Radio Sweden
- **Abdullahi Hagi,** BBC Somali Section Senior Journalist who followed conference events by via cell phone
- **Mohamed Amin,** Mohamed Digital Video Company, Malmö
- **Omar Ahmed**, Student, Lund University
- **Ahmed Abdulkadir,** Lund University student
- **Muse Abraham,** Chairman Shabia Eritrea in Lund
- **Dr. Abdimunim Babu**, Swedish University of Agricultural Science
- **Tedros Mehretu**, The National Museum of World Cultures Advantage Göteborg
- **Abdalla Awad**, Board member Ethiopian Association in Lund

- **Elongima Meama-Kajue,** Academic
- **Sahel Aden,** Lund university student
- **Emma Sandahl**, UNICEF
- **Mattataa Sinkolongo**, academic
- **Prof. Omar Mohamed Adow**
- **Sebhat Habteab**, Eritrea Association Lund
- **Hussien Barkad**, SIRC
- **Ali Matan Barkhadle,** SIRC
- **Yonus Sium,** Eritrean Association,
- **Adan Suldan,** SODA
- **Per Lindqvist,** GIS-Centre, Lund University
- **Khaled Bayomi,** Department of History, Lund University
- **Sara Abdukadir,** Kavinno Forum in Lund
- **Sofie Allen**, Lund University
- **Lulseged H. Yohannes**, Advantage Göteborg (NMWC)
- **Fikru Mekonnen,** Advantage Göteborg (NMWC)
- **Yohannes W/Selassie**, Advantage Göteborg (NMWC)
- **Farah Samed,** PhD Student, University of East London
- **Jorge Capelan**, LIFS Lund
- **Shawqi Badri**, Academic
- **Asli Abraham,** Lund
- **Melaku Negash**, Eritrean Association Lund
- **Mickiel Woldemariam**, Lund
- **Getachew Darge**, Research Engineer, Lund University
- **Suad Mohamed,** Lund, SIRC
- **Magnus Lövgren,** Department of French & Linguistics, Lund University
- **Dr. Omar Abdulmajid,** Retired Sudanese Ambassador
- **Shane Quinn,** Desk Officer for Somalia, Life & Peace Institute
- **Keen Mohamed,** human rights activist, Holland
- **Malin Hedin,** academic, Kristianstad
- **Catarina Svärd,** Student, Lund University
- **Dr. Williams Brain,** Researcher, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
- **Grip Elsa, Chairman** Vänortsföreningen Lund-asmara
- **Johan Svensson,** Horn of Africa Representative, Life & Peace Institute
- **Beate-Sophie Carlsson,** Student, Lund University
- **Raluca Soreanu,** Student, Lund University
- **Lulseged, Gebreyohannes,** Advantsge Hiritage Göteborg
- **Mohamoud Ahmed Nur Tarsan,** Somali Concern, UK
- **Filipa Wckenberg**, Sweden
- **Mari Malmberg**, Sweden
- ***David Mcfarlane**,National Coordinator Black PoliceAssistant, London, UK*
- **Stig Jarle Hansen**, Aberystwyth, University of Wales, UK
- **Ulldal-Malik,** Vice President European Network agaisnt Racism (ENAR)
- **Sebastian Bay,** The Association of Foreign Affairs in Lund
- **Dr. Madabuko Diakite,** The Lundian, Lund
- **Helge Dietrich,** UN –Assocation Lund

- **Hanok Araya, Lund**
- **Samson Araya, Lnnd**
- **Inger Kullgraft, Sweden**
- **Sara Girmay**, Ethiopian, Malmö
- **Åsa Elgameil**, Lund
- **Urban Wangel**, Lund
- **Furico Pinna, Florence**, Italy
- **Mohamed Ali Aden**, Malmö

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