

*Ulf Johansson Dahre (ed.)*

# Resources, Peace and Conflict in the Horn of Africa

A Report on the 12th Horn of Africa Conference,  
Lund, Sweden, August 23-25, 2013

SOMALIA INTERNATIONAL  
REHABILITATION CENTRE (SIRC)  
LUND HORN OF AFRICA FORUM (LUHAF)  
UN-ASSOCIATION LUND  
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Abdillahi Jama,  
SIRC Horn of Africa conferences Coordinator  
[www.sirclund.se](http://www.sirclund.se)

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# Introduction

*Ulf Johansson Dahre*

The 12<sup>th</sup> SIRC conference on the Horn of Africa was held in Lund, August 23-25, 2013. The conference focused on the issue of natural resources, peace and conflict. The main objective of the conference was to provide a forum for those engaged in this issue and bring the agonizing and violent situation in the Horn of Africa to the attention of the Swedish public and key stakeholders in the international community. Knowledge and understanding of critical issues concerning the conflicts in the Horn of Africa should encourage stakeholders to become engaged and actively support local peace processes in the Horn of Africa.

More than 200 participants visited the conference and took an active part in the discussions inside and outside the conference facilities during the three days. The governments of the Horn of Africa countries were strongly represented, by both ministers and ambassadors. Representatives of the United Nations, the European Union, civil society organisations, international academia, think tanks and media contributed actively, giving statements, reporting on current research and participating in workshops. Their committed participation gave the conference depth and validity.





# Opening remarks

*Honorable Mr. Jörgen Forsberg, Deputy Mayor, City of Lund*

Esteemed delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My name is Jörgen Forsberg, and I am the Deputy Mayor of the City of Lund.

It brings me great pleasure to – once again – welcome you here when Lund is at its most beautiful, in late summer. Many of you have experienced Lund before, but for those of you who haven't, I want to take this opportunity to tell you something about this rather special place.

I think of this ancient town – one of the oldest in Scandinavia – as a window to the future. We enjoy a rich cultural and historical heritage, state-of-the-art scientific research & development and a bustling business climate. In our city, academia, business, culture and nature thrive within – at the very most – a 20-minute bike-ride from each other.

Tetra Pak paper packaging was born here, as was Ericsson's modern mobile telephony, the Gambro artificial kidney, Bluetooth, Ultrasound diagnostics and the Inkjet printer. These and many more ideas and inventions from Lund have changed peoples' lives to the better all over the world.

And within roughly a decade, we will have established two new, ultra-modern and very large advanced research facilities. One is the ESS – the European spallation source – a neutron based research project conducted as a co-operation between a large number of European countries. The other is the MAX IV – a synchrotron light research facility, which will produce the most intense man-made light in history. We expect these facilities to create not only growth and new jobs here, but also positive solutions to pressing issues for all of humanity.

To my mind, Lund is a remarkable little city. Here the potentials in working across borders and boundaries, to think outside the box and to turn innovative ideas into reality have been realized. This makes Lund an inspiring place for conferences and forums dealing with the important issues of tomorrow – like the annual Horn of Africa Conference.

This is the 12th time the Horn of Africa Conference is held in Lund, and this is a fact that makes me proud. This is in fact the largest conference in Sweden on matters concerning the Horn of Africa, bringing together scholars, decision makers, NGO:s and stakeholders from Djibouti, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Now – turning to the theme of this year's conference, "Resources, Peace and Conflict in the Horn of Africa Region":

I myself am a military man, serving as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Swedish armed forces.

Having worked with peacekeeping and diplomatic missions in nearly all corners of the world including the Horn of Africa, I recognize that most conflicts – even if they at first glance look political, religious, ethnic or cultural – almost always can be traced back to the simple question of “who gets what – and when”.

I said “simple question”, but that was of course an understatement. The profound feeling of injustice that stems from not getting what you perceive is rightfully yours can fuel hatred and resentment that spans decades and sometimes centuries.

In my job, I had the great privilege of serving as a military attaché of Sweden to the Republic of Ireland. The conflict in Ireland goes back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. And the last major conflict started in the late sixties and ended with the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 – after 30 years. This tells us something about the length of a conflict based on “who gets what and when”. But it is also an example that fills me with hope. If the Irish could reach peace, social progress and prosperity after 800 years of conflict – there is hope for others.

I believe the solution to the problems and opportunities facing the Horn of Africa can be found – in the Horn of Africa.

This is why I believe this conference to be immensely important.

Please – use all opportunities – not only the sessions and workshops – but also coffee breaks, dinners, the walk from your hotels to this building – to share your insights and thoughts with each other. History will reward you, and so will the citizens of the nations of the Horn of Africa.

Today the situation in Somalia is a top news story in Sweden after the tragic incident in Mogadishu on Wednesday when a Swedish politician was killed and another one was injured.

I would therefore like to take this opportunity to make a remark on a most critical factor in the work to establish peace, freedom and justice: journalism and free media.

The courageous and in most case self-sacrificing work of journalists in conflict-ridden regions all over the world gives people the tools to inform themselves and to act.

Thanks to journalistic efforts, issues like the many challenges facing the Horn of Africa have risen on the agenda of the world community. Awareness of the Horn of Africa – its problems and future challenges, its businesses, its people, its culture – makes it possible to involve more people in the project of reestablishing the peace, freedom and justice that – given the resources at hand – should be a natural part of life in the Horn of Africa.

Therefore I am deeply grateful to the journalists that have suffered and still suffer for their work to spread knowledge of the Horn of Africa to people all over the world.

With these remarks, I wish you a pleasant and fruitful conference in Lund.

Thank you.

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Part One

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# Resources, Politics and Development



# Advancing Peace and Regional Integration and Development in the Horn of Africa through Good Governance

*Sisay Asefa*

## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some critical issues related to the challenges and prospects for good governance to promote regional cooperation in the Horn of Africa to achieve peace and sustainable Development. The central thesis of the paper is that the current states of the Horn of Africa need to overcome internal structural and institutional challenges toward good governance at the state level before they can pursue a viable regional economic and political integration. The most serious challenges to peace and economic cooperation are problems of civil and political conflicts at the inter-state and intra-state level, rooted in dysfunctional governance and politics within the individual states that drive instability, poverty and destitution within and among the states and the Horn region. The paper also discusses the current realities, including some of the recent efforts in conflict resolution and peace building, the regional implications of the current global war against terrorism, and the prospects and the challenges for economic cooperation in the long run. After discussing some of the challenges toward good governance and integration, the paper concludes by suggesting a move toward a Greater Horn of Africa Cooperation based on regional free trade that allows free movement of people and goods, by building on existing regional initiatives as the first step for regional economic integration of the Horn Region in the long run.

# 1. Defining, Measuring and Understanding the Role of Good Governance for Development and Regional Integration

The World Governance Indicators (WGI) project [www.govindicators.org](http://www.govindicators.org) defines Governance as traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes how governments are selected, monitored and replaced, including their capacity to formulate and implement sound policies and provide public services and the respect of citizens and institutions that determine economic and social interactions (Kaufmann 2010).

WGI also identifies the six core dimensions of governance: 1. Voice and Accountability, 2. Political Stability and absence of violence and terror, 3. Government Effectiveness, 4. Regulatory Quality, 5. Rule of Law and 6. Control of corruption. By these measures Nordic countries such as Sweden and Norway have a high standard of governance. Good governance is rare in Africa and in the Middle East but is also found in African countries such as Botswana, Mauritius, Morocco, Senegal, Ghana and Namibia. Good governance is good in its own right. But from development aspects it is major factor for promoting sustainable development and alleviating poverty and promoting peace. The key components of good governance are shown in the diagram below. Countries with good governance are effective and efficient in delivery of public services, follow the rule of law, have inclusive institutions responsive to the needs of citizens, promote transparency and participation as well as respect for citizens and allow a free press. Dysfunctional governments or poor governance states are those unable to meet all or some combination of the above factors. There are several measures of levels of good governance made by global institutions such as the World Bank and Ibrahim Governance Measures, financed by the Sudanese billionaire Mr. Mo Ibrahim.



Figure 1: Dimensions of Good Governance

Good governance reduces poverty broadly measured in the terms of recent innovations by Oxford University and UNDP defined as follows: Poverty can be measured

in two ways: The simple income poverty approach based on the number of people below the poverty line estimated as \$1.25 per day per person. A more comprehensive recent innovation in poverty is the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) that disaggregates three major factors of human development: Health, Education and Standard of living as follows:

- Health is measured by two indicators with equal weight – whether any child has died in the family, and whether any adult or child in the family is malnourished – (each counts as one-sixth toward the maximum deprivation in the MPI),
- Education is measured by two indicators with equal weight – whether no household member completed 5 years of schooling, and whether any school-age child is out of school for grades 1 through 8 (each counts one-sixth toward the MPI).
- Standard of Living goes beyond simple the World Bank approach and gives equal weight to 6 human deprivations (each counts as 1/18 toward the maximum): lack of electricity; insufficiently safe drinking water; inadequate sanitation; inadequate flooring; unimproved cooking fuel; lack of more than one of 5 assets – telephone, radio, TV, bicycle, and motorbike. The following table shows a comparison of MIP and Income poverty for 8 African countries and other developing countries in Asia and Latin America.

Country	Year	MPI Value	MPI Rank	Multidimensional Poverty		Income Poverty			
				$H_M$ (proportion of poor)	A (average intensity of deprivations)	\$1.25 a Day (proportion of poor)		\$2 a Day (proportion of poor)	
						Value	Rank	Value	Rank
Kazakhstan	2006	0.002	7	0.006	0.369	0.031	23	0.172	29
Thailand	2005	0.006	16	0.016	0.385	0.020	1	0.115	20
Ecuador	2003	0.009	24	0.022	0.416	0.047	26	0.128	23
Mexico	2006	0.015	29	0.040	0.389	0.020	1	0.048	16
Brazil	2003	0.039	39	0.085	0.460	0.052	29	0.127	21
Colombia	2005	0.041	40	0.092	0.441	0.160	42	0.279	35
Dominican Republic	2000	0.048	42	0.111	0.433	0.050	28	0.151	27
China	2003	0.056	44	0.125	0.449	0.159	41	0.363	41
Viet Nam	2002	0.075	50	0.143	0.525	0.215	50	0.484	51
Indonesia	2007	0.095	53	0.208	0.459	0.075	31	0.490	52
Ghana	2008	0.140	57	0.301	0.464	0.300	57	0.536	56
Zimbabwe	2006	0.174	60	0.385	0.452				
Bolivia	2003	0.175	61	0.363	0.483	0.196	46	0.303	38
Nicaragua	2001	0.211	64	0.407	0.519	0.158	40	0.318	40
Lao	2006	0.267	68	0.472	0.565	0.440	46	0.768	73
Pakistan	2007	0.275	70	0.510	0.540	0.226	53	0.603	59
Yemen	2006	0.283	71	0.525	0.539	0.175	43	0.466	49
Bangladesh	2007	0.291	73	0.578	0.504	0.496	71	0.813	80
India	2005	0.296	74	0.554	0.535	0.416	64	0.756	70
Kenya	2003	0.302	76	0.604	0.500	0.197	47	0.399	43
Haiti	2006	0.306	77	0.573	0.533	0.549	76	0.721	67
Côte d'Ivoire	2005	0.320	78	0.522	0.614	0.233	55	0.468	50
Nepal	2006	0.350	82	0.647	0.540	0.551	77	0.776	76
Tanzania	2008	0.367	84	0.653	0.563	0.885	93	0.966	93
DR Congo	2007	0.393	88	0.732	0.537	0.592	79	0.795	77
Madagascar	2004	0.413	91	0.705	0.585	0.678	86	0.896	87
Angola	2001	0.452	93	0.774	0.584	0.543	89	0.900	88
Ethiopia	2005	0.582	103	0.900	0.647	0.390	62	0.775	75
Niger	2006	0.642	104	0.927	0.693	0.659	85	0.856	85

Good Governance and Human Development Indicators are positively related. The following table shows the level of Human Development, Governance (measured by the level of corruption perception index (CPI) and Ibrahim Index for African governance (IBAG) as well two measures of Poverty (Income Poverty and MPI). The range of HDI is between 0 (low) and 1 (High) and CPI (1 high and 10 (Low)). IBAG is between 1 (low) and 100 (best), and CPI is between 1 (High) and 10 (Lowest). The table below shows comparative data of development and poverty indicators

Country	HDI	CPI	IBAG (%)	Income Poverty & MPI
Ethiopia	0.36	2.7	33(47%)	40% (MPI=89%)
Eritrea	0.35		49(33%)	NA
Sudan	0.41	1.6	48 (33%)	NA
Somalia	NA	1.0	52(7%)	NA
Djibouti	0.43	3.0	49 (49%)	19% (MPI=29%)
Ghana	0.54	3.9	7(15%)	30% (MPI=31%)
Kenya	0.51	2.2	24(53%)	20 %( MPI=49%)
Botswana	0.63	6.1	3 (78%)	30% NA
Tanzania	0.47	3.0	58 (59%)	33% (MPI=65%)
Nigeria	0.46	2.4	43 (42%)	55% (MPI=55%)
Uganda	0.44	2.4	55(19%)	29 %( MPI=72%)

Based on the above measure, Botswana has the best governance, ranking 3rd and Somalia has worst governance with a rank of 52. Using MPI, Ethiopia is the most multidimensionally poorest even though income poverty is better than in Nigeria. A study conducted by the Oslo Peace Research Institute looked at the extent of peace and conflict internationally until 2050. The result of the simulations showed a trend of decreasing violence worldwide, with the exception of selected countries that include Ethiopia among countries with the highest risk of conflict in the next four decades. Ethiopia, the giant of the Horn, is considered to be one of the most vulnerable countries in the world on the basis of politics, security, ideological, socio-economic, religious and ethnic factors, and how the state or governments responds to conflicts. The kind of governance present in the country explains why groups of people or entire ethnic communities have resorted to inter-group/ethnic violence against state systems. Poverty and starkly manifested social inequality and injustice have become fertile ground for extremists and violent ideas.

Strategies to deal with religious and ethnic and clan tensions and to fight political opponents, irredentists and separatist movements, have all contributed to the insecurity of Ethiopia and the Greater Horn Region. For all the various reasons, implicit or explicit, reports from international organizations seem to hold the conclusion that Ethiopia runs a high risk of being in conflict in the Horn of African in the future. This paper suggests some of ways to proactively avoid this risk. Good governance in Ethiopia as the most populated and ethnically and religiously diverse will contribute to peace and stability to Greater Horn of Africa.



## 2. Prospects for Peace, Development and Cooperation in the Horn of Africa: Background, & Regional Initiatives

The Greater Horn of Africa is one of the most important and strategic regions of Africa and the global economy. It is a bridge between Africa and the Middle East and gateway to the oil fields of the Persian Gulf. It is culturally and historically rich with great natural resource potential. The Region is also endowed with rivers, lakes, forests, livestock, and high agricultural potential including untapped resources of petroleum, gold, salt, hydro-power and natural gas. The Horn is also a region of diverse ethnicity, languages, and religious practices. It is a region where two of the world's major religions – Christianity and Islam – have co-existed peacefully for generations. This is especially true in Ethiopian history. For example, it has been historically reported that a group of Islamic followers from Arabia took refuge in the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the Ethiopian highlands, where they were treated fairly and practiced their religion freely. In this paper, the Horn of Africa is defined broadly to include the current states of: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan, including South Sudan that became independent in July 2011. The Greater Horn covers an area of 5.2 million sq.km with a population of 2 500 million that constitutes about 25 percent of the entire population of Africa. The broader definition of the Greater Horn is more appropriate for successful economic integration that reflects the diversity and greater economies of scale than is possible with the narrower conception of the sub-region or the “Horn”. It is also consistent with the existing regional development initiative established by the states of the Region known as the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD), whose effectiveness depends on good governance at each state level among the states.

Three regional initiatives that can serve as the basis for regional cooperation have been established in addition to IGAD. These are the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), and the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) that involves 10 states that share the river Nile, the longest river in the world, which originates from the Ethiopian Highlands with 86% of Nile waters. IGAD's membership includes seven countries: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda. IGAD's primary stated mission is “to achieve regional cooperation and economic integration through the promotion of food security, sustainable environmental management, peace and security, intra-regional trade, and development of improved communications infrastructure (IGAD, 2000)”. While the general goal of IGAD is to achieve economic integration and sustainable development for the sub-region, its specific objectives include: 1. Creation of an enabling environment for cross-border domestic trade and investment, and the 2. Harmonizing policies with regard to trade, customs, transport communications, agriculture, natural resources, and the promotion of free movement of goods and services, and people within the region. IGAD has played an important role in the area of conflict resolution, including in the Sudan and Somalia peace processes. Thus, IGAD is a natural organization with institutional

and human capital, and experience invested by the states of the region on which to build a workable economic cooperation based on 16 years of experience. But the problem of IGAD as an effective regional institution and whether it is effective in promoting regional peace and integration of is based on the quality of governance in each state.

COMESA is a larger regional economic cooperation of 20 member states that includes the 7 IGAD countries plus an additional 13 states in Eastern and Southern Africa. Although the total population of COMESA states is about 400 million, the total economy is about the size of Belgium, a country in Europe of about 10 million people. NEPAD is the latest initiative that was established by a group of African states in 2001, and subsequently adopted as the continent's main development framework at a July 2001 summit meeting of African heads of state. On paper it was created to promote good governance. But the practice of the reality is different. According to NEPAD, Africa's long term development goals can only be achieved if African peoples can "extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and poverty and conflict including exclusion in a global economy". It calls for new partnerships between Africa and the global economy, in which non-African partners seek to complement Africa's own efforts. NEPAD calls for three necessary conditions for Africa to develop: 1. peace, security, democracy, and good political governance, 2. improved economic and corporate governance, and 3. regional cooperation and integration. Thus, NEPAD places the critical issues of good governance at center stage of both political and economic reforms in Africa. It further identifies priority areas such as human development, agriculture, physical infrastructure, and export promotion and diversification for transforming African economies. The quality good governance in each member state determines the effectiveness of NEPAD. Last but not least is the African Union (AU), located in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, which began in 1963 as the Organization of African Union, founded under the leadership of the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and other founding member state leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, first President of independent Ghana. The African Union makes Ethiopia the diplomatic capital of Africa. Recently, China built the New African Union building and the late Meles Zenawi ordered the erection of the statue of Nkrumah in front of the building, failing to place there a statue of Haile Selassie, who was the real founder of the African Union. This was due to bad politics, trying to undermine role of Haile Selassie, who built the modern Ethiopian nation state until he was recklessly removed by semi-literate junior soldier Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam, who destroyed Ethiopian society and culture, influenced by the former Soviet Union from 1974-91. When the Soviet Union imploded in 1991 Colonel Mengistu fled to Zimbabwe, hosted by another dictator, Mugabe who destroyed the great economy of Zimbabwe and was recently re-elected under flawed elections. The Colonel may have advised Mugabe on how to destroy another country! Syad Barre of Somalia also collapsed in 1991 after a massive abuse of power that led Somaliland to become a de-facto independent state seeking international recognition. Why did the international community recognize Eritrea in 1993 and

not Somaliland, which has become a better governed state than Eritrea turned out to be, becoming the North Korea of the Horn of Africa? Why this double standard?

### 3. Measuring African Governance using the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Mr. Mo Ibrahim is a Sudanese billionaire who puts his money into improving African good governance and leadership. He has developed the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IBAG), a comprehensive measure of governance focused on African states, based on 57 variables categorized into 5 indices that include: 1. Safety and human security, 2. Rule of Law, transparency and corruption, 3. Sustainable Economic Development, 4. Participation and human rights, 5. Human Development (Education, Health and Income) that are disaggregated to measure the Ibrahim Index. The following tables provide ranking of scores that are assigned grades based on groups of countries in terms of quality of governance in percentages (ranging 10 to 100%).

Mr. Ibrahim also gives an incentive award of 5 million for any African leader that shows an outstanding record in moving democracy and good governance forward. Most of the years no one qualifies, but African leaders from Botswana and Senegal have been awarded in the past.

Table 3: 2006 Ibrahim Index of African Governance  
Rank Country Scores & Grades (Grades assigned by the author)

<u>Grade A: (65-100): Good Governance</u>	<u>Grade B: (64-58): above average</u>	<u>Grade C (top 21-30): Average</u>	<u>Grade D (31-40): Poor Governance</u>	<u>Grade V (41-48): Failed or Rogue states</u>
1 Mauritius 85.1	11 Malawi 63.9	21 Zambia 58.3	31 Ethiopia 50.9	41 Eritrea 46.5
2 Seychelles 79.8	12 Lesotho 63.3	22 Mozambique 57.1	32 Mauritania 50.8	42 Côte d'Ivoire 45.6
3 Cape Verde 74.7	13 Benin 62.5	23 Mali 55.9	33 Zimbabwe 50.4	43 Central African Republic 43.6
4 Botswana 74.1	14 Comoros 61.9	24 Niger 55.5	34 Swaziland 50.2	44 Angola 43.3
5 South Africa 71.5	15 Tanzania 61.6	25 Cameroon 55.4	35 Burundi 50.0	45 Sudan 34.2
6 Namibia 70.9	16 Madagascar 60.4	26 Djibouti 55.2	36 Equatorial Guinea 49.2	46 Chad 33.9
7 Ghana 70.1	17 Kenya 59.1	27 Gambia 55.2	37 Sierra Leone 49.1	47 Congo 29.8
8 Gabon 69.4	18 Rwanda 59.1	28 Congo 53.3	38 Liberia 48.7	48 Somalia 18.9
9 São Tomé and Príncipe 68.3	19 Uganda 58.3	29 Togo 53.0	39 Nigeria 48.5	
10 Senegal 66.1	20 Burkina Faso 58.3	30 Guinea-Bissau 51.9	40 Guinea 47.8	

Source: Rotberg and Rachel M. Gisselquist, 2009

## 4. Current and Recent Political Realities of the States in the Greater Horn of Africa

The Greater Horn of Africa is one of the most conflict-ridden and politically unstable sub-regions of Africa and the World. Decades of war, destructive state intervention by the dictatorial regimes that ruled the Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Somalia in the 1970s and 1980s have caused massive social and human de-capitalization, brain drain, environmental degradation, poverty and famines. The conflict and instability of the region has both intra-state, inter-state, and global dimensions of foreign interventions. For instance, there was a raging civil war in the Sudan for 22 years that has claimed about 2 million lives and destroyed the country's resources. The Sudan peace agreement with the SPLA was included in June 2005, and the Unity Government was signed by the Sudanese Government in Khartoum and the late Dr. John Garang, the SPLA leader. Garang became Vice President of the country as a part of that agreement, which gave Southern Sudan an autonomy for a six years transition period after which Southern Sudanese would vote to remain part of Sudan as an autonomous state or become an independent state. Southern Sudan became independent in July 2011 by referendum.

In 2000 Ethiopia and Eritrea concluded a vicious two-year war that claimed about 100 000 lives, and destroyed the resources of both countries, after initial honeymoon from 1993-98. This senseless war was driven by the two dictators, not between the peoples of the two sister countries who are historically one nation and was a direct result of bad governance and leadership in both states. Colonel Mengistu's 17 years of disaster and abuse of power led to the forced breakaway of Eritrea in 1993. Somalia can be regarded as a collapsed nation-state in 1991, with a de facto independence of Somaliland and Puntland driven by dictator General Barre. The collapse of the Somali state, the only one in Africa with a common national, ethnic and religious identity raises a serious question for theorists of ethnic nationalism. If ethnicity or tribal differences are the primary reasons that prevent Africans from living together peacefully as claimed by a few scholars, why did the Somali state disintegrate? The Somali have reverted to the pre-colonial pattern of clan rivalry during the post-Cold War period. During the long rule of Barre (1969-1991), the main beneficiaries were the clans that supported his regime. Post-Barre Somalia emerged with a raging, violent political struggle as clans sought to confiscate resources and land previously expropriated by the late dictator's supporters, and terrorized the local population. The clans see the state as a source of revenue, much of which is derived from abroad through foreign aid, and remittances of the Somali diaspora and each demanded a share through violent means. The state of Somalia disintegrated when certain clans acquired a virtual monopoly of state power and resources, prompting others to take up arms to redress the balance. The root cause of the Somali collapse was clan conflict over natural resources driven by bad governance under an autocratic dictatorship to which clans responded. It is a classic case of conflict-driven collective failure among politicians, preceded by a dictatorship and arbitrary use of state power over resources.

Amidst the collapse of the state, the clans contend for whatever resources and wealth is still available: food aid, port levies, road tolls, and taxes on trade. Today, Southern Somalia is captured by the extremist Islamist group Al-Shabab, supported by foreign intervention including some Arab and Middle Eastern States. The Ugandan government is engaged in internal war in the North with a fundamentalist Christian group known as the Lord's Army, led by Joseph Kony as well as a conflict in the western part of the country. Kenya, although one of most successful manufacturing economies of the Greater Horn Region, has political problems of transition that need to be resolved democratically. They led to violent political conflict where over 2000 people died along tribal lines after the 2007 elections. But Kenya changed the one party rule of former President Moi of Kenya by free elections in 2004, ending the one man rule of the Kenya African Union (KANU) which had ruled since independence. Djibouti went through a civil war after independence from France in 1976, which set back its fragile economy (World Bank, 2002). Now Djibouti's economy has benefited from being the new outlet for Ethiopia which became landlocked after Ethiopia lost Assab and Massawa ports after the breakaway of Eritrea 1993.

Ethiopia is experimenting with a form of ethnic federalism, following the demise of the former dictator Colonel Mengistu 1991. Ethiopia's experimentation with ethnic federalism has not led to the collapse of the country so far, as predicted by some, primarily due to strong local communities that have evolved over centuries in spite of the ethnic politics unleashed after 1991. However, there is an urgent need for democratic reform due to the incompatibility of ethnic federalism with sustainable democracy and the mobility of labor and capital required for market based development in the long run including the culture of Ethiopians across ethnicity. Ethnic federalism is not rooted in the culture and history of diverse communities of Ethiopians that were governed in provinces that were multi-ethnic and allowed free mobility of people.

Ethnic federalism is also an alien ideology imported from Marxist-Leninism and Stalinism that is now defunct and led to the collapse of the former Soviet Union under its own weight. The country is facing inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts that follow from the politicization of ethnicity, including the demand for secession by some ethnic groups. Some ethnic groups claim that they have constitutional rights provided in Article 39 of the current Constitution that allows for "the right of self-determination of ethnic nationalities including secession".

The primary cause of these intra-state and inter-state conflicts in the Horn of Africa is the problem of concentration of power at top level and lack of good governance, which still continues to be the case in various degrees in the states of the Horn of Africa. The Ethio-Eritrean war that resulted is a classic case of an arbitrary and reckless use of concentrated political power abuse by two parties that went to war in 1998-2000. It is a result of bad governance. It is not a war between the two peoples, who have strong cultural and language connections. In fact the two leaders that created war are from the same linguistic or ethnic group. Such exercise of power exists in other states of the Horn such as the Sudan, both at the state level and within state, regional and local levels in the form of ethnic and clan-based war-lordism, and

creates havoc and atrocities among the local population. In the Sudan, the reckless exercise of power is manifested in the hegemonic imposition of political Islam on the southern peoples of the Sudan by the government of that country in Khartoum. This became the main driver of independence for South Sudan. This religious hegemony for political control is one of the primary causes of the long civil war in the Sudan. One of the best ways of overcoming these inter-state and intra-state conflicts in the Horn is by promoting good governance and democratization and political reconciliation among the political elites of the region and abolishing secular governance. Here secularism is defined as a non-religious, non-ethnic, non-clan, non-partisan system of domestic state governance. The separation of politics from religion and ethnicity and clanism is crucial for building successful democracies and good governance in Africa and around the world. It is also a major feature of working democracies around the world. In addition to the monopoly and arbitrary use of political power, the politicization of religion, ethnicity, clanism, is one of the major causes of inter-state and intra-state conflict in the Greater Horn states. The political manipulation of ethnic, clan, and religious sentiments by the elites and rebels of the region, for the purpose of controlling resources and gaining or maintaining power and scarce resources at any cost, and their refusal to create a democratic institutional framework to diffuse power and decision-making to the local population in a secular (non-ethnic & non-religious) fashion is a major factor in the conflicts.

Each of the Greater Horn states needs a peaceful national domestic political reconciliation before they can move forward to form any viable regional political and economic confederation. Such intrastate-conciliation must be inclusive, free of religion and ethnicity or clanism, and democratic. It must be based on inclusive, open and peaceful participatory honest dialogue among civil society groups, elders, farmers, and traders, and other stakeholders within each state. Specifically, the role of elders and scholars including civil society and business leaders with long-institutional memory, as well as independent academics is crucial to begin a constructive dialogue that may lead to a viable political reconciliation at the inter-state and intra-state levels. There is also an external dimension to the conflict, poverty and food insecurity of the Greater Horn of Africa. For about three decades, regional conflicts in the region were fought under the shadow of the Cold War. Before the collapse of the former Soviet Union, both the Soviet Union and the United States considered the region of great strategic importance. They took turns supplying successive regimes of Ethiopia and Somalia with military hardware to support their internal and regional wars.

For example, the former Soviet Union supported the Barre regime of Somalia against Ethiopia prior to 1974/75, and the United States was a major supporter of Ethiopia during the long rule of the late Atse Haile Selassie that ended in 1974. During the military rule led by Colonel Mengistu of Ethiopia, 1974-91, the U.S. and the Soviet Union switched sides. Ethiopia became a client state of the Soviet Union during Mengistu's rule that ended in 1991, and the USA moved next door to support the Somali government. Both Ethiopia and Somalia became cold war victims of foreign power interventions. After the internal implosion of the former Soviet Union in 1991 that ended the Cold War, the United States abandoned the



Barre Regime in Somalia, and the Soviet Union did the same with the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia. As a result, both regimes of Ethiopia and Somalia collapsed in 1991, driven by rebel forces, while the former Soviet Union collapsed into the current 15 independent states.

## 5. New Post- Cold War Challenges in Ethiopia and the Greater Horn of Africa

The U.S. has emerged as the sole remaining world super-power since the end of the Cold War and the Greater Horn of Africa is facing new challenges and realities, with rising China as a major economic competitor. One of these challenges includes the rise of militant fundamentalist movements in the Greater Horn based on religion, ethnicity and clanism. Many of these are organized groups directed and financed from abroad. Examples include the National Islamic Front (NIF) in the Sudan, which has been accused of masterminding a campaign aimed at destabilizing its neighbors. NIF has intentions to impose Islamic rule in the Sudan and the entire Horn region. There are also fundamentalist groups in Somaliland, Southern Somalia, and Djibouti. Islam is traditionally not a problem here but a religion for individual guidance in morals and ethics. In Ethiopia, for example, Islam and Christianity have coexisted in countries such as Ethiopia, in relatively peaceful harmony for generations.

The penetration of Islamic Fundamentalism or Political Islam is both recent and external to the Greater Horn of Africa. For much of history the two major world religions of Christianity and Islam have co-existed in relative harmony in the region. An example of this penetration is the overthrow of Sadiq-Al-Mahdi's democratically elected government in the Sudan in 1989, supported by Iran and guided by the National Islamic Front (NIF) and its ideologue Sheik Hassan El-Tourabi. Sheik Tourabi is reported to have stated about its neighbor, "*Ethiopia will self-destruct in the near future, thus paving the way for the establishment of an Islamic state and resulting in a chain of Islamic polities extending from the Sudan to the Indian Ocean*" (Africa Confidential, 1995, Tekle, 1996).

What is needed is the democratic reconstitution of Ethiopia and the other states of the region under democratic and secular (non-ethnic/non-religious) lines to good governance to bring about stability and sustainable development to themselves and to benefit from regional cooperation following a sustained dialogue. Ethiopia, as the most populated and diverse country in the Horn is the lynchpin of the region. A democratically re-constituted Ethiopia with good governance can become the focal point for economic development in the Greater Horn of Africa.

It is noteworthy to point out that the best days of the Greater Horn of Africa were the 1960s, during the period when Ethiopia was strong and united and evolving.

Although Ethiopia was not a democratic state during this period, the country was gradually evolving toward a viable economy and society which African states and black people elsewhere looked up to for leadership and inspiration. For example, the first political Union of African states following independence, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) were established in Addis Ababa in the 1960s.

The 1960s were also the period when Ethiopia's institution of higher education, the former Haile Selassie First University, re-named Addis Ababa University, was a leading institution of higher learning in Africa, along with the other universities of the region such as Makerere University and the University of Nairobi. Moreover, the country's national airline, the Ethiopian Airlines, was unmatched in the rest of Africa and the developing world and still continues to provide excellent service connecting Africa to the rest of the world. The economy, especially the manufacturing sector, was dynamic.

Indeed in the 1960s, the prospects for the countries of the Greater Horn of Africa such as Ethiopia and Somalia were promising to be self-sufficient in food production with only localized deficits due to drought. The Nobel laureate, the Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal forecast a promising scenario for African states such as Ethiopia and Ghana, and a dismal future for Asia and India. Thirty years later that forecast was wrong because he focused on just one variable, that of population growth. The fact is Asia was moving forward, and African economies were stagnating or declining. This is not a call to move backward in history or nostalgia, but to take constructive lessons for the future based on past experiences in order to face up to new challenges and realities toward the critical need for democratic good governance. We may also ponder and reflect on the consequences of elite driven politicization of history, ethnicity, and religion, which may have implications for re-constructing the economies and societies for sustainable development and economic cooperation in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. Ethnicity or ethnic nationalism in Ethiopia and the other states of the region is highly politicized. Ethnicity or religion are not a problem in their natural settings in any society. They become a problem under autocratic states and dictatorships that try to impose minority or majority ethnic political dominance on local communities. It is a basic democratic good governance problem that can best be solved peacefully through constitutional reform toward real democracy that equitably diffuses political power through constitutional and democratic means to regional and local levels, respecting local cultures and diversity. In particular, the problem is the absence of representative democracy with the protection of the rights of minorities and individuals or absence of governance by the people for the people. Several social science studies show that ethnic diversity and democracy can co-exist in harmony. But, ethnic inequality and dominance becomes problematic only under dictatorship. Ethnicity or ethnic nationalism is a symptom not the root cause of the problem. The root causes include destitution and lack of democratic good governance based on individual citizen rights ( not politicized group or ethnic rights), but natural cultural rights including respecting local communities and delivering effective services such as education, health and housing including agricultural and pas-



toral communities. They also include some hegemonic cultural traits that cut across ethnic and clan groups, but can only change over time with democratization and quality education. The problem is then how to establish democratic governments that create good governance. The best way to advance democracy is by developing democratic institutions of governance that protect individual and community rights which also insures the protection of ethnic and other group rights. The reverse is not true. Protection of ethnic group rights does not insure the protection of the rights of individuals in that ethnic group under dictatorships. It is likely to leads to mini (ethnic) dictatorships that promote inter-ethnic intra-ethnic conflicts and corruption at the local level. The sooner the states of the Greater Horn reform politically and economically by peacefully re-constituting themselves, the better things will become for all the peoples of the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia must take the lead in this regard as the most populated country with almost all the linguistic/ethnic groups in its current territory, including the Somalis in its current Somali regional state. For example, over six million Ethiopian Somalis are the third largest ethnic group following the Oromo and the Amara and live today in the Somali state region of Ethiopia.

The Oromo nationalist problem is also a basic democratic problem of lack of democratic good governance. The Oromo are the trunk of the Ethiopian nation state and among the ancient historic rulers of modern Ethiopia. The secession of Oromos from the rest of Ethiopia would end the modern state of Ethiopia as we know it. If the Oromos are the majority of the Ethiopian state, why would a majority want to secede? This does not make any sense! The fact is that modern Ethiopia is not ancient Abyssinia, and the Oromo people have interacted and intermingled with other peoples of the country for generations, and have taken a crucial role in the formation of the modern Ethiopian state. The historic formation of any nation state in world is not always smooth or just. The Ethiopian state is not unique in this regard. The sooner Ethiopian political elites stop fighting among themselves over history and ethnic identity and focus on present and future problems by advancing the causes of secularism and true constitutional democracy with a majority rule, with proper checks and balances, and the rule of law that protects the rights individual citizens, the more likely that sustainable political reconciliation, peace and development will be possible in Ethiopia. Moreover, the recent history of the Horn region shows that secessionism not only leads to fragmentation, war, and arbitrary rule, but has a toxic and detrimental effect on the welfare of the people involved themselves. An example of this is the state of Eritrea, which broke away from Ethiopia in 1993, primarily as a result of an arbitrary and reckless use of power by the former dictator of Ethiopia, Colonel Mengistu, 1974-91. The Eritrean movement was a minor insurgency that was mostly contained and carefully managed during the pre-1974 period of Haile Selassie, who ruled 1930-1974, but who was unable and unwilling to reform toward constitutional democracy like some of the best governed countries such as Sweden, Japan, etc. Ethiopia missed the opportunity to reform itself toward constitutional democracy in 1974 and has suffered serious decline since then.

One of the early threats to Ethiopia and the Greater Horn Region is a group known as the Al Ithaad al Islam (Unity of Islam). The group was reportedly founded

in the early 1990s by a group of Islamic fundamentalists who fought against the Soviet Union in the 1980s in Afghanistan, and were financed by a mysterious network of Islamic charities (Shinn, 2002). For example, Al Ithaad claimed responsibility for the bombings of two hotels in Ethiopia in 1996, and for the assassination of an Ethiopian general, as well as an assassination attempt against Ethiopia's Ambassador to the United Nations. Another terrorist incident that took place earlier was an assassination attempt against former President Mubarak of Egypt, as he was going from the airport to attend the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting on June 26, 1995. Later evidence showed that an Egyptian terrorist group with operatives in the Sudan was responsible, and that three of the terrorists escaped to the Sudan after the unsuccessful assassination attempt. That incident forced Ethiopia to terminate its relationship with the Sudan at the time (Shinn, 2002). However, the relations between the two governments are now fully normalized, following the Ethio-Eritrean War of 1998-2000.

The Horn of Africa now needs an institutional governance framework agreed upon by the current states, aimed at the crucial area of conflict resolution, and regional security against terrorist threats. Indeed, it is impossible to bring about sustainable (political) or even economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa, as things currently stand. The best that can be done under current realities is to strengthen the conflict resolution efforts and support civil society groups especially women's groups of the existing regional institutions such as IGAD, including an ability to impose collective sanctions to enforce agreed upon rules. IGAD must have the capability to sanction and isolate rogue states of the region which use arbitrary power to commit massive atrocities and human rights abuses on their peoples, and violate principles of inter-state and intra-state co-existence that benefit the peoples of the Horn of Africa.

For a viable political confederation to take place in the long run, some minimum conditions need to be met. First, individual states of the Horn must have their houses in order and move toward democratization by taking credible political and economic reforms, before they can form political and economic integration along democratic lines at the domestic level. For example, the Sudan must remove religion (Political Islam) from governance and give a true autonomy to its Southern Region and peoples. The Government of Sudan has already signed a peace agreement with the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), and must bring about peace with the Darfur and other rebels in the country. Eritrea has under its current ruler unfortunately emerged as the most de-stabilizing state in the Horn. For example, Eritrea's ruler has clashed with almost every country of the Region. Isayas suddenly invaded Ethiopia in 1998. He fought with Yemen in 1996 and with Djibouti, and has picked fights with the Sudan. He has indeed emerged as the bully of the Horn of Africa or North Korea of the Horn of Africa. It is impossible to have a political confederation with the behavior of such leaders. Moreover, the Somalis must work together for the common good and agree to reconcile. In Kenya, a democratic transition based on free and successful elections ended the 24-year rule of former President Moi, which also ended the rule of the Kenya African Union (KANU) that led the country to Independence under founding President Jomo Kenyatta. Moi's 24-year rule ended

due to a constitutional term limit which ended his rule in 2004. Uganda and Kenya have both placed such term limits on their top political leaders in their constitutions. Indeed, the list of African countries that have reformed their constitutions and undergone peaceful political transition during the post-Cold War period is growing. It now includes Ghana, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia. This is both positive and necessary for Africa. The Greater Horn of Africa states such as Ethiopia and Eritrea are still behind in this regard. They must begin an important democratic process of peaceful political transition and reconciliation. Ethiopia should also undergo similar constitutional reforms. It should take ethnic or tribal politics out of governance in a peaceful and orderly manner following honest and inclusive national political dialogue. It should allow for peaceful and democratic transition of power based on constitutional term limits on key political offices. Ethiopia should also reform the ethnic based federalism built into its constitution to avoid inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts with a potential to balkanize the country that may de-stabilize the entire region. It should also reform its existing rural land policy with the aim of reducing tenure insecurity by vesting land rights on farmers and farm communities. Land reform is critical to bring about sustained agricultural development and the reduction of poverty and land or soil degradation and avoid massive land sales to foreigners or so called land grab rooted in lack of land rights in farm communities and citizens.

## 6. Challenges and Prospects for Economic Integration in the Region through Good Governance

### Toward a Greater Horn of Africa Free Trade Area and Movement of People (GHAFTAM)

The Nigerian economist Professor Adedeji, a proponent of economic integration in Africa, has stated the critical need to have dynamic economies at the domestic level before a viable regional confederation and economic cooperation is possible as follows: *“First you must have a dynamic (democratic) state. If you have a stagnant, contracting state, forget about regional integration. When a state finds itself in a crisis and in conflict, it does not see beyond its nose. If you can’t provide enough transport facilities at home, how can you be thinking of regional or pan-African transport facilities? There are African states that can’t even pay the salaries of their civil servants. How can you expect them...to contribute to regional organizations? If you look at the 1950s to 1970s, the European economies were moving fast, expanding. Therefore, the environment for regional integration was there.*

*That is what has been absent in Africa. We do not have an enabling environment for integration and cooperation, because we have stagnant or declining economies”.* (Adedeji, A. Africa Recovery, 2002).

The current reality is that in spite of the potential in natural resources and its geo-politically strategic role, the Horn of Africa is one of the poorest regions of the world. The key economic and social indicators of the states of the region clearly point to these realities (see table A1). The primary cause of poverty in the midst of such natural resource potential is bad governance that produces conflicts, wars, and bad economic policies.

It is also a problem of serious conflict that leads to ‘collective failure’ among the political elites of the region, to allow the peaceful evolution of viable democratic institutions of governance and conflict resolution. While politics and economics cannot always be separated, it is possible for states of the sub-region to move forward in the area of economic cooperation with some effort and enlightened leadership and good governance based on serious internal economic reforms followed by political and constitutional reforms. This paper proposes such a move forward to begin at the lowest level of economic integration possible or at the level of free trade area. A free trade area and movement of people under the rule of law has a potential *win-win* outcome for the peoples and states of the Horn of Africa. The rationale for the proposed free trade area is based on standard economic arguments of trade and economic integration, which include benefits gained from *economies of scale* and *comparative advantage* as well as access to greater markets. For example, Ethiopia and Djibouti currently benefit from mutually beneficial economic cooperation. Ethiopia gets access to the port of Djibouti via a jointly owned railroad, and Djibouti benefits from revenues generated from Ethiopia’s use of the port. Another rationale for economic cooperation is that there exists some infrastructure such as roads that connect most of the states of the Region to build on. A free trade area with free mobility of labor and capital can also benefit from the existing initiative of IGAD, established by the states and supported by international development institutions, donors, and other partners. Indeed, for a successful interregional trade to be viable, it must be complemented by public and private investment. Domestic and foreign private investment is especially crucial to maximize the benefits from a free trade area. Moreover, there is some diversity among the states of the Greater Horn if Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan are included, with some complementarity for a viable inter-regional trade for the benefit of the region (see table A2). A narrowly defined “Greater Horn of Africa” free trade area that excludes Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan may not have much inter-regional trade benefits and complementarity. For example, Ethiopia is potentially rich in agricultural and livestock products. It has *revealed comparative advantage* in such products (see table A3). The Sudan has discovered petroleum in its Southern Regions, and there are natural gas potentials in Somalia.

Kenya has the most developed manufacturing base from which it can benefit. It is a major source of inter-regional trade with Ethiopia for example (table A3). Uganda is emerging as a potential “African Tiger”, as it is currently implementing one of the most successful economic reform programs in Africa. Uganda, which at independence from Britain in 1962 was called the “Jewel of Africa” due to its rich soil and natural resources went through political instability that produced eight governments between 1962 and 1986, including the vicious rule of former dictator Idi Amin,

1971-79. Since 1986 Uganda has experienced a relative stability, which appears to be turning into an economic advantage. The government and international donors have begun to rebuild Uganda's devastated economy from years of civil war and political instability. Indeed, an aggressive reform aimed at trade liberalization, privatization, fiscal and monetary discipline has been launched, allowing Uganda to achieve an average GDP growth rate of over 7% through the 1990s, the level required to reach the global Millenium Development Goals by 2015 for Africa.

The *Global Millennium Development Goals* include the: 1, reduction of poverty and hunger by half, 2, the achievement of universal primary education, 3. the promotion of gender equality, 4, the reduction of maternal mortality rate by  $\frac{3}{4}$ . A UN Millennium Declaration adopted these goals in 2000, when it declared "the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for the entire world's people". (Asefa & Reinert, 2004). Ethiopia is the largest country in the Horn of Africa in terms of population, and second most populated state in Africa. It is a multi-ethnic nation that constitutes 40 percent of the population of the Horn. Ethiopia is the current home of important pan-African organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ethiopia can serve as anchor on which free trade, foreign investment, and related regional economic cooperation and development activities can be implemented in the future. What is suggested here is a movement toward the creation of a Greater Horn of Africa Free Trade and Movement of People, a first stage of economic cooperation which can be established independently or within the framework of the existing regional institutions such as IGAD (see figure A1). IGAD has gained significant institutional capital and experience since its inception in 1986. Currently, IGAD is organized under an executive director and three directors of divisions focused on three key areas of development: Agriculture & Environment Division, Economic Cooperation Division, Political and Humanitarian Division. The organizational framework includes an important Conflict Prevention, Management & Resolution section under the Director of the Political and Humanitarian division. (See IGAD 2002 for its complete organizational chart). The proposed free trade area can be developed within the existing IGAD framework of Economic Cooperation Division further in consultation with all states of the Horn, pan-Africa organizations, donors, and other International Development partners, and other stakeholders. The idea should follow a series of inclusive international and regional workshops aimed at fully working out the details. It should also be noted that the Organization has a Trade, Industry & Tourism Section, which can be further strengthened and re-focused to promote trade and investment. The suggested free trade area should be regarded as the first stage toward an *economic union* of the region in the long run. It will have to be followed by increasingly higher levels of economic integration schemes, such as *common market* and *customs union* before a full *economic union* is possible. In general, four degrees of formal economic integration schemes, from the lowest to the highest level, can be identified. They include: *Free Trade Agreement*, *Customs Union*, *Common Market*, and an *Economic Union*. Each of the stages that lead to a full regional economic union must evolve and they may take several years.

It should be remembered that it took European countries over 50 years to reach their current final stage of economic union within the European Union (EU) with a common currency, coordinated or harmonized macronomic policies, standards, and regulations. GHAFTA can begin as an open free trade association with access by individual member states to the existing regional economic cooperation initiatives such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI). Indeed, IGAD will have to coordinate activities with the existing overlapping regional initiatives in order to avoid duplication of programs. Currently, all the Horn states are members of at least three African regional schemes: COMESA, NBI, and IGAD. In addition Kenya and Uganda belong to East African Cooperation (ECA). See figure A1. Another critical area of cooperation within the proposed IGAD framework is the promotion of “regional public goods” such as the Nile Basin, and the eradication of “regional public bads”.

“Regional public goods” refer to regional cooperative activities that improve inter-state and intra-state physical infrastructure such as roads and communication schemes, as well as cooperation in the areas of education, research and public health and related social infrastructure, roads, railways water use for needed irrigation. “Regional public bads” are the opposite of ‘regional public goods’. Public bads include regional drug, child and people trafficking, the spread of infectious diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS, and regional terrorism that can be combated through regional cooperation among the states.

## 7. Regional Efforts and Initiatives in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

There are current efforts at conflict resolution and peace building in the region that may enable the suggested economic cooperation possible, enabled by good governance at each state level. Generally, there appear to be some encouraging initiatives in conflict resolution within and among some of the states of the region. Djibouti signed a peace pact in May 2001 with the last armed opposition against the government (World Bank, 2002). The Somalis appear to be making some progress in peace negotiations. The political reconciliation talks among the Somali factions, originally scheduled in April 2002, have just been concluded on a positive note of forming a Somalia government in 2012 after 16 attempts to form a government. The Somalis have adopted a declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and Principles of the Somali National Reconciliation Process at their recent meeting in Kenya on October 27, 2002, under the sponsorship of IGAD. The Sudan signed a successful Peace Agreement with the SPLA in 2005, ending a long war that has claimed 2 million people. The United States played a constructive role when U.S. President Bush signed the Sudan Peace Act to give the Agreement some “teeth”. The



legislation is aimed at putting a sanction on the Government of Sudan if it does not negotiate in good faith with the SPLA and the other rebels. During the signing ceremony on October 21, 2002, Mr. Bush stated, "The Government of Sudan must choose between the path of peace and the path of continued war and destruction". Although, the Government of Sudan has complained about this legislation, noting that it will not give any incentives for the rebels to sustain the peace agreement (*Prolog*, 10/22/2002,) a successful peace was signed with efforts of US Government. On the other hand, current President of Eritrea is continuing to fight proxy wars with Ethiopia. The Ethio-Eritrean is at stalemate after ending the devastating war of 1998-2000 and needs good governance with long term vision to be resolved.

## 8. Beyond Global War Against Terrorism after September 11, 2001: Educating and employing the youth.

The September 11 2001 terrorist attack on the United States raised the strategic value of the Greater Horn of Africa to the level of the Cold War period, this time due to the global war against terrorism led by the United States. Former Ambassador of Ethiopia and Somalia, Dr. David Shinn has speculated that the Horn of Africa may be the next target of global anti-terrorist campaigns, noting that there are Islamic groups in Somalia with ties to al Qaeda organization, and the organizations founder bin Laden himself lived in the Sudan until he was asked to leave in 1996. Dr. Shinn expressed this concern as follows: "*The (terrorist) concern from the Sudan has, at least for the time being been dissipated. On the other hand, the events of September 11, 2001, have caused Ethiopia to focus on the situation in Somalia, particularly the threat posed by hostile groups such as Al Ithaad ( Unity of Islam). Ethiopia is the linchpin of the Horn of Africa. What happens there impacts the rest of the region. The importance of Islam in Ethiopia is not well appreciated by the United States, and U.S officials are well advised to pay attention to Ethiopian Islam and the way in which Ethiopia interacts with its Islamic neighbors*" (Horn of Africa News Agency, 2002). Moreover, it should be noted that Islam is a major and growing religion in Ethiopia. A survey of Islamic populations around the world conducted by San Diego State University estimates the number of Ethiopian Muslims to be about 29 million, and that Ethiopia is tied with Morocco as the country with the 11<sup>th</sup> largest Muslim population in the world. If accurate, these estimates show that there are more Muslims in Ethiopia than in Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Ethiopia's current population is probably about 45% Ethiopian Orthodox Christian, 45% Sunni Muslim, and the rest Protestant or indigenous religions (Shinn, 2002). As indicated earlier, Muslims and Christians have co-existed in Ethiopia in relative harmony and peace for generations. There is no reason to believe that this will not continue in the future, short of politicization of the religions, and with political and economic reform toward freedom and democra-

tization, and reduction in poverty. Good governance is crucial to proactively bringing about religious reconciliation by not taking partisan support to selected religions and demonizing others. Religion should be kept out of politics and simply left to citizens as a moral guide. Haile Selassie even though a religion man is known to have said religion is personal but a nation is common or in Amharic, “*Haimanot Yegel New Hager Yegara New*”.

The U.S. sent troops to Horn of Africa (*IRIN News.Org*, 2002). These forces in Djibouti are aimed to fight against terrorism. The United States also has security agreements with the other Horn states of Kenya, Ethiopia, and Yemen. As the only world super-power, the U.S. shoulders the huge responsibility to defend not only itself, but other nations against international terrorism, and to lead a global coalition against this new threat to human freedom, peace, and development. But it is important for the United States to work with the international community of nations, including the states in the Horn of Africa. The United States should coordinate such efforts of peace building, and conflict resolution efforts with development, democratization, and poverty alleviation. In the long run, the United States should commit resources to regional institutions such as IGAD and strengthen its autonomy and institutional capability for building sustainable peace and development and for fighting poverty in the region and fund education toward good governance and conflict resolution and civil society building. The U.S government should avoid taking sides in the regional and state conflicts, and promote reconciliation within and among the states of the region. It should take a long-term view and assist those states that make significant progress in reducing poverty and conflict, and in advancing the civil and human rights of their citizens and quality education. The United States should also commit resources to help re-build the economies and education and health of the region, which need good governance for successful implementation. The current Obama and future US administrations should take a non-partisan approach and build on the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative, initiated during the Clinton administration, with a dual approach: To help the countries to achieve food security to support their people, and to resolve conflicts in a peaceful and democratic fashion (*Shinn*, 2002). The global war against terrorism should move along a two-step process: In the short run, the U.S and the world community should sustain multilateral efforts to dismantle terrorist organizations, with focus on destroying their financial infrastructure in particular and networks. In the long run, the U.S and the international community should engage in a global war against poverty and injustice including investing in quality education and employment of the growing youth population of the Horn. The long run strategy for winning the war against global terror is best described by Nobel Laureate development economist Joseph Stiglitz in his recent article, as follows: “*September 11, 2001 has resulted in a global alliance against terrorism. What is needed is not just an alliance against evil, but also an alliance for something positive – a global alliance for reducing poverty and for creating a better environment, and alliance for creating a global society with greater social justice*” (Stiglitz, 2002)



## 9. Concluding Remarks

The prospects for economic cooperation, peace and development in the Horn of Africa may appear gloomy. Indeed there have been mixed views among scholars about the prospects or the merit of economic cooperation especially between Eritrea and Ethiopia. For example, one view that opposes any move toward cooperation among two the states of the Horn is as follows: “ *Confederation of Eritrea with Ethiopia will give the (Eritrean) state a free hand to plunder Ethiopian resources as happened during 1991-98 or before the war...and that Confederation will give (Eritrean political elites) a second chance..... The war was, in a way, an opportune moment for Ethiopia to get rid of a country that sucked her resources for over 40 years with no reverse benefits*” (Teketel, 2002).

I disagree with this view. This view assumes the state of Ethiopia with over 90 million people, will not be able to defend its national interests against an a tiny Eritrean state of less than 4 million people which the late Meles Regime allowed to peacefully break away in 1993. It also implies that the state of Ethiopia will not be capable of re-constituting itself into a democratic and dynamic economy with good governance capable of promoting its national interests and therefore to benefit from fair trade and regional economic cooperation in the future. Such assumptions are not tenable. Anyway, these are challenges for the current and future generation of Ethiopians. Nevertheless, if one takes a more optimistic and dynamic view of the Horn of Africa, there may be some ground for cautious optimism, as well as new challenges in the region, including resumption of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea with good governance on both sides. The peoples and the states of the Horn may have an opportunity to begin the long road toward peaceful co-existence, intra-and inter-state political reconciliation and peace building, that may lead to cooperation aimed at sustainable development. However, before any viable Horn of Africa Confederation is possible among the states of the region, they must put their internal political and economic houses in order by making credible political and economic reforms along democratic lines. The states of the Horn must go through a necessary stage of peaceful and just political re-conciliation among and within themselves and their societies. To initiate any form of political confederation driven from the top with leaders that are undemocratic or do not have legitimacy among the majority of their respective peoples at this point will be premature. It will be like putting the cart before the horse, or like expecting a child to run before he or she can sit, stand, crawl and walk.

The current PM Mr. Hailemariam has a unique leadership opportunity to remove democratic gaps left by the late Meles Zenawi, that includes releasing all political prisoners and journalists, lifting draconian laws put on civil society and NGOs, lifting terrorist laws used to jail political opponents and journalists. My wish for the new PM is that he may develop a leadership identity of his own that is kinder and of wisdom and courage of breaking the deadlock by politicians around him, and make credible economic and political including constitutional reform toward checks and balances and open the public space for honest and peaceful dialogue among all

stakeholders of Ethiopia that includes political parties, and civil society groups and scholars, as well making elections free 2015, assuming there will be an election.

## 10. Reflecting about the future Challenges the Ethiopia and Horn of Africa

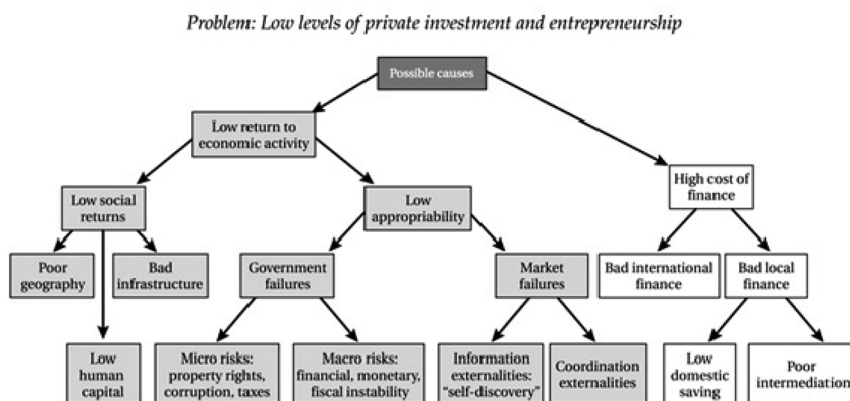
### Reforming Politics and Economics, building civil society and Institutions for Good Governance for Integrated Development and Peace

The following four broad policy areas are crucial to build the dynamic economies in the Horn of Africa required for a future viable economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa: 1. Improving Institutions of Governance and conflict management, 2. investing in people (i.e. on education, health, population growth and combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic), 3. diversifying exports and enhancing global competitiveness, 4. fostering effective partnerships, and 5. reducing debt and dependency on foreign aid. These are all related areas that complement each other. If vigorously pursued and properly implemented, they are likely to lead to an equitable growth necessary to reduce poverty and to reach the other components of the Millennium Global Development Goals by 2015. It is important to realize that the process of human and economic development through cooperation is an evolutionary process of 'learning by doing'. The peoples and states concerned must first learn to live and work together, take correct lessons from their history and cultures, and build inclusive sustainable institutions that make cooperation and development possible. By sustainable democratic institutions here is meant the rules of economic and political development toward cooperation, rooted in culture or tradition, based on peaceful compromise and dialogue among diverse interest groups aimed at building social trust and institutions that constrain arbitrary and destructive use of power by individuals and organizations through checks and balances. Building sustainable development institutions also requires economies and societies to: 1. *Complement* what exists – in terms of other supporting institutions, human capabilities, and available technologies, 2. *Innovate* to design institutions that work – and drop those that do not based on experiences, 3. *Connect* people and communities for markets through open trade and information and people flows and movement, and 4. *Promote competition* among jurisdictions, firms, and individuals (IBRD, 2002) under the rule of law. These include both *formal* and *informal* institutions. Formal institutions are rules written into law and codified or adopted by private and public institutions operating under public law with checks and balances (Ibid). Informal institutions are those that operate outside the formal legal system. They are unwritten codes of social conduct and behavior that evolve over time. Informal institutions are critical to consider in designing formal institutions and policies that work. For develop-

ing societies and economies to progress, inclusive institutions of government and markets are critical. Governments have an important role in providing public goods and services, such as laws that clearly define *property rights* for markets to develop and work, and the judicial institutions that protect and fairly enforce these rights and the rule of law. Governments can also impede the development of market institutions through arbitrary exercise of state power, in the form of high taxation, corruption, short time horizons, cronyism, and the inability to uphold public order and to protect human rights and security. Indeed, it is in these regards that the states of the Horn of Africa have failed to a various degree. Thus, one of the challenges in development and poverty reduction in the Horn of Africa is how to frame or create good governance that is *capable* and *effective* and inclusive governance in the creation, protection, and enforcement of property rights critical to enhance markets and opportunities for people. The challenge in framing good governance also lies in creating a state that both controls itself and the (destructive) behavior of citizens, and directs it toward constructive tasks for the benefit of society. The challenge is to design *incentive-compatible* institutions with internal enforcement mechanisms that allow people to “to invest on efficient technology, increase their skills, and organize efficient markets”. Such incentives are embodied in (market) institutions (IBRD, 2002). However, while institutions determine how society and the individual take advantage of opportunities and markets for human development and welfare, they can also be the primary cause of economic failures such as hunger, poverty, war, and unemployment by providing *rational* people or actors with *incentives* to behave in a destructive rather than a constructive manner.

Indeed, *rationality* does not mean people always do “good” things. It simply means that people do not *intentionally* do things that adversely affect their own wellbeing or it means that people select the best option that they *expect* may lead to a result that meets their goal *before the fact*. This is the basic idea termed as *rational expectations* in the economists’ jargon. In general, this process of building democratic institutions and social trust with good governance and leadership of wisdom and vision is crucial for sustainable development for all viable societies and economies. It is an evolutionary process that takes time. But the peoples and the states of Horn of Africa, in spite of the painful experiences of the recent past, can learn from their own history and tradition of co-existence, as well as from other societies and regions that have succeeded in this regard. Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa are facing another cycle of famine, which is estimated to be more serious than the last famine of 1984/85. While drought and lack of rains is a significant factor, poverty due to the failure or the absence of democratic institutions and good governance required in transforming the region’s economy in general and that of agriculture and pastoralism particular is the most crucial factor. Such poverty reducing institutions must be such that can provide an enabling environment for a massive injection of capital and private and public investment into Ethiopian agriculture in particular, in the area of improved technology, irrigation, and agricultural research and extension. Moreover, among the most significant elements for reducing poverty, conquering hunger and famine in the long run are the removal of institutions that retard the mobility of labor and

capital such as ethnic-based regionalism, a land reform that enhances security of tenure vested in farmers, and massive private investment in agriculture. What has been suggested in this paper is a modest and reasonable way to begin a long road toward good governance that will enable economic cooperation, peace-building, and development based on trust that may bring about a *win-win* outcome for the peoples and states of the Horn. Skeptics may dismiss this view as naïve and wishful, but it is worthy of serious consideration and effort. The process of re-building the economies and the societies and inclusive institutions of the Greater Horn of Africa for future generations should not wait. It must begin now! Ethiopia and Horn states do not necessarily need reckless revolutions but governments must take responsibility and open political space toward honest and inclusive dialogue to resolve common socio-economic and political problems toward good governance to avoid possible uprisings. Good governance helps overcome the following low productivity trap of low investment and entrepreneurship and contributes to dynamic domestic and regional integration as shown in the figure below,



Source: Ricardo Hausmann, Dani Rodrik, and Andrés Velasco, "Getting the diagnosis right," *Finance and Development* 43 (2006), available at <http://www.inf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2006/03/hausmann.htm>. Used with permission.

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Revealed Comparative Advantage of Ethiopia's and Horn states export products	
Sugar Preparation	76.68
Processed Animal and Vegetable Oil	58.60
Non-Wheat Meal or Flour	28.25
Tourism Services	25.50
Dyes and Tanning Products	21.56
Clothing and Textiles	1.83
Livestock processing & Leather Manufactures	1.77

Source: Yates (1998), drawn from COMTRADE

#### Horn of Africa Free Trade Area (HAFTA/IGAD)



Figure A1. Alternative and Overlapping Regional Economic Groups  
 Source: Adapted from <http://www.jomodesign.com/worldbank>  
 East African Cooperation (EAC)



Nile Basin Initiatives (NBI)



# The Battle for Democratisation of the Horn of Africa

*Abdullahi Osman El-Tom*

This article deals with democratic deficit in the Horn of Africa. It intends to explore what the Horn of Africa can learn from other countries that have surpassed it in ascending the democratisation ladder. The debate regarding democratisation has been brought to the forefront by the recent Arabic Spring, thus providing a learning textbook in a familiar zone, frequented by citizens of the Horn for work, pleasure and refuge. If only at a theoretical level let us see how the experience of the Arab Spring can or cannot contribute to democracy struggle in the Horn of Africa.

The article starts from the premise that there is nothing unique in the Horn of Africa that condemns it to eternal lack of democracy. As a matter of fact, and as far as the general populace are concerned, citizens of the Horn of Africa aspire to democracy, rule of law and respect of human rights in the same way as people do in other countries in Africa and beyond. Gone is the time where people are daft enough to settle for the defunct myth of benevolent or enlightened dictators, a path that was once recommended for African countries. Much more, the recent history of Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, South Sudan and North Sudan stands as a testimony to an overall rejection of dictatorships, benevolent or otherwise and a strong yearning for genuine democracy.

Before we move any further, let us assess the democratic credential of the Horn of Africa in comparison to its peer countries in the Continent. In that, I need to move no further than Mo Ibrahim Foundation (MIF), the reputable institution established by the Sudanese tycoon – Mohamed Ibrahim- a son of the Horn of Africa. In its website ([www.moibrahimfoundation](http://www.moibrahimfoundation)), the Foundation defines its brief as follows:

“Established in 2006 with a focus on the critical importance of leadership and governance in Africa. By providing tools to support advancements in leadership and governance, the Foundation aims to bring about meaningful change on the continent. The Foundation, which is a non-grant making organization, helps to define, assess and enhance governance and leadership in Africa ..” (MIF 2013).

To encourage and reward African country leaders, the MIF offers an annual reward of \$5m to the best performing president. The prize is the highest in the world in its league, dwarfing the Nobel Prize of \$1.3 million. Last year (2012) the prize went uncollected.

The MIF uses four Indices to assess progress of the 52 African countries, or rather those for which reliable information is available.



The data collected are classified within four categories:

- a) Safety and rule of law
- b) Participation Human Rights
- c) Sustainable economic opportunity
- d) Human development.

Examined countries are eventually ranked along a bar of 0 to 100 points. For the past few years, Mauritius consistently scored highest in the ranking, leaving leading African countries like South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya way behind. However, African presidents who collected the coveted prize for democratic leaps in their countries included Mogae of Botswana, Chissano of Mozambique and Mandela of South Africa. Needless to say, no leader (President) in the Horn of Africa dares to dream even of being short-listed for the coveted prize. Indeed the performance of the Horn of Africa in MIF ranking has been embarrassing and it is time that presidents of that wretched part of the world convene a summit and debate their dismal performance.

The Ibrahim Index of African Governance Selected countries:  
IIAG- 2-12 (0-100)

Country	Score	Rank	6 Year Change
Mauritius	82.8	1st	4.4
South Africa	70.7	5th	-1.1
Somali Land	49	28 <sup>th</sup> ?	0.1
Ethiopia	46.7	33rd	0.7
Nigeria	42	43rd	0.2
Eritrea	33	49th	-5.8
Djibouti	49	29th	-
Somalia	7.2	52 <sup>nd</sup>	-1.6

The above Table shows slight progress in Ethiopia, Somalia and Somali Land while Eritrea shows worrying decline in the ranking. Unfortunately, South Sudan and North Sudan are not included in the IIAG ranking due to its chaotic state and whereby no reliable data on almost anything that matters exist.

As the Table shows, the Horn of Africa suffers drastic deficiency in democracy or rather governance, to use the term favoured in recent years. The problem then is how can the Horn of Africa people rid themselves of their dictators and or force their “elected governments” to improve profile of their governance? In order to answer this question, let us sift through recent history of democratisation and examine different paths adopted in different countries to overcome this challenge.

Following the demise of communism at the last century and the spectacular eclipse of its theory of revolutionary change, we are left with three main avenues for democratic transformation: nonviolent revolution/resistance, coup d’état and armed insurrection. In particular, nonviolent revolution has been given a tremendous boost by the recent Arab Spring. Many citizens in the Horn of Africa saw it as a model for



further their democratisation and/or removal of “dictators”. The Arab Spring was debated in Ethiopia although testing it has never got off the ground (Mariam 2012). As for the Sudan, it has never given up its attempts to employ it for unsettling dictator Al-Bashir but we are yet to see a positive result. Before we proceed, let us examine the options available in more details.

The most popular path to democratisation is nonviolent resistance. The approach endorsed by the “international opinion”, churches, civil associations, academia and a substantial tranche of those living under oppressive systems ranging from deficient democracy to outright totalitarian regimes. Moreover, this path of change has a long history with powerful biblical and profane icons. The first category evokes names like Jesus Christ, Gautama Buddha and the Dalai Lama of Tibet while the second boasts activists like Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, Gene Sharp and others (Sharp 2010; El-Tom 2013a; Walker 2002).

Perhaps the first test of nonviolent resistance can be credited to the European revolutions of 1848-1852. The revolutions started in France but subsequently spread to over fifty countries in Europe and Latin America. Although the revolutions were not entirely peaceful, they could be treated as legitimate progenitor of current nonviolent resistance philosophy. Arguably, it was indeed the unarmed middle class activists, urban workers and peasants who spearheaded the 1848+ revolutions. Along the path, violence became intermittent with massacres of aristocratic and royal families and destruction of public amenities, a taboo in the current version of peaceful resistance (Galey 2012).

Nonviolent resistance has recently been invigorated by Gene Sharp of the Albert Einstein Institution, Boston, USA. His book, almost a bible of peaceful resistance appeared under the title “From dictatorship to democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation”, originally published in 2002, is translated into more than 30 languages and distributed freely online. The thesis proposed by Sharp maintains that dictators draw their power from the people they oppress. Thus, oppressed people hold key to change in their society. They can exercise their power by withholding cooperation, obedience and support to dictators. In so doing, oppressed people attack dictatorship where it is weak, a superior strategy compared to violent and military resistance where the authority is challenged where it is strong. Sharp then proceeds to offer a recipe for nonviolent ousting of dictatorship. He offers a list of nearly 200 actions ranging from graffiti to work slow, public rallies and industrial strikes. Sharp is encouraged by demise of many authoritarian governments in recent years and in which non-violent resistance has played a part:

“Since 1980 dictatorships have collapsed before the predominantly by nonviolent defiance of people in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Slovenia, Madagascar, Mali, Bolivia, and the Philippines. Nonviolent resistance has furthered the movement toward democratization in Nepal, Zambia, South Korea, Chile, Argentina, Haiti, Brazil, Uruguay, Malawi, Thailand, Bulgaria, Hungary, Nigeria, and various parts of the former Soviet Union” (Sharp 2010:9).

The impressive list of countries with authoritarian systems allegedly toppled by non-violent movements was drafted long before the recent Arab Spring. Indeed the Arab

Spring has given Sharp and his thesis a tremendous boost and many of his supporters have seized upon it as a vindication of the nonviolent thesis. However, close scrutiny of the cases cited might not be as supportive as to the thesis. The spontaneous nature of successful nonviolent resistance indicates that impetus of change lies elsewhere; so much that it is impossible to plan action and implement it in any given society. Let us note here that supporters of Sharp have been trying to apply the thesis in Burma for 30 years to no avail. Likewise, and with the relentless crusade of the US government, the thesis refuses to apply to Cuba, the adjacent neighbour of the USA. This is why Europe had to wait for 150 years to see a repeat of successful nonviolent resistance. The revolutions of 1848 with its debatable success status failed to replicate itself until the 1990s. How long can the Horn of Africa wait to experience the right momentum to oust its dictators?

The Arab Spring has indeed demonstrated the power of nonviolent resistance in challenging authoritarianism and expanding freedom space. However, it is difficult to take it as a conclusive evidence for viability to nonviolent resistance. It is true nonviolent resistance has been effective in Tunisia and Egypt. However, the same cannot be said about the process in other members of the Arab Spring: Libya, Yemen, Syria, the Gulf state and perhaps Sudan. In all of these Arab countries, the nonviolent thesis did not stand the test. Much more, resistance in Libya, Yemen and Syria is anything but nonviolent.

The spontaneous nature of the Arab Spring draws our attention to its weakest aspect; namely its utter dependency on outside factors that lie totally outside control of activists. For example, the factors that formed the momentum change in Tunisia include Wiki leaks, You Tube, Facebook, camera fitted mobile phones, international TVs, accession of Obama to power and the biography of Bu Azizi of Tunisia and the way he responded to his unfortunate encounter. The spontaneous nature of the Arab Spring, coupled by its lack of leadership makes this strategy impossible to emulate, let alone plan in the way Sharp proposes (El-Tom 2013a:208).

In both the European 1848 revolutions and the Arab Spring, the outcome hardly tallies with Sharp's desired change. The European revolutions were almost reversed and failed to achieve their broader objectives and had attained mainly symbolic gains. As for the Arab Spring, the oppressed people traded autarchy for chaos, economic meltdown and utter lack of security. In the case of Egypt, people had to rely on the army, which was instrumental in toppling dictator Mubarak, to save them from President Morsi and whose version of democracy fared poorly with aims of nonviolent resistance. Morsi and his brotherhood party mistook democracy for dictatorship of parliamentary majority and marched on without attention to the will of the very people who elevated them to power. Here too the experience unveiled another weakness of nonviolent resistance. Its spontaneous edge makes it difficult to form a unified ideology and heightens the risk of disintegration of resistant forces afterwards.

In general, history too stands unkind to the nonviolent thesis. Gains made in the European countries and which are now singing to the tunes of nonviolent resistance, have not been secured through peaceful means. From the USA to France and

Germany, the price of democracy has been paid in blood, not in demonstration flags. Of course we concede the spectacular success of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King in their peaceful and successful crusades in their respective nations. However, their experience hardly applies to challenging dictators and other authoritarian regimes. To begin with, those two icons operated in democratic countries with a free press. At the time, both the British Empire and the United States were sensitive to bad publicity and their public opinion did not allow them to use all their might against the marchers. Not so is the situation with dictators, many of whom are literally free to massacre as many of their citizens as they see necessary.

Poverty also provides another difficulty for the nonviolent thesis. Withholding support and cooperation in an authoritarian state also means loss of food, shelter, energy and other life necessities. Wealthy people can survive on their savings for weeks and months but the case is different for the poor. The latter live literally from hand to mouth and they cannot risk lack of pay for a sustained period without ending up starving and homeless. A sustained strike is likely to exhaust the people to submission much faster than it does their dictator.

The second path of transformation is through toppling the government by its own official army. Needless to say, Africa has become legendary for employing this strategy and most African countries have experienced it a dozen times or more since their independence. Although coup leaders come with rosy promises of democracy and some solemn pledge for free elections, exceptionally few of them fulfill their promises. The reasons are clear. To begin with, the army is not an institution that can inculcate democracy in its members. Far from it, the army is a hierarchical institution where ranking and obedience to orders matter most. Worse than that, the army or at least in the case of Africa comes with a strong sense of superiority vis-à-vis non-military citizens, a spirit that runs counter to democracy. This is what we learn from the Sudanese dictator Nimeiri (1969-1985) when he responded to complaints that his soldiers were above the law of the land and were not equal to other citizens in front of the court:

“A military personnel is incomparable to a civilian citizen. You cannot equate a piastre coin (girish) with a two-piastre coind (Abu girshain). They are different. A civil person is just a citizen while a soldier is a citizen but on top of that he is military personnel. They are not the same and cannot be equal in front of the law” (El-Tom 2013b).

In most cases, safeguarding the interests of the army is the main reason behind the coup. Better working conditions, more arms and higher pay rank far higher than ushering in genuine democracy as such. More often than not, an overthrow of the government by the army promises nothing but swapping of dictators. Armies are theoretically meant to be national institutions, representative of the whole nation. The reality is often otherwise and the Sudan is a case in point. Its current army is nothing but national in its constitution. As Al-Mahdi and other opposition leaders in the country have voiced, the current Sudanese army makes poor ethnic and ideological representation of the country and its accession to power is likely to perpetuate these same undemocratic corollaries. Despite, we must admit there have been a few

cases where coup leaders acted in the interest of genuine democracy. A shining example is General Jerry Rawlings of Ghana (1981-2001) who having helped himself to power previously, willingly vacated his post leaving behind a flourishing democracy. Overlooking the lengthy time it took Rawlings to relinquish power, he remains a rarity in Africa and as such it is unwise to count on the army for democratic transformation.

The third path of liberation is through armed insurrection or violent movement to use a term preferred by Sharp and his supporters (Sharp 2010). This path is the same that most African countries used in their wars of liberation and many western nations too enjoy freedom and democracy secured through similar means. Despite this, and not without a shade of disingenuousness, the international community and its institutions including UN and the African Union are adamantly opposed to the use of violence to confront dictators. Surprisingly and not without its own logic, dictators too, Al-Bashir included, advise their oppressed population to avoid armed insurrection and opt for nonviolent resistance. Of course dictators know they have a better chance of reigning over peaceful demonstrators as opposed armed rebels. I am aware here that Sharp does not agree with me in this conclusion. As he states, opting for armed insurrection is fatal as the rebels end up attacking the government where it is strong and where it enjoys the massive use of large armies, air force, jails, etc. (Ibid).

By virtue of my profession, I share the dominant academic vision that war is evil, unnecessary and a primitive way of conflict resolution. Nonetheless, I also realise that you cannot reason with the likes of Al-Bashir, Gadhafi or for that matter Hitler. Dictatorship breeds delusion that defies debate and rational thinking. Scholars of conflict resolution have long arrived at the uncomfortable fact that

“Working though the establishment [has] generally proved to be less effective, often achieving only abstract and token effects.... Tragically, the rich and powerful are almost never persuaded to change through reasoned argument and moral persuasion” (Sluka 1992:30).

There can be no doubt that war is devastating and is always accompanied by tragic loss of life and utter destruction of public amenities. Despite this, wars of liberation can have a positive effect, ending dictatorships, ushering in democracy, justice and prosperity (Cramer 2006). Wars kill many through overt violence where victims are visible and easily counted. However, it is death through structural violence brought about by policies of dictators that dwarfs the number of victims of overt actions. I refer here to those who die unnecessarily due to poverty, famines, disease and neglect and who are much more numerous but rarely make headline news. Their deaths either go invisible or are otherwise mistakenly blamed on factors other than the dictatorship, which is responsible for the structural violence in the first place. This is indeed the conclusion of research in this regard:

“... peace research became more conscious of the fact that far more human life on the globe is destroyed by widespread poverty, hunger, avoidable diseases and socio-economic deprivation than by the overt use of arms and that such conditions reflect violence embedded in the socio-economic structure of the society – structural violence” (Nordstrom and Martin 1992:8).

In modern time, demonization of armed struggle as a path for democratic transformation has reached an unprecedented level. Conventional wisdom nowadays takes it for granted that every rebel soldiers should abandon his/her own gun and negotiate with his/her dictator. Carrot and stick methods are employed to that end and UN Security Council stands ready to lend a helping hand and sanction dissenting rebels under its code of obstruction of peace. In effect peace reached amounts to nothing but a lifeline for the dictator. As Sharp warns us, offering a dictator a win-win solution is a grave mistake, particularly when issues of religious freedom, human rights and future development of the societies are at stake. As the history of Al-Bashir's government and others show, dictators never abide by agreements they sign for that has never been their intention in the first place. Negotiations force rebel movements to water down their principles, risking being co-opted and becoming party to the very dictatorship they took arms against (Sharp 2010; El-Tom 2013a). Much worse, such negotiations boost the legitimacy of the dictator and leave the structure almost untouched. If I am to advise the rebels at this juncture, my words are plain and simple: ignore the international community and stick to your guns.

## Conclusion

In so far as genuine democracy is concerned, and even by African standards, the Horn of Africa has been left behind. The recent turbulent history of the region gives a clear indication that democracy is the choice and that citizens of the Horn are yearning for genuine democracy like everyone on the globe. Within these premises, this article examines the options available for the Horn in its struggle for genuine democratisation.

The global landscape of democracy is encouraging. A few decades ago, dictator Al-Bashir of Sudan dismissed democracy as: "western aberration unsuitable for Sudan, that it breeds chaos, arrests development of the country and run's aground with its religion"- meaning Islam to the exclusion of others. His fellow dictator and mentor Gadhafi, who created the AU out of the ashes of the Organisation of African Unity held similar views. His Green Book states clearly that political parties, the very bases of liberal democracy are no good because they do not represent the people they are supposed to serve (Gadhafi 2005). I am glad to say such self-fulfilling prophecies of dictators are relegated to the past. If the world now is converging on anything, it is that democracy is the best form of governance. Progression into democracy has become a one-way road and Africa has no choice but to follow. Freedom House, the reputable organisation that monitors global changes in democracy and freedom supports this heartening revelation in its last report or 2013. From 1973 to 2013, the number of countries classified as "Free" rose from 44 to 90 while those rated as

“Not Free” declined from 69 to 38 (Freedom House 2013). Without complacency, the future is positive and hopefully so for the Horn of Africa as well.

Three major avenues for transition to genuine democracy have been isolated in the article: a) Nonviolent resistance, b) coup d'état and c) armed insurrection. These are the options available for democratisation of the Horn of Africa and choosing the correct scenario or a mix of them is crucial for speedy progress towards genuine democracy. Let us start by the second option, coup d'état, but only for the purpose of its speedy elimination. Since independence, the military overthrow of governments has achieved the notorious status of being labelled as “the curse of Africa”. The history of African official armies is simply embarrassing. Over the years, African official armies massacred its people, thwarted its democratic progress, protected, bailed out and manufactured dictators. The common perception that African official armies constitute national institutions and hence are capable of representing the whole population is a myth. Official armies or at least their top generals are drawn from a narrow ruling elite, ideologically skewed and much worse, steeped in ethnic exclusion (see El-Tom 2003). Much more, the military overthrow of government is staged by members of a specific institution, the army and is not amenable to public participation. Like any army in the world, those in the Horn of Africa should not be involved in politics and the less they intervene in it the better. Of course there have been a few exceptions. Swar Aldahab of Sudan took over Sudan and handed over the power to an elected government a year later exactly as he promised. However, he had little choice. Given the might of the Sudanese uprising, 1985, he had no option but to abandon the sinking ship of the dictator he had supported for years. He used his short term in office to save his neck and entrench his Islamic agenda, and the latter continued to haunt the Sudanese people to this day. At the time of writing this article, the Egyptian army moved into a courageous gamble of taking sides with the Egyptian people and helping topple the elected government of Mohamed Morsi. While acquiescence of the army to a popular demand is admirable, it is wise to withhold judgement until we see democracy restored to the country and the army withdrawn into its barracks.

Scenario (a) nonviolent resistance constitutes the most preferred path for liberation and democratic advancement. It is favoured by influential western powers even though few of them used it for their own liberation or accession to the democratic ladder. Academics and aspirants to lucrative international expertise posts are also enticed to tow this line. This tendency has gone along despite clear indications that no oppressed nation can oust a dictator and deliver democracy through planned application of this scenario, never mind how much funding, expertise and international conferences are invested in it. If you are in doubt, take a close look at the previous case of Libya and the current case of Syria and Sudan. The whole mission is a farce and is promoted by the international community against all logic.

I must concede that nonviolent resistance works well in promoting an already established democracy and it is effective in expanding freedom space in certain circumstances. Indeed nonviolent resistance can topple a deficient elected government such as Morsi's regime. However, when it comes to dictatorships, nonviolent resist-

ance remains a poor choice for democratic transformation. To begin with, dictators are well versed in controlling their populations and their eugenic security agents can track down activist leaders long before they launch into action. Much more, their impoverished population cannot sustain a prolonged stand off with the dictatorship. Unlike populations of the western world, they live from hand to mouth and cannot go on strike for more than a few days without risking going without food, energy and accommodation. It is simply unrealistic to expect them to carry on even with a handful of what Sharp recommends in his 200 or so recipes without crumbling into utter failure. Even the Egyptians of Tahrir Square were able to sustain their prolonged campaign only because of continuous flow of food and drinks organised by the Muslim Brotherhood and generously funded by the Qatari government. Recent reports state the US alone channelled around US\$50 million to Egyptian activists; a substantial amount of it went to feeding Tahrir demonstrators (MXXXX). These facilities are simply unavailable for citizens of the Horn of Africa and they would do better to look for an alternative, and in particular a choice with minimum dependency on outside powers.

The third option, armed insurrection or violent change enjoys little international support nowadays. It had served as a path for decolonisation of Africa, ridding South Africa and Zimbabwe of their racist systems and was instrumental in accession of most western countries to the freedom and democracy they now enjoy. Bewildering as it may be, to rephrase American historian XXX, the case of the western countries advising against violent change is akin to a prostitute who, after having retired on a healthy pension, proceeds to campaign for the closing down of the red district (American Historian XXX). Violent change has an advantage over other scenarios: it can be planned in advance, is open for popular participation and is more amenable to being organised without the blessings of the outside world. Yes, it is primarily a war with all that might entail but arguably less painful than the perils of structural violence.

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# Why the State Is a Major Source of Conflicts in the Horn of Africa

*Kidane Mengisteab*

## Introduction

The Horn of Africa faces serious challenges of state-building and nation-building. These interrelated challenges, which are largely attributable to the nature of the state, are key sources of the region's ravaging conflicts, including civil wars and civil conflicts. The principal aim of this paper is to explain how the state engenders the identified two challenges and the conflicts associated with them. The explanation revolves around three propositions. One is that the structures of the state in the region hinder the developments of democratic governance, which is a requisite for a peaceful process of nation-building, and state-building.<sup>1</sup> The second proposition is that the state operates on the basis of economic and institutional systems that are markedly different from large segments of society. The prevailing parallel economic and institutional systems hinder a coherent system of governance, weaken state legitimacy, foster state-society conflicts, and impede state and nation-building. The third proposition is that, given the existing structures and institutional systems of the state, the countries of the region reproduce self-serving and autocratic leaders who perpetuate the above identified structural and institutional conditions.

The paper is organized into five short parts. The first part attempts to conceptualize the state and outline the structural characteristics of a state that foster democratic governance. Parts two through four develop the above identified three propositions to explain how the structural and institutional deformities of the state in the Horn hinder the processes of nation and state-building and foster conflicts. The fifth and concluding part draws some implications of the analysis for transforming the nature of the state and conflicts in the region.

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1 State-building refers to the process of building the structures and capabilities of the state, which would allow it to effectively provide the services expected by citizens and to promote democratic governance. Nation-building, on the other hand refers to peaceful integration of the diverse groups within the citizenry under shared institutions of governance and equitable access to the rights and opportunities entitled by citizenship.

# Conceptualizing the State

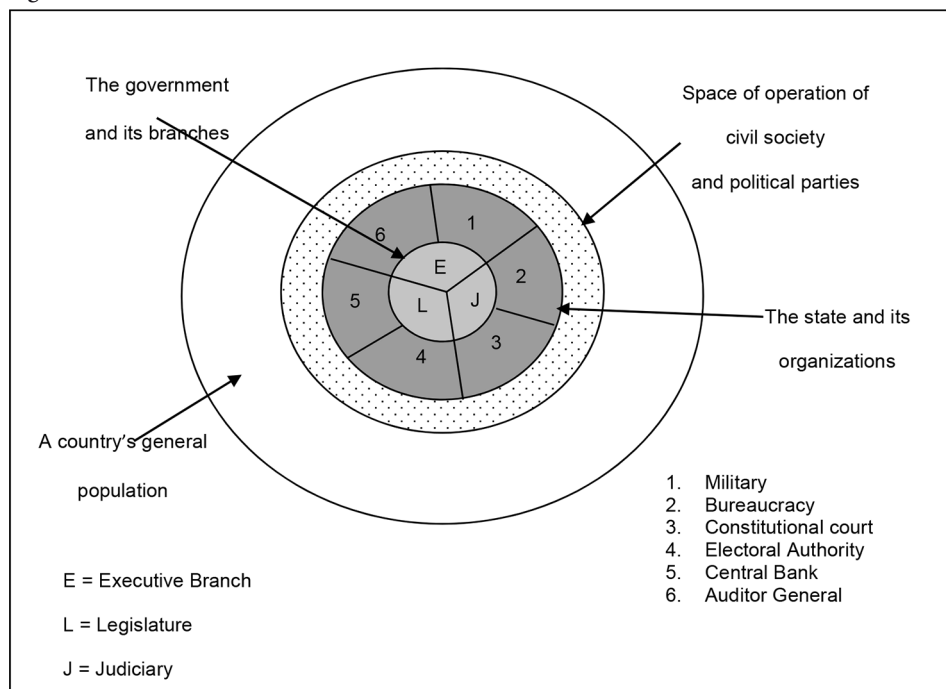
The state is the chief organizer of socioeconomic life of every society in the world. Yet, there is hardly any consensus on how to define it.<sup>2</sup> Part of the reason for the disagreement may be due to the changes over time in the nature of the state and its relations. A related explanation may be the differences in the characteristics of the state in countries at different levels of socio-economic development as well as at different levels in the development of the state itself. It is, thus, understandable that definitions of the state that relate to its characteristics and functions differ as the nature of the state evolves. A working definition of the contemporary state, for the purposes of this paper, is that it is an overarching set of interlocking organizations that collectively organize socioeconomic relations of the population of a given country (Wallis and North, 2010). While they may differ from one political system to another, the interlocking set of organizations include the constitutional court, the military, the bureaucracy, the central bank, the electoral commission, and the government with its executive, legislative and judiciary branches, which administers the whole set up but does not supplant the different organizations (see Diagram 1).

A properly functioning state in the present era of democracy and human rights is expected by citizens at large to provide security and to facilitate the attainment of a range of other public services that would enhance their wellbeing. Societies are, however, often diverse and different identity groups have competing interests. States in general face the difficult challenge of managing diversity and often tend to advance the interests and visions of powerful groups, who are able to exert the most influence on the functionaries of the state. At the same time social groups, while competing to influence the state, also collectively face the risk that the state becomes an instrument of special interests, including those of its functionaries. Social groups, thus, compete to dominate the state while at the same time they share common interest in guarding the state from becoming an instrument of special interest other than their own. A properly functioning state is, thus, an expression of common interest (democratic state) even though it inherently faces constant pressure from special interests.

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2 Complicating matters further, the terms state, country, and government are often used interchangeably. The state, however, is not the same thing as the country nor is it the same as the government.

Figure 1.



Source: Adopted from Kidane Mengisteab, *The Horn of Africa: Hot Spot in Global Politics*. London: Polity, 2013.

## Structures of a democracy-fostering state

Views on the nature of the state and whose interests it represents vary in a spectrum between two extremes. On one extreme is the view that the state is an ideal expression of society, as depicted in Plato's Republic. In this case the state is an agency for advancing the wellbeing of society at large. On the other extreme is the view that the state is an instrument of domination and exploitation. The latter view is represented by the libertarian perspective that perceives the state as a vicious parasite riding on the back of society (Rothbard, 2002). In reality the state at different times and in different countries lies at different locations in a continuum between the two extremes. It can advance the interests of the general public, special interests, or manage different interests by forging compromises between competing interests, depending on the balance of power among social groups within society and the governance structure it has in place. Thus, as Sekyi-Otu (1996) notes, the state, at its best, is a necessary source of collective empowerment and well-being. At its worst, however, by supplanting special interest for public interest it can be a debilitating burden on society.

Among the many factors that shape the nature of the state and how it relates to society is the balance of power among social classes. In other words, the state, as an organizer of socioeconomic life, shapes society but the balance of power among social classes and levels of socioeconomic development also shape the nature of the state and its governance structures.

Ideally (as in a democratic setting), the state, like a club where all citizens are members, would serve as an agency for advancing the well-being of all its members. The democratization effort, which attempts to create mechanisms by which all citizens are represented in policy-making and other decisions, is intended to ensure that the state serves as an agent for advancing the well-being of all citizens. However, given the competing interests of diverse groups of citizens, the state often tends to serve the interests of certain groups, such as a dominant class and/or the elites of dominant ethnic groups. In other cases it may serve the interests of dominant organizations within the state, such as the military or it may simply advance the interests of its functionaries, conforming to what Caporaso (1982) refers as the “state for itself” conception of the state.

An essential aspect of an enabling state is that the governance structures are built in a manner that they empower citizens (despite the differences in their socioeconomic power) to hold the state accountable. Governance structures, where the constituent organizations of the state exercise a level of independence from each other and especially from the executive branch of government, go a long way in empowering citizens to hold the state accountable. Relative independence of the different organizations fosters horizontal accountability among the organizations of the state, which permeates to vertical accountability of the state to citizens. The judiciary, the central bank, the election commission, and the bureaucracy, for example, cannot operate credibly without independence from the executive. Such independence creates a political space where civil society, opposition parties, and individuals engage freely in the political process with full protection of the law from possible transgressions and restrictions by the government. Moreover, it is essential that the government itself has a built in system of checks and balances with separation of powers.<sup>3</sup> Independence of the legislature and judiciary from the executive body is, for example, crucial for safeguarding accountability of the executive branch of government and for ensuring the rule of law. The legislative body can hardly serve as a meaningful representation of citizens if it is used as a rubber stamp of the executive body, as often is the case in many African countries.

Structures of the state with the desired level of independence of its constituent organizations do not guarantee that the state does not become an agent of special interest. However, a state with structures of horizontal accountability has a greater likelihood of advancing broad social interests because of the diffusion of power.

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3 The need for autonomy of the different organs of the state from the government is easy to understand during elections. Political parties competing to unseat the party in power clearly would not like to see the electoral commission, the central bank, the military, the constitutional court, and the bureaucracy, to be used by those in power as agents for their own reelection. The expectation of neutrality is based on the recognition that the state and the government are not the same thing and that the different organs of the state need to have autonomy from the government.

Devolution of power that allows localities to participate in self-governance is another layer of governance arrangement that along with the relative autonomy of the constituent parts of the state, can curtail the tendency of the state to serve special interests.

## Structural Deformities of the Post-Colonial African State

One debilitating characteristic of the state in the Horn, as in the rest of the Africa, is the absence or near absence of relative independence of the various organizations of the state from the executive branch of the government. Separation of powers and checks and balances within the various organizations of the state, as well as within the branches of government, constitute essential requisites for state accountability. It is also indispensable for creating space where non-state actors can participate in the political process. It is, for example, unlikely to have credible elections if the election commission is not independent from the government. It is also hard to safeguard the rights of citizens from possible transgressions by the executive branch without an independent constitutional court as well as an independent judiciary. In all the countries of the Horn region the executive branch of government dominates the other organizations of the state leaving little room for their independence. Despite some differences among them, the region's countries also have little separation of powers within the organs of the government for checks and balances and accountability. The executive branch in most cases dominates the other branches of government, the judiciary and the legislature. Moreover, the executive branch itself is often dominated by individual leaders in all the countries of the region except perhaps Kenya to some degree. Under such circumstances, the executive branch regularly invades the political space for civil society and opposition political parties with little restraint. The different organs of the government, including the judiciary, which is supposed to protect the existence of such a space, are often subverted by the executive branch and more specifically the "strong men" leaders, who often restrict the rights of political participation by opponents through various mechanisms, including imprisoning and harassing opposition leaders. There is also a glaring absence of mechanisms for representation of the different segments of the population in governance, since the legislature, to which representatives are elected, commands limited autonomy from the executive branch. Real decentralization of power that would allow local participation in governance is also hardly feasible under such conditions even when nominal arrangements of decentralization exist, as in Ethiopia.

Without the checks and balances that are made possible by separation of powers and independence of the organizations of the state, it is highly unlikely to have governance that is accountable and respects the rule of law. As discussed in section four of the paper, leaders are not likely to be accountable out of their own free will. Given the actual competition for power they face, they are likely to engage in retain-

ing and maximizing power through various means. In other words, it is hard to prevent the rise of authoritarian rule without a system of checks and balances. Without separation of powers, it is also hard to envision proper diversity management, which requires genuine decentralization and credible representation of all segments of the population to ensure equitable disposal of citizenship rights and other opportunities and privileges among all identity groups. Another danger with the lack of separation between the state and the government is that when a government falls for a variety of reasons the whole state falls with it, since the subversion of the state by the government does not allow the building of the institutions of the state. Somalia's experience over the last twenty-plus years makes this risk abundantly clear.

## Fragmentation of Economic and Institutional Systems and the African State

Compounding the structural deformities of the state in the Horn of Africa is the dichotomy of the institutions of governance that characterize the region. The region's countries, like most other African countries, are characterized by parallel institutions of governance – one is the state sanctioned formal system and the other is the traditional system. The traditional system is adhered to primarily, but not exclusively, by the segments of the population in the subsistence (peasant and pastoral) economic systems. The dichotomy of the institutional systems is largely related to the continent's fragmented economic systems, which range from relatively advanced capitalist systems, symbolized by modern banking and stock market exchanges, to traditional economic systems, represented by subsistent peasant and pastoral systems. Even though they are intricately linked with each other, the different modes of production and the corresponding parallel institutional systems represent intricately linked but separate socioeconomic spaces with divergent property rights laws and resource allocation mechanisms; disparate decision-making systems; and distinct judicial practices and conflict resolution mechanisms.

The 'traditional' systems, which were formal institutions in the pre-colonial era, vary from place to place in line with the governance systems that existed at the time.<sup>4</sup>

4 There is some controversy over what constitutes traditional institutions. Present day African traditional institutions largely originate from formal institutions of governance under pre-colonial African political systems. With the introduction of alien institutions of governance by the colonial state, traditional institutions were relegated to the sphere of informality, although they continued to operate, in part, due to the indirect rule system of colonialism. Traditional institutions have continued to evolve and it has become a point of debate whether or not they can be regarded as genuinely traditional, given the changes they have undergone. The reason why we refer to them as traditional is, however, not because they continue to exist in an unadulterated form as they did in Africa's pre-colonial past. Rather, we regard them as traditional because they are largely indigenous and are adhered to principally, although not exclusively, by the population in the traditional sectors of the economy. *Traditional institutions may be considered to be informal institutions in the sense that they are not state sponsored. They are otherwise formal within the communities that operate under them.*

These systems are largely neglected by the post-colonial state, even though they continue to play a significant part in the governance of communities that operate under the traditional economic systems.

The implications of fragmented modes of production and institutional systems for governance and general socioeconomic transformation are understudied. Yet, it is clear that parallel modes of production and institutional systems represent separate socioeconomic spaces and they create a number of socioeconomic problems related to allocation of resources, management of diversity, nation-building and democratization. Among the most important are the following.

- a. Conflicting property rights laws, along with differences in the rationale that governs allocation of resources, often hinders the making of coherent economic policies that coordinate resources with the interests of the communities in both socioeconomic spaces. Land takings by the state, for example, are often for the purpose of giving land concessions to investors in large scale commercial farming, to firms in the extractive industries, and to developers in urban areas. The policy may seem reasonable from the point of view of development imperatives. However, it often is done with little regard for the interests of peasants and pastoralists who often face evictions and subsequent impoverishment. The policy thus produces growth in one sector and violation of property rights and misery in the other.
- b. The communities that live under the traditional modes of production and institutional systems face marginalization in access to resources, such as public services, as they remain largely delinked from the primary agents of resource allocation, the state's institutions and the market mechanism.<sup>5</sup> These communities lack the political clout to influence the state's resource allocation policy in their favor and they are largely unable to attract resources through the market for a number of reasons. Among them is that their production and resource allocation systems are dominated by use-value rather than exchange value. Their productivity and purchasing power are rather low as they employ rudimentary tools in their production process. Additionally, they have little control over land, the most critical resource in their economic system. These communities also lack transportation and communication facilities for active participation in the market system. This disjuncture of the rural communities from the state and the market implies that these two resource allocation mechanisms become rather ineffective in poverty alleviation and in transforming the subsistence sector of the economy.
- c. The communities in the traditional socioeconomic space operate under customary law and traditional judicial practices. The formal judicial system is often inaccessible to them for a variety of reasons. Regardless of the merits of the traditional judicial system, these communities are marginalized in access to the benefits of the formal judicial system, since the judicial system under which they operate is rarely recognized by the state and, thus, does not render state accountability.

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5 The traditional sector's lack of access to policy is evident in its relative deprivation in access to public services throughout the continent. The traditional sector, which is largely a subsistence economy, no doubt, engages in the market system. However, in many cases, its production system is largely motivated by subsistence needs (use value) rather than exchange and profit (exchange value).

- d. The existence of parallel institutional systems delinks the state institutionally from the majority of the population. Consequently, they weaken the legitimacy of the state and undermine the process of state-building. Englebert (1997) describes the African state as predatory, neo-patrimonial, rent seeking, and urban biased and he attributes these characteristics to its legitimacy-deficit. Basil Davidson (1992) also attributes the ineffectiveness of the African state in bringing about sustained socioeconomic development to its neglect of traditional institutions and its failure to restore Africa's own history.
- e. By failing to reconcile the parallel institutional systems, the state has also failed to create conditions for nation-building and democratization. It is difficult to envisage a working democratic system emerging under conditions of parallel socioeconomic spaces, which marginalize the overwhelming majority of the population.

## Leadership Problems and the African State

A third condition that impedes peaceful processes of nation- and state-building in the Horn is the nature of the region's leadership, which is related to the structural deformities of the state. The existing structures of the state, which subvert accountability, allow the leaders in the region to easily become autocratic and self-serving. More importantly, they allow such leaders to perpetuate existing structures as they facilitate their ability to monopolize power and extend their stay in power.

Selfless, committed, and farsighted leaders can become state builders by developing the structures of the state that promote accountability. They can also spearhead transformation of the fragmented economic and institutional systems. Leaders in the Horn countries, like their counterparts in the rest of the continent, face the daunting challenge of measuring up to these responsibilities. Those who commit themselves to state-building would have to do so at the expense of their own self-interest, which includes monopolizing power and extending their tenure in power. Building the structures of the state that foster accountability is antithetical to monopolizing power. State builders, thus, would have to deny their own selfish interests and commit class suicide, as Cabral (1969) expected of African leaders.

The Horn of Africa has not produced such leaders. Instead it is known for its infamous dictators, including Idi Amin, Mengistu Hailemariam, and Siad Barre. Most of the region's current leaders are not far behind the identified notorious despots, in terms of their monopoly of power and subversion of institution building in order to perpetuate their own control of power. In Eritrea the leadership has been in power since 1991 without implementing a constitution, without allowing the formation of opposition parties, and without a free press. Needless to say, there is very little separation of powers among the component organizations of the state in the country. Under such conditions the country does not have any legal mechanisms for changing leadership.



Sudan does not have a term limit provision in its constitution, even though it allows a multiparty system and conducts elections. However, in the absence of the structures of checks and balances and accountability, elections are easy to manipulate. Depriving opposition parties of the ability to compete in a level playing field through various means, seems to have enabled the Beshir leadership to monopolize power since 1989.

The leaders of Djibouti and Uganda have also been able to successfully amend constitutional term limits and to extend their tenure. President Museveni of Uganda, who came to power in 1986, ruled for ten years under a system known as the “non-party system”, which prevented political parties from fielding candidates for presidency. A multi-party system with a two-term limit on the tenure of the president was introduced and the first elections took place in May 1996. After serving two terms by winning the 1996 and 2001 elections, however, Museveni managed to repeal the term limit provision in 2005. Again he won for a third term in the 2006 election and a fourth term in 2011. All in all President Museveni has been in power for 27 years at the time of writing.

Ethiopia with its 1994 constitution instituted a parliamentary system with no term limit on the post of prime minister. However, the Ethiopian regime has successfully established a dominant party that faces little risk of losing an election, although a coalition of opposition parties claimed that it won the 2005 election and that the election was stolen by the ruling party through rigging and manipulation of vote counting. Regardless of the veracity of the claim, the late Prime Minister Meles, who died in office in July 2012, stayed in office for 21 years from 1991. Post-Moi Kenya is perhaps, the only exception in adhering to the provision of a two-term limit for the president, although the 2007 election was alleged to have been marred by fraud and rigging which led to post-election violence.

The length of stay in power among the region’s current leaders is a good indication that the current leaders are not building institutions and state structures that foster accountability. The widespread violations of human rights and restrictions on press freedoms and freedom for opposition parties are other indicators of the prevalence of self-serving characteristics among leaders. The length of stay in power, along with the failure to establish the mechanisms of accountability have also politicized ethnicity and fostered a widespread perception that the states in the region represent the ethnic identities of the leaders.

The absence of commitment to state-building is not limited to leaders, who are in power. Opposition parties have also rarely articulated political platforms that would promote state building by establishing structures of accountability and by addressing the problems of fragmentation of economic and institutional systems. Perhaps it is too unrealistic to expect, as Cabral did, the emergence of visionary leaders who would suppress their own interests in order to transform the state. Wishful theory aside, state transformation in reality may come not as a *gratis* from leaders but as a result of broad social struggle. Lack of state transformation has, thus, to be explained not only by the deficit of quality leadership but also by the weakness of organizations of popular struggle, including the lack of awareness among opposition parties

and civil society groups about what it entails to transform the state. The demands of such groups, which include respect for human and civil rights, free press, freedom of opposition parties, and fair elections, are no doubt essential. However, there has been little indication that opposition parties and civil society groups have a well-articulated agenda about how to address the fragmented modes of production and institutional systems. Opposition parties have also rarely established platforms that restructure the state to promote accountability.

Another problem with the leadership in the region is that it is often aid-dependent and extroverted. During the Cold War self-declarations of being anti-communist or anti-imperialist was used as a scheme for obtaining aid and other support from external powers. In the post-cold war era being an ally in the war on terror has become a new strategy within the region for extracting foreign aid and securing leniency on their human rights violations, especially given the Somalia crisis. Excessive reliance on foreign powers has also led to loss of independence in policy making. Aid-dependence and extroversion have also afflicted opposition parties and even civil society organizations. Such groups often compete with the leaders in government for external support, which usually comes with conditions that do not necessarily facilitate the transformation of the state in the region.

## Conclusion

The foregoing analysis implies that the endless civil wars and civil conflicts that ravage the countries of the region cannot be overcome without democratizing the formation of the terms and conditions for nation-building. Top-down and forceful imposition of the terms have only led to resistance by various identity groups and such resistance, which is manifested in civil wars and civil conflicts, is unlikely to be brought under control through force. Democratizing the process holds more promise of success.

However, the democratic system that can arrest the conflicts and enhance state- and nation-building cannot be limited to the formation of multi-party systems and conducting elections. Rather they have to be crafted in a manner that they establish horizontal accountability among the constituent organizations of the state. Democratic governance simply is not feasible when the organizations of the state do not have relative independence that would allow limiting the ability of the executive branch of government to monopolize power.

Democratic governance is also unlikely to be feasible under conditions of parallel socioeconomic spaces governed by parallel system of institutions. Reconciling the parallel economic and institutional systems thus needs to be part of the democratization agenda. The existing election-centric democratization approach needs to incorporate these two critical changes to become effective. Without restructuring the state and reconciling the institutional systems elections, even if they are conducted regu-

larly, are likely to continue to produce autocratic leaders, who supplant institution building with personal rule and perpetuate the structural deformities of the state.

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# General Overview of Resources Wealth and Conflict in the Horn of Africa

*Joseph Smith*

## Part One

### Introduction

Natural Resources are stocks of materials existing in the natural environment that are both scarce and economically useful in their production or consumption, either in their raw state or after a minimal amount of processing (WTO 2010). They can generate and sustain growth, thereby reducing poverty and boosting development. Examples are diamonds, gold, iron ore, bauxite, rutile, coltan, rubber, crude-oil, timber, fresh water etc. Natural resources can also be renewable and non-renewable<sup>1</sup>. On the issues of abundance of natural resources/ resources wealth causes conflict in the Hon of Africa, depends largely on the methods or governments or states' mechanisms employed for the governance of Natural Resources and management of its revenues which is mostly in the hands of state authorities or Governments, Civil Society and Multinational Companies organization in the Horn of Africa. (Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti) The issue of "greed" in the governance of natural resources is a major factor when resources wealth serves as the root cause and fuels violent conflict in the Horn of Africa as in the case of Somalia and the Southern Sudan before it became an independent country<sup>2</sup>.

However, this paper will discuss how natural resources (non-renewable and concentrated resources) wealth causes violent conflicts in resources zones (Honey Pots) in the Horn of Africa. The paper will focuses on three variables linking abundance or resource wealth and violent conflicts: Firstly, the issue of **Looting rebels and lootable resources**); secondly, the issue of **Weak States Institutions**; thirdly, the issue of **External Linkages**. This paper will consult relevant literature, conduct interviews with relevant personalities, Internet search and reports as a source or reference for the completion

1 Collier Paul, Anke Hoeffler et al, 2001, on the duration of Civil wars in Africa and Natural resources. Paper presented at the workshop on Civil War and Post Conflict Transition, World Bank Development Research Group. May. University of California Irvine

2 Fearon, James D. 2004. Why do some civil wars last much longer than others? Journal of Peace Research

of this work. The paper will be divided into three parts: Part one is a broader discussion of how greed is the major factor for resources wealth causing violent conflict; Part Two will unfold the variables that are sub-elements for resources wealth and violent conflicts; Part Three will be a conclusion, recommendations and referencing.

## Aim and Objectives of the Presentation

### *Aim*

The broad aim of this presentation is to unfold critically how natural resources wealth causes conflict in the Horn of Africa; and to make recommendations that if honestly implemented will help to solve the problem of resources conflict in the Horn of Africa.

### *Objectives*

The objectives of this presentation are the following:

- To understand the nexus between violent conflict and natural resources in the Horn of Africa.
- To know how resources wealth causes violent conflict in the Horn of Africa.
- To discuss how the issues of looting rebels and lootable resources, the weak state institutions and the involvement of external linkages contribute to resources wealth causing violent conflict in the Horn of Africa.
- To proffer recommendations that will help address the issue of resources wealth causing violent conflict in the Horn of Africa.

## Statement of the Problem

Research and reports have showed that violent conflict in the Horn of Africa (Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, etc) has undermined the peace, security and socio-economic and political development of the Horn/East Africa Region. The conflict created the proliferation of refugees from countries in the Horn of Africa, massive violations and abuses of the rights of women and children; wars displaced whole populations and made millions homeless. The number of refugees increased from 2.5 million in 1970 to 17.5 million in 1992<sup>3</sup>. An additional 24 million people were displaced, in large part because of wars and accompanying distress; war prevents people from meeting their basic needs by destroying crops, land and the environment; mostly women and children bear the brunt of war, accounting for over 80 percent of war victims in the

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3 Madane Mamdu et al 2005. The effect of Conflict on human and the natural environment in East Africa, Oxford University press

Horn of Africa. Conflicts contribute to the “feminization of poverty.” Women are not as mobile as men, do not have the same access to credit and resources, and must assume men’s responsibilities in addition to their own. War and militarization impose special burdens on children when children are drafted into armies and the number of orphans and homeless children grows. War impairs physical and mental development, destroys schools, and immerses children in a culture of violence, fuelling the desperation that forces children to pick up a gun before they reach adulthood. Violent conflicts and complex emergencies have profound short- and long-term consequences on economic resources and institutions. They destroy local and national economies, capital and investment, and skew productive economic activity, often deliberately. War destroys national political systems, killing current and future leaders, sowing bitterness and division between communities, destroying or altering traditional political institutions, and changing power relations and national political institutions; planned genocide is not the only way that populations are targeted. In civil wars, the distribution of power or assets depends on who is harmed or spared; this distribution is often along ethnic or regional lines. Wars worsen political inequalities, when for example, the powerful are enriched by stealing assets or when poverty affects a group’s ability to exercise human rights. Democratic institutions are compromised when war suppresses press freedoms and civil rights<sup>4</sup>. The above mentioned problems cut across almost all of the countries in the Horn of Africa. And if these problem are not addressed there will be an outbreak of future problems that will be more destructive than the past and present challenges in the Horn of Africa. The recommendations of this presentation aim at addressing the existing problems in countries within the Horn of Africa.

## Hypotheses of the Presentation

The prolonged violent conflict in the Horn of Africa is deeply rooted in the resources wealth or the abundance of natural resources in this region of Africa.

## Part Two

### Critical Analysis of How Resources Wealth Causes Violent Conflicts in the Horn of Africa

It is very clear that resources wealth can cause violent conflict in countries or states rich in resources and this is the exact case with the resources rich countries in the

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4 Klare, Michael T. 2001. *Resources Wars: The New Land scape of Conflict in Africa*. New York Metropolitan Book

Horn of Africa (Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti etc). Additionally, for critical analysis of how resources wealth causes conflict in the Horn of Africa, it is important to discuss the major issues that makes resources wealth cause conflict in relation to three variables which are sub-elements for resources wealth and violent conflicts and these are as follows: firstly, the issue of looting rebels and lootable resources; secondly, the issue of weak state institutions; thirdly, the issue of external linkages. These variables are discussed independently.

## Looting Rebels and Lutable Resources in the Horn of Africa

When state authorities or governments in the Horn of Africa allow their “greed” for the revenue collected from the governance of the country’s natural resources to outweigh the general good of their people, they lose the trust of even the land owners and the general public. This has produced revolutionary movements or rebel insurgency movements leading to a violent scramble for natural resources between government and insurgents in Africa, particularly in countries within the Horn of Africa. Revolutionary movements have been based on banditry or looting of state natural and non-natural resources as in the case of the Sudans, Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti etc. In fact, in the Horn of Africa both government forces, regional bodies and rebels/ insurgents are seriously engaged in looting and exploiting the natural resources of the states. Insurgents or rebels in countries within the Horn of Africa significantly generate their funding from exportable and lootable natural resources; thus, this is the major reason why insurgents in the Horn of Africa always fight very hard to gain control of the mining or natural resources extraction areas or zones, while continuing their combat against the states’ authority of central governments. For instance, if rebels can extract and sell natural resource or extort money from those do, then they are more likely to launch or continue/prolong a civil war. Their explanation parallels Keen’s argument that in the post-cold war era, rebel groups have replaced the funding they once received from their super-power sponsors with money from looted natural resources. Or at times network with transnational organized crime groups or cartels which will come and purchase the looted natural resources such diamonds, gold, timber, oil etc in return for money, arms and ammunitions as well as providing military services and training<sup>5</sup>. Collier and Hoeffler argue from their observation that loot able natural resources offer rebel groups unusual funding opportunities, because resources typically produce rents and are location-specific. If rebels or insurgents try to loot or extort money from manufacturing firms, or mercenary groups, the firms will relocate to a safe area or be first out of business; but if rebels extort money from resource companies, the companies cannot relocate and can often make payments to rebels and still turn a profit<sup>6</sup>. Collier and Hoeffler do not suggest that rebels launch a

5 Collier and Hoeffler 2002

6 Ibid pg 37



conflict in anticipation of resources wealth; rather, they argue that rebels use looted resources wealth in the pre-war phase to buy arms and hire soldiers or mercenaries, thus funding the “start-up costs” of initiating a rebellion. This subsequently allows them to challenge the government’s forces strongly enough to generate at least one thousand battle-related deaths, thus producing a conflict large enough to be classified as a “civil war”. The above analysis has been demonstrated by rebels in Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia to name but a few. Many observers including scholars, non-governmental organizations, (NGOs) and analysts from international organizations have suggested that resources wealth can cause and lengthening a conflict if it enables the rebels to fund themselves<sup>7</sup>. Many journalistic accounts of recent wars in the Horn of Africa (Sudan and Somalia) with looting rebels and loot able natural resources also indicate that the rebels are the weaker side in the conflicts compared to government forces in the Horn of Africa, thus strengthening the weaker side tends to lengthen violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

## Weak State Institutions in the Horn of Africa

This is another major factor for the resources wealth to cause violence in the Horn of Africa. The issue of weak state institutions as a cause of violent conflict has two aspects A: Weak state-community relationships; B: Weak community-state relationships. The weak state community relations is about how the governments in the Horn of Africa became negligent of their taxation and of making proper laws and policies for the governance of the extractive industry of the Horn. This was the case in most illegal extraction of natural resources by many groups, which led to the proliferation of armed groups supported by some external factors. The state governments in the Horn of Africa became weak in their responsibility for the good governance of the extractive sector<sup>8</sup>. For example the security sector was very disorganized and not properly monitored; the civil services were also another example of weak governance in the Horn of Africa with a proliferation of border loop holes or illegal crossing points within the borders of countries in the Horn of Africa. Research has proven that states’ weakness is a result of activities of corrupt politicians or leaders governing the state’s political, economic, social, and environmental affairs. The issue of weak community-state relationships is another factor in resources wealth causing violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa<sup>9</sup>. As citizens or the people become careless over how their governments operate, they do not hold their state’s leaders accountable for revenue collected from the extractive sectors, and most states that depend highly on natural resources wealth as the only way of collecting revenue are always very corrupt and undemocratic. They do not even want to know about other means of revenue

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7 Global Witness Report 2008

8 Francis. David et al. Peace and Security in Africa, 2005; pg 109 Bradford University press UK

9 Sambanis 2001, Fearon and Laitin 2003 Collier and Hoeffler 2002.

collection, such as taxation etc. Thus the people conduct lots of illegal business and by so doing develop armed networks and groups, which can reach to a level to be able to resist government forces, leading to the outbreak of civil wars in these resources rich countries in the Horn of Africa.

## External Linkages

This is another very serious factor that makes resources wealth cause violent conflict in the Horn of Africa as in the case of Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. This key factor has empowered the insurgents in the Horn of Africa as these linkages give them the courage to secure mining communities while fighting and then later sell these mineral rights to external or foreign firms or neighbouring governments. These insurgents will then use the proceeds from the sales of future booty to pay for arms and ammunition as well as payment to soldiers and hired military services from external groups, thus making them capacitated to prolong the civil wars in the Horn of Africa<sup>10</sup>. Most of the time, external linkages are the major factor that strengthens the weaker party (rebels/insurgents) in the violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa, through providing military and security assistance for them, by providing training for the insurgent soldiers, and even bringing in mercenaries to strengthening their combatants, who can thereby put up serious resistance to the government forces in most of the violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa. For example, research has proven that in most of the civil wars in the Horn of Africa the intervention of mercenaries was on the side of the insurgents just so as to have free access to the state's resources wealth for less cost and that even government troops were engaged in making such deals with rebels groups in the Horn. Governments of countries that are members of regional bodies within the Horn of Africa such as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and other sub-regional bodies, also support rebel groups just to access resources wealth almost free of cost<sup>11</sup>. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is another dangerous issue showing how external linkages may cause violent conflict to be much prolonged, as access to arms will be very simple for even those who are not parties to the violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa. As in the case of Sudan and Somalia, most children and girls and women became involved in the civil wars within these countries just because of the proliferation of weapons<sup>12</sup>. In sum, the issue of external linkages is a very serious factor that makes resources wealth cause violent conflicts within countries in the Horn of Africa and even prolong the wars as in the case of South and Northern Sudan now, as well as in Somalia and currently between Ethiopian and Eritrea. This serious issue needs to be addressed in order for natural resources wealth to become a blessing and not a curse, or to address the paradox of plenty in countries in the Horn of Africa.

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10 Minter 1994

11 UN Panel of Experts on the civil wars in the Horn of Africa 2003.

12 Look at the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) for Sudan 2005

## Part Three

### Conclusion

The presentation discusses three key factors that link resources wealth to subsequent violent conflicts within countries in the Horn of Africa. The first is that the issue of looting rebels/insurgents and loot-able resources is a major factor in resources wealth causing civil war. As the control of resources extraction communities and the sale of booty futures is a tool of the weak (rebels) against the strong (governments), it can help provide aspiring rebel groups with the funds they need to launch attacks on governments; thus the issue of looting rebels and loot-able resources onset, prolong and increase the destruction caused by the civil wars within countries in the Horn of Africa.

Secondly, the issue of weak state institutions is another factor that is connected to resources wealth and violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Weak state institutions will encourage the grouping of criminal groups and networks with other transnational groups for support for the formation of armed movements with the promise of controlling resources rich areas in exchange for arms and ammunitions. Weak state institutions will also encourage the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and increase criminal activities. Security personnel can become party to criminal networks for financial gains to the extent of illegally giving the state's arms to the rebel or insurgent groups in the Horn of Africa. This leads to resources wealth causing violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa. The third factor is the problem of "external linkages", which as shown in the presentation, is another very serious factor for resources wealth causing civil wars in the Horn of Africa. These external actors contribute to violent conflicts, which prolong and increase the destruction of lives and properties as well as the natural environment of most countries in the Horn of Africa. These actors encourage the involvement of machinery, and the coming of new technological and heavy weapons that have widespread and long lasting effects on the people and the environment. To conclude, there are several ways scholars might build on these three factors that are links to resources wealth and civil wars in the Horn of Africa so that natural resources wealth within the Horn of Africa can become a blessing for the people and the natural environment in the Horn. It is important to note that resources wealth can also have the potential for addressing the problem of violent conflicts.

### Recommendations

For the purpose of this presentation and the problems identified above that influence resources wealth to cause violent conflicts or civil wars in the Horn of Africa, the following are the recommendations that if honestly used will help to address the problem of resources wealth causing civil wars in the Horn.

- The governments within the Horn of Africa should introduce good governance in the extractive industries within their countries.
- The governments within the Horn of Africa should not only depend on resources revenue as the only way for revenue collection in their countries but should encourage trade and other areas of revenue collection.
- The governments in the Horn of Africa should equitably distribute the revenues collected from extractive sectors to every region irrespective of tribe, region and political opinion.
- There should be good natural resources regimes within resources rich countries in the Horn of Africa.
- Governments in the Horn of Africa should stop using terror against their people when they are questioning the need for accountability in the governance of natural resources.
- External linkages or foreign countries should stop networking with rebels or insurgent groups in the Horn of Africa in the name of resources exploitation.
- The civil populace should use non-violent ways for calling for resources accountability in an organized manner with credible leadership from the civil society and other human rights groups.
- The need for an African Mining Vision within the governance of the extractive sectors in the Horn of Africa is an added value for good resources regimes.
- There should be established community development agreements between multinational mining companies and their host communities.
- There should be an established natural resources fund within natural resources rich countries in the Horn of Africa.

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# National Resource Distribution and Management

*Hodan S. Isse*

## Issues to be considered in the Somali Constitution: Resource distribution and management

It is a well-known and commonly held fact that access and distribution of resources is one of the most common causes of conflicts in the world. History informs us that unequal distribution of common resources coupled with human passion for greed is one of the root causes of conflicts over time and across countries. The fact is very apparent in much of sub-Saharan Africa, in which cyclical conflicts are often triggered by droughts and famines. This leads to fighting over access to valuable resources. Unfortunately the nature of these conflicts is exacerbated by the fact that these conflicts in themselves worsen the conditions that are created by famines and droughts.

Other conflicts are caused by misappropriation of commonly owned resources, human and financial, and government-to-government foreign aid by some powerful groups. If Somali society has formed no rules for appropriation of its valuable resources and if society has no legal institutions to safeguard the efficient and equitable allocation of resources, it will be taken by perpetual and debilitating conflict that has already parlayed the national fabric. When setting up a framework for management, access and distribution of resources in the constitution of Somalia, it is important that the rules set do not create more instability and further polarize the populace.

Current literature about resource management and distribution in Somalia is very limited. What little that is available at this point suggests that resource management contributed to the civil unrest in Somalia, but there are different viewpoints regarding the relationship between national resources and civil war.

Regardless of which viewpoint better explains the link between national resources and conflicts, all viewpoints maintain that poor national resource management and allocation can lead to conflict, and endanger national stability. This report will address the national resource issues that should be addressed in the constitution. These issues consist of ownership, distribution, and revenue distribution.

## Ownership and control of Natural Resource

The determination of natural resource ownership is important especially in countries such as Somalia, where the geographic distribution of natural resources is uneven across the clans and where it represents a large portion of national economy. The competing ownership claims include private, communal or customary land rights, and state ownership. To attain reasonable natural resource management and development and to avoid conflicts over these resources, the Constitution should clearly establish legal rights to these resources among the competing claims.

The decision on the proper allocation of legislative and executive authority over natural resources depends on the following criteria.

- 1) *Efficiency and capacity*: Which level of government has the capacity to develop and manage the natural resources most efficiently?
- 2) *Equity*: How will a minimum standard of public services be ensured across states or provinces?
- 3) *Accountability*: Which level of government provides the greatest accountability to the local population with respect to the exploitation of natural resources?
- 4) *National Interest*: Is a national regulation over a particular aspect of natural resource development required?

These criteria are sometimes contradictory with one another. For example, assigning these authorities to regional government may improve accountability because regional governments can better determine the needs and preferences of their population. However, there are efficiency and capacity concerns related to assigning powers to the regional government. It will complicate the development of national policy on natural resources. Regional governments may engage in a race to attract investors by offering investors more favorable contract terms or forgoing environmental and labor standards.

## Natural Resource Revenue Sharing

Natural resource revenues are problematic as they are prone to capture by ruling groups or communities, exacerbating social division and possibly leading to direct conflicts. Given the lack of trust inherent in post-conflict environment, a transparent and fair generation, collection and sharing of natural resource revenues can be a determining factor of the viability of the peace agreements. Therefore, a constitutional enshrinement of revenue collection and distribution provisions and implementation mechanisms is critical in making the constitution agreeable to all of the parties involved.

In most of the countries, the national government is responsible for the collection and distribution of the natural resource revenues. It distributes these revenues

through the national budget, proportional to the distribution of population throughout the country. Some other countries use other distribution formulas.

How would the constitution address issues of private property in the context of twenty years of civil wars?  
How would the constitution address the issues of foreign aid or government-to-government aid?

Taking stock of Somalia's current economic plight depicts that no one story presents past and present allocation of external aid. This section examines the past and present institutions of foreign aid that bring together the different perspectives in understanding one of the root causes of a failed state. Lack of social justice, corruption and conflict over access to economic resources such as foreign aid create a loss of Somali unity and identity. Squabbling over access to these resources produces endless division, perpetual violence, object poverty, and clan allegiance. Clan based identities have replaced national identity, allegiance and nationhood that were once a common unbroken bond.

For instance a flood of foreign aid came in during the Cold War around 1977, when Somalia aligned itself with the United States government. Prior to 1977, though it was socialist in ideology, the Somali government prioritized investment in agriculture, industry, infrastructure, education, in national defense. Things changed after the political maneuvering of the Cold War and the government's appetite for distribution rather creation of wealth became its economic strategy. Government-to-government foreign aid lacked checks and balances, transparency, and accountability and thus merely contributed to the grotesque failure of the state and the ensuing conflict and civil war.

Those who had access to the foreign aid resources gave money to their clan members and their loyalists. The foreign aid polarized those who were connected to the distribution such as clan loyalists and those who had close ties to the government and the many who felt disenfranchised and who were merely left out. Foreign distribution was also a political tool and exacerbated the divide-and-rule situation as many regions were already at war with the government. This started the loss of trust, a common identity among the citizens as being Somali, and created the clans' fiefdoms. As a result clan based identity replaced national allegiance.

The foreign aid became a substitute for legitimate investments and economic growth, changed people's incentives in distributive activities, graft and corruption. Thus, it further masked the underlying issues with the economy, and once the distribution of foreign aid ceased, the already weak foundations collapsed. This further weakened the government's legitimacy and finally in 1991 warlords overthrew for-

mer dictator Mohamed Siad Barre. Since then Somalia has not had a functioning government.

There was a change in roles – Government to Warlords – with the absence of a true government, other individuals and institutions have stepped in to attempt to take on the responsibility of the government. Bent on revenge, war and exploitation of the commons, the economic and political situation for Somalis became far worse. Warlords were using road blocks, collecting taxes that went to funding their endeavors. This money was never put back into the community or people, but only perpetuated more violence and conflict. This behavior was such an entrenched mindset that those who had commanded the commons and created ownership now resisted transferring the ill-gotten resources back to the government. This lack of resources for the government then stymies the amount of participation they can have with the people and the community. Somalis are stuck with what we call the “transitional losses trap” as war and polarization do not create winners. Thus economic resources could be used in perpetuating or resolving conflict. In the case of Somalia it perpetuated conflict.

William Easterly (2000) describes decentralized corruption as where each warlord establishes his roadblocks and collects revenue. He claims that this type of revenue generation from multiple road blocks can cause far worse damage to the economy and people than any centralized corruption. Centralized corruption is when government extorts resources from the public and might put some of the revenue back into public use such as provision of education, national defense and other sectors. He claims that a ruler/government has a vested interest in staying in power and keeping the country together even in the presence of exorbitant corruption. Thus unlike decentralized corruption and extortion by warlords, a complete dissipation of resources is less likely with rulers. This clearly explains why and how a country that has lacked functioning government for twenty years tops the corruptions index produced in 2011.

Transparency International, a well-respected agency that tracks a corruption index across countries and over time, ranks Somalia as # 1 in their compilation of the corruption index for the year 2010. Huguette Labelle, chair of Transparency International reports that “These results signal that significantly greater efforts must go into strengthening governance across the globe”. He adds that “With the livelihoods of so many at stake, governments’ commitments to anti-corruption, transparency, and accountability must speak through their actions.” Accurate statistics are hard to come by, but common sense tells that the majority of the foreign aid intended for the poor and the powerless are shared by corrupted national and international actors. Clearly, if the current state of the country is to be reversed, the constitution must propose fundamental changes and legitimate means to combat corruption. This pattern that destroys the creation of wealth can only be reversed through a strong system of well defined, enforced and protected property rights in both privately owned and common resources.

Both the international community and the Somali people can collectively create viable government resources that are commonly beneficial to all. A well-equipped



government along with clear checks and balances, accountability and transparency must be installed. Focusing on rebuilding and restructuring the country's economic well-being can begin when government's primary task of ensuring a safe and secure environment is achieved.

## How would the constitution address issues of private property in the face of twenty years of civil wars? How would the constitution address the issues of market failure?

“Money bewitches people. They fret for it, and they sweat for it. They devise most ingenious ways to get it, and most ingenious ways to get rid of it. Money is the only commodity that is good for nothing but to be gotten rid of. It will not feed you, clothe you, shelter you, or amuse you unless you spend it or invest it. It imparts value only in imparting. People do almost anything for money, and money will do almost anything for people. Money is a captivating, circulating, masquerading puzzle.”( Federal Reserve Bank, 1957).

A well-functioning monetary system is prerequisite for a stable and sound financial system. Government must establish a monetary system that ensures accountability and transparency of financial systems and acts as a governing body in safeguarding the financial stability of banks. Financial resources management is the lifeblood of any working economy. Special laws in the constitution should state its basic macro-economic goals such as full employment and low and stable prices, and maintain and protect the value of the national currency and create sustainable economic growth. Currently a widespread dollarization is common since the national currency lost its value and has been weakened since there have been no government institutions to protect people from counterfeiting.

Inflation is rampant now as people print money and no legal protection exists. The sole job of money creation must rest on government and the monetary institutions. There is where the Somali government can exploit the opportunity to create a viable monetary policy. Before the civil war all Somali banks were government-owned. After the civil war, however, a conglomeration of money- transferring services took over the role of the state-owned banks and has been successful in bringing needed money to every locality of the country. The present informal money-transferring services can be formalized by converting them to commercial and chartered banks. They can coexist with national banks.

A brief history of how the Federal Reserve Bank of the United States was created illuminates how Somalia might find some parallels for a special law in the constitution. Unlike many central banks such as the Banks of England, France and Germany

to mention few, the USA Federal Reserve system was established in 1913 when most developed countries already had functioning central banks.

The USA Federal Reserve Bank is unique in three ways (Hall and Lieberman, 2010). First, instead of one big central bank, 12 regional federal bank districts were created. This was to address the economic and cultural diversity of different states. It was also to ensure that no powerful central banks could dominate with the setting of policies that favor the interest of one region to the detriment of others. Secondly, one can easily notice the lack of “Central” in the name of the USA Federal Reserve System. This was done by design as anything dubbed as central ignited a suspicion of central authority in the United States. Thirdly, though Congress created the Federal Reserve System, the US President appoints the chair of the Federal Reserve System. Each incoming president inherits a chair from a different political leaning to safeguard the Federal Reserve’s independence from the political maneuvering of their politics and economic agenda.

There were thirteen different currencies that had to be managed, and this would not help a budding nation. A deep and thorough analysis of the creation and the current management of the federal banking system of the United States has much relevance to the current situation in Somalia, as a nation coming out of a civil war with great mistrust between regions and between regional and state governments. One of the foremost important duties of a transitional government is setting up a central bank and developing one key currency. The shilling should be reinstated to provide much stability to the region. The central bank would set up branches in different regions that will be determined by their experts and not the government. These financial regions would then spawn smaller banks, which would increase the grasp on the regions that the federal government is struggling with. Nothing helps secure a region better than financial stability. This would also help separate the clans’ hold over their respective regions. This move from familial rule to popular would also decrease an exponential amount of bloodshed, because of treatment based on regulation laws and not just family ties.

#### *Questions to be brought up:*

1. How much lee-way is the government willing to give to the central banking system?
2. How will a chairman be chosen and how long will his term be?
3. What will be the check on the banks to make sure they don’t abuse their power?
4. What will be the role of banks as money lenders for private and institutional parties?

## Would the constitution address issues of private property in the face of two decades of civil wars? How would the constitution address the issues of market failure?

Production of wealth can take many forms. Wealth can be created by either legitimate or unlawful means. Creation of wealth involves successful entrepreneurs focusing on niche marketing and the exploitation of opportunities for making profit. But to be successful, entrepreneurs must ensure that the goods and services offered for sale are of good quality, safe and meet the demands of their customers. They must also ensure that their wealth is not extorted or destroyed. On the other hand, wealth can be built or accumulated through illegal means such as extortion, illegal road blocks, corruption, expropriation of public and commonly owned resources. There is a clear difference between the two mechanisms of creating wealth, but both concurrently exist in Somalia's economy today. A case study of Somalia businesses follows.

Despite the war, conflict and failed governments, the growth and conglomeration of Somali private enterprises in every region of the country and their unsurpassed success in bringing needed services to the population has been a stubborn fact and can be considered as stylized fact. There is no doubt that Somali entrepreneurs have revitalized the economies of war-torn Somalia by providing and being a catalyst for bringing market based solutions to satisfy the needs and wants of Somalis in both Somalia and neighboring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti and South Africa to mention a few. For example, many Somali businesses provide telecommunication infrastructure and informal banking that has grown dramatically in scope and in services. They have brought some live-blood to many poverty-stricken and remote areas where none existed before. Their provision of services has performed better than services existing before the Somali government failed. Ironically they also perform better than many neighboring African countries today. However lawful, the remarkable success of many Somali businesses remains a double-edged sword as their achievement must be judged in the face of the monetary value of pain, lost life, suffering and lost nationhood. Others get greedy and bend the rules. To be successful, they engineer the economies of war and perpetuate it to be exact. Gains in earning through unlawful means though Haram in Islamic doctrine abounds in Somali soil. This has created a pattern of diversity in wealth, power, political clout and prominence. Due to the lack of a functioning government, many gained unlawfully from commonly owned resources such as foreign aid and public revenue at the expense of the poor, disabled and powerless. The human misery of civil war clearly took its toll on the disadvantaged, the poor, youth and the elderly. Economic freedom that persists in every region on Somali soil where profit-making initiatives and violent disputes have coexisted side by side for twenty years provides researchers with a fertile ground that might rekindle and revise the existing theory and application of political and economic freedom.

The allocation of economic resources by impersonal market mechanisms is not always satisfactory even in countries with strong government rules and institutions.

Thus there is a role for a government in bringing about the efficient allocation of scarce resources. Economists all agree that government has a legitimate function in correcting sources of market failure such as widespread negative and positive externalities, moral hazard, provision of public goods such as national security, protection of property rights, setting a legal system, regulatory apparatus. Government also has a legitimate function to devise a focused approach to reduce poverty, youth plight and gender inequity and reduce the influence of special interest groups. The draft constitution should devise a social safety net that might reverse the troubling trend of those disproportionately affected by the civil war.

## How would the constitution address issues of private property in the context of two decades of civil wars? How would the constitution address the issues of Human capital or Human resource?

Economists consider human resources as one of the most productive resources in a given country. The current 4.5 clan representation fails to incorporate and utilize many talented Somalis; namely women, youth and minorities. However, the management and allocation of these resources are paramount because there is a scarcity of talent, creativity, productivity and ingenuity etc. For efficient allocation of these scarce resources and skills, their representation must be based on merit, knowledge, education, experience and not on power, privilege, political clout or clan representation. Women and youth were disproportionately affected and mainly bear the brunt of the war. Many youth are unemployed, and many of the economic sectors such as fisheries, agriculture, livestock, and ports that provide employment were either destroyed or expropriated by a few powerful individuals or warlords.

Women and youth are without a doubt the most important and vital human resources that the government of Somalia should help foster and grow, to ensure a functioning and stable society. Gender inequities in our society's allocation of fundamental and basic resources such as education, health care, nutrition, and political representation matter because there is a strong association between well-being, productivity, and economic growth and greater equity and equal representation. As it stands many elements of the representative government and the current constitution do little to protect and represent the interests of women and youth, which is as incredibly surprising, as it is disappointing, since women make up 50% of the population and 44.7% the population is under the age of 14 along with the median age being barely under 18. Also in the current situation of cyclic and multigenerational conflicts since the 80's, the protection and the personal growth of women and children can essentially ensure strength and vitality both in the internal security and the economy of Somalia.

Also with many mothers widowed or with husbands working outside the country, protection and assurance of women's right to work and equal pay is important not only for economic growth but for the well-being of families. This is particularly true with Somalia where many households are headed by women. Disturbing trends exist now where women have limited access to education and vocational training, along with heavy workloads at home. Moreover cultural norms/restriction and discriminatory practices continue to limit women's participation in economy as wage-earners. Also few women have access to credit markets, capital, land, training and financial and management education, which are required to start up a business. Thus discriminatory culture and norms prevent women from starting, owning and maintaining businesses. For the rebuilding and growth of Somalia from the ashes of civil war, it would be a devastating blow and disservice to exclude women from direct participation in the economy and in the creation of goods and services, and to limit their role as only consumers.

Government can outlaw discriminatory hiring practices based on sex, prohibit exclusion of women in education and vocational training and encourage their participation. It can reward businesses and institutions that hire, train and educate women. Now it has become a stylized fact, that as countless studies have shown, there are benefits to employing women. It is well documented that women have stronger relationships with their customers and shareholders. Moreover companies with the highest representation of women in senior management positions performed the best.

Women lack political representation at all levels of current government. Barriers that face women and youth in employment and gains in leadership positions have increased since the civil war. Traditional prejudice associated with disenfranchising women must change if their creativity is to be utilized. Ensuring women's and youth's access to economic and political resources is no longer about gender equity, but it is about business strategy.

- 1) Would you like to add any other rights? If yes, please note and explain it.
- 2) Do you see any specific group that needs special attention concerning particular rights?
- 3) Do you think rights of women should be different from just being equitable?

## Constitutional Analysis and Explanation

The underlying issue with the draft Constitution's dealing with natural resources is its lack of specificity. There is only one Article that addresses the issue and it is not very detailed. Resources are many, however: they may be natural, national, financial, human and foreign aid resources. Devising a Somali constitution is going to be unique as it should address present and past experiences, challenges, actors and opportunities.

Given Somalia's baggage from the past twenty years, the constitution's special laws should be more detailed and explicit. One can look at the constitution and see that one is not left with satisfactory regulations, but only more questions. There is no talk of what needs to be done with resource management, and it is only put in the private sector. Questions then arise like "What will be done to stop misuse or corruption?" or "How will the profits of the resources be distributed?" Corruption is something that has been plaguing budding governments in many nations. Resources have to be protected from this corruption because some of them are non-renewable.

A functioning government relies on one crucial point, its ability to provide clear and operational services to its people. This includes law and order, welfare, resource management, etc. The people elect leaders in the hope that they will provide a plan that will provide for them and not leave them with scarce resources. The constitution lays out an ideal of protection, but no real plan of how it should be done. Albeit this is a consultative draft it still is lacking in showing the way that the government should handle the management of its resources. This is a crucial point for a country that is trying to reunite itself. There cannot be an analogy to America's constitution as that was created for a country that was starting fresh and starting the birth of a nation. Somalia has its baggage that has been with it since colonialism ended. There are separate clans, regions, and groups of people that reside in Somalia, all of whom expect the federal government to cater to their needs.

Major conflicts are started over misuse of land and disagreements over land rights. This has been solved effectively by making it public, but by doing so the government has taken over responsibilities that would have otherwise been left in the private sector. Certain resources like water are easily managed and are run more efficiently when left in the public domain. This gives the people as a whole an easier access to the water supply. Wind power is a potential investment for the nation. Somalia is highlighted as one of the best places to harvest wind power and this is a great renewable resource. Wind farms set up around the nation do not require much maintenance and there really is no issue of how they will be managed. These are just examples to show that there are some resources that can be managed effectively by the state if the law provides for it.

The issue though, is that all resources are not as easily managed and handled as water. Oil reserves, along with uranium, are one of the many resources that have to be managed, extracted, and sold. These aspects have to be looked at before one can assume that the government wants to go public with the resources. As it is now, does the government have the tools to take out the materials? This has to be analyzed before a constitution states a standard that can be fulfilled. The resources should be left to private companies with the resources to commit to resource harvesting. The government can make profits off of taxes, until it is stable enough to fully profit from the resources. This would just involve selling land rights for a certain period of time, and then having it transferred back into the public's hand.

The distribution of the profit has to be spelled out in the constitution. Questions will arise over which part of government will handle the resources, and how it will be channeled from the levels of government. Factors will come into account such as

which region the resources are coming from and which region will receive the most funding from it. The place that produces its own resource will most likely expect more of a share of the profit, or more access to their own resources. There needs to be communication between local, state, and federal levels. If one part is left to manage the resources by itself, it will surely cause dissent among the other levels. A government that is working on unifying the country cannot afford to risk there being factions within its own structure. The constitution lays out a plan that would make the foundations for local government to lay out their own rules. This cannot occur if the foundations on which they are basing their laws are vague and do not provide a common ground to how the state and local levels should handle their resources. A federalist institution relies on the highest national level to handle the most power, so it is up to the framers of this constitution to provide a stable government structure. As it is the frame for government is being based on the power it has now. As it begins to expand and take up most of what is left of the nation it cannot be expected that the country will ???

What is the most worrisome about the vague detailing of resource management is its ignorance of how easily misuse of resources can start a war. The division of Somalia is clearly evident today with maps often detailing which clans are at war with each other, dividing a country that is supposed to be unified. Resources are prized by the people who live where they are being harvested, so they are unlikely to share them with a group who they are warring with. Before profits can be distributed there needs to be some conflict resolution. This can be clearly addressed in the constitution, but efforts need to be made to move the rule of the government beyond its current hold. It cannot command the monetary policy over a territory where it has no rule. Federal buildings are often targets of the Islamists in the Southern Province. The government cannot expect to enforce monetary policy if there are no banks in the region. Framers need to look ahead as well as plan places to strategically put banks and districts.

Article 50 of the constitution outlines the government's policy, but it is only a mere page. There is just the mention of prevention, management, and public ownership. The main thing it needs is more detailing of various resources such as national, natural, Human, financial, foreign aid resources. This will stop anyone from evading the law through use of loopholes. It is understandable that more things will be outlined in local laws but the people need more details to create their laws or there will be different rules and regulations as you go from land to land. By assigning roles to different regions, the federal government sets up interaction and ties with the regions, an aspect that is clearly present now.

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# The Nexus Between Economic Integration and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa

Facing the Challenges of Governance and Improving the Livelihood of the People

*John W. Forje*

## Introduction

### Setting the Scene and Tracing the Missing Agenda

“All the indices of human welfare put us at the bottom of all humanity. All citizens of this nation must therefore fully dedicate their energies and resources to the construction of a vibrant economy. We fought for freedom, justice and equality, yet once we got to power, we forgot what we fought for and began to enrich ourselves at the expense of the people” (President Salva Kiir of South Sudan, 11 July 2011)

The paper draws from existing literature in analyzing first, why most African countries are conflict-ridden. The trappings of conflict and underdevelopment since independence have gripped the region. Second, how economic factors through integration, trade, free movement of people, goods and services stand a good chance of improving economic development, creating an atmosphere for peaceful co-existence and improving quality livelihood. Third, policy failure and poor governance; why good management and inclusion are imperative variables in sustaining peaceful co-existence in the Horn of Africa in particular and the continent at large. Without democratic governance economic integration cannot deliver the goods enhancing growth and quality living standards. Therefore, the proper marriage of democratic governance and economic integration provides the constructing platform and the basis for quality livelihood currently denied the citizens in the Horn.

The Horn is caught in a trap requiring comparative diagnostic analytical analysis to interrogate a better understanding with a deeper and more integrated framework, of these political and civil liberty issues, including women rights and press freedoms, for instance – not only because they are important rights on their own, but also for enhancing aid effectiveness and accelerating the process of development. Democratic or good governance is not a *‘luxury good,’* to which a country automatically graduates when it becomes wealthier. Instead, the focus ought to be on sustained interventions

to improve governance and civil liberties in countries where these are lacking, which in turn would be expected to help improve socio-economic, development and fundamental human rights.

Without democratic governance and economic integration, the people are plunged into poverty, exclusion and conflict. Poverty is the greatest human rights scourge of our time and currently experienced in the Horn in full scale. The absence of democratic governance puts the rights of the people in the Horn under threat. Broadly stated, both the wealthy and poor countries alike have so far failed to reach the vision contained in the Universal Declaration for Human Rights, which requires not only individual actions but also international cooperation based on mutual respect. The world seems to be standing looking silently and passively on the plight of the people in the Horn like it did twenty years ago in Rwanda.

Apparently, the Horn of Africa is associated with most of the good, bad and ugly things one can imagine: famine, drought, poverty, political instability, insecurity to life and property, poverty and starvation. Natural disasters such as floods and droughts are common with a high degree of dependence on scarce natural resources at both the individual and national levels. This part of the continent is often described as the deadliest conflict cluster in the world. As earlier noted, it is a region plagued by political instability as well as civil and interstate wars, which exist as both a cause of and reaction to humanitarian emergencies in the region. A common cause of both interstate and intra-state conflict in the Horn is access to precious natural resources (Francis, 2006, Hull et al 2011).

Environmental degradation such as desertification, deforestation and water scarcity often contribute to armed pastoralist groups clashing over access to land for grazing and water resources. Armed conflict has in turn had further negative consequences on a number of interrelated areas – agriculture, economic and commercial activities, including for example, landmines inhibiting the use of arable soils (Francis, op cit; Hull et al op cit, UNDP 2009) The absence of democratic governance plunges the people in the Horn to the worst imaginable condition of livelihood. Corruption is widespread. Insecurity to life and property is common, forcing people to descend from hope to rising destructive frustration. A vicious circle is created that continues impacting negatively on the development construct of the region.

As a result, the paper establishes the link between economic integration, governance, development and conflict resolution with a focus on quality livelihood. It argues that the curse of conflict is rooted in policy failures, which the theory of governance attributes to the impact of exclusion and poor participation of the people in the democratic process, poor leadership and the insensitiveness of elites to the people's aspirations and development trajectory. The promotion of good governance constitutes one of the pillars of development policies. Good governance and management is a prerequisite to development and conflict reduction. The paper provides some strategic policy measures that could facilitate the process of peaceful co-existence and development in the Horn of Africa and the rest of the continent at large.

Due to the diversity of the region and lack of an easily identifiable lead nation, regionalization in the Horn has been cumbersome. In general and throughout history,

the Horn of Africa has experienced weak regional institutions and poor leadership. The region does not have one regional organisation responsible for conflict management and spurring economic integration as a mechanism to kick-start economic development related activities (Khadiagala, 2008). The situation has caused several observers to declare the region a 'permanent emergency'. It is this dynamic on the Horn of Africa that primarily affects the preconditions for peace, security and economic integration. Situated as a gateway to the Red Sea, Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean the Horn is of strategic importance (Francis, 2006) to the East and West with the continent trapped in between. The structure of the paper is as follows;

- \* it explains the essence of regional economic integration;
- \* the issue of policy and governance, and,
- \* conclusion with recommendations

The recognition that governance is important for economic development and conflict reduction is a welcome one. Governance is what states do, and the recognition that governance is important implies also that the capabilities of states are important determinants of economic and social transformation in societies. The emerging good governance agenda defends the need in transitional polities to have policies that stabilize rights and engage in the rule of law, reforms, engage in democratisation, accountability and mobilisation of the people through the prioritisation of pro-poor spending by governments. It therefore encourages and promotes the politics of participation, prosperity, inclusion and equity in shared prosperity.

In a region characterised by poverty and conflict, this only establishes existing flaws in the system, and a need to re-establish good governance and quality management for the reconstruction of the state system. The Horn of Africa is an area where conflict, poverty, insecurity and repression remain endemic; low income countries are caught in a trap of dependency; exploitation and wrong utilisation of natural resources. The region is unlikely to make significant progress without fundamental structural changes. With a weak state structure, conflict and underdevelopment are bound to continue retarding the progress and quality well-being of the people.

The struggle for independence, the restoration of nationhood to the people, the respect for fundamental human rights; whatever may be the concept used to flavour the new formulas, the issue of conflict remains a violent phenomenon greatly embedded with the *'bad and ugly as well as destructive'* outcomes. Conflict is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature, which in fact over their originality to that sort of substantiation results from and is nourished by the situation to the environment (Fanon, 1967). To a large extent, resources are always the avenue for conflicts. The Horn is not different or immune to the factors that trigger and sustain conflicts in the region. The challenging issue is how to reduce these conflicts, contain them by putting in place policy measures that establish an atmosphere of security, safety, unity, communality, reconciliation, economic progress, improved and sustained quality livelihood for all. Creating a sense of belonging is essential. This is currently absent, inflicting divisive tendencies in the region which equally impact on the rest of the continent.

For decades the Horn of Africa has been ravaged by wars characterised by the proliferation of small and heavy arms, forcible recruitment of children as child soldiers, sexual violence, sea piracy and ethnic cleansing, genocide to name but a few atrocities. African conflicts in general are more internal than interstate. However, because of ethnic connections, there can be a spill-over giving new dynamism to the conflict. Civilians rather than fighters are by far the worst affected by these conflicts, both in terms of the risk of violent death and in terms of losing their livelihoods. Such communal conflicts also erode state structures and legitimacy, pushing the country/region deeper into poverty, increasing the risk of a renewal of fighting within a few years, setting the country off on a downward spiral of poverty, bad governance and conflict. This is also known as a “*conflict trap*”. Few countries succeed in extracting themselves from its insidious grasp of conflict circles. The Horn needs all the ‘*good will*’ it can muster the world over to reinstate an enabling environment to escape from the scale of failed and collapsed state structure to a structural-functional governance system for the good of all.

Economic factors are the predominant instigation and sustainers of conflict in the Horn and across the continent. The failure of the states in the Horn to provide human security through a formal mechanism of economic exchanges and the phenomenon of neo-patrimonial factors have given rise to increased formalisation of economies and the development of parallel extra-legal activities that try to obtain control of resources within a fragmented environment. It is within this context that we can situate economic integration as a veritable mechanism for promoting the free movement of people, goods, and services and in building trust, hope, mutual understanding and the spirit of peaceful co-existence among people. Economic integration can be seen as cooperation or working and trading together for a common purpose (quality livelihood as the goal) which also entails making people, things and parts function together, effectively and efficiently and in an organised way (Collier 2005; Crowther 1995). Economic integration within the Horn would require the following inputs:

- \* A means of ensuring economic viability, safeguarding national and sub- regional interests based on the diffusion of power as prerequisite to the maintenance of lasting peaceful equilibrium;
- \* Favourable ethos – cordial relationships among nations and people; and between nations, people and nature;
- \* A climate of political tolerance, political will and leadership skills to sustain such forms of integration as increase social diversity and that may appeal and reflect to others as a means of spreading political power, thereby increasing instead of reducing the potential force of the tyranny of the powerful majority or minority; the control and use of power can fan conflicts or resolve differences;

- \* Sense of community: whether a sense of community exists and how this can be created. Many years of conflict within the region engender a sense of community; the sufferings of the people can help cultivate a common will of overcoming their predicaments; ethnic connectivity across borders may help forge a new sense of belonging, oneness and shared communality
- \* Potential benefit: seeing economic integration as a potential benefit to the countries concerned. Potential benefits are also driven and sustained by equitable prosperity-sharing. Expectations of rising prosperity and equitable benefit-sharing should assure citizens to seek increased transnational cooperation in order to flourish; free movement of persons, goods and a broad economic interdependence creates a transnational framework within which the political actors must operate to a large extent.

Apparently, given the degree of global interconnectedness, the number of political instruments available to individual governments and the effectiveness of particular policy instruments show a marked tendency for states in spite of other factors, to move towards greater cooperation or integration. States have to increase their political and economic integration with other states, for example, in regional networks such as the creation of an East African Economic Community, or the Horn of African Economic Community. They must also increase multilateral negotiations, arrangements and institutions to control destabilizing effects that accompany interconnectedness. The good governance construct is essential. This is what is missing with the practice of state construct not only within the Horn but the entire continent, failing to provide the basics for sustainable quality livelihood. The dynamics in the Horn of Africa primarily affect the preconditions for peace and security and socio-economic transformation of the area in the Eastern African region and the continent in general.

Extremes of wealth and poverty undermine economic vitality, distort peace and stability, cripple participation in decision-making processes, obstruct the movement of persons, and the flow of knowledge, and distort the perception of human capacity. What is needed is an effective process for exploring issues and making decisions that promote genuine participation, facilitate collective action, and are responsive to the complexity inherent in efforts to forge sustainable systems. Wealth needs to be acquired and expended by peoples in a way that enables all in the country to prosper. Structures and systems that permit a few to have inordinate riches while the masses remain impoverished must be replaced by arrangements that foster the generation of wealth, in a way that promotes justice and quality living standards. There is much more to be learned about both extremes of the poverty – wealth, conflict and peace spectrum. The voices and lived experiences of the people of the Horn – including the poorest – must be heard. The challenge is to make conflicts, wars and chaos history and progress towards a new planet of peace, stability, growth, development and sustainable pattern of livelihood.

The situation in Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti and the Sudans has had severe negative impacts on the Horn. Sea piracy and religious fundamentalism have become a weapon of destruction in the region, putting it at loggerheads with the international community. The repeated acts of piracy in the Gulf of Aden over the past years have generated interest on the region. The proximity of the area to the Middle East and within the regional dimension of radical Islamic groups with links to terrorist networks has also drawn negative attention to the Horn. Even though within the context of the state of peace, security and economic integration the Horn greatly varies from country to country with certain dynamics as distinguishing features of the region as a whole. The geographical location and the ensuing effects on political development in the region added to 'predicament of inequality' defeats the purpose of any form of constructive ideological and structural manoeuvres for change progress, development and sustainability. The presence of religious fundamentalism is causing serious havoc to any form of peaceful transition to democratic governance in the region.

## The Democratic Governance Construct

It seems as if the founding fathers' departure from the helm of power took away all forms of unity and stability. Most states have continued to fail following the departure of their founding fathers. For instance, Congo has known no peace since the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the 1960s; the same can be said of Somalia with the departure of Biarre in the 1990s; Liberia started degenerating into a failed state after Tubman. The departure of these leaders from the helm of power seems to create instability and chaos. The politicisation of ethnic factors in the governance system breeds exclusion and conflict. Visionary leadership is essential for any form of constructive change to be effective and rewarding to the citizens.

Since independence, Africa has been dominated by authoritarian governments. The lack of a democratic culture or tradition and competitive multiparty elections soon led to monolithic party rule. The return to multiparty political pluralism has even created serious governance problems. On the other hand, the emergence of democracy in many African countries has not yet created the necessary conditions for sustained economic growth. A close look at the new political landscape does suggest that most of the political parties that emerged during Africa's transition to democracy follow ethnic and religious lines. In many countries, ethnic and religious political parties have flourished, and in those with a high degree of ethnic fragmentation, religious fundamentalism, no single party is capable of winning a majority of the popular vote. Developments in the Central Africa Region depict the unholy marriage between politics, religion and state administration. The Horn of Africa finds itself entangled in the debacle of ethnic, religious fundamentalism and underdevel-

opment that gives rise to conflict, instability and even chaos, leading to a construct of '*collapsed and fragile*' state system.

Democratic governance emphasizes decision-making based on participatory approaches and constructive engagement with the various stakeholders. Good governance is an imperative if economic integration is to be realised, and conflict reduction effectively addressed. The reality is the existence of conflict and underdevelopment in the Horn, and the urgent need to put in place proactive strategic policy measures that effectively improve on the quality well-being of the people. The absence of democratic governance impedes development and sustainable livelihood as it equally fans conflicts, instability leading to failed or collapsed states as noticed in the region. There is growing consensus on *good-governance-development-peace* linkages which remain vital for any form of transformation to occur in the Horn. The nexus in this linkage boils down to at least three points:

- \* development and democracy are desirable and are values to be pursued; the constructive engagement of all the stakeholders is imperative in the process;
- \* development is more than economic growth; in our context, integration is more than economic growth but vital for accelerating the process of conflict-reduction and the establishment of sustainable platforms for peace and peaceful coexistence among nations and people;
- \* democracy is more than the institutions and the mechanics of democracy; that is, democracy is also expected to deliver in terms of quality of life. What the people in the Horn need is sustainable quality livelihood. The peace factor or minimised conflicts is a fundamental issue in that context. It requires the involvement of the citizens at all stages and levels of development.

For economic integration and conflict reduction to be effected, democracy must grow and be consolidated in the countries in the Horn, national political society – political parties and legislators – need to assume a key role in the shaping and approval of national and regional development agendas. They need to translate citizens' expectations into coherent development programmes. Therefore, economic integration and conflict reduction should be contextualised within the premises of democratic governance. The economy of the countries in the Horn like that of the entire sub-Saharan African economies is built on informal sectors with the increasingly educated – and increasingly mobile – youth mainly being unemployed or under-employed, which means that cross-border movement is stimulated (Olsen, 2012). The search for greener pastures in other neighbouring countries becomes a pulling factor which must be structurally addressed to be a blessing not a curse in the region in particular and Africa in general. Xenophobic attitudes should be resisted, as they fuel conflicts and destructive tendencies across the political spectrum. That is why sustained economic growth and equity in shared-wealth is crucial in ensuring peace, stability and wellbeing.



## Leadership and State failure

States fail and collapse because of the destructive policies and actions of their leaders. Leaders in the Horn pursue destructive decisions simply because they are responding to pro-failure incentives and constraints offered by a set of dominant (in) formal institutions and articulated selfish-interests. These institutions are pro-failure/anti-development bodies because they provide the highest payoffs to the destructive policies and actions of political leaders (Abdirashid 2012). A comprehensive holistic approach is imperative to ensure a proper mix – governance, economic integration, growth and development. (Rotberg, 2002; Schumpeter 1950).

The dominance of the principal-agent perspective blocks constructive thinking about governance reform in the Horn and the rest of the continent. In that perspective, reform initiatives divide between those addressing the so-called ‘supply side’ of better governance and those emphasising the ‘demand side’. The people in the Horn are gripped with persistent poverty, insecurity, exclusion, corruption, conflicts, chaos, wars and uncertainty. This gives room for manipulation and exploitation by internal and foreign forces. The governance system is overtaken by jungle laws with no one in charge of people-focused development activities contributing to the sustainable well-being of the people.

Unfortunately, ‘*Sadism*’ has become the *Modus Operandi*, which endangers public interest, with nobody caring for the weak and vulnerable. The perpetrators are not affected. The status-quo has outlived its usefulness and it requires elimination now to ensure that the people become the main actors of, by and for development so that they can enjoy certain inalienable rights like – Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. The rhetoric sing-song everywhere is poverty alleviation but with few concrete actions on economic growth and integration as the essential contributing factor in job-creation and wealth-creation leading to quality livelihood of the people. But the pragmatic experience is poverty and corruption aggravation everywhere among the unlucky in society. Everywhere is mischief, everywhere is hypocrisy, everywhere is egoism, and everywhere is cronyism, everywhere there is greed, indiscipline and delinquency and articulate self-interests. Society cannot function and survive in such an outrageous environment.

Instability is growing in Africa because of poor leadership. What is lacking in the Horn and across the continent is national leadership to set an example. If this existed, military overthrows would have been made much more difficult. At any rate, stability in Africa would be much greater. Political selfishness and articulate self-interest is killing Africa; it is the basis of the region’s/continent’s problem. Once African interests become merely a pretext for individual selfishness, instability necessarily rears its head. When the only organized force in the country – the army – ceases to respect the civilians in power, it will seize power for itself. Conversely, when civilian regimes fail to respect and meet their duties as servants to serve the masses and not masses serving the political leadership, room is created for the people in uniform to seize power. A vicious circle is created.



The problems of the Horn will continue because selfish leaders/heads of state out of personal and egoistic power interests want the current status quo to continue. These leaders latch onto power, with no intention of abandoning it and they talk about creating regional economic interests. However, the defence of power interests is in direct opposition to the avowed wish for regional economic cooperation, unity and national cohesion. These leaders do not want to relinquish an iota of power. African leaders are geared towards reducing national, regional and continental unity and exigencies to their own personal and national egoisms. The peace process and regional integration is needed and must be created by leaders who are people-oriented. National peace, regional and continental integration is important not only for the peace and stability of the Horn, the region and continent but also in the interests of world peace and stability. The damaging effect of conflicts, poverty and exclusion should be addressed from a human perspective. It is only within such a people-focused framework of geo-political and social entity that peace can return to the Horn and rational economic development and cooperation can be inserted for the sustainable transformation of the region.

Integration promotes a sense of knowing and belonging. For now, the Horn and the African continent remain politically 'unstable' and economically entrenched in 'poverty and underdevelopment'. In short, the people of the Horn do not know the Horn. Also, Africans do not know Africa. How can you love a country, or have faith in its destiny, if you do not know it? All the more, how can we love our continent or develop a continental consciousness without knowing it (Diop 1974:100)? Given existing Horn politics, power games and manipulation of public opinion, the region cannot change with these *'double standards'*. Open, accountable, transparent, responsible and participatory politics and governance systems provide the way of overcoming factions and articulate self-interests. But the people of the Horn should not fool themselves. They are the source of their problems; just as being an inherent part of the solutions to their predicaments. Double standards cannot bring meaningful change. They are challenged to articulate and aggregate what should be seen as *"A Famous 2014 Peace and Development Pact"* for the benefit of all.

## Economic Integration

Economic integration through regional groupings (Regional Economic Communities – RECs) offers the most credible strategy for tackling the continent's development challenges because of the many weaknesses that overwhelm the limited capacities and resources of individual countries. Collective efforts with dynamic political commitment to integration can help to overcome the daunting challenges. The Horn is in a state of total confusion and disarray, requiring some form of regional efforts as leverage in overcoming existing problems of misrule and conflicts. Regional integration is regarded as a possible panacea for the region's political and economic govern-

ance problems. Therefore, regional integration helps in the prevention of conflicts; consolidation of economic and political reforms and economies of scale are most needed in the Horn. Economic integration is to foster unity and mutual understanding among people as well as reduce tension between conflicting parties, ensuring economic growth and fostering cordially relations. It equally fosters the free movement of people, goods and services.

Economic integration is a necessary means for development but not the only panacea as other input factors are required to ensure growth, progress, development and sustainability (GPDS). To meet the challenges and draw on the enormous potential of the area there is a need to accelerate the process of economic integration which together with other input factors should primarily transform the Horn into a wave of peace, solidarity, balanced development including the free movement of persons, goods and services. Economic integration backed with other inherent input factors creates an avenue for connectivity, better understanding with objectives of building a strong, stable and competitive environment of attracting substantial private investment into the growth sectors. The absence of democratic governance and economic integration breeds social collapse. The Horn faces a bad combination of war and poverty and destructive external influences culminating under what could be described as 'structural violence and destruction' with the most vulnerable in society being the greatest victims.

Developments in the Horn are very uncertain with no prediction of a possibility to engage in systematic reconstruction. The case of Africa's newest state – South Sudan – tells the story of a broken region of Africa putting pressure on the leaders and policy-makers to initiate and strengthen democratic governance; promote integration; ensure peace and security; encourage dialogue and reconciliation among warring parties; promote economic development and equity in shared prosperity. The situation in the Horn has degenerated to a chaotic level generating and transmitting destabilisation activities to other parts of the continent. The conflicts of the Horn though 'local' have a 'continental' if not a 'global' dimension and in consequence require not only local but continental and global solutions. It goes without saying that no one theory addresses the plight of the Horn as events and developments are entangled in historical, political, economic, social, and cultural issues with a variance of active or passive actors influencing the process, from the perspectives of either articulate self-interest or the common good interest. Thus a holistic approach is required, with a multiplicity of activities addressing the predicaments of the Horn and searching for amicable solutions.

Other input factors are necessary for economic integration to achieve the objectives of peace, security and quality livelihood of citizens. For instance, to meet the integration challenges and draw from the enormous potentials of the Horn, member states need to beef up their infrastructures, (roads, communication network, etc,) human capital development as well as constructing strong institutional framework. Inadequate infra-structure is the leading obstacle to stronger growth. Hence building the capacity of regional institutions is essential, particularly to coordinate the man-

agement of infrastructures undertaken to accelerate the integration, conflict resolution and peace agenda.

Economy theory provides for a strong and aggregate production when the production sectors of two (or more) countries are integrated by the removal of restrictions on intra-state factor mobility and factor-tax differences. Free movement of people would mean that nation states would need to compete for the best and brightest human resources. This is also a source of conflict when poorly managed. It could easily breed xenophobic tendencies. Labourers would seek locations where their productivity and quality of life would be maximized. Free movement of persons will help enhance mutual understanding among the various segments of society; and contribute to reducing tension between rival ethnic group construct. Even though, in the short term, it may generate and even intensify ethnic rivalry because of free movements of persons, goods and services, it would pay off in the long term in accelerating an atmosphere for better understanding and peaceful coexistence. There is a need for an 'open-mind attitude' among the people and willingness to cohabit peacefully.

Mobile labour would ensure that the regional pool of skills are fully exploited and can move quickly in areas of greatest need, and that the common market is free from bias as a result of either very high or very low-priced labour in some areas. All these and other related activities require good governance and visionary leadership, including creating awareness within society of the need to close ranks – *solidarity* and working within the "*Ubuntu Spirit*" of *sharing*. Diaspora remittances could also be seen within the 'Ubuntu' ideals. Free movement should be seen within the context of human rights and liberties and not within the inhuman context of refugees. Bridging the economic and cultural gaps remains imperative for the economic integration and development of the Horn. Poor infrastructure in the Horn and the continent makes business operations difficult. Frequent power outages in some countries raise production costs, while policies towards businesses are inconsistent. Stagnation, poverty and not progress and development are the order of the day, inflaming conflicts, chaos, instability and insecurity giving rise to endemic poverty.

Generally, African governments raise taxes at a whim. And most African economies are still fragile, subject to shocks from the global economy and political inputs from a dominant hegemonic external power. Because of the strategic location of the Horn, external concerns for the area are high, attracting external interferences which bleed the region into further conflicts. Therefore building capacity for reducing conflict and promoting economic integration becomes imperative for the region to focus on. Some of the urgent areas to be looked into when addressing poverty are rapid economic growth coupled with rampant inequalities; global prices of agricultural resources and increasing incidences of famine; flawed democratic political mechanisms that restrict pluralistic participation; and revolutionary technological developments that fail to reach those individuals with the greatest need. As a result, the following strategies for the transformation of the Horn as a veritable region can be recommended: (a) ensure that peace, safety and security reigns supreme; (b) invest in human capital development, science and technology to create manufacturing capability, job creation and economic growth; (c) develop strategic partnerships with

countries to buy goods on favourable terms, and when the economy has an economic structure that makes trade desirable.

There are challenges to integration. Regional integration in Africa is a very complex and confusing affair, what Alves, Draper and Halleson characterize as “a spaghetti bowl that hinders regional integration by creating a complex entanglement of political commitments and institutional requirements”. As documented in many studies, multiple and overlapping memberships in Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have created a complicated web of competing commitments which, combined with different rules, result in high costs of trade between African countries, in effect undermining integration. Multiple and overlapping memberships occasion resource and effect wastage due to duplication/multiplication of efforts. It complicates harmonisation and coordination among member states and according to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA): “tends to muddy the goals of integration leading to counterproductive competition among countries and institutions”. Political and strategic reasons are cited as the overriding motivation for the multiplicity of memberships in RECs and perhaps this even helps to delay peaceful resolutions of conflicts. The variance of interests and forces in the Horn constitute a problem and not solutions to the predicament of the region.

The Horn like the rest of the continent should embark on “**Bennu economics**” – which means that Africa should no longer look to trickle-down economics, but to *Bennu economics – rising from the ashes*. The Horn like the rest of the continent should rise from its ashes. What is commonly referred to as the Phoenix bird originated in Egypt as Bennu (Ngara, 2011:69). Like many ideas taken from Africa and then packaged as emanating from elsewhere, ‘Bennu’, called Phoenix by others, has been described as follows: “A mythical bird that never dies, the phoenix flies ahead to the front, always scanning the landscape and distant space. It represents our capacity for vision, for collecting sensory information about our environment and the events unfolding within it. The phoenix with its great beauty creates intense excitement and deathless inspiration” (Chuen, 1996:5). The virtues of democratic governance provide the best salvation to the reconstruction of the Horn. The active participation of the masses is imperative in the process. Only the people can reconstruct their society in the first place. This calls for a new mindset across the political spectrum.

## Security, Piracy and Integration

The Horn in particular and Africa in general, face serious threats on security, piracy and integration. The entire continent faces threats from poverty, corruption, piracy, religious fundamentalism, and from criminal acts of one kind or the other. The international dimension is of significance to the region, creating fear and insecurity within the people and inhibiting foreign investments and threatening life and property (Paffenholz 2012; Haynes 1993) but also building confidence and hope for a

brighter future. It questions what is Africa doing fifty years after independence, appealing to former colonial powers to resolve the continent's security disputes? The state of insecurity and the growing state of piracy in the Horn and Gulf of Guinea necessitates the creation of a continental defence force or military outfit capable of intervening to protect civilians and fight insurgent or terrorist forces. Religious fundamentalism in the Horn is a serious threat to the economic integration of the region and the continent in general. These developments put pressure on increasing the military expenditures of countries, monies that could be used in improving the social well-being of citizens. Military expansion creates an atmosphere of the free flow of other weapons in the hands of rival and conflicting militia organizations which are used to destabilize the region.

How to consolidate peace and security in the region stands out as a major developmental issue. Economic integration and development cannot be fostered under a threat of insecurity, fear and uncertainty which characterize the region. Neither can development be effective when large amounts of the country's finances are spent on military arsenals. Plans for a Pan-African army date back decades to the independence era and in the struggle to establish a Union Government for Africa. The continental or regional force is as much a political and diplomatic tool as a military one. Creating a continental force could be very positive because sharing resources and cooperation in the field can strengthen regional alliances. Governments have to consolidate their national military forces before contributing to a grand continental army. The effects of piracy in the region have extended far beyond Africa, with potential ramifications for the larger global economy (Afenso 2012). Furthermore piracy drives up insurance premiums for international shipping companies, the price of imported goods in the region spikes further, imperiling economies. When these local economies falter, development and stability in the region quickly deteriorate and poverty reigns supreme, insecurity and lawlessness become the order of the day.

Piracy, religious fundamentalism and armed robbery of ships and civilians is just some of the security and safety challenges facing African coastal states. Most importantly, the lost opportunities resulting from a failure to develop the military sector as a strategic national asset and placed at the interest of the people are yet to emerge. Concerted action by national and regional security strategies and good governance will lead to increased prosperity and stability throughout the Horn and the continent in general. The legacy or trauma of colonial rule and the failure of African governments to fulfill the social contract with citizens has been given little attention or simply ignored. Yet these have and continue to have a serious impact in the transformation process of the continent. Therefore, it has been difficult in most African countries to find ways to resolve existing disparities in the social fabric given the mass crisis of social inequalities that have contributed to broken individuals. The thousands of refugees constantly on the move fault the rising aspirations and expectations of liberation and independence movements of yester years. It is not surprising that the post-colonial era is clothed with disappointments, frustration, distrust and loss of confidence in the governance system

# Conflict Reduction and Peaceful Coexistence

Conflicts in 21<sup>st</sup> century Africa reflect the growing role of peace-making as an intervention mechanism. Despite the upsurge of various types of conflicts in the recent past, there have been credible efforts towards concerted peace-making especially by the continental body, the African Union (AU), as well as by regional economic communities (RECs). The nexus between conflicts, democracy and development is clear. They are intertwined and civil society plays an important role in reducing conflict as well as ensuring peaceful co-existence between people and nations. Open government constitutes a prelude to conflict reduction, peaceful coexistence and economic development.

Hence the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in enhancing peace and development processes. According to Diamond (1999), civil society is conceived as an autonomous and self-regulating entity which provides space for citizens to interact with the state and in some cases to even interrogate the state. A view echoed by Paffenholz (2012) that civil society is an actor that possesses a comparative advantage over government and other actors. This is especially so because of its independence and flexibility. The increasing relevance of civil society is based on the recognition that this sector of society plays a critical role in ensuring the success and sustainability of peace processes. As a result, civil society has become an important component of the peace agenda. Reducing conflict also entails the protection of civilians in peace-keeping and as part of the political process; establishment of a secure environment; protection through political process; providing protection from physical violence; and establishing a protective environment. Conflict reduction depends on the role played by civil society and political leadership, including the response of the international community.

Civil society should actively address the challenges of conflict and underdevelopment in general on the continent. This also requires capacity enhancement of national and regional institutions as one of its key objectives. It is also imperative to have a specific focus on each of the countries in the Horn and necessary collective action in bringing peace to the entire region by paying attention to matters which focus on conflict reduction; enhancing the mediation capacity of bodies assigned to ensure that peace and security reigns supreme; country-specific initiatives for each country in the region; supporting ongoing peacemaking initiatives; and enhancing the participation of women in peace processes. Importantly, regional organizations, political and economic, should contribute significantly in the process of maintaining peace, security and safety in a number of overarching areas, for example;

- Food security and environmental protection;
- Promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs; and
- Economic cooperation and integration.

Regional Economic and Political Communities should articulate strategic policy measures that develop, implement and sustain mechanisms in order to prevent, man-

age and resolve violent conflicts in the Horn with objectives that include among others:

- facilitating the development of appropriate nation-level mechanisms to promote national peace and security within the context of common core values;
- appraisal of structures and mechanisms for conflict early warning management and resolution within the region and across its boundaries;
- achievement of consensus on aims, principles and benchmarks for the promotion of regional peace and security; and monitoring and supporting post-conflict transitions

These measures should be accompanied with other input factors like (a) enhancement of judicial measures – respect and enforcement of the rule of law; (b) optimisation of interdependent cooperation; (c) enhancement of border control; (d) training, sharing of information and best practices; and (e) promotion of strategic cooperation. Reducing conflict or the protection of civilians in peace-keeping contexts is a challenging mandate but not an impossible one. Some of these challenges stem from the inconsistent political backup of international or mandating organizations; the lack of political will and of capacity within the host government; the lack of coordination amongst protection actors and the absence of operational training for protection purposes.

Some think of reduction or protection in terms of the fulfillment of human rights and legal norms. Military institutions, on the other hand, tend to see reduction of conflict or protection in more limited terms as related to the physical defense of particular ‘individuals, communities and installations’ or demilitarised safe areas, the Horn of Africa has for decades been a threatened area, requiring governments in the region to bear primary responsibility for ensuring peace building and development in the country. Importantly, the Horn needs socio-political-eco solutions and not military solutions. Political solutions will put to rest the horrendous activities of the various militias and fundamentalist religious groups impacting negatively on the livelihood of the people

Effective reduction in conflict or protection of civilians in the region remains a serious challenge for governments and the international community. The absence of economic opportunities for women and girls makes it easy for prostitution and child abuse to flourish during peace-keeping operations. Poverty and exposure to violence compels women to trade sexual favours for material gains and survival. The problem is aggravated by the unequal power relation between peace-keeping soldiers and the host civilian population. According to Afeno (2012:56; ECA 1967) the exploitation of civilians by peace-keeping soldiers is part of the dynamics of social interaction. Sex involving soldiers during conflicts covers a range of contexts: women’s voluntary participation, implicit or explicit trading of sex for protection, and rape.

This predatory behaviour has contributed to the further weakening of already strained African sexual values, distortion of the local economy, increase in corruption and criminal activities like human trafficking, the spread of HIV/AIDS, and widespread prostitution and teenage pregnancies, In most cases this has damaged



the credibility of peace-keeping institutions and intensified local resentment towards peacekeepers. The civilian exploitation and abuse by peace-keeping soldiers is a fundamental problem that requires a multidimensional resolution and holistic approach that must include the collaboration of all stakeholders within the host community in order to ensure effective civilian protection during peace-keeping operations in Africa. For now, the Dark Continent has entered a circle of authoritarian and military rule requiring constructive as well as comprehensive pressure from civil society brought to bear before the inevitable, best to bow with good grace. There has to be change for the Horn to move forward. The horrors and hurricanes of conflict have to be overcome before peace can reign in the Horn and the continent at large. This is the last camouflaged line of retreat for the batteries of the imperialist West, alleging that its own economic fate and 'civilization as we know it' depend on retaining control of Africa.

## Challenges and the Future

Economic integration and conflict reduction are the supply side for the attainment of peace, growth and development. Economic integration could be seen as one of the elements for change. There is an implicit assumption that, whilst the commitments of the governments in the region are open to question, citizens have a definite and uncomplicated interest in holding governments to account for their performance as agents of development. Reforms or change should therefore be about supporting this 'demand'. Herein lies the problematic in the Horn. A governance system that guns for constructive and meaningful change and ensures the proper livelihood of citizens.

Such a move should lead to change, integration, progress, development, and sustainable services delivery (CIPDS). Collective action by the state and the people is required to advance change, progress, development and sustainable services delivery that leads to the quality well-being of the people. The absence of a proper interface between the state and the people leads to the under-provision of public goods and services or collective benefits (Olson, 1962; Ostrom, 2005), the absence of which fans chaos, conflicts and wars. Addressing collective action issues is more challenging, because such problems are specific to each situation and generic remedies will not work. The type of economic integration in the Horn may not necessarily be the type of economic integration in the Central African Sub-region or in West Africa. What is needed in the Horn, given its long drawn out conflicts is detailed knowledge not only of the actors and settings involved but also of the extent to which solutions may need to be practical hybrid institutions that borrow from local cultural repertoires. Of course, and undoubtedly, getting engaged in these kinds of ways is difficult for actors that are not thoroughly embedded in the relevant situations.

Refocusing on collective action insinuates that only the people in the Horn have answers to their problems but the international community is responding positively



towards the desires and aspirations of the people for a new state construct since we are all enmeshed in a global world structure. The future of the Horn rests with the people and within this context, it is imperative for the member states to build its structures from scratch and within the parameters of a functional democratic governance system of participation, inclusion and the rule of law. A new breed of visionary, servant and exceptional leadership is required, leaders capable of 'speaking truth to power.' for the sustainable transformation of their countries and citizens' lives.

The key challenges include lack of political will among member states; competing regional efforts, regional ownership, insecurity and poor economic integration among others. More pressing conflict-related project issues naturally dominate the national agenda. There is a pertinent need to move towards prioritising development related activities with special attention paid to peace and security, economic integration, human capital development, the alleviation of poverty. In addition, it has to properly exploit its advantages – i.e. its strength and opportunities to overcome its weaknesses and the threats facing the area. Ethnic diversity should be seen as an asset not a liability.

More often than not, many states become victims of ethnic antagonism which often escalates to violence and confrontations resulting in thousands of casualties and displacement of people as well as substantial damage to infrastructure and the economy. The future of the Horn depends on how it is able to use existing advantages (strength and opportunities) to overcome prevailing threats and weaknesses. Some of its strengths include its geo-strategic location (situated as a gateway to the Red Sea, Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean) and the ensuing effects on political and economic development within the wider context of the East African region and the African continent.

What the Horn of Africa needs most is a new and proactive form of structural dynamics centred and prioritised on the problem of choice, and its implications for the modernising process. Two sets of position for the region to follow centre on "reconciliation" and "mobilisation" systems. The member states must adopt a comprehensive policy of reconciliation within and between the states as a strategy of integration and moving forward. Second, in line with reconciliation is that of mobilisation of the masses in terms of (i) establishing a new polity and (ii) converting from a backward to a developing or modernisation society. Therefore, the Horn needs reconciliation, visionary leadership, constructive engagement, inclusion, equity in prosperity-sharing. Mutual understanding.

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RECONCILIATION **plus** PARTICIPATION **plus** MOBLISATION **plus** VISIONARY  
 SERVANT LEADERSHIP **plus** INCLUSION=====➔ A NEW HORN OF AFRICA AND  
 SUSTAINABLE QUALITY LIVELIHOOD FOR THE PEOPLE

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As Africa celebrates the fifth anniversary of the creation of the Organisation of African Unity, for the states in the Horn there is the window of opportunity for right choices to be made, i.e., a "make or break" point for the countries' new leaders to craft a new way forward in respect of (a) attitude, (b) behaviour and (c) change (ABC) construct

under the umbrella of the Africa Union's vision for a united continent with one government and as one people. A new road map to an "End of Conflict, Building Bridges and Promoting Constructive Transition" is needed with priorities focused on restoring stability and democratic governance in the Horn to give legitimacy and put an end to any 'continued obstruction' impeding the process for change, progress and development from moving forward (Francis 2006; Forje 2011d).

It is time to bid farewell to the process of 'undemocracy', marred by unprecedented levels of political interference, corruption and intimidation. A new dynamic and layered response for crises and conflict reduction is imperative requiring open and encompassing governance systems and long-term economic growth strategic policies and implementation agendas. What the region now needs most is to consolidate the good gains so far made and build on these achievements for future progress and sustainability by

- \* strengthening security to better build and consolidate trust, confidence, and safety to lives and properties;
- \* deepening the democratic process – ensuring participation and inclusion;
- \* building the human and infrastructural capacity of the various states;
- \* bridging the ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic gaps (inclusion and equity in benefit sharing);
- \* ensuring the process of job-creation, employment by attracting both domestic and foreign private investments;
- \* female gender empowerment;
- \* eradicating poverty and corruption;
- \* encouraging public-civil society – private sector interface, promoting economic, political and cultural integration for advancement the region;
- \* ensuring the existence of the rule of law and fighting the scourge of injustice
- \* improving the quality of livelihood of all citizens;
- \* seeking a peaceful, consensus, reconciliatory, dialogue, constructive engagement of all the stakeholders in a spirit of give and take, mutual understanding and respect for the common good.

## Mapping a New Avenue

Sustaining the Horn as a veritable player and an inherent part of the African continent is the challenge to be addressed not only by the people in the region but the continent as a whole. Thus the AU should not relent in its effort towards seeking peaceful solutions to the predicaments of the Horn. A politico-eco-soc approach provides the best option, not solutions through the barrel of the gun. A military solution will only complicate the situation as well as compromise the future of generations

yet to come. In such a framework, ideas and suggestions do not belong to a single person or entity.

Nor does their ultimate success or failure rest merely on the reputation, status, or influence of the individual or institution putting them forward. Rather, proposals and insights belong to the group, which adopts, revises, or discards them as needed. Frank and open discussion will often yield differing viewpoints, particularly given the diversity of culture, history, and experience represented on the national, regional, continental and international stage. This can reveal unexamined assumptions and bring to light new concepts and ideas that foster peace, development, progress and sustainability.

Current decision-making structures exclude the masses of the people on the Horn, perpetuate conflict, place too much emphasis on the concerns of a powerful few, are often subservient to struggles for political ascendancy and have proved inadequate to solving the problems of each state, region and continent so that all are able to prosper. A new mindset is imperative to forge an effective process for conflict resolution and reconstruction so that the people in the Horn can build a *“Future They Want”* and a renewed commitment to sustainable development. This can ensure the promotion of an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable future for our planet and for present and future generations.

A careful examination of the current problems of the Horn shows that numerous and wide-ranging deficits in human well-being are endemic, requiring urgent attention. The first of which is to seek peaceful resolution of existing conflicts in an informed, objective and constructive manner. For peace and progress in the respective countries and the Horn in general to be sustainable, it must take place within a framework that promotes the attainment of progressively higher degrees of unity of vision and action among its participants. Each step forward, far from representing a momentary triumph for a single person or faction in an environment of competition and diversities, becomes part of a collective process of learning and sharing by the various stakeholders (international bodies, institutions, states and civil society). They can advance together in understanding towards a common goal – the unity, development, peaceful coexistence within and among the states in the region and the overall well-being of citizens.

If consultation is to be effective and peace, stability, growth and progress is to return to the respective countries and region, it must promote the participation of the people in determining the direction of their societies, whether in analyzing specific problems, attaining higher degrees of understanding on a given issue, exploring possible courses of action, or making collective decisions. In fact, facilitating the genuine participation of those traditionally excluded from consultative processes, including the poor, youths and women, is of the utmost concern. The ideological orientation and slogan should be *“Horn Solutions to Horn Problems”* which must be marketed to all the people. It should be conveyed objectively and widely communicated throughout the region. The clarion call of the ‘Horn solution to Horn problems’ must be supported with the vision of *“happiness: towards a holistic approach to development and quality living standards for all.”*

This calls for an outright tackling of symptomatic structural flaws in the political, social, and economic system and its institutions which must be corrected to *'give peace a chance'*, to delivery the necessary goods and to meet the aspirations and needs of the people. Trust, confidence and responsibility-sharing remain fundamental in securing the much needed peaceful co-existence among the nations and its people. The idea is that each one of us enters the world as a trust of the whole and, in turn, bears a measure of responsibility for the welfare of all. The collaboration of self-interested actors in a multilateral enterprise does not ensure favourable outcomes for the people in the Horn. Conflict and insecurity is widespread due to articulate self-interests. In short, as long as one group of peoples' perceive its interests in opposition to another, progress will be limited and short-lived.

A new formula is need for the people of the region – that of 'trusteeship' or the *'ubuntu spirit'* (of caring for one another) is needed. The shift from war, conflicts, corruption and poverty to growth, stability, peaceful coexistence and progress to enable sustainable modes of production and consumption and equitable-sharing is a further expression of the *'ubuntu spirit'*, the application of the *"Horn solutions to Horn problems."* Horn solutions to Horn problems entails a number of interrelated input factors such (i) diversity should be celebrated as an asset not a liability: (ii) citizenship should be the modality that correlates with nation-building, development, progress and quality livelihood; (iii) the people should exhibit and practice the "Africanness" in them.

## Conclusions

### Sustaining the Horn – Towards a New "We"

The paper covers a wide range of issues – controversial, contradictory and complicated but with focus on articulating a constructive road map for the people to make the right choices for ensuring stability, peace, development and respect for fundamental Human Rights. It highlights a simple form or nexus of governance, economic integration, growth and development thinking and actions in a holistic direction that will impact and influence the parameters within which internally and externally promoted reform efforts in the Horn and the rest of the continent can take proper shape for the good of the people. What are the things to operationalise in getting the region out of its current mess? Institutional blockages can be overcome, and external factors may be able to make positive contributions. But this requires human capital development, exceptional local knowledge and learning capabilities, a strong and positive political will of the people to jointly confront their predicaments under the canopy of sustainable quality livelihood for all. It is imperative for the people of the Horn to transcend the lines that separate the politics of domination and exclusion from the politics of participation and fundamental human rights and equity

in prosperity-sharing currently besetting them. Without which progress cannot be made towards sustainable welfare of the people.

Concerns about the fragile nature of the countries within the region that have recently emerged from conflicts, or wars and their vulnerability to new bouts of violence have variably been touched on, requiring a new day for building peace by reducing conflicts and promoting economic growth. The role of civil society to be constructively engaged in the process of building peace and promoting economic growth and social justice is imperative. The engagement and participation of civil society is changing the direction of the development process from what has existed for too long, the “top-down” to the “bottom-up” approach that provides proper avenues for inclusion and social justices. It is only through this that the countries concerned can ensure that everyone benefits from economic integration and economic gains. A way of dealing with these challenges is to try to integrate Africa’s priorities as defined in the thematic areas of the New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) into the economic and social security priorities of the African Union and the United Nations.

The paper is a wake-up call to all on the continent to actively engage in reconstructive surgery, bringing hope, trust and confidence to the most vulnerable and marginalised people in the Horn (Forje 2009a). Stabilising the Horn of Africa is a job that must be properly done, beginning with a new chapter of quality public service administration that delivers the much needed goods to the citizens. Therefore, the focus of the paper is to increase knowledge about the predicaments of the region and the need to build capacity for economic integration, peace and security in the Horn. To this end, it has outlined and streamlined that transformation challenges and progress towards overcoming institutional blockages are usually undermined by articulate individual selfish interests and not the common collective good. The collective good must take the place of priority for peace to reign and for growth, development and progress (GDP).

There is an imperative quest for the countries in the Horn sinking their differences and working synergy for the general interests of the people. It implies promoting political participation or the politics of inclusion, which provide a veritable platform for economic integration, conflict reduction including peaceful coexistence and sustainable development among the people. The social fabric of African states (a colonial legacy) constitute a centre of agonizing mixture of ethnic, religious and cultural landscape artificially and forcibly grafted into a state construct without rendering susceptible to meaningful development pathologies but chaos and conflict – a social malaise of nation-building construct fraught with all thinkable problems that sustains authoritarian hegemonic rule system. The politic of authoritarian rule hegemonic domination should be replaced by the politics of participation and equal rights – power to the people with equal opportunities for all.

Leaders, policy-makers, scholars and politicians including civil society will have to ensure that the nexus of democracy, development, economic integration, peace and conflict reductions remains effectively responsive to establishing an atmosphere of reconciliation, consensus, development and peaceful coexistence in whatever form it

may take, thereby meeting the particular developmental, safety and security needs of the societies or states making up the Horn of Africa (Mutisi 2012; Ngara 2011). The paper has also sought to inform discussions, ambitions and track records outlining some critical activities needed to move the area out of its current predicaments into a brighter future. The total involvement of the people is widely the best option and should be considered to be a positive-sum game. All efforts of peace negotiations with the warring factions must be made to restore harmony and peaceful coexistence within the region. The politics of domination, of might is right, is a failed strategic approach that cannot create social harmony and unity but division and destruction. Taking into consideration all the diversities, commonalities, and complexity and plurality of the region, the best possible solution advanced here is for the people to bury their hatchet and reconcile towards one common objective – the wellbeing of present and future generations by creating an enabling environment where the multiplicity of diversity of societies can cohabit peacefully for the common good.

The link between colonialism and state fragility in Africa is clearly evident. It created artificial entities by deliberately leaving state institutions underdeveloped. The result is a region rattled with conflicts since independence. A new game changer is needed to bring order to an entrenched colonial misrule and this is best provided by the people themselves but also requiring inputs from people of good will across the continent and the world. Making progress requires a constructive departure from the blame theory and embracing the reality construct theory. The ball is in the court of the states concerned. The synopsis of the region's historical and contemporary trajectory is not a good one. The people are challenged to construct a new image and a new mindset geared towards meaningful change and welfare for all.

This necessitates the urgency for a concerted and comprehensive strategic action plan creating new state machinery functioning in the overall interest and well-being of the people. The AU as a continental organisation should play a significant role in restoring order and sanity and help the people to cultivate a culture of democratic governance and respect for human rights and liberties. The Horn cannot de-link itself from rest of the continent or the continent from the Horn. Instead, efforts should be extended to the region to support local building capacity for continued socio-economic transformation even after it returns to normalcy.

What is left behind is an extraversion of colonial states and decentralized despotism through the indirect rule system. African leaders need to realize that unity is strength and should place the ultimate interests of the continent above articulate self-interest, which is now the rule of the game of politics and development in Africa. Only the people in the Horn can best address their problems, bearing in mind that they are part and parcel of the African construct. It is time to employ the '*Ubuntu Spirit*' and 'empower' the people to be an inherent part of the process of change for the good of present and future generations.

We should look at the "New Horn" as the next step in an unfolding process by which the people of the region and continent learn to reach solutions together. The "*Ubuntu Spirit*" creates a new bond of affection, reconciliation, trust, and mutual care that binds all of us together, continually expanding to encompass an increas-

ingly larger share of African society and the human family construct. There is a new thrust. The new “we” is not an abstraction. It is part of the “Afro-centric Agenda” for the reconstruction of the continent and an expression of the sovereignty of the people to own their development and improve their standard of living.

We must persistently challenge ourselves, our communities, and social institutions to reassess and refine established patterns of thought and interaction in order to better shape the course of human development for the good of humankind. Constructing a “New Horn” for the overall good of Africa is the task we should tackle now. The people of the Horn are anxiously looking towards an emerging era of *‘happiness, peace, growth, stability, and welfare’* under the canopy of a holistic approach to development and quality livelihood for all.

## Recommendations

Therefore, some of the main conclusions of the paper based on national and various regional dynamics are here repeated and highlighted:

- The slow progress in the field of economic integration, peace and security in the Horn is linked to the prerequisites for democratic governance and regional integration, given that the Horn remains very unstable, impacting on prospects for enhanced regional integration and security;
- The various states seem not to have common or multilateral approaches to a functional governance, economic integration and security construct;
- Diversity in all its dimensions should be embraced and celebrated as an asset not a liability to development and human well-being. It is a gift that should be fully exploited for the common good;
- Good governance, peace and security remain the sine qua non for economic integration; the region is burdened by several security concerns and there is an urgent need to come out of the ‘fragile, collapsed state-construct; characteristic of the Horn. With several ongoing dormant or latent conflicts, including internal political strife, impacting on the national security agendas of the various member states, overarching regionalisation of insecurity and economic under-development is of major importance, requiring urgent attention to bring sustainable development, peace and security within the region;
- Economic incentives and empowering citizens to constructively engage in the governance processes is imperative in constructing a capable developmental state;
- Positive responses from the international community remain vital in restoring economic sanity, peace and security within the region
- Member states within the Horn should intensify efforts in creating a mini-economic and political grouping or union in addressing specific problems haunting and retarding the progress of member states in particular and the Horn in general



as well as ensuring that the Horn as a strategic geopolitical entity is well integrated within the continent;

- The people in the Horn must know what they want and set out to achieve their goals. Only the people in the Horn have the answers to their problems though input efforts from outside are needed to ensure that the continent speaks and acts with one voice, one goal towards a common destiny – social cohesion, respect, dignity, sovereignty and sustainable livelihood in a complex and challenging global environment;

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Part Two

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# Natural Resources and Conflicts



# The Political Economy of Regionalism: The Relevance for Transboundary Waters and the Global Environment Facility

*Fredrik Söderbaum\* and Jakob Granit†*

## Summary and Key Messages

There is strong evidence that regionalism and regional cooperation influence both the context and quality of transnational policy-making in most policy fields, ranging from economic development, trade, health, education, to peace and security. 'Regionalism' refers to the common objectives, values and identities that lead to region-formation and regional cooperation within a given geographical area. It often leads to the creation and development of regional institutions and governance frameworks in order to shape and regulate collective action. 'Political economy' signifies the close links between the economy, on the one hand, and political institutions and governance, on the other hand, and in a globalized world there is a significant regional dimension to political economy. Hence, many drivers and barriers to regionalism are shaped by aspects of political economy, such as fragmentation and constraints of size, the role of transnational political coordination and governance, matters of national economic and political interests as well as power and the distribution of wealth and resources within both regions and countries.

The importance of regionalism for the environment is widely recognized considering the common good character of many environmental assets. Most freshwater and ocean resources are transboundary in nature and are vital resources for economic and social development, for food security, and for the maintenance of the vital functions that ecosystems provide. These water bodies know no political boundaries. Collective action across borders and boundaries is therefore needed in order to supply both public and private goods from these common pool resources.

Yet, there is a deficit of systematic research-based evidence about the connection between the political economy of regionalism, formal and states-led regional

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organizations and the supply of transboundary water management as a public good. A weak relationship between transboundary water management projects and the different kinds of regional organizations operating in this field will undermine both the impact and the sustainability of investments into transboundary water resource management.

The Global Environment Facility (GEF) – a partnership between 183 governments, international agencies, civil society and the private sector – is the single largest public funder of projects to improve the global environmental commons. It has a unique focal area that focuses on investment into International Waters (IW) to support collective action addressing the deterioration of freshwater resources, coastal zones and the oceans. There is a strong understanding within the GEF Partnership that many GEF IW interventions require a substantial degree of political support and transboundary political coordination to be effective and sustainable. In contrast to the implementation of ‘national’ projects, for which political commitment is usually easier to provide, multi-country projects and programs require a certain degree of transnational governance and political coordination. This raises important questions about the impact of the political economy of regionalism as well as how regional cooperation should best be organized and institutionalized in order to ensure sufficient levels of authority and national commitment for managing public goods in the field of the environment.

Against this background the general purpose of this paper is to provide a scientifically based overview of the political economy of regionalism and to explore the relevance of it for transboundary water management in general and GEF’s activities more specifically.

Methodologically the study combines general research-based insights about the political economy of regionalism and transboundary water management with a comprehensive review of the different ways by which GEF IW projects contribute to regional cooperation.

Six key messages are derived from the study. The first three messages are generic lessons about regionalism and transboundary waters whereas the latter three are more specific to the GEF partnership.

1. **Collective action in the field of transboundary environmental governance and management is heavily dependent on functioning national institutions and viable regional governance frameworks.** There is convincing scientific evidence that mutually beneficial solutions do not occur simply because interests and incentives converge. The political economy within a nation and in a region can provide both barriers and opportunities for collective action. Research emphasizes that ‘institutions’, norms and ‘governance’ are crucial for facilitating transboundary collaboration and the delivery of transnational public goods in the field of the environment at the national and regional levels.
2. **There is evidence that specialized and functional regional organizations and frameworks are able to enhance cooperation when the incentive structure is clear at the national and regional levels.** Regional organizations and frameworks

of a specialized character, such as research, training, or regional development banking, can be well suited for implementation at the regional level when the task is clear, conditions are non-politicized and the context is stable.

3. **In complex and politicized regions there is often need for more comprehensive and stable multi-purpose regional governance frameworks that can regulate cooperation and facilitate a higher degree of political coordination and leadership.** This suggests the increasing relevance of multipurpose regional organizations rather than specialized agencies with a minimal degree of political leverage. Such comprehensive and multipurpose regional frameworks and governance mechanisms depend on a political vision and buy in. Many multi-purpose regional organizations have a *political* content, although this purpose is closely intertwined with economic or security interests. Under certain conditions, multi-purpose regional organizations may be better equipped for facilitating trans-boundary political coordination and cross-sectoral linkages and for building national commitment. The EU is the most widely used example in research. This paper shows how, under certain circumstances, specialized regional organizations and multipurpose regional organizations may be combined.
4. **It is imperative to synchronize efforts to promote regionalism with national concerns, incentives and benefits.** It is widely agreed both in policy-making as well as in research that regional cooperation mechanisms and projects that are not well integrated into national agendas are unsustainable and even likely to fail. It is clear from this study that there is a need to better understand both the national incentives for cooperation and the issue of national ownership and national commitment in the context of regional cooperation. Given the GEF's experience and its explicit emphasis on providing Global Environmental Benefits, the GEF has a unique opportunity to facilitate regionalism that is reconciled with national concerns. A more sophisticated guidance system, especially regarding cost/benefit analysis and economic valuation of goods and services (e.g. benefits regarding the water, food, energy and ecosystem nexus), is also required to better inform country decisions about the value of regionalism to provide collective action. The GEF partnership also has a role at non-project level to assist in regional confidence building and environmental diplomacy across proposed intervention areas from source to sea.
5. **The broader regional political and economic context including the logic of states-led regional organizations should be addressed in a regional GEF strategy to support the design of multiple IW interventions.** There is persuasive evidence that GEF interventions are strongly influenced both by the regional context and by regional governance mechanisms and organizations. The case study shows that GEF interventions are not always sufficiently related to the regional context and the regional political economy. As a result, GEF partners may place more emphasis on assessing the regional political and economic context and on defin-

ing the linkages to regional cooperation mechanisms and institutions in the context of a broader regional strategy. Such a regional approach could ensure buy-in and sustainability from states as well as the implementing regional organizations. Consultative regional engagement strategies would enable the GEF partnership to link context and action as well as prioritize between different projects promoting a shared agenda across implementing agencies. Given that the usual GEF project intervention is time-bound, regional strategies are crucial for ensuring inter-sectoral linkages, building political commitment as well as raising impact and long-term sustainability

6. **A regional governance baseline analysis that problematizes the role and function of regional institutions must be undertaken when planning transboundary water and environmental interventions.** A regional governance baseline analysis will provide an analysis of the existing governance system, which will inform the design of the GEF IW intervention. It provides a tool for learning from past and current collective governance practices as well as for the exploration of adaptive governance approaches. Further it provides a detailed and objective reference point against which the performance of GEF IW interventions can be measured. In the governance baseline process regional organizations should be problematized. Regional organizations may be both costly and can be hijacked for other purposes than achieving the common good. The costs of regionalism as well as dysfunctional regional organizations may contravene the potential benefits of regional cooperation. As a result, there is a need to be realistic about both positive and negative effects of regionalism and regional organizations and to identify which regional framework can be supported or built.

## Abbreviations

ABJN	areas beyond national jurisdictions
AC	Andean Community
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AfDB	African Development Bank
AL	Arab League
ALTA	Latin American and Caribbean Air Transport Association
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BCC	Benguela Current Commission
BSC	Baltic Sea Cooperation
CACM	Central American Common Market
CARICOM	Caribbean Community



CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CAR/RCU	UNEP Caribbean Regional Coordination Unit
CARPHA	Caribbean Public Health Agency
CEHI	Caribbean Environmental Health Institute
CEPAL	UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMS	Convention on Migratory Species
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COTED	CARICOM Ministerial Council for Trade and Economic Development
CSME	CARICOM Single Market and Economy
EAC	East African Community
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ECA	UN Economic Commission for Africa
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ESCAP	UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
ESCWA	UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
EU	European Union
EUSBSR	European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FASRB	Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GPA	UNEP Global Programme of Action IADB Inter-American Development Bank IAS Iullemeden Aquifer System
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IPE	International Political Economy
IR	International Relations
ISRBC	International Sava River Basin Commission
ITFGPG	International Task Force on Global Public Goods
IW	International Waters
IWCAM	Integrating Watershed and Coastal Areas Management in the Caribbean Small Island Developing States
IW LEARN	International Waters Learning Exchange & Resources Network
LDCF	Least Developed Countries Fund
LME	large marine ecosystem
MARPOL	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBA	Niger Basin Authority
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NORDPOOL	Nordic energy market
NWSAS	North-Western Sahara Aquifer System

OAS	Organization of American States
OECS	Environment and Sustainable Development Unit, Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
OKACOM	Okavango River Basin Commission
OPS	GEF Overall Performance Studies
ORASECOM	Orange-Sengu River Basin Commission
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PCU	Project Coordinating Unit
PEMSEA	Building Partnerships in Environmental Management for the Seas of East Asia
PERSGA	Regional Organization for the Conservation of the Environment in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden
PMIS	project management information system
PMU	Project Management Unit
POPs	Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants
PPPS	Public-private partnerships
Ramsar	Convention on Wetlands
RPG	regional public good
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SACCAR	Southern African Centre for Cooperation in Agricultural Research
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SANASO	Southern African Network of Aids Service Organizations
SAP	Strategic Action Programme
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SARS	severe acute respiratory syndrome
SCCF	Special Climate Change Fund
SDIs	Spatial Development Initiatives
SIDS	small island developing states
SIJORI	Singapore, the Johore state of Malaysia, and Riau Province of Indonesia
STAP	Scientific and Technical Advisory Panel of the Global Environment Facility
TDA	Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis
TE/TER	terminal evaluations/terminal evaluation reviews
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UNCCD	UN Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD)
UNECE	UN Economic Commission for Europe
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNU-INWEH	United Nations University Institute for Water, Environment, and Health
WAHO	West African Health Organization
WANEP	West African Network for Peace
WEU	West European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZAMCOM	Zambezi River Basin Commission

# Introduction

## Problem and Purpose

Most freshwater and ocean resources are transboundary in nature and are vital resources for economic and social development, for food security, and for the maintenance of crucial functions that ecosystems provide. These water bodies know no political boundaries and transnational cooperation is needed on various levels and scales in order to supply both public and private goods from these resources and avoid public bads.<sup>1</sup> Yet, transnational collective action to address the governance and management challenges of these common environmental assets is undersupplied<sup>2</sup> with major gaps in governance of freshwater resources<sup>3</sup>, of coastal zones<sup>4</sup> and of the oceans beyond national jurisdiction (ABNJ)<sup>5</sup>. This raises the key question how to maximize impact and sustainability of transboundary waters investments in general?

There is no systematic knowledge about how transboundary water management approaches may benefit from a closer relationship with regional political and economic organizations in the continuum from source to sea. Indeed, knowledge is weak about how such interventions could be designed in a changing global and regional political economic context. A point of departure in this paper is therefore to explore the concept of regionalism and its links to transboundary water management. Regionalism refers to the common objectives, values and identities that lead to region-formation within a given geographical area. Regionalism often leads to the creation and development of regional institutions and governance frameworks in order to shape and regulate collective action and it is of critical importance to the management of regional environmental public goods that are often of a common-pool character. The political economy in the context of regionalism relates to the close links between the economy and markets, on the one hand, and the political institutions and governance that regulate individuals in society, on the other hand. A better understanding of the relationship between transboundary water management projects and the different kinds of regional organizations operating in this field will, it is argued, improve the impact and the sustainability of investments into trans-

- 1 International Task Force on Global Public Goods (ITFGPG) (2006). *Meeting Global Challenges: International Cooperation in the National Interest*. Final Report. Stockholm: Sweden.
- 2 Olson, M. (1971). *The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (rev. ed.). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- 3 ITFGPG (2006). *Meeting Global Challenges*; Kaul, I., Grunberg, I. & Stern, M. A (Eds) (1999). *Global Public Goods. International Cooperation in the 21st Century*. New York: UNDP and Oxford University Press.
- 4 Granit, J. (2012). *The Collective Action Dilemma in Managing Transboundary Freshwaters – An Analysis of an Outcome-Driven Framework*. Dissertations from the Department of Physical Geography and Quaternary Geology, No 33. Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- 5 Olsen, S.B., Page, G.G. & Ochoa, E. (2009). *The Analysis of Governance Responses to Ecosystem Change: A Handbook for Assembling a Baseline*. LOICZ Reports & Studies No. 34. Geesthach: GKSS Research Center.
- 6 Noone, K., J., Sumaila, U., R., & Diaz, R. J. (Eds) (2013). *Managing Ocean Environments in a Changing Climate: Sustainability and Economic Perspectives*. Elsevier

boundary water resources governance and management. An underlying assumption is that even if it is possible to compare within and across regions, context matters.

Learning more about this relationship is relevant for all actors (states, regional and global organizations and civil society). It is of particular relevance to the Global Environment Facility (GEF), a partnership between 183 governments, international agencies, civil society and private actors, set up in 1991 to promote collective action and undertake investments that supply global environmental benefits (see Appendix.1. for the GEF Partnership structure). The GEF is the world's largest public funder of projects to improve the global environment, providing grants for projects related to biodiversity, climate change, international waters, land degradation, the ozone layer, and persistent organic pollutants. The Facility directs its support to developing countries and countries with economies in transition, but it is also the financial mechanism for several global environmental conventions.<sup>6</sup>

The long-term strategic goal of the International Waters (IW) focal area within the GEF is the promotion of collective management of transboundary water systems and the sustainable use and maintenance of ecosystem services.<sup>7</sup> Most activities in this focal area are concerned with the delivery of regional public environmental goods and services. Indeed, the GEF IW focal area maintains a strong 'regional' focus, supporting and benefitting from regionalism and regional cooperation in a variety of ways. Importantly, within the GEF IW portfolio, 133 out of 226 projects are classed as 'regional', 34 are classed as 'global', whereas the remaining 59 primarily support national actions within a transnational or global context. Furthermore, in most settings where a GEF IW project is being implemented several regional organizations are usually active in the governance and management of transboundary water resources. In many cases GEF collaborates with and seeks to support these types of regional organizations and regional cooperation mechanisms. Systematic and empirical knowledge of approaches to address the political economy of regionalism in GEF interventions for greater sustainability is, however, lacking.

Following on from the above, the general purpose of this paper is to provide a scientifically based overview of the political economy of regionalism and to explore the relevance of it for transboundary water management in general and GEF's activities more specifically.

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6 The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD); United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs); UN Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD); Minamata Convention on Mercury; and provides support to the implementation of the Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer (MP) for countries with economies in transition.

7 The GEF makes a distinction between five transboundary water bodies: freshwater rivers, lake basins; groundwater in aquifers; large marine ecosystems (LME); and gyres in open oceans or areas beyond national jurisdictions (ABNJ).

## Methodology and Structure

From a methodological point of view, the study combines the search for general and global patterns and processes with concrete evidence from completed GEF project evaluations. For this purpose, the study relies on multiple sources of information, ranging from academic and policy-oriented literature, GEF policy documents, GEF terminal evaluations, verbal and written input from experts in the field, input provided during an expert consultative workshop in Washington D.C. in June 2013 and the peer review of previous drafts.

The study proceeds in three interrelated steps. Each step is organized in a separate chapter and based on specific methodological choices. The next chapter provides a research-based overview of the global political economy of regionalism. It seeks to provide the analytical tools needed to understand the general trends and patterns from more or less all regions and a wide range of different types of regional organizations around the world. These trends and processes should not be ignored when seeking to understand the links and impacts on transboundary waters investments and the IW financed activities of the GEF. The analysis combines scientific and conceptual literature with policy-oriented studies from various sub-fields and contexts across the globe. A number of case studies are also included in order to specify how broader aspects of regionalism are linked with transboundary water management as well as GEF interventions. The chapter makes distinctions between the old and new regionalism, types of regions as well as different types of public goods and regional governance. It moves on to describe how regionalism unfolds in some of the main policy fields, such as peace and security, economic development, social sectors and the environment, before outlining the main drivers and barriers to regionalism. A typology of different forms of regional organizations is also offered as a means to discuss how cooperation should be organized. For the purposes of transboundary water management, the distinction between specialized vs. multipurpose regional organization is particularly important.

The third chapter considers the GEF experience with regard to regionalism and IW. It consists of a detailed exploration of the links between – and impacts of – GEF IW interventions and regional cooperation. As a point of departure, all 226 projects in the GEF IW project portfolio since 1991 are considered. This pool of projects was examined to select projects that had received at least a terminal evaluation<sup>8</sup> and that were classed as regional or global<sup>9</sup>, and if in its design an explicit target was included to strengthen regional cooperation. A total of 83 GEF projects resulted from this first screening step. Next, each project was assessed by examining its stated design brief and terminal evaluation to determine its connection to regional cooperation and the extent to which the project met its design objectives. This final screening resulted in 48 completed projects that were accepted for this part of the study, and which clustered into seven modes of cooperation (see Appendices 2 and 3 for further details).

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8 Including a terminal evaluation review if available

9 Regional or global projects are defined as such in the GEF Project Management Information System (PMIS)

It is always possible to consider additional material and sources. Yet, the GEF IW project portfolio with the terminal evaluations is quite unique in terms of both its comprehensiveness and comparability. Towards the end of the chapter, the assessment is complemented by further evidence from a series of thematic evaluations of GEF projects.

Chapter 4 brings together the two previous chapters and discusses the general findings about of the links between the political economy of regionalism, transboundary water management and GEF IW interventions. The chapter highlights in particular some of the key issues and challenges in order to stimulate a continued debate on understanding globalization, regionalism and the role of GEF interventions.

## The Political Economy of Regionalism: An Overview

### Old and New Regionalism

Since the late-1980s there has been an exponential increase in the number of various regionalist projects around the world. The widening and deepening of the European Union (EU) is the most pervasive and obvious example, but regionalism is also made visible through the revitalization or expansion of many other regional projects around the world, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) in South America. Both policy makers and scholars emphasize the role of regions and regional organizations in global politics. 'Regions are now everywhere across the globe and are increasingly fundamental to the functioning of all aspects of world affairs from trade to conflict management, and can even be said to now constitute world order.'<sup>10</sup>

In order to understand the logic and drivers of contemporary regionalism and its role in the delivery of global and transnational public goods, it is essential to acknowledge both the changed content and the changing historical context of regionalism. The phenomenon of regionalism has become increasingly complex in the context of globalization, and there is a need to distinguish between the conventional or 'old' state-led forms of intergovernmental regional cooperation and the recent more heterogeneous patterns of 'new regionalism' (Table 2.1.).<sup>11</sup>

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10 Fawn, R. (2009). 'Regions and Their Study: Wherefrom, What for and Where to?', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, pp. 5-35.

11 For an overview and an intellectual history of 60 years of research about regionalism and regional integration, see De Lombaerde, P. & Söderbaum, F. (eds) *Regionalism*, Vol. 1-4, SAGE Library of International Relations. London: SAGE Publications.

The first wave of (classical or 'old') regionalism took place between the 1950s and the 1970s, and the keyword underpinning these projects was 'regional integration'. The methodology of regional integration was essentially seen as an endogenous state-led process that arose from conditions internal to and specific to each region in question. However, the interest and enthusiasm for regional integration died out in the late 1960s and 1970s since many of the grandiose projects, especially for Africa and Latin America, never materialized or collapsed. Whereas old or classical regionalism emerged in the bipolar Cold War structure with nation-states as the uncontested primary actors, the emergence of the new wave of regionalism was associated with or caused by a multitude of often inter-related structural changes in the global system, such as:

- The move from bipolarity towards a diffuse or multipolar structure, with a new division of power and a new global division of labor;
- Changed attitudes towards liberal economic development and political systems in the developing countries as well as in the post-communist countries;
- Recurrent fears over the stability of the multilateralism; and
- The restructuring of the so-called Westphalian nation-state system and the growth of interdependence, transnationalization and globalization, with deep implications for sovereignty, agency for states-led policy-making and regional cooperation.

The deeper interdependence of today's global political economy and the focus on regional as well as global challenges makes contemporary regionalism much more extroverted than introverted. The new regionalism is therefore in different ways linked to global structural change, and especially to what is perhaps its dominating feature, globalization. Since globalization and regionalization form part of a larger process of structural change, the two may exist simultaneously and in parallel, but more often they tend to reinforce and shape one another.<sup>12</sup>

It is essential to recognize that current regionalism is characterized by complexity and that it involves a rich variety of both state and non-state actors. The debate about the old regionalism was mainly a debate about what government and state actors did within the framework of inter-state regional organizations. Even if state actors as well as inter-state regional organizations continue to be crucial, today's regionalism is a much more varied and heterogeneous phenomenon.<sup>13</sup> The result of this is not only a greater variety of states-led regional mechanisms than in the past, but also that we are witnessing an increasing number of non-state or hybrid regional arrangements, networks and governance mechanisms.<sup>14</sup>

12 One methodological implication of this is therefore that contemporary regionalism cannot be understood merely from the point of view of the single region in question (from the inside-out), but necessitates also a global and structural perspective (the outside-in), which in turn explains why contemporary regionalisms is increasingly understood within the domain of International Political Economy (IPE) or International Relations (IR).

13 Söderbaum, F. & Shaw, T. M., (Eds) (2003), *Theories of New Regionalism. A Palgrave Reader*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

14 There are many different and overlapping concepts in this field. 'Regional cooperation' can be defined as an open-ended process, whereby individual states (or possibly other actors) within a



Table 2.1. Old and new regionalism

Classical or 'old' regionalism	Contemporary or 'new' regionalism
Shaped by the Cold War logic, and often imposed from outside by the superpowers	Shaped by a multipolar world order
European phenomenon, modeled on the European Communities	Global and heterogeneous phenomenon
Specific objectives (usually in specific sectors)	Comprehensive and multipurpose (and more political)
Exclusive in terms of membership	Inclusive in terms of membership
Introverted and often protectionist	Extroverted, linked to globalization and global challenges
Dominated by states, within intergovernmental regional organizations	Built by state, market and civil society actors in various institutional forms

These various and different forms of regionalisms are obviously not exclusive; 'old' and 'new' forms may overlap and intertwine. This partly new empirical reality has meant that studies of regionalism have increasingly drawn from the domain of International Political Economy (IPE) or International Relations (IR). IPE is based on the notion that although the study of politics and economics, states and markets, is so intimately intertwined, their relationship merits consideration in its own right. Historically, the conventional way to study regionalism was (has been) to follow monodisciplinary methodologies, whereby political scientists were first and foremost concerned with power politics and regional organizations; economists with regional economic flows and the economic consequences of policy shifts; and sociologists and social anthropologists with regional socio-cultural relations. Today's regionalism is multidimensional and comprehensive, and improved understanding depends on transcending disciplinary boundaries as well as particular theories.

## Types of Region

What is meant by 'region' is central to any discussion about regionalism and regional cooperation. The concept of region evolved historically to mean a space between the national and the local within a particular state (nation-state). This meaning can be captured by the term *micro-region*, or sub-national region, which can refer to either sub-national or cross-border micro-regions (for example Flanders or Øresund region).

The concept may also refer to world or international *macro-regions*, which are larger territorial units, as opposed to non-territorial international units or sub-sys-

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given geographical area act together for mutual benefit, and in order to solve common tasks, in certain fields, such as infrastructure, water and energy, notwithstanding conflicting interests in other fields of activity. 'Regional integration' refers to a deeper process, whereby the previously autonomous units are merged into a whole, for instance in terms of political, economic, social or legal integration. 'Regionalism' represents the policy and project, whereby state and non-state actors cooperate and coordinate strategy within a particular region or as a type of world order. It is usually associated with a formal programme, and often leads to institution building. 'Regionalization' refers to the process of cooperation, integration, cohesion and identity creating a regional space (issue-specific or general).



tems (Europe, Southern Africa). They are international in the sense that they exist between the state level and the global system level. Regions may therefore exist on a variety of spatial scales and levels, sometimes with blurred and overlapping geographical boundaries (e.g. Øresund, Scandinavia/Norden, EU and Europe).

A minimalistic definition of a macro-region is a limited number of states linked together by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence.<sup>15</sup> Historically, a plethora of opinions has been advanced regarding which mutual interdependencies matter most: economic, political and social interrelationships or historical, cultural and ethnic bonds. Indeed, regions appear in various guises and shapes. Some of the most widely discussed types are: (i) physical-geographic regions or eco-regions; (ii) cultural regions; (iii) economic regions; (iv) administrative regions; (v) political regions; and (vi) security regions.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that one type dominates within a given area, while at other times they compete, overlap or proceed in parallel.

#### Box 2.1. Types of region

*Eco-regions or physical-geographic regions* come in many varieties, ranging from the Norwegian fjord valleys, river basins such as the Zambezi, Mekong, lakes such as the Great Lakes in Africa and North America, and ecological zones such as the Amazonas or the Baltic Sea Large Marine Ecosystem (LME).

*Cultural regions* often include a shared history and religion as well as linguistic and cultural similarities and identities. Cultural regions may arise on many different spatial levels, even if some agents of cultural micro-regions espouse separatism and old-style nationalism.

*Economic regions* are often demarcated from the outside world in terms of transportation, production systems, contacts and other dependencies and flows that connect peoples, goods and structures.

*Administrative regions* are essentially made up for purposes of decision-making, policy-making or administration. Some of them have little dynamism in their own right; they are not related to environment, culture, economics and they have no political function. Yet, their importance and dynamism (especially on the sub-national level) stem from that many functions that were previously state prerogatives are transferred to lower levels.

*Political regions* come in many varieties, ranging from the powerful provinces and units in federal states, which have replaced the central government in many of its functions, to the rather weak regions in many centralized nation-states. The EU is by far the most advanced political macro-region, with its strong supranational powers. Other macro-regions show different degrees of political cooperation and unification, but generally their political strength lies in the degree to which member states manage to act collectively.

15 Nye, J. S. (1968). *International Regionalism*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company

16 Keating, M. & Loughlin, J. (Eds.) (1997). *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. London: Frank Cass, pp. 2-5; Jönsson, C, Tägil, S & Törnqvist, G (2000). *Organising European Space*. London: Sage, p. 139; Buzan, B. (1983). *People States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

*Security regions* may be closely linked to political regions, even a sub-category. They are mainly discussed with regard to macro-regions and usually believed to arise when a sense of 'community' have occurred whereby there are dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population. A less demanding definition suggests that the security concerns of two or more contiguous states are so interlinked that these states cannot be analyzed apart from each another; they are grouped within a so-called 'regional security complex'.

Regardless of whether the focus has been on macro-regions or micro-regions, a considerable degree of research capacity has been devoted to determine what 'types' of regions are the most functional, instrumental and efficient 'to rule'. The emphasis on 'function' and 'rule' is often linked to take regions as pre-given, defined in advance of research. This has also resulted in that regions have been used more or less interchangeably with inter-state regional organization. According to alternative schools of thought (especially constructivism and post-structuralism), regions are viewed to be socially constructed and hence politically contested. From this perspective, there are no 'natural' or pre-given regions; all regions are (at least potentially) heterogeneous with unclear territorial margins. Focus is therefore often placed on how political actors perceive and interpret the idea of a region and notions of region-building and 'regionness'. In this type of analysis, regions must not be mixed up with regional organizations.

## Governance Beyond Westphalia

One intensively discussed issue in the academic literature concerns on what 'level' governance and authority should be provided. It is generally agreed that the conventional Westphalian nation-state logic is not functioning as it once used to do (Box 2.2.), which deeply affects governance and authority. The Westphalian logic dictates that international relations should be based on delineation, non-interference, and separation of states.

The problems facing the Westphalian nation-state order are many, complex and interrelated. Some are external, coming from the global system or the macro-region; some are internal, coming from various movements that question the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and legitimacy of the nation-state. As a consequence, the (intverted) Westphalia modes of regulatory authority are already insufficient and are likely to be more so in the future. The Westphalian system has even been referred to as the 'Westfailure system'.<sup>17</sup> Even if it is misleading to talk, as some observers do, about 'the end of the nation-state',<sup>18</sup> the modern nation-state must be understood as a social construct in historical terms, not as the final solution to the classic problem of finding order in a situation of domestic instability and conflict. Indeed, there is widespread agreement among scholars as well as policy makers that more and more policy areas and issues have been transnationalized, and therefore depend on increas-

17 Strange, S. (1999). 'The Westfailure system', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1999), pp. 345-354.

18 Ohmae, K. (1995). *The End of the Nation State. The Rise of Regional Economies* (HarperCollins).

ingly sophisticated and multilevel systems of governance. Many observers refer to a post-Westphalian order, which implies a more multilayered system of governance and authority (but by no means indicated the end of the nation-state).

#### Box 2.2. The Westphalian order

The Westphalian order emerged gradually after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It implies an interstate system constituted by sovereign, bounded territorial states. Inside their borders are citizens with obligations and rights defined by citizenship and allegiance to the state. In the outside, so-called 'anarchical world', neither rights nor obligations apply. The identical nature of the security of the citizens and the security of the state is 'taken for granted'.

Both policy makers and researchers have debated the different forms and levels of transnational governance and policy-making. Governance may refer to 'spheres of authority at all levels of human activity that amount to systems of rule in which goals are pursued through the exercise of control'.<sup>19</sup> Governance may involve both public and private actors, and it may be both formal and informal. It should therefore not be confused with or limited to government. Governance can also exist at various levels and scales. While some observers concentrate on one level or determining which level is the most appropriate for any given issue, many complex transboundary challenges and problems require governance on multiple levels simultaneously (i.e. multilayered or nested governance on global, regional, national and sub-national/local levels).

A great deal of scholarly attention as well as policy discussion has been devoted to assess whether 'global' governance is more appropriate and effective than 'regional' governance or bilateral and other solutions. What is striking in this debate is that the attitude towards regional governance as a tool for managing many important problems and challenges has changed from outright criticism and skepticism towards optimism. It is possible to detect an increasing emphasis on the comparative political advantage of regional governance. The example of the emerging regional ocean governance regime in the wider Caribbean is highly relevant for the purposes of this paper (see Box 2.3.).

#### Box 2.3. Case study: Emerging regional ocean governance in the Caribbean<sup>20</sup>

From the outset, the Caribbean Large Marine Ecosystem and Adjacent Areas (CLME) project (funded by GEF) was sensitive to the geopolitical complexity of the region and in particular regional arrangements for ocean governance and sought to address these in the design of the project. In the wider Caribbean region there are over 25 regional and subregional organizations with some degree of responsibility for sustainable use of the ocean. The CLME project wanted to be sure that it understood the mandates and activities of these organizations, and their interrelationships so that the Strategic Action Program (SAP) could adequately provide for their engagement in a regional network.

19 Rosenau, J. (1997). *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 145.

20 The input for this case study was provided by Robin Mahon, Lucia Fanning and Patrick McConney. For a more detailed elaboration, see Mahon, R. Fanning, L. & McConney, P. (2014) 'Assessing and facilitating emerging regional ocean governance arrangements in the Wider Caribbean Region'. *Ocean Yearbook Volume 28* (in press)

This understanding and engagement was undertaken in the context of a conceptual framework that was developed specifically for the wider Caribbean region – the large Marine ecosystem governance framework. The conceptual basis for the framework included some basic structural propositions that were thought to be needed for an effective regional governance framework: complete policy cycles for key transboundary issues; capacity to deal with day-to-day management, institutional arrangements and policy at multiple levels; and linkages among organizations. This multilevel, policy process-based conceptual framework was thought to reflect the emerging reality of ocean governance in the region, and to provide a basis for discussions about what the actual framework should be. In particular, given that transboundary issues were ‘nested’ at multiple geographical scales, the framework was allowing for arrangements that would match the geography as well as the governance needs of the issues.

The CLME project itself was designed as a series of partnerships with key organization while at the same time encouraging the engagement of as many organizations as wanted to be involved. The framework was used then to explore the roles and relationships of the various organizations to each other, to the countries, and to the global arena. As was hoped, it became the basis for a discussion about regional governance arrangements, including the concept of an emerging governance regime complex. Ultimately, this led to the development of a regional governance framework specific to the region, around which the SAP was designed. There are several key features of this project that facilitated the development of a governance framework-based SAP: (1) governance arrangements took front and center position in the CLME project, with issues of resource management, pollution, habitat degradation being seen in the context of these governance arrangements; (2) regional institutions were given lead roles in project implementation (including funding) with a view to piloting concept of a regional ocean governance network (3) the Project Coordinating Unit (PCU) played the role of facilitator leaving technical and policy matters largely to the organizations whose representatives formed a Project Advisory Group, rather than becoming a pseudo-regional organization itself.

Needless to say, the relevance and effectiveness of regionalism and regional governance may be different in different policy areas and in different contexts; in practice the various forms of governance are often interlinked, which has led to notions of multilevel or ‘nested systems of governance’.<sup>21</sup> This implies that the different levels of governance should not be seen as competitive but as complementary. Specifically referring to eco-systems, Stephen Olsen states that ‘thinking in terms of nested systems of governance is relevant because most environmental and societal issues both impact upon, and are impacted by, conditions and actions at both higher and lower levels in an ecosystem and governance hierarchy. Some issues can be addressed more effectively at one level, and less effectively at another. The choice of the issue or set of issues to be addressed must therefore be made in full knowledge of how responsibility and decision making authority is distributed within a layered governance system.’<sup>22</sup> A somewhat similar discussion has occurred under the banner of public goods. This is turned to next.

21 ITFGPG (2006). *Meeting Global Challenges*.

22 Olsen, S. B., Page, G. G. & Ochoa, E. (2009). *The Analysis of Governance Responses to Ecosystem Change: A Handbook for Assembling a Baseline*. LOICZ Reports & Studies No. 34. GKSS Research Center, Geesthacht.

## Governing Public Goods

Public goods have become widely discussed in policy circles during the last two decades. The concept originates from economic theory and traditionally refers to a national economic system where it constitutes the essence of nation-building, particularly the modern welfare state. In contrast, the current interest in transnational (global and regional) public goods is a consequence of the erosion of national sovereignty, territoriality and authority in the context of globalization (i.e. erosion of the Westphalian order). The discussion has thus moved from national economy into a transnational and globalized world (which is often referred to as a post-Westphalian order), which is partly the reason why it has become so complex. This raises the difficult question of how public goods can be financed, produced and distributed, especially on the global and regional levels where they are badly undersupplied.

### Box 2.4. Public goods

Public goods essentially mean that they are 'non-rival' in consumption (one person's consumption does not reduce the amount available to others) and their costs and benefits are 'non-excludable' (once it is produced, it is difficult to exclude or prevent individuals from consumption). Peace and security, as well as law and order, are often referred to as 'pure' public goods, whereas, for instance, a shared water ('common pool') resource is often 'non-excludable' but 'rival' in consumption.

Many studies in the public goods literature distinguish between goods at different levels (i.e. mainly at national, regional and global levels).<sup>23</sup> The question whether goods are defined as 'regional' (with a spillover range confined to a region) or global (with a universal or semi-universal spillover range) is by no means self-evident, and depends on a wide range of factors. As we see it, many public goods usually have national, regional and global dimensions, and these may change over time. In addition, it is important to acknowledge that private as well as public goods are 'socially constructed' and their properties are not inherent in the goods themselves.<sup>24</sup>

As a result, the public goods quality and the meaning of 'regional' may differ from one issue and context to another. That is, it is difficult to exactly define the regional level (and the regional spillover range), which may depend on the nature of the public good, but also whether the region is seen as the geographical origin and scope of the problem, or the appropriate arena for intervention and action.

One needs to acknowledge that a regional public good can refer to the extent that the problem is exclusively regional, and the 'region' is defined by the problem at hand, for instance a river system which covers a number of states and which constitutes both threats in the form of flooding and potentials in the form of energy and irrigation (i.e. an eco-region). There is not necessarily a coincidence between the range of the regional problem (or the eco-region) and the regional cooperation

23 Kaul, Grunberg, & Stern. *Global Public Goods*; ITFGPG (2006). *Meeting Global Challenges*.

24 Kaul, I & Mendoza, R. U. (2003). 'Advancing the Concept of Public Goods', in Kaul *et al* (Eds.) (2003). *Providing Global Public Goods. Managing Globalization*. UNDP & Oxford University Press.

mechanism supposed to manage the problem or provide a relevant political basis (the political region, or the governance of the public good). As Arce and Sandler states, there is often a 'failure to match an RPG [regional public goods] spillover range with a political jurisdiction'.<sup>25</sup>

Indeed, in the real world, the eco-region and the political region are quite often separated geographical spaces. Furthermore, even if there may be a regional cooperation mechanism (for instance, a water basin commission), this body may not necessarily be relevant for providing political support, management or jurisdiction. This is a key argument for the political/governance perspective advocated in this study, which differs from both approaches built around 'market rationality' as well as approaches whereby where actors and individuals are assumed to be able cooperate according to strictly functionalist principles and so called 'rational choice'.

Furthermore, the stance advocated here is to transcend the dominating notion in the public goods debate that emphasizes the competition between different types of public goods (national, regional and global public goods) in line with what has been referred to as the subsidiarity principle. For many observers and policymakers, subsidiarity implies that, depending on spillover range, there is a corresponding first-best institutional solution at the lowest possible level.<sup>26</sup> According to Kanbur, Sandler and Morrison, 'subsidiarity dictates regional and sectoral decentralization'. However, the problem is that subsidiarity tends to create competition among national, regional and global public goods and be biased towards single-level or technical/functional solutions. Single-level solutions may be cost-effective for the management and implementation of less complicated issues, but they appear to be counterproductive for the management of complex transboundary issues which are politicized and require a certain degree of transnational political coordination and governance (i.e. which is often the case with IW issues in a developing country context).

## Dimensions of Regionalism

There is considerable emphasis in both policy and academia about the importance of regionalism. The global transformations during the last two to three decades – such as the end of the Cold War, the intensification of economic globalization and economic liberalism, and the recurrent problems of multilateralism and the transformation of the nation-state – have given rise to a more multidimensional process of regionalism in most policy areas and sectors. Some of the most important dimensions of regionalism are elaborated below.

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25 Arce, D. & Sandler, T. (2000). *Regional Public Goods: Typologies, Provision, Financing, and Development Assistance*. Stockholm: EGDI, p. 13.

26 Kanbur, R., Sandler, T. & Morrison, K. (1999). *The Future of Development Assistance: Common Pools and International Public Goods*. Policy Essay No. 25, Washington, D.C., p. 106.

## *Security Regionalism*

In the traditional Westphalian system, security within the state is guaranteed by the fact that the nation-state has the monopoly of violence. Ever since the establishment of the UN, the prevailing view has been that a dominant UN would delegate tasks to subordinate regional institutions. With the rise of so-called new regionalism in recent decades, most comprehensive (multipurpose) regional organizations (e.g. EU, ASEAN, AU, SADC) have acquired some kind of institutionalized mechanism for conflict management and security, thereby laying the groundwork for increased regional cooperation. Emerging formations have often assumed a degree of legitimacy and actor capacity that traditional regional agencies lacked. States and global organizations are being progressively locked into a larger regional and interregional framework in which 'security regions' are becoming the most relevant actors in the global security architecture. This is seen in Europe as well as in the emerging African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

The regional spillovers and regionalization of many domestic conflicts often require regional solutions, which is particularly evident in many cases around Africa, Asia as well as the Balkans. Many of today's conflicts are regional or regionalized and cannot be solved or managed by national solutions and strategies. Regional organizations can be better than multilateral efforts at addressing conflict prevention as well as post-conflict reconstruction considering that they have to live with the consequences of unresolved conflict.

## *Economic Regionalism*

The central issue in old regionalism was a focus on trade blocs and economic communities. Many (liberal) economists consider regional trading arrangements as a 'second-best' and they are therefore judged according to whether they contribute to a closed or more open multilateral trading system (the 'first-best' solution). Many of the regional trading arrangements that existed during the 1950s and 1960s were inward-looking and protectionist, by today's economists often regarded as failures and 'stumbling blocks, although at the time they were often considered as instruments to enhance industrial production and structural transformation. Since the mid-1980s there has been a strengthening, deepening and widening of regional trading arrangements, and more or less every country in the world has joined one or several of trading regimes.<sup>27</sup>

The great majority of present-day regionalist schemes are founded on the notion that the regional economic integration project should be market-driven, outward-looking, and remove obstacles to the free movement of goods, services, capital and

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27 Such as the single market of the European Union (EU), the East African Community (EAC), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Mercado Común del Sur (Mercosur), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU/UEMOA) and so on.



investment within the regions as well as to the rest of the world. The overall intention is to build up the regional market internally but also ensure a closer integration into the world economy.

Seen in a historical perspective the multilateral trading system is rather successful, which in a sense explains the critique of protectionist regionalism. However, the World Trade Organization (WTO) has become rather ineffective in dealing with the economic and political challenges since the 1990s, with the result that the attitude towards regional trade blocs has changed both among policy makers and liberal academics.<sup>28</sup> 'New regionalism is being embraced because old multilateralism no longer works'.<sup>29</sup> Regionalism has thus become a viable risk-management and coping strategy for many states and regional arrangements provide an opportunity for the market access state elites have always wished for, but never really extracted from multilateral negotiations.

Most of the regional trade blocs and economic communities existing in the real world draw, one way or another, on the classical model for regional economic integration, which emphasizes increasingly 'advanced' stages of regional economic integration, ranging from free trade area, to a customs union and then to deeper stages of economic and monetary union (see Box 2.5).<sup>30</sup> Conventionally the last stage has often been thought of as a federation, but it is clear that deep political cooperation is required at an earlier stage but also that political solutions may vary. There is, for instance, a considerable debate about how present-day EU should be conceived and conceptualized; for instance, as a political community, a supranational authority, a federation, a confederation, a multilevel governance structure or a 'club'.<sup>31</sup>

#### Box 2.5. Classical stages of regional economic integration

At the lowest 'ladder' is a *regional trade area*, whereby tariffs and quotas are reduced or eliminated among members, but each country retains its own tariffs against imports from non-members. A *customs union* moves further, and in addition to the free trade area members erect a common external tariff. The *common market* is a more developed stage of economic integration. It combines the features of the customs union with the elimination of obstacles for the free movement of labor, capital, services and persons (and entrepreneurship). The next step on the 'ladder' is an *economic and monetary union*, which involves a common currency and the harmonization of monetary, fiscal and social policies. *Complete economic integration* constitutes the ultimate stage and it presupposes the unification of economic and political policies, as well as that the central supranational authority not only controls economic policy, but is also responsible to a common parliament.

28 ADB (2008). *Emerging Asian Regionalism. A Partnership for Shared Prosperity*. Manila: Asian Development Bank; World Bank (2008). 'Reshaping Economic Geography', *World Development Report 2009*. Washington D.C., World Bank (esp. Chapter 9); UNDP (2011). *Regional Integration and Human Development: A Pathway for Africa*, New York: UNDP; Baldwin, R. & Thornton, P. (2008). *Multilateralising Regionalism: Ideas for a WTO Action Plan on Regionalism*. London: Centre for Economic Policy Research.

29 Mistry, P. S. (2003). 'New Regionalism and Economic Development', in Söderbaum F. & Shaw, T. M. (Eds), *Theories of New Regionalism. A Palgrave Reader*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, p. 136.

30 Balassa, B. (1961). *The Theory of Economic Integration*. London: Allen & Unwin.

31 Middelaar, L. van (2013). *The Passage to Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.



### *Social Regionalism*

Until recently social policy has not attracted too much attention in the discussion about regionalism. Health is one of the most widely discussed examples of social policy. Just like peace, health reveals the inadequacies of the old (Westphalian) states-system and the imperative for regional and global cooperation among states. The most obvious reason for this is that germs do not recognize borders and that 'germ globalization is permanent while the borders are the transitory phenomenon'.<sup>32</sup> In short, a borderless 'public bad' requires transnational governance and national action to manage and control pandemics. Examples here would include HIV/AIDS and the prevention of further outbreaks of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), as well as efforts to prevent the re-emergence of 'old' infectious diseases such as malaria, smallpox and tuberculosis.

In the case of communicable diseases the regional dimension is particularly intriguing, albeit in different ways. HIV/AIDS is a global challenge, with distinct regional characteristics, and therefore cannot only be dealt with globally, but also with a view to the specific regional problems on the various regional arenas in which the disease appears. Regional cooperation is also gradually developing in this field. SARS on the other hand was a regional challenge with global impacts. It provides an example of the transition of public health governance on infectious diseases from the traditional Westphalian framework to something new. Actors in the public health sphere, global (WHO) as well as at the regional level (ASEAN), went beyond their traditional roles and took on new responsibilities and tasks to contain the outbreak at multiple scales (national, regional and global).

### *Environmental Regionalism*

Environmental regionalism can be illustrated with fresh and marine water resources governance and management. The world's water resources are subject to over-exploitation and degradation along a continuum from land to the coast with impacts on the high seas. Around 40 per cent of the global population resides in river and lake basins that comprise two or more states.<sup>33</sup> Freshwater resources provide water supply for industry and domestic use, energy and food production as well as provide other essential public ecosystem goods and services such as recreation, aesthetics, biodiversity, flood risk reduction, and water quality improvements. The governance, management and development of transboundary freshwater resources connect riparian states. The impacts of water use development interventions may be felt downstream through changes in the water flow (volume) and the water quality. Similarly the majority of the world's Large Marine Ecosystems (LME) are of transboundary nature and shared by two or more states. These LMEs provide over 85 percent of the world's fish catch. At the same time due to anthropogenic pressures the ocean systems are

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32 Fidler, D. P. (2004). *SARS. Governance and the Globalization of Disease*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 14.

33 Giordano, M. & Wolf, A. (2003). 'Sharing Waters: Post-Rio international water management'. *Natural Resources Forum*, 27, 163–171.

changing with rising sea levels acidification and increasing water temperatures. These pressures are felt by the estimated 40-50 per cent of the world's population that lives within 100 km of the coast<sup>34</sup> on only 5 per cent of the habitable land.<sup>35</sup>

Transboundary water bodies constitute so-called regional public goods, usually referred to as a common pool resource type of good (that is, non-excludable but with rivals in its consumption). These types of public goods are challenging to supply and there are huge risks of considerable negative externalities and 'bads' arising from the (unsustainable) use of these natural resources. By implication, there is a need for functioning governance mechanisms and 'institutions'. The increasing strength of global environmental principles, such as 'green lenses' and the Rio-Dublin Principles, has resulted in increased emphasis to deal with adverse environmental spillovers and a more sustainable use of transboundary water resources. For freshwater management the underlying principle is that transboundary river basins should be seen as one single ecological unit.

One fundamental challenge in the management of these resources is to strike a balance between national interests and the common (regional) interest of the basin as an ecological unit. That is, how to uphold a balance between the politically sensitive issue of national sovereignty and incentives versus a regional and basin-wide management approach in the supply of both public and private goods and services.<sup>36</sup> The ecologically sustainable and more 'cooperative' basin-wide approach is often difficult to pursue since few stakeholders have the means and mandate to operate outside their national contexts. In this sense there is sometimes a conflict of interest between the 'old' state-centric approach and the 'new' holistic and ecological approach. Theory suggests it is difficult to promote collective action around a common pool resource. The failure to act collectively is detrimental for the environment of the transboundary water resources.<sup>37</sup> Compelling scientific evidence in many different contexts and sectors shows that a regional approach to planning needs effective institutions and governance to bring about effective environmental benefit (even if there is less consensus about 'institutional design' in a more concrete meaning).<sup>38</sup> The case study of environmental regionalism in the Sava River Basin illustrates the aforementioned issues, such as the importance of a basin-wide and multi-sectoral approach, that successful cooperation depends on functioning institutions and collaborative frameworks, but also that river basin management is linked to and depends on broader political frameworks such as the EU (see Box 2.6.).

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34 Martinez, M. L. et al (2007) 'The Coasts of Our World: Ecological, Economic and Social Importance', *Ecological Economics*, 63, pp. 254–272.

35 Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005). *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

36 Granit, J. (2012). *The Collective Action Dilemma in Managing Transboundary Freshwaters – An Analysis of an Outcome-Driven Framework*. Dissertations from the Department of Physical Geography and Quaternary Geology, No 33. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

37 ITFGPG (2006), *Meeting Global Challenges*.

38 Granit (2012) *The Collective Action Dilemma in Managing Transboundary Freshwaters*; Nicol, A. et al. (2001) *Transboundary Water Management as an International Public Good*. Prepared for Development Financing 2000 Study 2001: 1, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden.

The Sava river basin is a major drainage basin of the South-Eastern Europe and the second largest Danube sub-basin by catchment area, while the Sava River is the largest Danube tributary by discharge. Water management in this transboundary basin is based on the *Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin (FASRB)* between Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Serbia. The FASRB is the first economic development-oriented multilateral agreement concluded in the region during the post-conflict period, after the agreements on peace and succession. It integrates all aspects of water resources management and thus provides the International Sava River Basin Commission (ISRBC) with the broadest scope of work among international basin organizations in Europe.

Dealing with sustainability issues (e.g. environmental protection, flood protection) and development activities (e.g. navigation, river tourism) simultaneously, leads to a wide range of stakeholders and conflicting interests of water users (on both transboundary and national levels), and thus high demand for human and financial resources, good cross- sectoral coordination and permanent joint efforts of the Parties. However, the process yields considerable benefits for the four member states, resulting from the governance performed at regional scale (e.g. river basin management, flood risk management and climate adaptation plans; data exchange, forecasting and warning systems; improvement of the waterway infrastructure). The benefits are multiplied as balancing the needs for economic development and environmental protection is done continuously and within a single regional body. A significant value to the process is added through the implementation of joint, regionally agreed, basin-wide projects, aligned with wider cooperation frameworks (i.e. UNECE and EU) and complementary with the processes on the Danube basin level.

Given the position and political dimension of the ISRBC in the region, as well as its integrated approach to sustainable development, the use of the ISRBC framework for the implementation of regional projects has contributed significantly to cost-effectiveness and sustainability of project outcomes. Further strengthening of this regional framework through the implementation of future projects, including possible GEF interventions, is expected to bring this contribution to an even higher level.

## Drivers and Barriers to Regionalism

During the last two decades there has been a shift and convergence of attitude towards regionalism and regional cooperation in the policy community<sup>40</sup>, whereby governments, multilateral and regional organizations, donors, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) as well as private sector and among many NGOs have raised their expectations about the potential benefits resulting from regionalism and regional cooperation.<sup>41</sup>

39 The input for this case study was provided by Dejan Komatina, Secretary, International Sava River Basin Commission (ISRBC)(see <http://www.savacommission.org/>).

40 Any assessment of costs and benefits of regionalism depends on theoretical perspective and assumptions about politics, society and the environment. As a result there are more diverse interpretations of regionalism in the academic world compared to the policy community.

41 AfDB (1993). *Economic Integration in Southern Africa*. Volume 1-3, Abidjan: African Development Bank; ADB (2008). *Emerging Asian Regionalism*; World Bank (2008). 'Reshaping Economic Geography', *World Development Report 2009* (esp. Chapter 9); UNDP (2011). *Regional Integration*

One of the main rationales (or drivers, see Table 2.2) for regionalism lies in overcoming fragmentation and constraints of size and to create larger trading blocs and markets. This was emphasized in classical regional economic integration in the 1960s and 1970s but the relevance of this strategy has increased after the end of the Cold War and in the context of economic globalization. The new ambition is usually to create an open and unified regional economic space for the free movement of goods, services, capital and people and avoid protectionism.<sup>42</sup> The larger regional markets can provide a range of benefits, such as economies of scale, wider competition and increased foreign investment, accelerate the opening of national economies to the rest of the world, and enhance credibility of national reforms through lock-in policy mechanisms.

According to some observers, regionalism would even strengthen the unity for international negotiations and thereby contribute to resolving interstate conflicts. Such a broader view of regionalism is seen as more relevant than the narrower (classical) trade integration model.<sup>43</sup> It is particularly important to note that the up-dated and broader strategy of regionalism explicitly links outward-oriented trade integration with the liberalization of labor and capital flows with regional cooperation in many complementary fields of activity, such as infrastructure, transport, agriculture, health and education, natural resources, and energy.<sup>44</sup>

Table 2.2. Drivers of regionalism

Drivers of regionalism
Overcoming collective action problems
Supply and provision of transnational public goods
Resolving interstate and transnationalized conflict
Overcoming fragmentation, balkanization and constraints of size
More efficient utilization of factors of production and resources
Economies of scale and pooling of resources
Larger and more competitive markets
Increased foreign investment and capital flows
Credibility of national reforms through 'lock-in' policy mechanisms
Provision of transnational political coordination and governance

Source: Inspired by Cletus Springer, OAS (verbatim)

There is also an emphasis on the role and involvement of stakeholders other than simply governments and regional organizations, which is considered important for recognizing the multiplicity of relationships among the countries, many of which involve the private sector and civil society.<sup>45</sup> Even if sectoral and specialized agencies continue to be in place, regional cooperation in various policy areas are often

*and Human Development: A Pathway for Africa*. Also see Arce, D. & Sandler, T. (2000). *Regional Public Goods and ITFGPG* (2006), *Meeting Global Challenges*.

42 ADB (2008). *Emerging Asian Regionalism. A Partnership for Shared Prosperity*; World Bank (2008). 'Reshaping Economic Geography' (esp. Chapter 9).

43 AfDB (1993). *Economic Integration in Southern Africa*; World Bank (1998). 'Southern Africa Sub-regional Strategy', From the Secretary, April 15, SecM98-272. Washington D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; ADB (2008). *Emerging Asian Regionalism. A Partnership for Shared Prosperity*.

44 AfDB (1993). *Economic Integration in Southern Africa*; ADB (2008). *Emerging Asian Regionalism*.

45 World Bank (1998). 'Southern Africa Sub-regional Strategy'.

brought together under one umbrella within comprehensive and ‘multipurpose’ regional organizations, which often have the present- day EU as an inspiration or even as a model. Such a comprehensive approach reveals the importance of political aspects of regionalism in the contemporary era.

There is also rather strong convergence in the policy community about the barriers to regionalism, particularly in the developing. Since barriers and factors vary across different contexts and regions, they are difficult to generalize; examples are given in Table 2.3. Historical legacies as well as diverging political, economic and socio-cultural powers and relations may negatively affect regionalism. Such differences may give rise to diverging interests, identities and policy agendas.

Table 2.3. Barriers to regionalism

Barriers to regionalism
Unfavorable external conditions
Lack of support for regionalism from development partners and external agencies
Historical legacies
Conflicting or diverging political, economic, social and cultural political systems
National sovereignty
Conflicting interests, identities and policy agendas
Lack of trust between collaborating partners
Power asymmetries within the region
Underdevelopment, poverty and lack of capacity
Unequal and uneven distribution of costs and benefits of regionalism
Dysfunctional regional and national institutions

Source: Inspired by Cletus Springer, OAS (verbatim)

Intra-regional power asymmetries are another crucial aspect. The importance of regional hegemons – such as Brazil, China, Germany-France, India, Japan, Nigeria, Russia, and South Africa – for the logic of regionalism is undisputed. Yet, regional hegemons can both be a stimulus and a barrier to regionalism. The general challenge is to make the regional hegemon support a regionalization process, which is benefiting all or most partners (a benign hegemon) in contrast to a malign hegemon, which exploits its neighbors.

Since the late 2000s increasing emphasis has been placed on the relationship between regionalism and the generation of ‘national commitment’. Such commitment is tightly linked to a ‘fair’ distribution of costs and benefits and that the benefits are clear and visible. Such commitment is also tightly linked to domestic political variables. It is for instance important that member states implement domestic policies and build domestic institutions in order to make regional cooperation possible. Hence, the variation in the quality of government institutions is a major barrier to regionalism. There is evidence that authoritarian and autocratic governments use regionalism for different purposes compared to more egalitarian regimes.<sup>46</sup> For instance, a well-governed and democratic regime may use regionalism in order to enhance the common good and for achieving various types of public goods together with other governments and stakeholders. In contrast, there is evidence that authori-

46 Söderbaum, F. (2004). *The Political Economy of Regionalism. The Case of Southern Africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

tarian regimes may use regionalism as a means to secure its own ability to remain in power and to provide benefits to particular support-groups.<sup>47</sup>

This may then be associated with the familiar gap between rhetoric and implementation. Certain governments may engage in symbolic and discursive activities, whereby they praise the goals of regionalism and regional organization, sign cooperation treaties and agreements, and take part in 'summitry regionalism', but without having a clear commitment to or bearing the costs of policy implementation. What is left then may just be 'virtual' or rhetorical regionalism.<sup>48</sup>

The overlapping membership of regional organizations and regional integration arrangements has also been debated for decades. The overlap may result from different integration models and policy agendas, historical legacies and characteristics, or institutional deficiencies. The overlap may also be a reflection of a poor commitment to some of these organizations (which may vary between different member states). Some observers have also reasoned that the overlap and duplication of some regional organizations actually may be deliberate, especially in cases where policy implementation is not the main concern, which can be the case of rhetorical or symbolic regionalism.<sup>49</sup>

## Typology of Regional Cooperation Mechanisms

An important difference between old and new regionalism is the specialized focus of cooperation of the former and the pluralism of the latter, resulting in a greater variety of states-led regional mechanisms, but also a number of non-state or hybrid regional arrangements, networks and governance mechanisms.

There are a range of possible ways to categorize transnational regional organizations and frameworks. The two most relevant categories for the purpose of this paper are 'scope' and 'form' of organization (see Table 2.4.). Scope refers to whether cooperation is specialized and thematic or multipurpose and comprehensive in terms of aims and activities. A limited or narrow scope implies that the regional cooperation mechanism is focused on a specified activity within a given sector, such as trade or transport, or that it is specialized on one particular task, for instance financing development projects. A multipurpose regional cooperation mechanism is defined as one that has a wide range of aims and activities spanning two or more sectors. The EU is often used as an example of the latter category.

Organizational form refers to whether the regional cooperation mechanism is an 'organization' or a more loosely structured 'network'. An organization is commonly defined as involving: (i) specified aims, functions and activities; (ii) membership; and (iii) its own formal, permanent structure (i.e. a constitution, treaty and/or adminis-

47 Bach, D. (1999). *Regionalisation in Africa. Integration & Disintegration*. London: James Currey; Söderbaum, F. & Tavares, R. (Eds.) (2009). 'Regional Organizations in African Security, Special Issue of *African Security*, Vol 2. No. 2-3.

48 Söderbaum, F. (2012). 'Formal and Informal Regionalism' in Shaw, T. M., Grant, A.J. & Cornelissen, S. (Eds). *Research Companion to Regionalisms*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 51-68.

49 Bach, (1999). *Regionalisation in Africa*.

trative structure to order responsibilities and carry out its functions).<sup>50</sup> It is first and foremost the third component, a formal and permanent bureaucratic structure, with a minimum degree of autonomy from the control of one single member, which differentiates most organizations from more loosely structured networks. Networks are typically decentralized, to a large extent horizontally structured and more cooperative as opposed to the hierarchy in organizations.

Some networks are not concerned with policy formulation and project implementation but are more focused on increasing communication and interaction or getting cooperation started. It needs to be recognized that networks may emerge within organizations, thus indicating an increasing tendency for hybrid 'network organizations'. According to Manuel Castells, this is the key to why EU is functioning.<sup>51</sup> Hence, in practice networks and organizations may overlap: a network may very well be an organization, and an organization is sometimes organized as a network.

Table 2.4. Typology of regional cooperation mechanisms

		Organizational form	
		Organization	Network
Scope	<i>Specialized</i>	Transport organization Security organization Regional development bank UN Economic Commission River basin organizations	Research network Public-private partnership Civil society network Regional power pool
	<i>Multipurpose</i>	Development community Regional economic community Economic Union Political union Federations	Growth triangle Development corridor

### *Specialized Regional Organizations*

A very large number of regional cooperation mechanisms around the world correspond to the category of 'specialized organizations'. The most frequent are the *functional and sectoral regional organizations*, operating in most fields of activity, such as transport and communications, education, research and health. The list of members may be large or more limited depending on the issue. Examples include the West African Health Organization (WAHO), Caribbean Public Health Agency (CARPHA), Southern African Centre for Cooperation in Agricultural Research (SACCAR), the Zambezi River Basin Commission (ZAMCOM) and the Latin American and Caribbean Air Transport Association (ALTA).

*Security organizations and alliances* are specialized on security and conflict intervention. They cover organized defense pacts as well as comprehensive security organizations, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). To an increasing extent they tend to develop out of or become integral part of more broadly-based multipurpose regional organizations, as exemplified by the security leg of AU, ECOWAS, EU and SADC.

50 Archer, C. (1992). *International Organizations*. Routledge: London.

51 Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society*. Blackwell: Cambridge.



There exist a very large number of *regional trading agreements* of various sorts and size. When limited to trade they may only require a minimal organizational structure, as illustrated by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). However, in order to regulate regional relations there is tendency to build up a certain organizational and institutional capacity. Furthermore, as outlined above, during the past two decades regional trading arrangements have usually become part of or been integrated into more comprehensive and *multipurpose regional organizations*. ASEAN, COMESA, EEC/EFTA, ECOWAS, Mercosur and SADC are all relevant examples, albeit with different historical trajectories.

*Regional development banks* – such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the African Development Bank (AfDB) – have facilitated regional cooperation in many parts of the world. They also seek to fund projects in a wide variety of sectors and fields, and usually have a wide competence. However, their specialized mission is to finance and mobilize resources for development projects, which implies that they can be seen as more focused organizations. In addition their ‘regionality’ is somewhat ambiguous due to their strong external non-regional membership/ownership, implying that they may in fact rather be understood as multilateral development banks operating in a regional context.<sup>52</sup>

The *United Nations Regional Economic Commissions* – such as UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) – aim to promote and facilitate concerted action for the economic and social development of the continents or countries where they operate. They are acting within the UN framework and subject to the general supervision of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Basically they are advisory and servicing bodies that support and sponsor a great variety of national, regional and international projects and programs in most economic and some social and environmental fields. Many of their activities are of a technical or preparatory nature, and often carried out in coordination and collaboration with other regional organizations, national authorities, and the donors. They play a *facilitating* rather than autonomous role for regional cooperation around the world.

A rather special type of specialized organization is the *river basin organization/commission*, such as the Mekong River Commission or the Nile Basin Initiative. Several of these started out with a rather specialized focus, but have added more themes and sectors related to the river basin, such as navigation, flood control, fisheries, agriculture, electric power development and environmental protection. When these cover several sectors they tend to become increasingly multipurpose in terms of scope (even though they may be seen as specialized on rivers and waters). Their institutional structure can vary a great deal. Two interesting features can be recognized.

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52 Mistry, P. S. (1999) ‘The New Regionalism: Impediment or spur to future multilateralism’ in Hettne, B. *et al* (Eds.) *Globalism and the New Regionalism*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.



First they tend to become more organized and institutionalized, being transformed from loose committees and agreements to more centralized organizations. Second they tend to move from being state- centric to include a host of non-state actors and stakeholders, such as NGOs, donors and local communities, which at the same time implies that they tend to take on more of a network character.

### *Specialized Regional Networks*

Many networks are operating within a specified sector or concerned with fulfilling a reasonably specific task, such as research or training. One example is the *regional research networks* existing more or less all over the world.

A somewhat different example is *regional power markets*, such as the Nordic energy market (NORDPOOL) and the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP). SAPP consists of national power authorities in Southern Africa, with associative membership of private energy operators (that are expected to become full members in due course). Its objectives are to provide a forum for the development of a world class, robust, safe, efficient, reliable and stable interconnected electrical system in the southern African region, co-ordinate and enforce common regional standards of Quality of Supply, increase power accessibility in rural communities, and implement strategies in support of sustainable development priorities.

Other examples include *civil society networks and organizations*, such as the Hemispheric Social Alliance in the Americas, the Social Justice Network in Mercosur, the West African Network for Peace (WANEP), the Southern African Network of Aids Service Organizations (SANASO), and so on. Some of these may become multidimensional, but then they tend to at the same time take on the quality of 'organization'.

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) can also be understood as a particular form of network. PPPs are partnerships between public and private actors that are often formed for specific purposes, such as building a road or a port. The main role of the public (i.e. often the central or regional government) is to provide the legal back-up, whereas the private actors are the ones that actually carry out the tasks, and often also manage the program. The involved actors meet in various committees in the network, and the network is often temporary in nature, designed to break up after the task is achieved. PPPs have quickly become an important feature of the way certain public goods, such as infrastructure, are provided and supplied. They are likely to continue to increase in importance and also become ever more regional.

### *Multipurpose Regional Networks*

Networks often tend to be specialized rather than multipurpose, in order to be effective. However, there are some important exceptions and these are often related to different kinds of *micro-regions*. The Øresund Network AB (Inc.) is an example of a multidimensional/purpose network. It is owned by central governments, provincial as well as local political bodies in Denmark and Sweden, with over 200 companies, organizations, public authorities and institutions as members. Its aim is to market

the Øresund Region – locally, nationally and internationally and also initiate and coordinate collaboration with other private and public players that carry out networking activities in the micro-region. It is a networked type of organization that coordinates information about the new region, either in connection with investments, company establishments, public sector works or activities that affect the lives of people who live on either side of Øresund. A strong network for the development of the Øresund Region is formed by among other things frequent meetings arranged by the organization for its members.

*Growth Triangles* can be seen as another prolific example. With a limited regional institutional structure, growth triangles utilize the different endowments of the various countries of East Asia, exploiting cooperative trade and development opportunities. The Southern Growth Triangle, also known as SIJORI (Singapore, the Johore state of Malaysia, and Riau Province of Indonesia), was formed in 1989 and covers a population of about 6 million people. In the SIJORI Singapore has concentrated on becoming the technology center, sending labor-intensive operations to low-cost neighboring Malaysia and Indonesia. The private sector provides capital for investment; the public sector provides infrastructure, fiscal incentives, and the administrative framework to attract industry. Growth triangles have become a continued driving force for growth in Asian economies throughout the 1990s.

The *Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) and Development Corridors* in South Africa and the broader Southern African region are other distinct micro-regional initiatives.<sup>53</sup> Some of the most well-known examples include the development corridors of Maputo, Nacala, Tazara, Namibe, Beira and the SDIs of Phalaborwa, Platinum and Gariep SDIs. These development corridors and SDIs purport to be short-term and targeted attempts to stimulate economic ‘growth’ by creating globally competitive spatial entities through new investment, infrastructural development and job creation. Considering the size of the SDI projects, they are very weakly institutionalized. There is an intention to be informal and non-bureaucratic, as this allows for flexibility and adjustability to private and contextual demands; hence its classification as a networked body rather than an organization.

### *Multipurpose Regional Organizations*

A *Comprehensive and multipurpose regional organization* is an important form of regional cooperation in every corner of the world, which has become increasingly important during the last few decades. These regional organizations prevailed during the old regionalism, but in the current world order situation they have deepened and expanded both their membership and their range of activities. Some of the most widely discussed examples include (see Table 2.5), most of which are frequently discussed in this paper. These regional organizations are characterized by a multitude of aims and activities in many sectors in combination with a centralized/comprehensive

53 See Söderbaum, F. & Taylor, I. (Eds.) (2008). *Afro-regions: The Dynamics of Cross-border Micro-regionalism in Africa*, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute; Söderbaum, F. & Taylor, I. (Eds.) (2003). *Regionalism and Uneven Development in Southern Africa. The Case of the Maputo Development Corridor*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

organizational structure. Cooperation in many sectors provides them with an opportunity, in a relatively autonomous way, to explore issue-linkages and spillover effects, between various sectors, such as security, economics, politics and even culture.

Hence, to an increasing extent trading blocs/development communities have started to engage in sectoral cooperation under the same umbrella. During the old regionalism there was a tendency that cooperation was specified and separated into specific sectors, whereas under the new regionalism a variety of sectors are more often grouped under one comprehensive and multipurpose framework. The EU is perhaps the most obvious example of this. But similar multipronged agendas can be seen in most of the multipurpose regional organizations around the world (see Box 2.7. for a brief illustration of the trade-development-environment nexus within the CARICOM).

Box 2.7. Case study: The trade-development-environment nexus within the CARICOM<sup>54</sup>

The Member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) have responded to the economic challenges of globalization and trade liberalization by deepening the integration process through the creation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME). CARICOM's Ministerial Council for Trade and Economic Development (COTED) is the main driver of the CSME. At the same time it also has responsibility *inter alia* for environment and sustainable development matters within the Community. It is acknowledged within the CARICOM that the increased investment opportunities and economic growth projected as a result of the CSME will be unsustainable unless environmental policy considerations are also taken into account, particularly as an incentive to greater long-term efficiency and competitiveness. A single space for transactions will not emerge if there are as many national requirements as there are States. This is recognized in the Article 65 1(c) of the Revised Treaty of the CARICOM, which hence presents an opportunity for governments to upgrade environmental performance across the region through the adoption of common initiatives. The COTED is therefore a key political driver in ensuring that there is coherence between the CSME and environmental policy within the CARICOM.

To an increasing extent most of the multipurpose regional organizations have a *political* content, although this purpose is closely intertwined with economic or security interests. The number of members may vary considerably depending on the size of the continent and whether it is a continental, macro-regional or sub-regional organization. Over time these multipurpose organizations develop a unique competence in assessing interlinkages between issue areas in a transnational context and in effect constitute regional governance frameworks in their own right.

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54 The input for this case study was provided by Anya Thompson of the CARICOM Secretariat.

Table 2.5. Select list of multipurpose regional organizations

Multipurpose regional organizations		
AC	Andean Community	
AL	Arab League	
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union	
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian States	
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation AU	African Union
CACM	Central American Common Market	
CARICOM	Caribbean Community	
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa	
EAC	East African Community	
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	
EU	European Union	
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council	
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur	
OAS	Organization of American States	
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation	
SADC	Southern African Development Community	

### *How Should Regionalism Be Organized?*

There is a significant amount of research that underlines the role of ‘institutions’ for facilitating international collaboration and collective action. Few observers dispute the fact that ‘institutions matter’. They can help states and other stakeholders to negotiate mutually beneficial outcomes because of their impact on the calculations, expectations, interests of the actors, the reduction of transactional costs, the development of convergent expectations and so forth. In essence, institutionalists emphasize that institutions constrain and regulate agency across different issue areas of international and regional politics. Even if there is an intense discussion amongst academics about which ‘institutional design’ is most effective (because there are also costs involved), it is widely agreed that successful regionalism is expected to become increasingly institutionalized.

*Institutions* in this regard are often mixed up with *organizations*. Institutions or, perhaps more precisely, social institutions imply a patterned, predictable behavior and a system of rules, whereas organizations may possess or lack these characteristics<sup>55</sup> Institutions thus underpin and stabilize political order and facilitate cooperation. Organizations can be created over night and may not be effective in supplying any good. Organizations may also be manipulated for specific interests.

Institutional design is therefore a genuinely complex issue, due to the fact that institutional design can vary even with a given objective. Institutions should be designed so that they can accommodate and respond to (i) the states’ quest for sovereignty; (ii) that regional cooperation can be ‘hijacked’ and used for other purposes than public goods, including the creation of ‘public bads’; (iii) the prevalence of free-riding and defection; and finally (iv) that institutions need to be designed so that they promote long-term and norm-based interaction rather than short-term and quick-fix solutions.

55 Hodgson, G. (1988). *Economics and Institutions*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p: 10.

'Organizations' and 'networks' have their different comparative advantages. A formalized, clearly defined administrative and hierarchical 'organization' may, for instance, be effective and rational for the implementation of strategies and policies, especially in a stable environment and where the problem at hand is clearly defined. By contrast, a more decentralized and flexible 'network' structure may be more adaptable in a turbulent, rapidly changing environment and in situations where progress is contingent upon accommodative, flexible cooperation and more informal and inclusive relationships and communication. Yet, networks left alone appear not to be sufficient for managing complex transnational public goods.

The distinction between specialized and multipurpose regional organizations is particularly important in the context of this paper. These types of organizations have their specific strengths and weaknesses. Here it needs saying that generalization is difficult since the scientific evidence is inconclusive and patterns may differ across sectors and contexts. It also needs mentioning that even if a particular type of regional cooperation mechanism is considered effective in one context it is not necessarily so in a different setting, which also makes it more difficult to draw general lessons. The operational experience of specialized and functional organizations suggests that they tend to work best with precise and 'specialized' objectives, but that they may also be more effective in stable political contexts and when participants are reasonably well-resourced. Underfinancing and lack of sufficient political commitment and back-up appears to be a recurring problem in these types of organizations, especially in the developing world. By contrast, multipurpose regional organizations appear to be better designed to mobilize political commitment and enhance transnational political coordination and inter-sectoral coordination compared to functionalist and specialized regional organizations. The historical evidence of this is that the organizational structure and political frameworks of multipurpose regional organizations gradually deepen and broaden as they take on new tasks and add new members. Hence, it is very obvious that different regional organizations have different strengths and weaknesses.

What is particularly interesting in the field of transboundary water management is that there is often a flurry of different regional organizations, especially specialized regional organizations but, to an increasing extent, also multipurpose regional organizations. It is important to recognize that these tend to be interlinked to an increasing extent and also depend on each other for policy formulation as well as implementation. For example, both the Okavango River Basin Commission (OKACOM) and the Orange-Sengu River Basin Commission (ORASECOM), both the subject of GEF IW interventions, are embedded within the SADC framework and serve as implementation mechanisms for the SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourses. Similarly, in the Caribbean, several partners in the implementation of the GEF-supported project on Watershed and Coastal Areas Management in the Caribbean Small Island Developing States (IWCAM) – e.g. Caribbean Environmental Health Institute (CEHI) and University of the West Indies (UWI) – are full or associate members of the main multipurpose regional organization in the region, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), with mandates directly tied to those addressed under two sequential GEF IW projects. Importantly, however, there exists no

clear scientific evidence or policy advice about how all these relationships should best be managed or what is the best division of labor between overlapping transnational mechanisms on different levels, especially the multipurpose regional organizations (e.g. CARICOM, EU, ECOWAS, SADC) and more specialized and single-purpose regional organizations. A case study of the new patterns of collective action in the Baltic Sea region (Box 2.8) provides interesting insights into these issues, especially the link between specialized regional cooperation mechanisms and the EU as a multipurpose mechanism with stronger political clout.

Box 2.8. Case study: New approaches to collective action in the Baltic Sea region<sup>56</sup>

The Baltic Sea is one of the world's largest brackish water bodies. The salinity in the marine waters is on average about one-fifth that of the world's oceans and the result is a unique, highly sensitive marine ecosystem. Approximately 85 million people live in the Baltic Sea region. There are nine littoral states: Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Sweden, and Russia. The catchment area covers 1.7 million km<sup>2</sup> and includes five additional riparian states: Belarus, Czech Republic, Norway, Slovakia and Ukraine.

Peaceful cooperation in the Baltic Sea region has been interrupted by periods of civil strife. After the Second World War, the Cold War period (1945-1991) resulted in limited contacts between Eastern and Western states in the region due to different political and economic systems. Large-scale industrialization and the modernization of agriculture generated great wealth in some of the Baltic states but also resulted in major environmental damage and liabilities, including loss of biodiversity.

The transboundary nature of the Baltic Sea region ecosystem means that all basin states are affected by environmental damages and water quality degradation, regardless of the source or geographical origin of pollution. As a result collective action in the Baltic Sea Region is imperative. Free riding on the neighbors investments to address environmental liabilities will not result in an overall improvement of the common good – the sea ecosystem as a whole.

Cooperation to address the environment has been in place for over forty years primarily through the advisory Baltic Marine Environment Protection Commission (HELCOM). The GEF played an instrumental role in the 1990s supporting the Baltic Sea states identifying environmental 'hot spots' and cooperation supporting investment efforts and engagement of the former Soviet Union states. HELCOM has achieved positive results in addressing point source pollution by issuing joint policy recommendations. However, diffuse source pollution from land-based anthropogenic activities (including agriculture and energy production, road and air transport) have been difficult to address through voluntary action resulting in continued eutrophication and major damages to the ecosystems. According to HELCOM (2010) "None of the open basins of the Baltic Sea has an acceptable ecosystem health status".

<sup>56</sup> The case study draws on the following sources: EC (2013), *Study on Blue Growth, Maritime Policy and EU strategy for the Baltic Sea Region*. Background Paper for the Maritime Stakeholder Conference September 2013; Granit, J. (2012). *The Collective Action Dilemma in Managing Transboundary Freshwaters*; Granit, J. (2011). 'Reconsidering Integrated Water Resources Management: Promoting Economic Growth and Tackling Environmental Stress' in Brauch, H.G., et al (Eds.), *Coping with Global Environmental Change, Disaster and Security. Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks*. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace, Vol. 5. Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag; HELCOM (2010). 'Ecosystem Health of the Baltic Sea 2003-2007, Initial Holistic Assessment 2. *Baltic Sea Environment Proceedings No. 122*; Walline, M. J. & Granit, J. (2011). *Collective Action in the Baltic Sea Basin – Options for Strengthening Implementation of the Environmental Pillar of the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region*. SIWI Paper 19. Stockholm: SIWI.

As a response to this situation, the EU Commission developed, upon request by the EU Parliament, an EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region (EUSBSR) during 2008 and 2009 in consultation with the EU member states and Russia. This is the first macro-regional strategy developed by the EU Commission that uses an integrated approach to address environmental issues. The revised strategy from February 2013 has three overarching objectives: “Save the Sea, Connect the Region and Increase Prosperity”.

The EUSBSR aims to provide an integrated strategic framework for the large variety of actors, policies and funding mechanisms within the region and link them to European policies. It is innovative in that it uses the EU structure to unite a diverse region, across multiple sectors, reflecting the priorities of eight EU member states, six non-EU member states, the history of the region and international obligations. This strategic approach provides good opportunities to deal with the challenges of legal compliance (such as the EU Water Framework Directive and the Marine Strategy Directive) and integrating the environment into mainstream regional economic and spatial planning at the national and regional levels.

By addressing several key development and management challenges in one strategy for the region as a whole it is possible to stimulate the interest of key decision-makers such as Heads of State, Ministers of Finance and of Planning responsible for national governance and faced with competing priorities and limited funds. This is a new promising governance and management approach that is interlinking several sectors and legal requirements, each with clear objectives, into a broader multipurpose development framework beyond the traditional environment domain bringing in key economic development issue such as ‘blue growth’, innovation, connectivity and security. The Baltic sea governance framework has in this context moved from a specialized organization to a more complex multipurpose organizational framework linking the environment to economic growth.

### 3. GEF IW Interventions and Regionalism

#### The International Waters (IW) Focal Area

In the absence of a single GEF-linked environmentally focused Convention for international waters, GEF projects within the IW focal area deliver against the GEF Council-approved goal of ‘...promotion of collective management for transboundary water systems and subsequent implementation of the full range of policy, legal, and institutional reforms and investments contributing to sustainable use and maintenance of ecosystem services.’<sup>57</sup> This flexible goal allows for states to address transboundary water-related concerns in a collective manner and the GEF offers tools for diagnosis of shared concerns and a methodology for arriving at a set of agreed

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57 GEF, 1995.



actions.<sup>58</sup> Support for institution building was one of the original eligible targets for GEF support including the strengthening or development of regional institutional frameworks. States within whose territory a GEF project operates must first endorse it at ministerial level and there is no obligation to seek approval of regional or global bodies for the reason that this GEF focal area is not tied to any specific multilateral environmental agreement.

## Design of GEF IW Interventions

The design of a GEF project, in any focal area, is informed by GEF strategies originally termed operational programs, more recently (GEF-4, GEF-5) focal area strategies. These strategies, in the IW focal area, originally called for measures to control or to prevent deterioration in water flow, quality or the condition of dependent ecosystems, and recognized the need to include financial support for transboundary collaboration. The most recent strategies include human well-being, livelihoods and socio-economic considerations as targets for project actions, thus widening the scope of support for regional policies and measures. The GEF Overall Performance Studies (OPS3, OPS4), concluded that policy, legal and institutional, reforms were being delivered effectively by GEF IW projects. As a means to an end, GEF support for strengthening or the development of regional mechanisms is intended to lever collective action for transboundary water systems management, and is not an end in itself. The history of 226 IW project interventions since the GEF's establishment in 1991 reveals that pragmatism dominates country-driven project design, which respond to problem definitions offered by state actors, civil society and international organizations at all scales, ranging from strictly bi-national through multilateral to global. Accordingly the strategic ambition of GEF projects varies from foundational capacity-building of local authorities either side of a river forming an international border all the way up in scale to the formulation of a global convention.<sup>59</sup> Not only scale is considered, temporal support through a succession of projects has been used to build lasting country partnerships at regional level e.g. in the Lake Victoria Basin.

GEF IW projects respond to negotiated transboundary issues of concern at all scales, and comprise measures that address groundwater, surface water, coastal and marine issues and, although often complementing actions called for under the mandate of the other GEF focal areas, deliver in a more diverse manner. GEF IW projects, unlike those proposed within the GEF focal areas of biodiversity, climate change, land degradation and chemicals, can more flexibly respond to needs set out in a formal national action plan regarding obligations to a Convention or related guidance.

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58 Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis and Strategic Action Programme (TDA/SAP), see <http://manuals.iwlearn.net/tda-sap-methodology>

59 International Convention for the Control and Management of Ships Ballast Water & Sediments (BW Convention), a project outcome of GEF Project ID 610; Removal of Barriers to the Effective Implementation of Ballast Water Control and Management Measures in Developing Countries.



GEF IW project terminal evaluations were searched for information relevant to the question: how does the GEF address systematically regional considerations and the sustainability of its actions within project design and implementation? The search identified projects that satisfied due diligence regarding country ownership, technical and legal aspects as well as financial commitment from stakeholders, nevertheless lacked a clear plan within the initial project design that considered regionally specific legal frameworks, administrative and technical arrangements and their financial viability. A wide range of remedial suggestions were proposed by evaluators in the terminal evaluations assessed, including more attention to communication strategies, capacity building, sustainability analyses of national/regional governance relations, including linkages with broader political and legal frameworks within which international waters issues nest.

An analysis of the contents of the GEF project database confirms that no template for prompting systematic thinking about regional collaboration is used in project design, at least not in the IW focal area; this may be a strategic gap worthy of further consideration. The logical source of such a template or guidance would be expected to be found in the Governance Analysis section of guidance for performing Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis (TDA). To a limited extent guidance is provided through the GEF's International Waters Learning Exchange & Resources Network (IW:LEARN) training toolkit, which advocates inclusive consultations and participatory working to formulate a TDA and Strategic Action Program (SAP); additional guidance is available for coastal waters in the LME Governance Handbook.<sup>60</sup> The latter recommends preparation of a governance baseline as part of the TDA, but acknowledges that due to the wide variability in circumstances that there is no single model for the structure of a transboundary management program. Additionally the Handbook does not provide advice regarding analysis of regional cooperation opportunities. It is clear therefore that at present the GEF does not have a comprehensive guide to optimization of project design for regional cooperation which extends the framework to emphasize the importance of including the perspectives and leverage potential of regionalism.

Over the years since GEF inception in 1991, management and governance support required to deliver actions determined through the consensus-based TDA and its output, a negotiated SAP, has been delivered through a limited but diverse set of channels, some of which are coincident with and use existing regional bodies, others created in a bespoke fashion and sometimes in parallel with existing bodies. These regional connections are surveyed in the next section, the purpose of which is to illustrate the wide variety of GEF IW approaches related to regional cooperation with examples of evaluated projects and lessons learnt.

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60 Olsen, et. al. (2006). *A Handbook on Governance and Socioeconomics of Large Marine Ecosystems*. See: [http://www.lme.noaa.gov/lmeweb/publications/LME\\_Governance\\_Handbook.pdf](http://www.lme.noaa.gov/lmeweb/publications/LME_Governance_Handbook.pdf)

## A Classification of GEF IW Projects Supporting Collective Action

In principle, transboundary collaboration can be achieved purely nationally or bilaterally without the need for involvement of a separate regional body; indeed as previously mentioned there are GEF projects that, for example, enable individual states to deliver against global strategies for coastal pollution reduction, without requiring any form of regional coordination. For the purposes of this paper this cohort of projects is largely excluded. However, projects supporting bilateral and multilateral cooperation are considered, because these are capable of being tested against the overall question regarding this paper of the role of regionalism and transboundary water resources governance and management.

GEF IW projects designed specifically to strengthen collaboration between two or more states are in the majority. Within the GEF IW portfolio, out of a total of 226 projects 133 are classed as regional, 34 are classed as global leaving the remainder, 59, supporting primarily national actions albeit within a global context (see Box 3.1.). From this pool of projects a total of 83 GEF projects were selected that had received a terminal evaluation and that were designed to strengthen regional cooperation. Next, each project was assessed by examining its stated design brief and terminal evaluation to determine its connection to regional cooperation and the extent to which the project met its design objectives. This final screening resulted in 48 completed projects, which clustered into seven modes of cooperation (see Appendix 2 for further details).

Box 3.1. GEF's definition of national, regional, and global projects

GEF has a pragmatic definition of projects on the basis of who receives the funding:

- National project: one country receiving a GEF grant
- Regional project: two or more countries within the same region receiving a GEF grant
- Global project: *either* no countries but addressing a global scientific or technical issue; *or* (usually) three or more countries from different (GEF) regions

### *Creation of a Regional Body for the Duration of the Project*

When states willing to collaborate on a transboundary issue appear to have no relevant pre-existing regional body to work through, GEF has long specialized in filling this gap by offering catalytic support for trust-building mechanisms. This pragmatic approach has the attraction of being well-focused on the transboundary issues concerned, under the control of the project and can lead to very effective delivery of stress reduction actions within shared water basins and coastal areas.

For the five projects<sup>61</sup> reviewed under this modality the evaluators highlighted the risk of lack of sustainability of a regional coordination function after project closure. The common recommendation was that at an early stage in project implementation a communication strategy should be activated and regularly revised to engage national agency counterparts, including development of functional mechanisms, such as MoUs between institutions or agencies. It should be noted that IW projects that

61 GEF IDs 460, 462, 885, 974, 2041

work with establishing regional cooperation, especially those working through a regional body, will often be followed up with additional investments to ensure that the regional body will be able to prepare and implement sustainability strategies beyond the initial GEF funding.

Box 3.2. Iullemeden Aquifer System (creation of a temporary regional body)

The groundwater-focused Iullemeden Aquifer System (IAS) project proposed a new regional mechanism. The development of elements of policy for the reduction of the transboundary risks of the IAS was an identified need for the three states participating (Mali, Niger and Nigeria). The geography for a groundwater basin does not necessarily match any surface waters boundary of existing river basin organizations, thus until the project had established transboundary limits, appropriate legal and institutional mechanisms could not be deduced. The project successfully developed functional mechanisms, such as MoUs between institutions or agencies, which could later evolve and be formalized into agreements at the State level. The project evaluation recommended, however, that either existing mechanisms (e.g. ABN, ECOWAS) be considered or a new regional mechanism be established to respond to the lack of an institution to host a permanent management structure for the IAS. (GEF ID 2041)

*Creation of a Regional Body For the Duration of the Project and Fostering a Formal Agreement and Political Body*

In contrast to projects that created a project term-limited regional body, a small cohort of projects<sup>62</sup> fostered various forms of formal inter-governmental agreement and related political body. This is a more ambitious set of objectives which can act as a foundation for a long term form of regional cooperation. Three out of the four projects cited here supported work in Large Marine Ecosystems, and the need for regional cooperation was realized through stepwise analysis of the environmental and socio-economic status of shared waters. Terminal evaluations noted that, while development of regional cooperation and of its political underpinning is promising, projects should not neglect the foundation of national inter-ministerial/cross-sectoral development, which is one of the GEF's IW indicators

62 GEF IDs 597, 789, 790, 1851

Two East Asian Seas LME-focused initiatives, which were preceded by the UNEP Regional Seas Program's NOWPAP (Northwest Pacific Action Plan), have received terminal evaluations, the Yellow Sea LME project and the Building Partnerships in Environmental Management for the Seas of East Asia (PEMSEA) project together with its foundation project Regional Programme for the Prevention and Management of Marine Pollution in the East Asian Seas. The former achieved progress towards a Commission and the latter resulted in a complementary regional political framework (PEMSEA<sup>63</sup>) and its resulting formal Agreement, the Putrajaya Declaration of 2003<sup>64</sup>. These were major achievements and addressed real needs of states and addressed a gap in support by existing regional political and economic bodies. However, the recent Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea and adjacent areas<sup>65</sup> concluded that economic benefit is the main incentive for states to commit their support to such initiatives and noted that in fact states have preferred to work through legally binding instruments that are primarily economic in intent and bilateral in nature. It appears that regional bodies in the East Asian Seas area have attracted less support for governance but preferably for coordinated environmental monitoring at regional scale. (GEF IDs 396, 597, 790)

### *Support To or From an Existing Regional Body*

It appears from the terminal evaluation evidence that GEF projects which achieve, through participatory means and built upon stepwise support, regional coordinating bodies and inter-governmental agreements to address real gaps may even so not connect with apparently relevant pre-existing regional bodies or convince participating states that it is their interest to conduct their transboundary work beyond bilateral actions.

The key question that arises at the outset of any regional project is whether country ownership is effective. A second important question is whether an existing regional body can offer useful support to, or obtain support from, the GEF project proposed. GEF rules stipulate that explicit country ownership is a pre-condition for approval, but does not demand similar undertakings from regional bodies.

Regarding country ownership, evaluations of projects that either supported or obtained support from regional bodies noted that regional level programs should be used to design projects for national level delivery, consistent with regional goals and coordination but owned by national governments<sup>66</sup>. This lesson is again strongly reinforced by the findings of the Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea. GEF support to the strengthening of regional bodies that focuses on capacity building, including basing the PCU within the body concerned, may lead to measurable impact. Conversely, if the PCU is too strong or not well integrated within a regional political and economic body, its closure can leave a gap hard to fill.

63 Supported by GEF projects 396, 597, 2188, 4936

64 The Declaration commits 12 governments to a regional marine strategy (SDS-SEA) with framework programs consisting of 227 action plans covering local, national and global environmental and sustainable development issues ranging from fisheries to climate change.

65 GEF Evaluation Office. December 2012. Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea and adjacent areas.

66 Recommended by e.g. terminal evaluation of GEF ID 73, Aral Sea Project

There is no evidence from the evaluations of this cohort of projects that the GEF and its partners ignores relevant regional bodies; where they exist links are made, but if they are considered weak and ineffective, there is a danger that they will be bypassed, rather than strengthened<sup>67</sup>. In the absence of a strong regional institution, evaluators concluded that development assistance should focus on capacity building and institutional strengthening of the regional Recipient, rather than attempting to resolve or bypass the institution's shortcomings by introducing outside agencies for project management and execution.

Box 3.4. Watershed and Coastal Areas Management in the Caribbean Small Island Developing States (IWCAM) project (support to or from an existing regional body)

The terminal evaluation for this project noted that its political legitimacy within CARICOM could have been strengthened at the outset by more explicit linkage of its outputs to the leverage provided by the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas – an economic instrument under CARICOM. The evaluators also noted that the transition to the post-project situation, including the transfer of some of the project's (including PCU) roles to Caribbean Environmental Health Institute (CEHI) and UNEP Caribbean Regional Coordination Unit (CAR/RCU), represented a critical step in the achievement of sustainability of project results, and as such should have been treated as a project activity, part of the Sustainability Strategy of the project. Nevertheless the project's well-coordinated support for regional facilitation coupled with strong country ownership were major factors contributing to its success and the project is credited partly at least with enabling the Protocol Concerning Pollution of the Marine Environment of the Wider Caribbean from Land-Based Sources and Activities (LBS Protocol) in 2010. In the case of IWCAM therefore the generic evaluation lesson learnt included that regional projects should maximize the linkages to politically approved programs to ensure maximum traction regarding new laws and regulations. (GEF ID 1254)

### *Support To an Existing Regional Plan Under a Regional Convention or Commission*

Strategic support to the implementation of a regional agreement or plan is a major component of GEF support to states. This has the advantage of prior regional buy-in by countries at political and technical levels and may build upon foundation projects previously supported by the GEF. There is some evidence that this type of project can also strengthen regional bodies (see Box 3.5). However, evaluators caution that regional plans can outline cooperation, but sustainability lies in strengthening and obtaining the commitment of participating national governments collectively towards achieving common goals.

Additional lessons learnt in the evaluations for this modality include that GEF projects that aim to promote benefit sharing as an incentive to transboundary cooperation beyond reduction of environmental stress need to build explicitly support for such analysis; also that strong central coordination is necessary to ensure delivery of results in regional projects. The implications of political-economic changes must be assessed even for environmental projects, evaluators concluding that environmental

67 For example, see the terminal evaluation for GEF ID 767, Reversal of Land and Water Degradation Trends in the Lake Chad Basin Ecosystem

measures are often politically sensitive in any country and this is even more likely to be the case when several neighboring countries are involved.

Box 3.5. Implementation of the Strategic Action Programme (SAP) for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden (support to an existing regional plan)

Terminal evaluators noted that although the Regional Organization for the Conservation of the Environment in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden (PERSGA) was established before the preparation and adoption of the SAP, nevertheless the implementation of the SAP helped a great deal to shape PERSGA as an effective organization and to strengthen its ability to perform its duties and mandates under the Jeddah Convention and other international conventions related to the protection and conservation of marine environment in the Red Sea. (GEF ID 340)

### *Creation of a Regional Convention and Supporting Bodies*

In addition to the support GEF offers to countries for implementation of existing plans and agreements, there are a small number of projects that catalyze or support development of regional Conventions, demanding a very high level of technical and political expertise and sufficient time to enable participation and consultation to arrive at a regional instrument.

The main trade-off with GEF projects at this scale is that they can only, initially at least, expect to be catalytic, given the available GEF project timescales of one to five years. This finding underlines the challenge that GEF faces in moving beyond an environmental stress reduction focus, which is a sound baseline of GEF strategic support, to add a benefit generation focus. In recognition of the up to twenty years support needed towards achieving results of long-term sustainability, stress reduction impact, and initial environmental and socioeconomic status impact, multiple stages of investment through GEF IW are the norm, sustained by a consistent GEF IW vision.

Box 3.6. Towards a Convention and Action Programme for the Protection of the Caspian Sea Environment (creation of a regional convention and supporting bodies)

This Caspian Sea project, which built upon a predecessor GEF project, resulted in the Tehran Convention (Framework Convention for the Protection of the Maritime Environment of the Caspian Sea, November 2003), the terminal evaluation noting that this was the first ever formal, legal commitment among the five Caspian states designed to address emerging environmental challenges. The evaluators noted in particular that given the impacts and opportunities connected with the oil sector in the Caspian Sea, a transferable lesson learned is to develop active participation of the private sector from the very beginning of a regional program of this kind in order to share in the ownership of the program. GEF regional projects cannot make major region-wide investments, not even in data collection according to the evaluators who asserted that they can only be catalytic and that one should not expect regional projects to directly undertake significant groundwork, but expect them to influence, catalyze and leverage. More importantly country (and regional) ownership remained within the relatively small traditional “environmental” circle of stakeholders, and did not encompass new and non-traditional environmental stakeholders, such as Finance or Foreign Affairs in a substantial way. (GEF ID 1618)

### *Contributing Actions Towards the Goals of a Global Framework or Convention*

Countries request support from the GEF to help them implement global agreements which can take the form of single country actions in the case of projects that support the UNEP's Global Program of Action (GPA) in LMEs, a regional approach especially for Small Island Development States (SID) in the case of International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships (MARPOL) compliance and for regional seas, such as East Asian Seas states, to assist them in implementing global conventions. Regional cooperation is assisted by PCUs embedded in regional organizations.

Box 3.7. Ship-Generated Waste Management Project (contributing actions towards the goals of a global framework or convention)

The Environment and Sustainable Development Unit, Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) acted as coordinator for the Ship-Generated Waste Management Project, which addressed MARPOL 73/79 Annex waste control. The project piloted model legislation, capacity building and monitoring at regional level. The regional approach was evaluated as providing for greater aid effectiveness in small island developing states (SIDS) through economies of scale and increasing synergies in areas where resources, both human and financial, are limited. Regional cooperation is assisted by Project Management Units embedded in regional organizations. For example, in the above project, the OECS acted as coordinator. (GEF ID 59)

### *Creation of a Global Convention*

Exceptionally, GEF support has resulted in one global Convention being developed through project support. The International Maritime Organization's International Convention for the Control and Management of Ships Ballast Water & Sediments was supported by the GloBallast project (see Box 3.8). For projects of this type, pilot countries working with global agencies agree to act as demonstrators for barrier removal and for key national staff to receive training in the application of the proposed global Convention, subsequently acting as champions for the eventual adoption of the Convention.

Box 3.8. Global Ballast Water Management Programme (creation of a global convention)

The GEF project Removal of Barriers to the Effective Implementation of Ballast Water Control and Management Measures in Developing Countries, known as the GloBallast project, considerably assisted the formulation and approval of the Ballast Water Convention (International Convention for the Control and Management of Ships Ballast Water & Sediments, February 2004) administered by the International Maritime Organization. The terminal evaluation noted the success of the intergovernmental Regional Task Forces and adoption of Strategic Action Plans to provide a framework for countries to work cooperatively. The terminal evaluation also found that global projects dealing with "new" issues, requiring the coordination of multiple pilot sites, need sufficient time to develop, and advised that three years is insufficient, five years is preferable. The evaluation noted in particular, when setting up projects that includes country pilots for a global Convention, additional inception time is necessary to get the country operations fully mobilized. (GEF ID 610)



## Evidence from Thematic Evaluations of GEF Projects

A recent series of 11 reports produced by the United Nations University Institute for Water, Environment, and Health (UNU-INWEH) for the GEF's IW:Science project sampled IW projects from the GEF database across the major categories of freshwater and marine systems to determine the extent to which science had informed project design and delivery.<sup>68</sup> Also included were observations on intervention logic, socio-economics, legal and institutional arrangements and lessons learnt. The series of reports is useful because it provides insight into how water system types intersect with the modes of cooperation discussed above.

The IW:Science project found that because existing river basin organizations dealing with surface waters often do not have compatible mapping with the boundaries of aquifers, for groundwater-related projects a relevant water management body may need to be created. GEF projects may therefore suggest the creation of such a specialist groundwater-focused regional body on technical grounds and to have it adopted politically as the project develops. Projects 974 (Guaraní Aquifer), and 1851 (North-Western Sahara Aquifer System- NWSAS) illustrate contrasting results. The former aimed for the '...elaboration and implementation of a common institutional and technical framework for the management and preservation of the Guaraní Aquifer System, a goal which the World Bank's independent evaluation<sup>69</sup> found to be unrealistic. It was found to be unclear whether economies of scale and scope require regional action by the four states involved instead of local and bilateral actions. By contrast for the NWSAS a political agreement at ministerial level was achieved, supported by technical cooperation structures across the three states concerned. For this project the location of the project unit within a pre-existing regional technical body may have promoted country acceptance of the regional agreement, which is being consolidated through a further project (3645).<sup>70</sup>

For the other types of international waters, the IW:Science project reported that there was not one correct path to regional cooperation but many and argued that the results justified the means taking into account technical, social and economic priorities of riparian/regional states.

The GEF Evaluation Office has piloted a study in the South China Sea area examining a group of 34 GEF projects across all focal areas regarding their impact in the region.<sup>71</sup> The findings of the evaluation are also relevant to this paper regarding regional issues. For International Waters, the region has a number of pre-existing frameworks which are relevant to regional cooperation. Thus through the support from several international organizations, comprising mainly the UN-based organi-

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68 Enhancing the Use of Science in International Waters Projects to Improve Project Results. GEF ID 3343. See also: <http://www.inweh.unu.edu/River/IWScience.htm>

69 An Independent Evaluation of the World Bank's Support of Regional Programs. Case Study of the Guaraní Aquifer Project. 2006. The World Bank, Washington DC.

70 MENARID Reducing Risks to the Sustainable Management of the North West Sahara Aquifer System (NWSAS), GEF ID 3645

71 GEF Evaluation Office. December 2012. *Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea and adjacent areas.*



zations, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, a network of technically focused strategies had emerged by the time GEF support became available in 1993. The evaluation notes that ‘GEF support has mostly been able to move the transboundary environmental agenda forward where there is alignment with country priorities, and more specifically where countries derive direct benefits.’ This statement is very similar to the findings of many evaluations within individual projects worldwide, and indicates that a minimum threshold is essential for country ownership as a precondition for GEF catalyzed regional cooperation. Further, the evaluation found that ‘GEF has built on existing initiatives in the region and has helped enable the implementation of activities that address transboundary environmental concerns prioritized by countries and other regional organizations by supporting activities at different scales.’ It is not clear however, whether GEF regional support has been shown directly to have influenced bodies such as ASEAN.

## 4. Discussion – Linking Regionalism and Transboundary Water Management

### Regional Governance and Regional Organizations

Over the last two decades the research and policy discussion on regional integration and regionalism have expanded all over the world. It is now widely acknowledged that regions and regionalism are now central to global politics. Indeed, as one author in the field points out, we are approaching a ‘world of regions.’<sup>72</sup> Whereas the ‘old’ regionalism was generally related to the conditions that arose from conditions internal to and specific to each region in question, the ‘new’ regionalism is closely linked with the shifting nature of global politics and the intensification of globalization. Similarly, there is a long tradition in both research and policy to determine how regional cooperation should be governed and what regional frameworks are the most effective for achieving regional public goods. This paper underlines that regional cooperation and collective action is absolutely necessary for the successful management of transboundary water resources as well as for achieving a range of other public goods, such as peace and security, economic development and a functioning economy.

A typology of regional organizations is presented in this paper making the crucial distinction between multipurpose and specialized regional organizations. Both types of regional organization have their own particular strengths and weaknesses and are nested into multiple forms of governance. Evidence in chapter 2 and 3 confirm that specialized and functional regional organizations are most effective when the incentive structure, objectives and tasks are clear, and the contextual conditions are stable

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72 Katzenstein, P. J. (2005). *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

and less politicized. By contrast, multipurpose regional organizations may be better equipped for facilitating transboundary political coordination and cross-sectoral linkages and for ensuring and mobilizing national political commitment under complex and politicized circumstances. However, regional organizations (both specialized and multipurpose ones) may be costly and they may even be hijacked for specific interests rather than achieving the common good or providing regional governance. The costs of regionalism as well as dysfunctional regional organizations may contravene the potential benefits of regional cooperation. As a result, there is a need to be realistic about both positive and negative effects of regional organizations and to identify which regional framework can be supported or built. But there are also examples where regional governance frameworks develop without multipurpose regional organizations as leading partners. One example is the comprehensive and ambitious regional ocean governance mechanism developed in the wider Caribbean (under the auspices of the GEF-funded CMLE project) (see Box 2.3). Even if CARICOM participated in the project, the regional ocean governance framework developed as a series of partnerships including specialized organizations around the CMLE project, but it did not fully manage to include the ambitions of the multipurpose CARICOM to create a single space for economic and environmental performance. Given that much of the discussion about transboundary water management within the GEF circles around river basin organizations and specialized agencies, it appears as if questions about regional governance and the political relevance of multipurpose regional organizations deserve increasing attention.

## Reconciling Regional Cooperation with National Benefits

One general point emphasized is that public goods in the area of transboundary water management cannot be supplied only through isolated national strategies. Successful results depend also on basin-wide approaches and collective action towards clear outcomes. Indeed, there is an intricate relationship between regional cooperation and the common regional good, on the one hand, and national (i.e. state) interests and ownership, on the other hand. There is compelling scientific evidence in the field of environment (as well as many other policy fields), that there is often a systematic conflict between the common interest and what is rational for individual actors and governments. Research demonstrates the need for functioning ‘institutions’ and governance mechanisms to solve such collective action problems in the field of environment.<sup>73</sup> One of the main challenges is how the institutions and governance mechanisms necessary to solve such collective action problems can be created, maintained and developed.

73 Olson, M. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard University Press; Hardin, G. (1968). ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’, *Science* 162: 1243-1248; Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons. The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press; International Task Force on Global Public Goods (2006), *Meeting Global Challenges: International Cooperation in the National Interest*. Final Report. Stockholm: Sweden.

While efficient collective action and self-government on the subnational level may be enhanced by 'local' or 'national' institutions, transboundary problems and public goods tend to an increasing extent to depend on a certain degree of *transnational* political coordination and governance. There is however no clear scientific evidence that regional organizations will necessarily constitute the best providers of such political coordination and governance frameworks. The tendency – at least in the past and in many developing countries – is that regionalism has often been delinked from national processes and channels. In fact, regional cooperation mechanisms that are not integrated into national plans are unsustainable and quite likely to fail, or at least can be sub-optimal.

This discussion is of major importance for the GEF, whose general approach is usually constructive in this regard, since it seeks to build capacity at both national and regional levels in order to reconcile regional cooperation with national strategies and benefits. More specifically, the role of the GEF, as outlined in this paper, is primarily to enable states to deliver global environmental benefits and in the focal area of IW, at the transboundary level. Within this logic, GEF's role at the transboundary level is to facilitate collaboration between states, with an emphasis on a country-driven and a projects-based approach. GEF's approach to regional cooperation is based on the fact that states first need to fully understand the necessity for transboundary cooperation but also 'own' the subsequent actions.

The GEF's Fourth Overall Performance Study (OPS4) notes that 'There is no evidence that the increasing emphasis on national ownership in the GEF leads to reduced attention to global environmental issues' (GEF 2009).<sup>74</sup> Yet, the same report also demonstrates that 'when choosing which issues to address, there are currently no incentives for states to collaborate on regional and transboundary issues'. In other words, the fundamental challenge for the GEF Partnership is to simultaneously contribute to the development of transboundary institutions and governance mechanisms that can solve the collective action dilemma while at the same time promote national interests and benefits in a manner that contributes to environmental benefit.

It would be a major error to believe that it is a simple task to reconcile the regional good with national benefits. This issue has in fact been discussed for decades in the field of regionalism and in many fields of activity, including the environment. The failure to effectively deal with the issue has also resulted in many unfulfilled goals and expectations.<sup>75</sup> There are several different ways to reconcile the regional good and national benefit. It is for instance possible to work in a decentralized (bottom-up) manner on several parallel national tracks to deal with coastal management. A totally different strategy is to take the point of departure on the regional level (top-down) and design strategies for each state in what can be seen as a top-down/regional manner. Each strategy has their different strengths and weaknesses. One of the strengths

74 GEF (2009) *Fourth Overall Performance Study of the GEF: Progress Towards Impact*. GEF Evaluation Report No. 52. GEF: Washington D.C.

75 Isaksen, J. & Tjønneland, E. N. (2001). *Assessing the Restructuring of SADC – Positions, Policies and Progress*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute. A report commissioned by NORAD; Hettne, B. & Söderbaum, F. (2006) 'Regional Cooperation: A Tool for Addressing Regional and Global Challenges', in *ITFGPG. Cross-Cutting Issues*. Stockholm. Sweden, pp. 179-244.

of the bottom-up strategy is that it often makes national incentives and benefits visible and clear.

The SADC experience may, however, illustrate some of the risks connected to this strategy. The problems of SADC's country-based and decentralized approach was openly discussed in the debate about the transformation of SADC in 1990s. It was widely accepted that many of SADC's projects were 'national' and sometimes lacked a clear 'regional' focus. In fact, many of the projects in the SADC's programme of action could in fact be national projects 'dressed up' as regional.<sup>76</sup> One strength of a top-down approach to regionalism is that it may be more easy to take a holistic approach to regional problem-solving and it may also be easier to decide what is considered a common regional interest (rather than a series of national problems and interests within the same territory). One important risk of the top-down approach has already been noted; namely that the incentive structure and the national benefits may not be so visible and clear. In fact, the national adjustment costs appear to be direct and visible whereas the common and regional benefits appear to accrue in the longer term – hence, the risks are connected to the classical collective action dilemma.

Linking these insights back to the debate about GEF more specifically, it needs saying that the GEF IW has a long history of trying to synchronize national concerns with regional cooperation. Operationally, this is usually done via the development of subsidiary 'National Action Plans' to regional marine and freshwater SAPs which detail much more specific national commitments to governance reforms and investments in support of the regional/transboundary objectives of the overall SAP. It is thus important to acknowledge that the GEF does not decide how the states are to work together to achieve long-term sustainable outcomes and outputs. In the GEF's approach, the countries are in the driver's seat, and it is thus first and foremost a bottom-up approach. The GEF approach is based on the view that otherwise regional political process will lack the national buy-in and hence be impaired and be much more fragile. The overall TDA/SAP approach followed to date allows for a process where governments are driving a process towards goals and visions that have been agreed nationally as well as regionally. It is also part of GEF's approach that it should contribute to support regional cooperation mechanisms, hence work with building capacities at both national and regional levels. However, the prevailing emphasis on a country-driven projects-based approach may help to explain why regional context and regional strategies have not received very much recognition within the GEF partnership (apart from in specific project designs).

Given the GEF's explicit emphasis on national action and benefit, the GEF has a unique opportunity to collaborate with other agents as a force for change in order to facilitate that regionalism is even better reconciled with national concerns. A more sophisticated guidance system, especially regarding cost/benefit analysis and economic valuation of goods and services (e.g. benefits regarding the water, food, energy and ecosystem nexus), would also be very beneficial in order to better inform

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76 SADC (1997). 'Review and Rationalisation of SADC Programme of Action. Volume 2: Main Report.' Gaborone: SADC, table 4 and 6.

country decisions about the value of regional cooperation (i.e. solving the collective action dilemma). This would result in a more coherent methodology that could start addressing the socio-economic targets inherent in the GEF focal area strategies. The GEF partnership could also have a role at the non-project level and assist in regional confidence building and environmental diplomacy across proposed intervention areas from source to sea, thereby supporting collective action at the regional scale.

## Balancing Context, Strategy and Project Design

Many GEF IW projects are classed as ‘regional’ and recognize the significance of regional collaboration to reinforce transboundary benefits. However the pattern is diverse and it is quite difficult to identify the underlying reasons why GEF projects and policies relate to and interact in a particular way with other regional mechanisms active in the same geographical area and field of operation. As detailed in Appendix 2, several GEF IW projects are designed in order to contribute to or gain support from a particular regional organization or regional body. Sometimes there are close links between GEF and regional organizations, whereas at other times these are not explored or utilized.

The diversity of outcomes appears to be connected to the fact that there is little *systematic* discussion within the GEF about the meaning and significance of regional cooperation and ‘regional projects’, and in what ways these should be linked to the regional context and the regional political economy. This is, in turn, probably related to that GEF’s mandate does not specify any regional role or systematic assessment of regionalism or the regional political economy in a broader sense. GEF supports the strengthening or the development of regional institutions as a means to an end, that is, to lever collective action for transboundary water systems management in general and through its projects in particular. One of the main messages of this paper is that within GEF there is a lot of emphasis on the execution of GEF IW projects *per se* and considerably less attention on how these projects relate to the broader regional context and multipurpose regional organizations operating within the same field.<sup>77</sup>

When GEF interventions pay significant attention to regional organizations, this usually appears to be due to a recognized gap in governance at the regional level that evidently needs to be addressed. A successful example of this is the East Asian Seas GEF Project (ID 597): *Building Partnerships in Environmental Management for the Seas of East Asia* (PEMSEA). East Asia is one of the few regions in the world that does not have a legally-binding convention for the management of its regional seas. Yet the GEF project built, in the absence of a prior technical cooperative framework and using highly participatory methods, a regional partnership body (PEMSEA), an accompanying regional agreement (the Putrajaya Declaration of 2003), and a clear

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<sup>77</sup> The recent Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea strongly emphasized the importance to collaborate and consult relevant regional bodies in project design and regional policy. GEF (2012) *Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea and Adjacent areas*. Washington: GEF Evaluation Office.

commitment amongst participating states to a set of long-term voluntary actions that were regional in scope.

Furthermore, the recent *Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea and Adjacent Areas* reveals at the same time a complex and at times problematic relationship between GEF IW interventions and regionalism.<sup>78</sup>

The evaluation emphasizes, for instance, that GEF interventions are strongly influenced by the regional context and by regional governance mechanisms, recommending that GEF support should give more attention to existing regional organizations and better define the role and linkages to regional cooperation mechanisms and institutions in the context of its broader regional strategy as a means to enhance both impact and sustainability.

This case can also be seen in the context of the CLME program in the Caribbean, where there is a discussion about the GEF's role in terms of supporting regional action. It has been stated that rather than starting out with GEF projects taking on a pseudo-organizational role and subsequently transferring responsibility to regional organizations, it seems better to engage such regional organizations from the outset and have the GEF project functioning in a capacity building facilitating and supporting role.<sup>79</sup>

The detailed analysis of the GEF experience carried out in the chapter 3 (and to a lesser extent in chapter 2) reveals a great deal of flexibility in the design of GEF IW projects. Under certain circumstances, a high degree of flexibility and pragmatism in project design allows for projects to be adjusted to meet local, national as well as regional conditions. The problem that has arisen thus far is that without any systematic assessment of the regional context (or even a clear plan within the initial project design that considers legal frameworks, administrative and technical arrangements and their financial viability), post-project impacts may be unsustainable.

The available evidence from terminal evaluations is that measurable impacts in terms of stress reduction are hard to attribute directly to GEF support to regionalism itself except as an enabling part of a chain. In particular the robust role that a GEF Project Coordination Unit (PCU) exercises is noted in many terminal evaluations as both an essential catalyst for regional cooperation and also a risk to sustainability if not transitioned into either an existing mechanism or through inadequate consultation a weakly politically supported mechanism results.

There is some evidence that GEF regional support has resulted in outcomes that reinforce existing regional bodies (PERSGA), and especially regional agreements (Tehran Convention, Putrajaya Declaration, Benguela Current Convention), which confirm that GEF can effectively deliver towards regionalization processes. However, it is also clear that with GEF's role cast as a catalyst and enabler of transboundary collaboration that it does not have a mandate for regional coordination per se; instead, as the *Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea* amply illustrates, GEF is non-judgmental in its support for regional governance provided the expected

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78 GEF (2012) *Impact Evaluation of the GEF in the South China Sea and Adjacent areas*.

79 See Mahon, Fanning & McConney (2014). 'Assessing and facilitating emerging regional ocean governance arrangements in the Wider Caribbean Region'.



outcomes are likely to assist countries, regardless of whether some duplication of regional coordination or governance results from the original mapping of the system boundaries for GEF support.

A closely related finding, which follows from this observation, is that no systematic model or template for regional collaboration is currently being deployed at the project design stage. Indeed, GEF project developers are seemingly free to design intervention strategies in many different ways and with no clear preferred methodology. This being the case, over the years since the inception of GEF in 1991, management and governance support required to deliver actions determined through the consensus-based TDA and its output – a negotiated SAP, has been delivered through a limited but diverse set of channels, some of which coincide with and use existing regional bodies, whilst others are created in a bespoke fashion. This has sometimes led to parallel initiatives with existing bodies, leading to a very complex pattern of links between regional cooperation modes and GEF IW interventions, as illustrated by the seven modes of cooperation through GEF IW interventions identified previously. The duplication of governance frameworks is a matter of concern.

Evidence in this paper points to the fact that GEF project designers should place more emphasis on assessing the regional political and economic context. The linkages to regional cooperation mechanisms and institutions in the context of a broader regional strategy should be assessed. It is suggested that a regional governance baseline that includes an analysis of the political economy of regionalism be undertaken for all project interventions. This is not equivalent to a one-size-fits-all strategy or force GEF interventions to work through specific regional frameworks or organizations. It would rather provide an analysis of the existing governance system in a broader sense, thus informing project design from a governance and political economy perspective.<sup>80</sup>

Such an approach would also provide a tool for learning from past and current collective governance practices as well as for the exploration of adaptive governance approaches. Finally, it would also provide a detailed and objective reference point against which GEF IW interventions performance can be measured.

GEF is a global finance facility that works in all regions; its policy is set by ‘regional’ constituencies, which make up the GEF Council, but these regional constituencies do not correspond to the geography of regional groupings of mainstream regional bodies. These regional constituencies are best understood as administrative regions, with little correspondence to eco-regions, economic regions, and political regions. If the GEF states choose to work at the regional level with GEF funding, it may be appropriate for the GEF to reorganize the current arbitrary regional constituencies in order to better facilitate dialogue between states on a regional basis. This suggests that GEF needs to improve its links to relevant regional delimitations and regional organizations and at the same time develop regional strategies for the different regions.

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80 The World Bank has developed a problem driven governance and political economy model which is best practice under the Bank's Political Economy Guidelines, see Fritz, V. Kaiser, K. & Levy, B. (2009). *Problem-driven Governance and Political Economy Analysis. Good Practice Framework*. Washington: World Bank.

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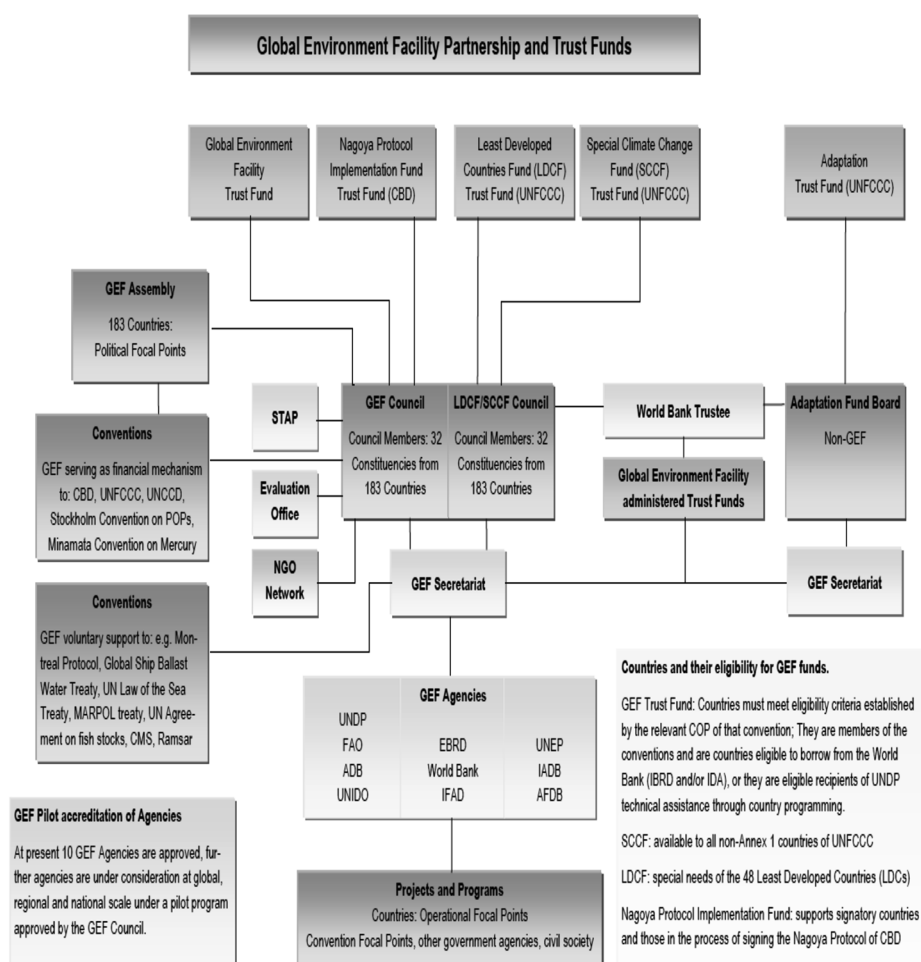
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## Appendix 1. The GEF Partnership Structure



The Global Environment Facility (GEF) unites 183 countries in partnership with international institutions, civil society organizations, and the private sector to ad-

dress global environmental issues while supporting national sustainable development initiatives. The stakeholders within the GEF partnership are governed by the GEF Council, which is served by a Secretariat and advised by the Evaluation Office and by the Scientific and Technical Advisory Panel (STAP). The Council represents member states, which meet together as an Assembly every three to four years. GEF Agencies are accredited to the Council to develop, on behalf of member states, projects and programs for consideration by the Council which draws on four trust funds, administered by the World Bank.

## Appendix 2. Methodology and Assumptions for the Analysis in Chapter 3

The total of 252 projects with non-dropped status, as of 8 March 2013, includes multi-focal projects which have IW focal area funding. 226 projects were considered for further analysis which included projects with approval from any of the CEO, GEF Council, GEF Agency, or under implementation, completed or closed. By definition all GEF projects are for developing countries (or a few in the past for countries with economies in transition).

A total of 83 GEF projects resulted from this first screening step. Next, each project was assessed by examining its stated design brief and terminal evaluation to determine its connection to regional cooperation and the extent to which the project met its design objectives. This final screening resulted in 48 completed projects that were accepted for this part of the study, which clustered into seven main modalities regarding GEF regional (or global) cooperation interventions, ranging from least strategic (creation of a regional body for the duration of a project) to most strategic (creation of a global Convention). The most common mode amongst these completed and evaluated examples was project support to or from an existing regional body or towards an existing regional plan or Convention (31 projects). Projects often had multiple goals therefore the primary goal related to regional cooperation was used to categorize the projects.

It is important to note that the placement of an individual project against a mode in the table does not capture the possible inter-linkages between successive projects building towards a strategic regional result. For example in the Lake Victoria Basin, East Asian Seas and Danube River/Black Sea, a succession of projects, with or without GEF funding, have built over many years technical and political structures and associated results that cannot be deduced easily from individual project terminal evaluations or terminal evaluation reviews. This limitation, however, is not an important barrier to the analysis of the extent to which regional connections have been made by GEF projects.

*Test of GEF project relevance to strengthening of regionality:* GEF programs and projects are designed to strengthen these frameworks and avoid building parallel project specific governance frameworks.

*Links to non-IW Focal Areas:* All other GEF focal areas are linked to multilateral environmental conventions; national links are therefore made to global conventions unless there is a related regional protocol. The Biodiversity Convention promotes regional model legislation as a tool and encourages 'regional organizations' to assist with implementation.

Table A1. Mode of cooperation of selected GEF projects (completed and with terminal evaluations)

	Mode	N	GEF Project IDs
<<<<<< More strategic >>>>>>	Creation of a regional body for the duration of the project	5	460, 462, 885, 974, 2041
	Creation of a regional body for the duration of the project <u>and</u> fostering a formal agreement and political body	4	597, 789, 790, 1851
	Support to or from an existing regional body	16	73, 530, 533, 767, 807, 842, 884, 963, 970, 1093, 1109, 1254, 1591, 2188, 2364, 2405
	Support to an existing regional Plan under a regional Convention or Commission	15	88, 340, 461, 806 <sup>#</sup> , 849, 922, 1094, 1229, 1247*, 1355 <sup>#</sup> , 2042, 2263, 2584, 2617, 3620
	Creation of a regional Convention and supporting bodies	3	596, 1618, 2131
	Contributing actions towards the goals of a global framework or Convention	5	59, 68, 396, 533, 1247*
	Creation of a global Convention	1	610

Notes:

\* Project 1247 supported actions at global and regional levels

# Projects 806 and 1355 are within a cohort of projects, 1074, 1159, 1351, 2143, 2970, 3148 which belong to the WB-GEF Strategic Partnership for Nutrient Reduction in the Danube River and Black Sea

### Appendix 3. List of Completed GEF projects Assessed for Chapter 3

GEF ID	Project Title
59	Regional – OECS Ship-Generated Waste Management
68	Oil Pollution Management Project for the Southwest Mediterranean Sea
73	Regional – Water and Environmental Management Project (WEMP) in the Aral Sea Basin
88	Regional – Lake Victoria Environmental Management Project P046872

- 340 Regional – Implementation of the Strategic Action Programme(SAP) for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden
- 396 Prevention and Management of Marine Pollution in the East Asian Seas
- 460 Regional – Preparation of A Strategic Action Programme (SAP) for the Dnieper (Dnipro) River Basin and Development of SAP Implementation Mechanisms RER/98/G31
- 461 Regional – Determination of the Priority Actions for the Further Elaboration and Implementation of the Strategic Action Programme for the Mediterranean Sea. GFL/2730-00-4291
- 462 Regional – Preparation of A Strategic Action Program (SAP) and Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis (TDA) for the Tumen River Area, Its Coastal Regions and Related Northeast Asian Environs
- 530 Regional - SAP for the IW of the Pacific Small Islands and Development States (SIDS)
- 533 Regional Africa - Western Indian Ocean Islands Oil Spill Contingency Planning Project
- 596 Regional - Addressing Transboundary Environmental Issues in the Caspian Environment Programme (CEP)
- 597 Building Partnerships for the Environmental Protection and Management of the East Asian Seas
- 610 Global – Removal of Barriers to the Effective Implementation of Ballast Water Control and Management Measures in Developing Countries 2197
- 767 Reversal of Land and Water Degradation Trends in the Lake Chad Basin Ecosystem
- 789 Implementation of the Strategic Action Programme (SAP) Toward Achievement of the Integrated Management of the Benguela Current Large Marine Ecosystem (LME)
- 790 Reducing Environmental Stress in the Yellow Sea Large Marine Ecosystem
- 806 Building Environmental Citizenship to Support Transboundary Pollution Reduction in the Danube: A Pilot Project
- 807 Russia – Persistent Toxic Substances (PTS), Food Security and Indigenous Peoples of the Russian North. GFL/2732-01-4316
- 842 Okavango River Basin
- 849 Regional Development and Protection of the Coastal and Marine Environment in Sub-Saharan Africa
- 884 Reduction of Environmental Impact from Tropical Shrimp Trawling through Introduction of By-catch Technologies and Change of Management
- 885 Reversing Environmental Degradation Trends in the South China Sea and Gulf of Thailand
- 922 Baltic Sea Regional Project, Tranche 1
- 963 Environmental Protection and Maritime Transport Pollution Control in the Gulf of Honduras
- 970 Groundwater and Drought Management in SADC

- 974 Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development of the Guarani Aquifer System (GAS) Project
  - 1093 Reversing Land and Water Degradation Trends
  - 1094 Nile Basin Initiative Shared Vision Programme
  - 1109 Senegal River Basin Water and Environmental Management Program
  - 1159 Agricultural Pollution Control Project - under WB-GEF Strategic Partnership for Nutrient Reduction in the Danube River and Black Sea
  - 1229 EBRD/GEF Environmental Credit Facility (formerly entitled Slovenia: National Pollution Reduction Project)
  - 1247 Addressing Land-based Activities in the Western Indian Ocean (WIO-LaB)
  - 1254 Integrating Watershed and Coastal Area Management (IWCAM) in the Small Island Developing States of the Caribbean
  - 1355 Agricultural Pollution Control Project - under WB-GEF Strategic Partnership for Nutrient Reduction in the Danube River and Black Sea
  - 1591 Regional Program of Action and Demonstration of Sustainable Alternatives to DDT for Malaria Vector Control in Mexico and Central America
  - 1618 Towards a Convention and Action Programme for the Protection of the Caspian Sea Environment
  - 1851 Protection of the North West Sahara Aquifer System (NWSAS) and related humid zones and ecosystems
  - 2041 Managing Hydrogeological Risk in the Iullemeden Aquifer System
  - 2042 Strengthening the Implementation Capacities for Nutrient Reduction and Transboundary Cooperation in the Danube River Basin (Tranche 2)
  - 2131 Oceanic Fisheries Management: Implementation of the Strategic Action Programme of the Pacific Small Island Developing States (Pacific SAP II)
  - 2188 East Asian Seas Region: Development and Implementation of Public Private Partnerships in Environmental Investments
  - 2263 Control of Eutrophication, Hazardous Substances and Related Measures for Rehabilitating the Black Sea Ecosystem: Tranche 2
  - 2364 Integrated and Sustainable Management of Transboundary Water Resources in the Amazon River Basin Considering Climate Variability and Climate Change
  - 2405 Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis and Strategic Action Program Development for the Lake Victoria Basin
  - 2584 Nile Basin Initiative, Transboundary Environmental Action project
  - 2617 Establishment of a Basin Management Framework for the Integrated Management for the Tisza Transboundary River Basin
  - 3620 The Caspian Sea: Restoring Depleted Fisheries and Consolidation of a Permanent Regional Environmental Governance Framework (CaspEco)
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# Water Scarcity in the Horn of Africa: A Threat to Security or an Incentive to Cooperation for Development

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## Introduction

The Horn of Africa, a region comprising of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda, is often associated with armed conflicts, failed states, refugee flows, widespread famine, drought and poverty. The region is experiencing water scarcity which is considered as the greatest imminent crisis faced by humans on a global scale. The Horn of Africa is a water scarce region, ye large amount of water annually drains out into the sea. In the Horn of Africa, millions of people face each day without knowing if they will have clean water to drink or food to eat. This uncertainty about access to the basic essentials of life stunts security and growth. As a region where all elements of environmental security come together, healthy ecosystems are under threat, large geopolitical tensions exist related to the distribution of the shared waters, and resource conflicts occur on local and regional level (Giessen, 2011:). The next set of root-causes of conflicts in the Horn of Africa refers to the “issue of access to resources expressed in terms of equitable sharing, fairness, and social justice” (SIRC, 2003:7). Resource-related security threats are numerous. Evidence from semi-arid countries in Sub-Saharan Africa shows that resource poor countries are more conflict prone (Furley, 2006). Even once they end, conflicts that have been associated with resource and environmental scarcities are twice as likely to relapse into violence



Figure 1. Horn of African States.



(Homer-Dixon, 1994). Climate change threatens to further compound these issues (Barnett and Adger, 2007).

In addition, the region is currently experiencing one of the world's most serious environmental security crises in many aspects – deforestation, land degradation, food and water insecurity, pollution, and loss of biodiversity. The population is growing exponentially as the necessary and life-sustaining resources are diminishing. There is a desperate need to address these issues, if one desires to prevent further crisis.

The paper analyses the issue of water scarcity in the Horn of Africa and focuses on the shared waters in international basins and watercourse systems. The paper observes also the role that these common resources played in the region's development and the impacts they could have on future development and relations. Relevant external factors that were affecting the issue of sharing water in the region will also be identified and critically analyzed. Figure 1. Horn of African States.

Describing causes and consequences of the region's water scarcities, the central issue in the paper is if the region's water scarcity can be a reason for regional cooperation or if it can be a cause for continued conflicts. The overall aim of the paper is to shed some light on the topic which requires more and enough attention both for the region and for the international community, since little has been said about it. The paper will finally propose some actions needed for addressing and solving the water conflict which seems to be looming and inevitable in the Horn of Africa. The paper is based on data collected during my several times study visit to the region where I met different state authorities, international organizations and academic institutions, as well as senior water managers.

## The Region's Water Resources

### Water Availability of the Region

The climate of the Horn of Africa is governed by the north-easterly and south-easterly winds of the Inter-tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The region's rainfall is highly variable and unevenly distributed across the region. In the Ethiopian Highlands, the rainfall reaches 1 500 mm per year, while in lowland areas becomes as little as 100 mm (MWR, 2004). The potential evaporation is on the other hand very much in the lowland areas where it reaches 3 000 mm annually. The region is therefore generally characterized as a water scarce region and it is extremely vulnerable to hydrological variations. Majority of the large rivers originate in the Ethiopian Highlands. With large variations in climate, the river basins have distinct driest and wettest parts in their drainage areas. Most of the region's freshwater resources exist in the region's shared rivers, which cut across countries with varying social, economic, legal and political situations. Despite of these differences in societies sharing them, Elhance (1999) notes that the hydrology of an international river basin links all



the riparian states sharing it into a web of economic, political, environmental and security interdependence. The sharing of water resources has also specifically foreign policy dimension (Le Marquand, 1977).

Due to the decreasing per capita water availability, the countries of the Horn of African region have already joined to the list of the countries that are facing water scarcity and water-stressed situations (Falkenmar, 1989; Hinrichsen, Tacio, 2002). Figure 2 shows Africa's water availability per capita.

As shown in Figure 2, countries in the region are facing serious water scarcity which will force them severe situation leading to increasing and deepening food insecurity. Causes and consequences of the water scarcity will be discussed in the coming sections of the paper. The greatest impact of the water scarcity will continue to be felt by the poor, who have the most limited access to water resources. As there is a strong link between water availability and social stability (Turton & Ohlsson, 1999), the region's social stability is badly affected by its water scarcity.

## Shared river basins in the region

Table 1 and Figure 3 show shared river basins, lakes and groundwater aquifers. The Horn of African region has large number of shared river basins and other watercourses such as lakes and groundwater aquifers. As there is no history of cooperation over the shared river basins in the Horn, the region's shared rivers present a great management challenge, arguably greater than do the rivers of any other region of the world. Institutional capacities and legal instruments necessary to tackle these challenges and related issues are lacking. Not only that it has a highly variable climate, but also that it has a bad historical legacy which is defined by the former colonial power who left border disputes and political crisis. Many of the region's river are crossing disputed border, making issues more complicated. The issue of conflicts over the shared rivers is hidden but potential and could erupt any time in the future. In many areas, they are on the surface. This will be discussed in the next chapters.

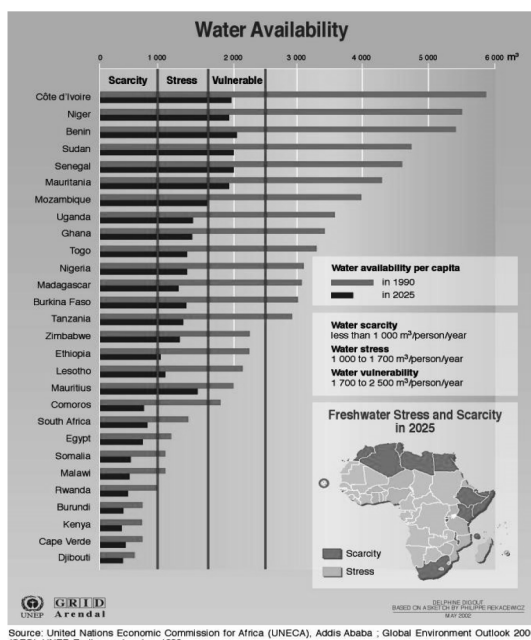


Figure 2. Africa's water availability per capita, 1990 & 2025.

Table 1. Shared River Basins & Lakes in the Horn.

Nr	River basin/ watercourse	Basin counties
1	Nile River Basin	Burundi, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda
2	Juba River Basin (Genale-Dawa)	Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia
3	Laag Dheere	Kenya, Somalia
4	Shabelle River	Ethiopia, Somalia
6	Rift Valley Basin	Kenya, Tanzania
7	Omo River Basin	Ethiopia, Kenya
8	Awash River	Djibouti, Ethiopia
9	Tekeze (Atbara)	Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan
10	Mereb River	Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan
11	Bahr Al-Arab	Sudan, South Sudan
12	Baro-Akobo	Ethiopia, South Sudan
13	Sobata River	Ethiopia, Kenya
14	Lake Viktoria	Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda
15	Lake Turkana	Ethiopia, Kenya
16	Merti Aquifer	Kenya, Somalia
17	Shabelle Aquifer	Ethiopia, Somalia

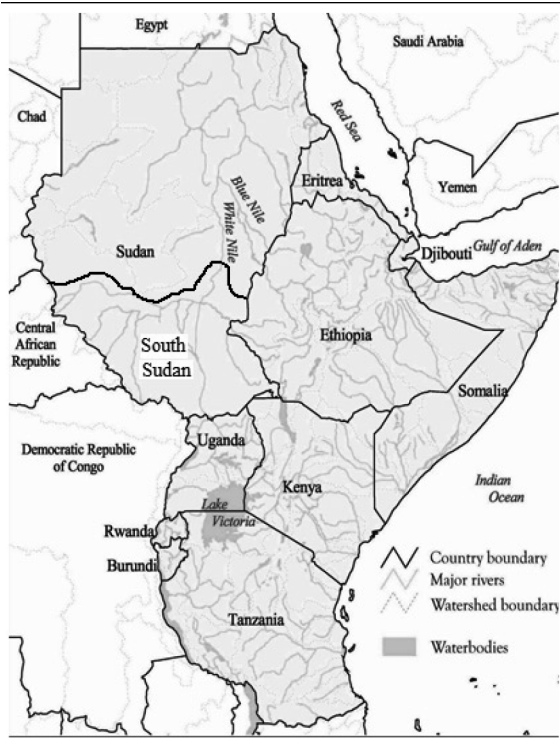


Figure 3. Map showing shared Waters in the Horn of Africa.

# Causes of the Water Scarcity

The major causes of the region's water scarcity are many, but the most relevant ones are as follows.

- Climatic water scarcity caused by aridity, due to less rainfall with higher evaporation.
- Water scarcity caused by frequent droughts due to the absence of the expected rains (see Figure 4 and 5).
- Water scarcity induced by population growth due to increasing number of people sharing available amount of water, as shown in Table 2 and Figure 6.
- Water scarcity resulted from land use mismanagement such as overgrazing, deforestation, water pollution, erosion, unplanned urbanization, uncontrolled irrigation and land uses.
- Water scarcity caused by social resources scarcity in the form of lack or incapable institutions, lack of policies, lack of financial and human resources in water sector.

The risk of recurrent and consequent years of droughts is very high in the region. The Horn of Africa is the African region most vulnerable to drought. The year 2011 has been exceptional, with the worst drought for 60 years besetting Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda and causing the Horn of Africa to experience the most severe food crisis in the world (FSNAU, 2011; UN, 2011). Over 13 million people are severely affected and in urgent need of humanitarian aid (OCHA, 2011). As shown in Figure 4 and 5, the number of people affected by the drought is increasing. As the Horn of Africa is one of the world's most food-insecure regions, water is the most limiting factor and precondition for sustained and increased food production. So, the region's extreme water scarcity has contributed to the region's food crisis as well as its recurrent famine and social instability. This has in turn contributed to other areas of insecurity.

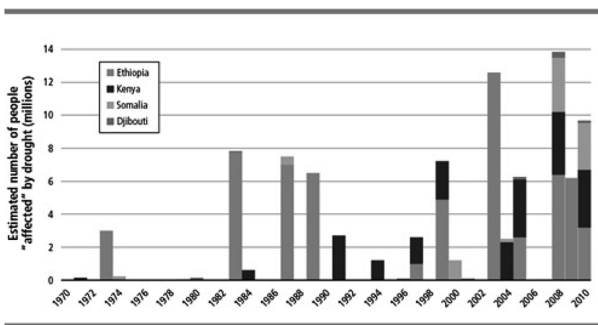


Figure 4. Number of people affected by the droughts

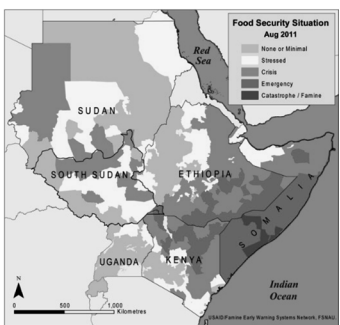


Figure 5. The region's food security situations 2011.

The Horn of African region is therefore experiencing both physical and economic water scarcities and is under unprecedented pressure of water scarcity, mainly due to increasing population and climate change. The pronounced effect of the climate change will exacerbate the existing water scarcity situation, although we have already

experienced some its effects, yet we face more negative effects of the phenomena. According to the Africa Partnership Forum, “Although Africa is the continent least responsible for climate change, it is particularly vulnerable to the effects,” and the long-term impacts include, “changing rainfall patterns affecting agriculture and reducing food security; worsening water security; decreasing fish resources in large lakes due to rising temperature; shifting vector-borne diseases; rising sea level affecting low-lying coastal areas with large populations; and rising water stress” (APF, 2007).

The Human Development Report by the UNDP (2012) goes on to explain that because of Africa’s dependence on rain-fed agriculture, widespread poverty, and weak capacity, the water issues caused by climate change impact the continent much more violently compared to developed nations that have the resources and economic diversity to deal with such global changes. This heightened potential for drought and falling crop yields will most likely lead to increased poverty, lower incomes, less secure livelihoods, and an increased threat of chronic hunger for the poorest people in sub-Saharan Africa. The climate change affects not only the expected rains but the function and operation of existing water infrastructure (including dams, flood protection walls, drainage networks and irrigation canals and systems) (IPCC, 2007). Overall this means that water stress caused by changing amounts of precipitation is particularly damaging to the Horn of Africa and thus climate change is one of the major obstacles the region must face when trying to secure reliable and clean sources of water.

Another but impacting more, if not worse, is the issue of population which is growing exponentially, as shown in Table 2 and Figure 6. From 1960 to 2010, the population has increased more than 4 times, a growth which is decreasing the amount of available water resources for each person, while the pollution of water is also on the increase. The uncontrolled population growth is enough to create new types of social and economic crisis as well as environmental pressures. The region’s rapidly growing and urbanizing population has resulted in increased competition for water and growing water scarcity and water pollution. The interaction between population growth and finite water supply means that water availability per capita will decrease, causing ‘water stress’ for all the countries in the region (Falkenmark, 1989; 1991).

Another factor which has both direct and indirect impact on the increasing water scarcity is lack of security caused by the ongoing armed conflicts in the region within and between the states.

Table 2. Population increase by country

Country	1960	2010	2025 (est.)
Djibouti	85 000	900 000	1 100 000
Eritrea	1 400 000	5 000 000	7 000 000
Ethiopia	22 550 000	85 000 000	120 000 000
Kenya	8 000 000	40 000 000	57 000 000
Sudan	11 500 000	43 000 000	57 000 000
Somalia	3 000 000	13 000 000	20 000 000
Uganda	7 000 000	35 000 000	53 000 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>53 000 000</b>	<b>221 000 000</b>	<b>316 000 000</b>



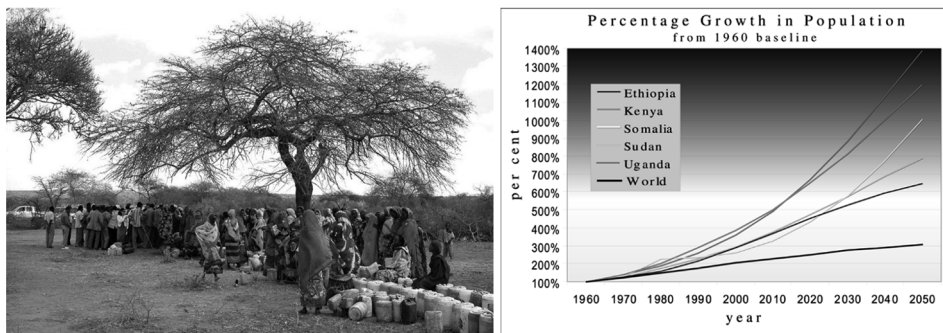


Figure 6. Population Growth in the Horn of Africa. Source: UNEP

## Consequences of the Water Scarcity

Water scarcities have significantly negative consequences in the region in all aspects of life particularly on health, food and agriculture, ecosystems and the environment, social stability and conflicts. As the water resource is shrinking, demand is increasing and scarcity is prevailing, the water gets more economic and social values than before.

- Insufficient water supply – resulting shortage of water.
- Decreased food production – leading to malnutrition and starvation
- Increased migration within the region – causing new crisis.
- Poor resource management – worsening the existing practices
- Health problem – weakening already poor communities.
- Deepened poverty – increasing vulnerability of communities.
- Lack of biodiversity – damaging functioning of the ecological services.
- More pressures on the natural environment affecting already limiting resources.
- Competition over the water – causing conflict, insecurity and loss of lives.

Applying the concept developed by Ohlsson (1999), the region with its high level of water resources scarcity and low level of social resources scarcity is consequently in a serious situation calling for urgent and radical changes in water management, if one wants to avoid further consequences and crisis in the future.

The recurrence of natural and man-made disasters in the Horn of Africa (HoA) has meant that populations in the region require ongoing and continuous humanitarian assistance from international community, as the most immediately apparent impacts of water scarcity in the region is on the food, health and social stability and security. Another major effect of water scarcity is the uncontrolled migration within the region, crossing disputed borders increasing already existing tensions.

## Strategies Adopted to Face the Region's Water Scarcities

As the region's people are mainly peasant and pastoral nomadic communities, the economy is mainly dependent on availability of rainwater. The nomads continue to move to follow an annual cycle in search of grassland and water. Although the people have adapted to changing ecological circumstances, the rate of climate change affected them very severe. This caused environmental degradations. As a result, famine and drought appear to reoccur at faster rates than in the past.<sup>1</sup>

### **Unilateralism driven by national strategy and interests**

Despite the fact the shared rivers in the regions are playing significant roles for the riparian countries and the region's development and are having a very high economic significance and geographical interdependences for the region and its states, the individual states adopted national policy strategies focusing on how to unilaterally face water scarcities. Nations make plans only within their territories and do not consider beyond their borders. Strategies focused mainly on supply management approach by implementing large scale water development projects such as construction of large dams, irrigation schemes etc. Applying the theory of absolute territorial sovereignty (Menon, 1975), the riparian states developed a policy of unilateralism which do not give any consideration to the concept of river basin. This policy is mainly driven by two factors that have increasingly affected domestic policy options – population growth and food insecurity. These policies which have underestimated the concept of river basin could contribute to conflicts over the shared water resources in the international river systems.

### **No joint water projects and No regional water policy**

The region has never had joint water projects benefiting the people of two or more countries living within the same river basin. No joint water project that has ever negotiated in any of the shared watercourses in the region. The region lacks also regional water policy and strategies.

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1 These include droughts in 1964, 1973-74, 1984, 1992, 2004, 2007, 2011.

# Water as the Source of Conflict

## Internal Water Conflicts

Conflicts over water wells are historically very common in the region's local communities, primarily nomads. As the water resource is scarce and diminishing, competition mainly among pastoral communities as well as agricultural communities has been very common until this day. As the region is climatically water scarce, and the economy of the its population is mainly dependent on the availability of water resources, competition over these limited and scarce resources led often to local conflicts causing avoidable casualties and societal tensions. These conflicts which usually happen in the countryside areas result loss of life and property destruction. One of the major sources of conflict is the water wells which when drought hits the region become source of water for survival of community and animals. Traditional systems of water management have collapsed in many places.

## International Looming Water Conflicts

Conflicts over the utilisation of common water resources in the shared rivers and water bodies are both existing and potential. While national "water security" objectives prevail in all countries of the region, greater emphasis needs to be placed on regional efforts to ensure that the available water resources are used to derive sustainable long-term benefits for the peoples of the region as a whole. Ideally, each country's water-resource management strategy needs to be aligned with that of its neighbors if peace and prosperity are to be maintained and conflict is to be avoided in the region.

Foreign investments in the form of land grabbing in the region is contributing to already looming conflicts in shared waters. Sum of all existing and future water demands by basin countries exceed available supplies leading to "*First-come first-served*". In the Horn of Africa, the potentials for water-based conflict is real, and it requires preventive action plans. The region's international rivers have both the potential to join the countries economically and politically – or, conversely, to cause economic and political tensions between them. It is certain that the rivers that were supposed to motivate the region to integrate it economy and cause cross-border co-operation are contrarily becoming reason for conflict.

## The Region is affected by its Dark History

To have future perspective, one needs to look back the history. The region has experienced and negatively affected by several global political changes. These include colonialism and colonial powers who demarcated the region's borders which led the region into prolonged and unresolved disputes and inter-state wars. The seeds of the



region's crisis were therefore planted the colonial powers. In 1970s and 1980s, the Horn of African region was a theatre where Cold War rivalries were played out, and tensions spilled over into intra-state political crisis and civil wars. The effects became that more fuels were put on the burning fire of the border conflicts and mistrust. Today, the region became one of the most significant and important battlefields of the US-led "Global War on Terror" and the accompanying struggle to contain radical Islam. These historical and current global geopolitical ramifications have badly impacted the region's internal relations. Unfortunately, downstream Somalia<sup>2</sup> is the country that could be considered the loser of these three external political interventions. During the colonial era, Somali communities lost territories to neighboring countries, namely Ethiopia and Kenya. Again, during the Cold War, Somalia lost the war with Ethiopia, after Somalia conquered the territories they claimed. In the current War on Terror, their land was occupied by rival neighboring countries, Ethiopia and Kenya, in the name of War on Terror. These external political factors negatively impacted the region. This long history of conflict is a major obstacle to the achievement of economic integration (Healy, 2011:18) and regional cooperation.

## Shared Waters – Source of Life and Conflict

Water can be a source of conflict as riparian states strive to gain a maximum share of the finite water resources in the region's international water systems. Lack of cooperation, absence of water sharing agreements and non-existence of joint institutions for river basin development could be identified as the key constraints to effective development of the region's water resources.

Considering the nations' possible and potential future water development plans and taking into account the limited amount of water, the water resources in the region's shared rivers will unlikely be able to fulfil the sum of all demands which the basin countries will make in the future. Potential disputes over the shared rivers are therefore likely to rise in response to political stability and desire of economic development. This may result in increased competition over the utilization of scarce water in the rivers which together with the current and tense relations between many of the region's countries may lead to an international conflict, shifting then the problem from water sharing to security crisis.

Unilateral development projects, which Ethiopia is currently carrying out on its shared rivers, will severely impact on downstream countries such Kenya, Sudan and Somalia. These countries have also future plans for water development. Increasing demands on and potential disputes over region's shared rivers are likely to rise, as region's development plans will require significant increases in water use. This may lead to international conflict, which can shift the crisis from water to national security. Gleick (1993) notes that such risk for conflict tend to be apparent in arid climate and

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2 Somalia is the most downstream country of the Juba and Shabelle river basins, which are now militarily occupied by upstream States of Ethiopia and Kenya (Elmi, 2013). This makes Somalia to be totally dependent on its historically hostile states.



where the water demand is already approaching or exceeding supply. Wolf (1997) noted that the 1964 border war between Somalia and Ethiopia over Ogaden with some critical water resources as one of the seven of the world's historical disputes where water was at least partially a cause. Water conflicts in Africa will be inevitable if we do not prevent them from occurring (Ashton, 2000). Joint management of these river basins is therefore a prerequisite for achieving sustainable development. The absence of transboundary agreement on the shared rivers, such as Juba and Shabelle can have significant impact on the feasibility of any national water resources development schemes in the future, as it affected in the past. Cooperation and agreements on the utilization of the rivers water resources are also necessary for securing funding support by donor communities and international financial agencies, which often has a policy not-to-fund a shared river lacking an agreement.

Water-based conflicts do not necessarily need to lead to military war, as there are no historical evidence for that (Wolf, 1997), but it could create a situation of negative peace with absence of violence. This silent situation hinders states to discuss and focus on the real issues. This seems to be the case of the Horn of Africa, where all shared rivers originate in the Ethiopian Highlands.

Conflict may be resulted from developing river water resources in upstream areas by building large dams storing large most or all the river runoffs. These development projects will decrease the water flow to downstream uses. Upstream dam developments for hydropower generation combined with irrigation will lead the riparian states of the river to enter into a situation of water dispute.

With its potential hydropower, Ethiopia is planning to generate energy from its rivers which will be exported to its neighboring countries to earn money. With this plan, the country envisions to dominate the region by its large dams and energy production. As the method may not empower Ethiopia, it might provocatively cause suspicions and mistrust. Several countries have already voiced their worries for such plans (Elmi, 2013; Verhoeven, 2011:14).

## **Foreign investments speed up looming the region's water conflicts**

National governments in Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya are renting out many large land areas to (domestic and foreign) investors, who put up large agricultural and horticultural companies for cultivating biofuels, flowers and food crops (Giessen, 2011:12). In making these land deals, there is often only limited consideration for the interests of local communities, who had previously used the common lands for farming or pasture (ibid.). Furthermore, there are many examples of large scale farms, seriously exhausting and polluting the land and water resources, without being required to restore or provide compensation. These matters often spark heavy frustrations among (original) communities, which sometimes even lead to violent confrontations. In addition, no considerations were given to the needs of downstream communities in downstream riparian states in co-basin countries. As the global investors have become keenly aware of the value of virtual water (Cotula et al, 2009), many foreign

investors are attracted by the Africa's undeveloped waters and land availability (Allan et al, 2012:6). The concept of "virtual water", introduced by Allan (1998), describes that water imported through food.

As the colonial powers as an external political factors created unresolved crisis of sharing waters in the river basins when they demarcated the indiscriminate borders of the region, similarly, the foreign investments in agricultural sector, are speeding up the region's looming water conflicts over its international rivers, as these investments irrigate with waters from international rivers. River waters flowing to downstream areas will be decreased as an effect of increased upstream withdrawal. Growing foods that are intended to export to other countries outside the region moves water conflict from those countries to the Hon of Africa. Food imports indirectly contribute to easing internal and external water conflict by erasing political costs (Allan, 1998; 2003). They similarly contribute to worsen already existing water crisis if they are grown in water scarce Horn of Africa.

For the period 1992-2010, several million hectare of agricultural land have been requested by international investors (Allan et al, 2012). 3.6 million hectare of land were leased out as of 2011 (Mousseau & Sosnoff, 2011). This indicates a clear internationalization of shared waters in upstream Ethiopia, giving no consideration to downstream uses and the legitimate rights of riparian states.

## International Water Principles and Perspectives on the Region

### Conventions on Shared Rivers and Water Bodies

The UN Convention on the Law of Non-navigational Uses of International Watercourses (Not yet in force as it lacks the required number of ratifications by countries). None of the states of the Horn of Africa are signatories of the UN Convention. Moreover, the UN Convention is not yet an international legal instrument, operative at international courts, since it lacks the required number of countries that are needed to ratify the proposed law. Ethiopia is very much worried about the "no-harm" principle of the UN Convention, arguing that the rule prevents them using the rivers, particularly when the rivers are extensively used by downstream countries. Due to the absence of an international agreement on these shared rivers, Ethiopia argues that it has the sovereign right to proceed unilaterally with its development of water resources within its territory without considering effects on downstream uses.

## The Horn of African states apply the “Theory of absolute territorial sovereignty”

The various uses to which the shared waters of international river basins are put create problems of both technical and juridical nature (Godana, 1985). Problems of the latter category concern notably the sovereignty of the basin States, as there are globally agreed laws governing shared waters.

The amount of water that Ethiopia has planned to divert to irrigation development, in the case of the Shabelle, is much more than what is available at the border with Somalia. Somalia has long before also expressed their need and capacity to absorb all readily useable water resources for existing and future irrigation schemes in the Shabelle (Somalia, 1979). According to Ethiopia master plans, large amount of water will be utilized for irrigation. In its master plans over the river basins, Ethiopia has explicitly stated that the demand for water will become competitive and conflict will begin to rise (MWR, 2007).

As there are no agreed principles of sharing water resources in the region's international rivers and lakes, the states of the region apply the *theory of absolute territorial sovereignty*. According to this theory, a State, as ‘master of its territory’, may adopt in regard to watercourse within its national territory all measures deemed suitable to its national interest, irrespective of their effects beyond its borders (Menon, 1975). In other words, a State can do as it pleases and is entitled to do as it chooses with its waters within boundaries ignoring the effects of its actions on neighboring States. Obviously, this theory is favorable to upstream basin State. With its upstream geographical position, Ethiopia makes clear that they will divert the river water on a *first-come first-served* basis (MWR, 2007).

Downstream States have of course always opposed the absolute territorial sovereignty doctrine, which is never implemented in any water treaty. In opposite to that theory, the downstream states adopted the *theory of absolute territorial integrity*. This theory, which is also known as the theory of natural flow of river, is the direct opposite of that of absolute territorial sovereignty. It espouses the old common law doctrine of water rights whereby a lower riparian (basin State) claims the right to the continued, uninterrupted (or natural) flow and unaltered condition of the water from the territory of the upper riparian State (Godana, 1985). Applying this theory, which often referred as *prior appropriation principle*, Somalia may claim priority over Ethiopia by arguing *first-in-time first-in-right*. These strongly conflicting principles on the same river systems can lead the riparian countries to a new water crisis in an already water-scarce region. It is evident that these strongly conflicting principles lead the riparian countries to a new water crisis in an already water-scarce region.

# The Need for Policy Change & Necessity for Regional Cooperation

## IGAD – Weak and Unexploited Framework

One common strategy which if developed better could contribute to the issue of common management of the region's shared water is the regional organization called the Inter-Governmental Authority on Desertification (IGAD), which was found on water-related issue and established by the countries of the wider Horn of Africa (Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda) in 1986. Eritrea and South Sudan joined later on after their respective independences in 1993 and in 2013.

Despite the fact that IGAD was initially found on water-related issue, drought 3, no regional water sharing policy, protocol and strategy have been developed and adopted. The region's shared rivers and other common watercourses are lacking existing agreements for their common utilisations and joint developments. As there are no existing processes of establishing cooperation on the shared river basins, the region is lacking institutional mechanism for cooperation over its international river basins. In addition, the region has no functioning conflict resolution mechanisms (Mengisteab, 2012), particularly now when the risk for water-based conflicts between the states is very high. As the region lacks an agreed upon principles of sharing waters, there is no framework for cooperation over shared rivers and lakes, and conflict resolution mechanisms which are in place in case dispute.

## Complementarities of region's economic resources and Incompatibility of the development policies

Prospects for hydropower development in upstream areas and irrigation development in downstream areas of the basins are significant. In addition, Ethiopia is in desperate need in access to the sea while Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Djibouti and Sudan have plenty of ports which can supply Ethiopia. Somalia's and Sudan's economy are dependent on reliable access to the river waters. With its unexploited natural and economic resources, complementarity of the region's resources is very high. Agriculture is by far the most important socio-economic activity sector in the region. Development of the agricultural sector is therefore of high importance to the region's economy.

The challenges facing the region's countries are remarkably similar, as all countries give high priorities to irrigation development in their national development plans as a way to increase agricultural and food production. It therefore seems incompatible to reconcile their competing and conflicting needs (Elmi, 2013). Most of the coun-

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3 The initial name of the organization was Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD).

tries developed or have plans to develop multipurpose dam projects for irrigation and hydropower, demanding more supplies from the rivers.

## **Regional Economic Integration – the Optimal Solution**

One opportunity that could be explored but demands political commitments is to go into a regional economic integration based on water (*ibid.*). The rivers could play significant roles in this integration. In order to facilitate negotiation process for river cooperation it seems useful and necessary to include other economic issues than water in the discussion. Being the world's largest landlocked nation, Ethiopia is in a desperate situation regarding its lack of a reliable outlet access to the sea for the survival of their economy. Sovereign states do not like to share with other states what it considers to be its own resources (Elhance, 1999). Although ports on the Somalia's coastline are the country's own natural resources, Somalia has to share them with its landlocked neighboring country. In view of this, the existing opportunity, which the two countries, Ethiopia and Somalia could mutually benefit, is to allow the two rivers to run into Somalia without major consumptive uses in upstream Ethiopia in exchange to freely accessible ports for Ethiopia in the Somalia's long coastal lines (Elmi and Iman, 2010). This economic integration strongly demands commitments that should be made by the two countries assuring a joint security and save co-existence in the future.

## **The Need for Preventive Diplomacy**

Since cooperation in international rivers is fundamentally a political activity (WB, 2002:1), it is indispensable to analyze the political relations between the region's states. In any given country in the region, there exists political tensions in the form of civil war or lack of transparency with different levels of severity. In addition, there are several inter-state armed conflicts and border disputes. Moreover, as the region is ravaged by conflicts, most of the countries have political with its neighbors. Unless the states address fundamental causes of their conflicts and the broader regional crises, it will be difficult to solve or prevent the looming water crisis and inevitable water conflicts.

While national "water security" objectives prevail in all countries of the region, greater emphasis needs to be placed on regional efforts to ensure that the available water resources are used to derive sustainable long-term benefits for the peoples of the region as a whole. Ideally, each country's water-resource management strategy needs to be aligned with that of its neighbors if peace and prosperity are to be maintained and conflict is to be avoided in the region.

The future cooperation potential is not only crucial from a conflict-prevention point of view, but is also most critical with regard to the sound water management of all relevant transboundary resources in the region: national, institutional, legislative,

technical, negotiating, monitoring, communicating, coordinating and administrating capacities for the effective joint management of transboundary water resources are crucial for ensuring the peaceful, equitable and effective use of the vital transboundary water resources in the region.

It is therefore safe to say that the region is in a desperate need of resolving its looming water conflict by launching a preventive diplomacy. These diplomatic actions taken to prevent the crisis to develop to open violence are not necessarily confined to government officials, but are also required to engage different actors and individuals from international community, regional organizations to local NGOs and influential figures both at local and in the Diaspora.

## Ways of Overcoming Water Scarcity in the Region

The region's states have to address following issues if the region's growing water scarcity is to overcome:

- Recognizing growing water scarcity & the looming water conflict.
- Reconsidering complementarities of the region's resources which are very high.
- Understanding that cooperation is not an option but necessary for development and peace.
- Initiating joint water development projects of mutual benefits.
- Establishing regional water sector unit for planning water-related activities.
- Assessing the region's water resources and studying shared river basins.
- Developing comprehensive regional plans and strategies.
- Discussing regional water sharing protocol for common development and management.
- Exploring ways to prepare conflict resolution mechanisms at regional level.
- Resolving fundamental issues to build trust and confidence.

## Conclusion

Being a water scarce region, the Horn of African region is having a large number of shared rivers and other watercourse systems which require cooperation for its sustainable development. It is evident that the region badly needs radical policy change in the field of water resource management. In the region, it is increasingly becoming acknowledged that water is likely to be the most pressing environmental concern of this century. As the potential for conflict over shared rivers and other international watercourses is great and as there are no mechanisms that were put in place for consultation and collaboration of common management and developments of

shared water resources, the region's looming water conflict seems to be inevitable if business goes usual. Cooperation between the basin states is therefore not an option but absolutely necessary for conflict prevention and optimal utilization of the rivers' water resources. The river basins are however experiencing several major obstacles for any attempt to initiate the desperately required cooperation. These include the basin states' unilateral action plans for the development of the rivers, the lack of functional regional organization, persistent conflicts still existing between and within the states, lack of will for cooperation and external political interventions worsening the already hostile and tense relations between the nations. The ongoing land and water grabs in the form of foreign direct investment in the region worsens the

The rivers, which are the most important source of fresh water available for the impoverished nations of the Horn of Africa, and which were supposed to put them the path to prosperity and become reason for cross-border cooperation, are increasingly becoming cause for conflict and insecurity. Unilateral development of shared water, as a purely national matter, without giving due considerations to the interests of the other basin States, could threaten regional relation and security, and may ultimately result in conflict.

Water scarcity is a contributing factor to region's crisis and threatening its security. Water scarcity is potentially incentive for regional cooperation, but as it seems today, it is not contributing to regional economic cooperation and integration. It is rather a factor causing for conflict. Although regional economic integration appears to be a political impossibility at the moment, it may also be proved to be an unavoidable reality as the shared rivers could be regarded as one of the drivers of economic integration.

As the prosperity of the people of the Horn of Africa and economic development of the region depends so much on water, which is the most important domain for future cooperation, environmentally sound management of the region's shared waters through regional cooperation and development programs is a prerequisite.

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# Make Peace or Perish: A Framework for the Management of Somalia

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During the past two decades or so, Somalia was considered a failed state. The country faced many conflicts and underwent a great deal of civil strife. Many of its infrastructures were destroyed and in fact at present there is none or very little physical and civil structures to speak of. At present Somalia is emerging from a 'failed state' status to that of a post-conflict state. It is the authors' view that this transition is likely to succeed if a proper framework for the management of the country is put in place. Such a framework should comprise of three elements namely: A "hybrid" system of governance blending federal modern democracy with the traditional "pastoral democracy" of the Somali nomads. The second framework is an economic one. It should not only focus on rebuilding institutions and infrastructure but need also to find ways by which pastoral economic system could be transformed to a modern market economic system thus lessening the Somali people's dependency on clan system as a social "safety net". The third framework should deal with finding ways of establishing intra and inter clan peace building as well as building good relationships with neighboring countries. It is the author's contention that if the post-conflict government fails to establish the three tiered framework and make them operate simultaneously, Somalia's chances of recovering from its present state of lawlessness and lack of a government structure will diminish. In such state of affairs, clans divisions would widen and the country would further disintegrate.

This paper puts forward a framework for the management of Somalia, which entails putting in place a democratic and peaceful conflict resolution systems, making it possible to prevent and deal peacefully with conflicts that arise. The framework briefly describes the recent political, economic, and conflict experiences of the country and advocates instituting policies and creating institutions that are responsive to the state of social organizations of the Somali people. The paper deals first with the political structure or governance system followed by economic and concludes with a framework for a peaceful reconciliation within Somalia and the Horn of Africa region.

## Experience with Democracy

To understand Somalia's political history, one has to understand its relationship with the nomadic and tribal way of life. According to Halim Barakat (1993, p. 50), "This particular human form of settlement resulted from a prolonged historical process of adaptation to the harsh conditions of the desert environment". The regular movements in search of water and grazing areas, necessitated agreement or contracts for the purposes of defense and, above all, for payment of compensation (*dia*) in cases of homicide and injury.

Tribal solidarity based on blood and symbiotic ties is a dominant characteristic of the social organization of the Somali nomadic society. The basic units of such social organization are descent groups tracing themselves to one distant patrilineal father. A descent group could be a lineage unit (tribe or *qabila*), a clan unit (reer or sub-clan, extended family) or a family unit (*qoys* or family) but a bond of corporate commitments unites all. This social order is segmented and marked by competition and often armed conflict between clans and lineages, even between those of the same clan family. The clan system does not promote values such as equality, impartiality, individual freedoms or legality but does not prohibit the use of coercion, force or corruption to attain its objectives. This "Machiavellian" political behaviour of the Somali nomad represents a persistent and continuing challenge to the development of a modern democratic system. All the bonds that unite the Somali people including language, religion and colonial history count for little. Loyalty to the clan takes precedent over everything. The strength and durability of the clan families is illustrated in the following anecdote. Early in the 1960s, overwhelmingly Muslim clan constituents elected a Somali belonging to the Christian faith to the Parliament. When asked by a news broadcaster why he was successful. His reply was that there was something much stronger than faith. We believe by 'the something stronger' he was referring to his clan affiliation. We believe getting Somalia out of this mind set will be a great challenge, but it is essential if Somalia is to develop into a modern state.

At independence in 1960, Somalia adopted a political system based on parliamentary democracy. There were periodic elections, which were often more or less incredible. The first Republic of Somalia (1960-1969) failed to create democratic institutions and modernize the country through economic development. The system made no effort to promote individual freedoms and to educate the people of Somalia about their rights and responsibilities. On the contrary, the segmented order of Somali society was carried into the political system. According to Makinda, the government of the newly appointed prime minister Abdirazak Haji Hussein (1964 -1967) collapsed due to the fact that he appointed his ministers in accordance to "their ability without regard for their clan origins". (Makinda 1991, p.113). This did not please many members of the parliament consequently they passed a vote of no confidence in the government. The ascendancy of clan families, internal divisions, and regional

conflicts led to the demise of the democratically governments leading by 1969 to the Somali national army taking over the reigns of government.

The period immediately after independence could be considered as a period of lost opportunities for Somalia. It is remembered more for having cemented clan driven corruption and nepotism. Most political leaders seemed not to have been concerned about corruption and nepotism within the government. In fact some saw corruption and nepotism as unavoidable as the society was and is still based on kinship. An exception was Prime Minister Abdirazak Haji Hussein who strove to put into effect public sector employment based on competency, transparency and accountability.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the military coup d'état of October 1969 was received with some euphoria and anticipation as the people hoped the new system would deal decisively with clan pressures and corruption. Despite some remarkable successes in economic and social development in the first decade of its rule, the military government also sought solidarity and support from certain clans and excluded major clans. The marginalised clans started to organize armed revolt that gradually led to the demise of the second republic in January 1991. This ushered in a period of a "lost republic" comprising more than two decades of bloodshed, economic plunder and collapse of all public services and institutions. It is unfortunate that the groups defeating the military dictatorship were devoid of any ideological basis or a political program that they wanted to institute to replace the military government which espoused a socialist ideology of their own making as a means of economic and social development.

The third Somali republic based on the federal constitution was created on September 2012. A provisional constitution (being subject to endorsement by a national referendum to be held before the end 2016) was adopted guaranteeing basic civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Isse Farah in a recent paper on Somalia Federalism concludes that, "The success and failure of current government will be judged by how the Federal Government approaches and discharges the federal Constitution, its support for establishing new Federal member States, adequately and fairly dealing with Puntland and Somaliland, sharing revenue and ensuring international security support together with the existing States" (Farah P. 45). Indeed, these are important and immediate tasks that the government and its federal member states will have to address in strict adherence to the Constitution and in consultation with affected Federal member States and communities.

We believe that the future survival of Somali Third Republic hinges on a three-pillar framework namely:

- a blend of the modern governance system (democratic federalism) and the positive aspects of the traditional governance systems (doing away with negative and less democratic values, norms and customs of the nomadic clan system).
- a free market environment aimed at transforming the country's political economy and social organization from a pastoral way of life to a wealth creating modern market, and
- a policy of peaceful settlement of conflicts and reconciliation in order to rebuild trust within Somalia and in the Horn of Africa region.

There is no doubt Somali leaders have always had an unenviable task; being expected to convert a nomadic society to a modern polity complete with modern ways of conducting politics and economics. The components of the above framework are interconnected; implementing them requires leaders who are open-minded and who have the interest of the country at heart. At the same time we believe this is a long long-term task requiring patience tolerance and political maturity.

## Fear of Democracy

The 1975 population census in Somalia classified the population into three main categories – nomads, settled farmers, and persons in nonagricultural occupations. Nomads accounted for nearly 59 per cent of the population, while settled persons made up about 22 per cent with the remaining 19 per cent being nonagricultural persons. It is believed the nomadic population was underestimated. This was because the census coincided with a severe drought in the country when many people than usual were migrating in search of food and water (Somalia: a Country Study US government Edited by Harold D. Nelson, 1982, p. 75). Given that nomads comprises the vast majority of the Somali population; their culture , a culture that, is “the collection of ideas and habits they have learnt, shared and transmitted from generation to generation” (Haralambos: 1980, p.3) permeates the Somali society. So, it is important to know what the Somali nomad thinks of democracy and freedoms. This begs the question: what does the Somali nomad know about individual freedoms, civil and political rights enshrined in the Constitution? Specific and concrete answers to these questions are difficult to come by and may require separate empirical social research.

One may find some indication of what Somali nomads think of individual freedoms in Somali proverbs that express common values shared. A widely known Somali proverb asks “who is unreasonable, the individual or the community? In Somali, “Waaxid iyo wadar kee waalan?” The expected but unspoken answer is that individuals are unreasonable. Individuals may have demands that the community finds hard to approve. They may have ambitions that seem to the community to be self-centered or unknown. They may have desires that the community doubts to be attainable. This proverb is often applied when individuals deviate from the norms and values imposed by the community or express freely opinions not in line with the tradition. While democracy emphasizes the primacy of the individual, this proverb and many others seem to subordinate individual rights to the rights or well being of the clan.

The Somali nomads whether in rural or semi-urban settings they are in continuous struggle for survival of self and family. They see no value in individual and democratic freedoms and are always ready to associate with their clan members and form political grouping or lobby to gain bigger share of any national resources available.

We believe Somali nomads would find the adage attributed to the German playwright Bertolt Brecht, “erst kommt das fressen und dann die moral” meaning that “first comes a wretched meal then morals or values follow” agreeable. The need to fight for survival and in the process endanger other people’s lives without remorse has not changed for centuries. The Somali nomad wants to get what he wants by hook or by crook. He does not take no for an answer and accepts mediation and payment of blood money (dia) after the damage has been done. A description of the Somali situation in 1889 matches up in every detail with what has been happening a little more than a decade ago. A European explorer of the 19th century wrote:

“Somali Land has for ages been wasted by incessant tribal warfare. “The only field here cultivated,” says M. Revoil, in the figurative language of the East, “is the field of death.” Being divided into a great number of petty states, the people are almost constantly at feud with each other. Each suspects his neighbor and the warrior never goes abroad unarmed. The rich man has his gun, purchased in one of the seaport towns; the poor have their spear and their dart”. (Reclus 1889, 396).

It seems the Somali nomad does not attach a high value to human life and his norms of acceptable ways for settling arguments or disputes usually does not exclude physical violence and manslaughter. A clan member rooted in this worldview does not respect human rights or lives. This vicious reality has been repeated and perpetrated in the recent civil war that has consumed the lives of an estimated two-thirds of a million people. Today, many a Somali nomad may carry a 3-G mobile phone in his pocket but he remains ‘ignorant’ of the ideals and values stipulated in the constitution. He is likely not to hesitate to behave like his ancestors as characterized by the explorer mentioned above.

As indicated earlier, since independence no targeted actions were undertaken by any Somali government to promote individual freedoms and educate the people of Somalia about their rights and responsibilities. “As long as democracy does not penetrate the popular centers of mass culture, the mosques and the suqs – which might be achieved through education and participation in daily decision making – this orientation will not change” states a Moroccan sociologist writing about the fear of the modern world in Islamic countries (Fatima Mernissi: 1993, 107). Being a nomad and practicing a primordial economic system: nomadic animal husbandry, to a great extent determines the behaviors, values, norms and morals of the Somali nomad. Without effecting changes in the economic environment of the nomad and the associated clan system, Somalia will hardly be a ready and fertile ground for democracy to flourish and take roots. Initiating change in the economic lot of the nomads and the associated social organization of kinship is a long term and difficult structural change but is not unattainable.

## Modernizing Pastoral Way of Life

Traditionally, nomads hold livestock as a store of wealth, the more livestock one owns the more power and prestige one is deemed to have. However, it brings little economic benefits in terms of meat or milk production. According to the 2005 draft World Bank of Country Economic Report for the Republic of Somalia “Livestock is at the root of Somali literature and cultural identity, in rural as well as urban areas. It represents also the main repository of individual and national wealth and the source of considerable employment and income.” While the pastoral way of life dominates in Somalia and allows for nomads to move around in a vast territory in search of water and grazing, the clan system is a corollary of that economic system. Because of these nomadic movements, inter-clan conflicts are often the result of disputes over water and grazing resources.

The clan organization as a lineage system is a basic and vital structure of the Somali society. It is a reliable and the most important aspect of Somali identity. Often, many people blame clan system for all evils that afflict Somalia and see it as a disease that eats into the fabric of the country’s political and social life. The military government attempted to suppress clan affiliations and appealed for nationalistic Somali cooperation. The military claimed to have “buried” the clan system and speaking about your clan identity was punishable, but ironically, Siad Barre “has relied on his clan, and especially his family, to consolidate his power” (Makinda 1991, p.115). As loyalties to clans endured over centuries, it would be an exercise in futility to banish the belief in clans from the minds of people or symbolically bury it as long as clan members need their clan for protection and support. This kind of clan treatment is superficial and deals with the symptoms rather the root causes of the disease. It is imperative that a way is found to help reduce clan dependency of the Somali people.

Modernizing the pastoral way of life and consequently the clan system is a long-term structural adjustment critical for the future of democracy in the country. A right step in that direction would be the revival of the animal health and the rangeland development models of the pre-war Somali government which provided for grazing and water resources management as well as animal health services such as treatment, vaccination, holding grounds for quarantine and well equipped and staffed laboratories. In other words, the introduction of modern economic practices is key to the gradual reduction of nomad pastoral practices and subsequently weakening the clan system as provider of protection of water and grazing areas. Livestock holding grounds, animal health centers and water catchment reservoirs will stimulate settlements and access to markets. As indicated in recent settlement trends, developments like these combined with the fast spread of telecommunications, may stimulate a shift from nomad to entrepreneur who holds animals not as a store of value but for wealth creation as a meat or milk producer. In a recent article about understanding the Somali society discussing the background to the 2011 famine in Somalia, I. M. Lewis noted: “When they are not out herding the camels, especially nowadays, men



tend to gather in nearby trading settlements, which form another focus of their shifting activities and include local politics as well as commerce and socialisation”.

To facilitate the changes calls for re-education of the population, it is important that the people develop and acquire identity as Somali people rather than as members of particular clans. We believe this would be a long-term process, which would involve economic empowerment and political education to adults. In schools, it is necessary to develop nation curriculum stressing Somali identity of the population.

Like any other human economic systems and associated forms of social organization the pastoral way of life and the clan system are subject to evolution albeit it slow in the case of Somalia. The clan system is not a DNA, but a primal social system that is doomed to fade out with urbanity and prosperity. A long time will pass before any tangible results are visible as this involves a complex structural change, but the first step must be made sooner than later to initiate economic transformation as an important precondition for a democratic society in Somalia. Meanwhile, in view of the collapse of all public institutions built over the past fifty years of independence, blending it with valuable traditional governance systems must facilitate transition to a modern democratic system.

## Blending traditional and modern governance systems

The Somali tradition of “pastoral democracy” as coined by Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the London School of Economics, I.M. Lewis, has similarities with the practices of participatory democratic systems. Similar to a city council meeting, the Somali shir is held whenever there is an important issue concerning the community that needs to be debated as openly as possible. It is a process of decision-making within the Somali clans in which serious discussions take place and binding decisions are taken by consensus involving all adult male members of the clan. Important issues dealt with by the community or clan assembly include war and peace, grazing and water resources management and sharing, alliances and agreements with other clans. This traditional process of mutual consultation also assists developing a commitment shared by the clan to implement the resolution that has been resolved. By extension, this process can be applied by putting major issues of national interest to the debate by the communities in the villages before legislation is enacted upon, to create an effective form of popular participation in governance. The set back one notices is that women folks were excluded from these debates. Need to find ways and means to include women can not be overemphasized.

## A Somali Shura Council

Traditional elders have and will play a vital role in ensuring development and approval of the current federal constitution; therefore there is a need to accommodate governance based on the Somali “pastoral democracy”. Noting the similarities between the traditional and modern governance systems it would be worthwhile to blend the modern democratic federalism of Somalia with a Shura Council. As civil war and the pre-war government weakened and eventually destroyed many traditional and modern institutions, as part of the rebuilding and rehabilitation process, a tribal or clan assembly comprising Isims, elders, scholars, and religious leaders, (or shura council) may be created in each Federal Member State to enable a participatory decision making process.

Such a council could be held whenever there is an issue of special importance concerning the community’s interests and would supplement and enrich the deliberations of the elected representatives in the Parliament. Indeed, evolution of political systems in different countries demonstrates that governments and institutions are built as a result of local gatherings and councils. In such scenario, the Head of Federal Member State would convene the council inviting tribal and other leaders as well as governmental representatives to comprehensively discuss the issues at hand, agree on a framework for communication with the parties involved and establish a mechanism helping to reach the final decision. The council, finally, sets up a committee to implement and oversight the decision made by its members. The development and formulation of a consensus is made easier by the collective discussion and understanding of the issues that leads to a unified approach to tackle the issues of concern to the society.

Establishing a modern democracy that values individual rights and responds to the needs of the people and brings about economic transformation must be the ultimate aim of the third republic. Meanwhile, taking into account the pastoral way of life of most Somalis, blending traditional and modern systems of governance is essential. A fusion of constitution, clan and clergy would provide a solid foundation for managing the country.

This would facilitate the identification of the strengths and weaknesses of each system and enable finding a middle ground blending of the two. It is hoped with economic transformation of the nomads, the significance of the traditional clan system would erode along with the pastoral way of life. To bring about this transformation, an economic framework must be adopted that builds on the entrepreneurship of the Somalis and the vibrant private sector that currently leads economic growth in Somalia.

## An Economic Framework

Somalia needs a vision that would enable her to join the 21st century nations. Such vision must include a socioeconomic framework that presupposes political stability and peaceful conflict resolution within Somalia and in the Horn of Africa region. Apart from private foreign investment, which is subject to the return of peace and political stability, the key aspects of the framework are:

- A private sector that plays a leading role in the economy
- A government that assumes responsibility for setting up a regulatory framework and instituting an appropriate macroeconomic framework
- Public/private partnerships

In 1970, the Military government nationalized existing private enterprises without compensating the proprietors. Private ownership was eliminated in banking, insurance and wholesale trade. However, to a large extent, peasant agriculture, livestock, retail trade, real estate, and most traditional crafts remained in private hands or government sponsored cooperatives. After the collapse of the government and its economic enterprises in 1991, the Somali private sector became eminent at times hindering reconciliation efforts by acting as financiers of the warlords and opposing strong international involvement in the Somali affairs.

The above notwithstanding, the private sector succeeded in filling the economic void created by the absence or weakness of state institutions. Apart from traditional agriculture and livestock, the private sector enormously expanded its operations since 1991, especially in service activities. “All industrial production, services provision, and trade are firmly today in the hands of the private sector. There has been significant (but unmeasured) private investments in commercial ventures, including in trade and marketing, money transfer, transport, communications, airlines, telecommunications, other services including construction and hotels, education and health, and fishery equipment, largely funded by the large remittances from the Diaspora” (World Bank Report 2005, p.18). The financial and telecommunications services, having benefited from the absence of government taxation and licensing regime are the cash cows of the private sector and have produced some of the wealthiest business people as owners and major shareholders.

“The economic sectors which have benefited from the absence of state regulation – financial services, telecommunications, and the commerce in consumer goods across national boundaries – have also profited the warlords and spoilers, and have not done much to develop Somalia’s critical infrastructure (roads, power, water supplies). The latter can only attract private investment when a stable national government (or regional authority) with reliable security forces at its disposal is in place to ensure their maintenance and protection from extortionists or rent seekers”. (Cassanelli, L: 2010).

Cassanelli sees the private sector as having the potential to lead Somalia’s economic recovery through entrepreneurship and economic development. He wonders why the international community continues to focus on state building as prerequisite

for economic recovery and suggests focusing instead on Somalis as economic actors and building on what they do best; responding to economic opportunities. Despite the progress made in a number of areas, the private sector in Somalia with a few exceptions has no vision of growth and is hampered by shortages of managerial skills and capital. Telecommunication is a typical example of the private sector, which has grown aggressively and is attracting talents from the Somali diaspora. However, at the same time, it remains volatile and vulnerable. A. Nur in his telecom sector review for a Somali Money Remittance Company in 2010 – 2011 indicates this volatility – as below.

## The Telecommunications Sector

The telecommunication sector experienced extraordinary growth after the collapse of the Military Regime in 1991. Primarily, this was due to then high-unmet demand, the unfolding of private initiative and absence of regulatory policy guidance. The free-for-all market entry has shown to be unproductive. It is a bane rather than a blessing and may ultimately lead to a chaotic market and/or the dominance of one player. The sector is unregulated and extremely competitive. There are presently four privately owned major operators dominating the bulk of the market. In 2010, according to the Nairobi-based consultancy ICT Labs International, the subscriber base is estimated to include 150,000 connected to landline services, 1.8 million mobile telephone customers and 2.0 million Internet users. Despite the fact that a wide geographic spread covering all of the country's 18 regions has been achieved, the tele-density (person per 100 with access to telephone) remains relatively low in Somalia compared to other African countries having similar or lower income per head. Three of the major operators resulted out of the dissolution of Barakat in 2001 and started operations in 2002 as Golis (Puntland), Hormuud (South and Central) and Telesom (Somaliland). Together, they have a lion's share of the market estimated at 44% of the population coverage. This "gang of three" is said to have achieved profits as high as 31% over the past three years. Other operators include Nation-Link, Somtel and Telkom Somalia. Both are nationwide actors and claim to each command 12% of population coverage.

All telecom operators started by establishing their networks using decades equipment, experimenting with compact mobile GSM equipment and gradually moving to modern technologies mostly imported. Initially, the telecom sector was characterized by an increasing number of operators entering the market, competition on the basis of price, limited initiatives at cooperation, and continued use of resources involving duplication and haphazard deployment of technologies. There is no inter-connection among the various operators and all provide basic telecom services both local and international. More importantly, sector development is being implemented under a fast changing technological and international market conditions that tend

to marginalize the Somali market leading to disadvantages in satellite and telephone service provision, unless coordinated actions are taken to reduce fragmentation and enhance cooperation among operators. On a similar level, interventions of diverse Somali governments are more common and there is pressure to take steps to be ready for the re-emergence of a national government. All of the above issues relating to competition, interconnection, and resource use, technological progress and governmental interventions may offer the operators an opportunity to act on development, expansion, building alliances and effective cooperation with each other. If such opportunities are missed, the expected threats may have serious negative consequences including the entry of goal oriented foreign companies into the market when the political dust settles in the near future. It is imperative that the government plays a regulatory role in the telecommunications sector otherwise it is most likely that the sector may not develop appropriately.

Limited financial resources have hindered network growth by most operators. The sector suffers from lack of foreign investment, limited local resources and a small local market. Pooling available resources and sharing the burden of investment and thus having access to more resources and a bigger market should be the target of all operators in Somalia. This is less likely to happen, however, as operators have failed to self-regulate and agree on basic telecom standards such as number plans, frequency sharing, interconnection and consumer protection and quality issues as well as training. Attempts to promote these standards through an UN-sponsored industry association, the Somali Telecommunications Association (STA) have had mixed success. From 1999 and with assistance from the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the STA provided advice to the telecom operators concerning interconnection, frequency management and restructuring. It also arranged for relevant fellowships and training courses in some Arab countries and Europe, and highlighted the needs of Somali information and communication technologies (ICT) through international and regional meetings. Similarly, the Somali remittance companies have been encouraged and supported by the UNDP to establish an association with the objective of raising awareness about the Somali remittance sector, coordinate members' activities, establish basic standards and codes of conduct and ensure compliance with legal requirement of the host countries. However, both STA and the association of the remittance companies have not performed as planned and both are now dormant or defunct.

## Benefits of Regulation

The Somali private sector like the Somali political system is rooted in the psyche of the clan system is predatory and tends to evade taxation, avoids rules and regulations. Private entrepreneurs have contributed to the degradation of natural environment for example cutting down trees for charcoal or acting as sponsors of foreign fishing

vessels or those dumping harmful toxic waste in the waters of Somalia. At times, it behaves like a wild horse a “brumby” in the outback of Australia, fat and free to trample on other people’s properties and rights. A former Somali ambassador narrates that a section of the business community benefited from the civil war and the absence of government regulations because

“They owned the money transfer companies, they also imported cheaply printed counterfeit bank notes and sold them to the people at a rate they arbitrarily decided in exchange with the US Dollars the people received from their relatives abroad. They imported cheap or sometimes expired medicines or foodstuff through makeshift seaports they owned, they destroyed the environment by cutting the trees and burning them for charcoal and exported to foreign countries” (Omar, 2004, p. 64)

To ensure that the government collects sufficient revenue to run basic services and enable fair competition, the Somali private sector must learn to work within a regulatory framework. There is a need to create a viable regulatory body with authority to enforce regulations. Such a body would supervise the emerging mixed economy with the private sector playing a leading role. In this scenario, the state’s role would be the provision of a regulatory framework, seeking international cooperation, encouraging private foreign investment and fighting corruption. A regulatory framework is imperative for the growth and healthy development of the private sector as it can ensure the

- registration and licensing of businesses to minimize fraudulent and criminal activities,
- creation of a conducive environment for market entry,
- reducing waste of scarce economic resources,
- ensuring social imbalances such as poverty reduction and any divides such as “digital divide”
- putting in place standard and policies to ensure accountability and transparency, etc.

It is easy to assert that a return to the liberal economic system that was successful forty years ago will be possible as the private sector leads the economy today. However, lessons learnt from the collapse of central national government highlight the importance of social responsibility and the urgent need for a public regulatory framework.

## Public Private Partnerships

The transformation of the private sector into a regulated and socially responsible economic driver for Somalia is essential. As indicated earlier, despite vibrancy, the private sector in Somalia experiences constraints to its rapid growth due to shortages of capital, skilled manpower, rule of law, and absence of regulatory framework.

Similar constraints limit the efficiency and effectiveness of the public institutions. Concerted private and public effort is required with the private sector adjusting its civil war business model to the post-conflict environment and the government and other public agencies setting up transparent policies, law and regulation, security, macroeconomic stability and engaging the private sector in policy dialogue. Both should work together to create an environment conducive to private sector investment and partners from abroad.

It is fortunate to note that the private sector is the only section of the Somali community not heavily affected by clan affiliation and has maintained contact beyond the clan borders. For example, business people who own money remittance, wholesale trade and telecommunications companies operate from all corners of Somalia. Therefore, together with the public sector, clearly the private sector has a role to play in any inter-clan and intra-clan reconciliations.

## Inter-clan reconciliation

Security is an important issue. For forty years, Somalia experienced military dictatorship, civil conflict, lack or abuse of national power structure, and human rights violations, which resulted into, total chaos. Harm has come to almost every Somali family or group of families at varying degrees and intensity. The paper suggests that peace within the country will return if the civil war legacy is addressed working through international and established national mechanisms. As raised by many Somali commentators including (Omar, 2004, p.25), the country needs to consider establishing a truth and reconciliation commission, a property restoration commission as well as a war crimes commission. Also, Somalia needs to adopt a culture of peace involving the rule of law, re-writing of history, reform of the education system emphasizing individual rights.

## A Somali Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

In the past two decades, Somali reconciliation conferences focused on rebuilding a government structure and establishing a functioning state rather than finding ways and means to restore justice and rebuild trust among the Somali clans. A societal reconciliation in Somalia is crucial to a peaceful coexistence of the populace and it will remain elusive as long as justice is not seen as its prerequisite. As defined by Open Society 'Reconciliation' is the transformation of conflict. To be reconciled to something – to a position, a state of affairs, perhaps to defeat – suggests passivity,



acceptance. To be reconciled with an enemy, individual or group, is an active process of achieving a more productive relationship”. A real reconciliation will not gel as long as the concerns and complaints relating to human rights violations are practically addressed. Obviously, a truth and reconciliation commission will not bring about effective reconciliation and the effects left by the conflict including hatred cannot be removed overnight, however, it is seen as a process leading to lessening the clans’ burdens of guilt or feelings of injustice and thus a productive inter-clan and intra-clan relationships.

Now that a political and federal system has been agreed upon, due attention must be given to agreeing on mechanisms to repair the damaged Somali society as the foundation of the political structure. There will be no need to reinvent the wheels in Somalia as there are some useful examples of restorative justice that have worked well in Africa and that can be adjusted to the Somali circumstances. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa and the International War Crimes Court on Rwanda are examples worth of replicating in Somalia. Similar to South Africa, Somalia needs to formally make reconciliation a legal and enforceable requirement and consequently pass a law on the promotion of national unity and reconciliation as was done in South Africa in 1995. It is believed the majority of Somali people is not seeking restitution or an eye for an eye, but wants to bring out the truth of what exactly had happened during the last decade of the Military regime and during the civil war period.

The commission would be mandated to question witnesses, examine records and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations. The commission would hear reports of human rights violations and consider amnesty applications from all sides. A Somali TRC would work through two committees:

- A Human Rights Violations Committee to investigate human rights abuses that occurred over the past 30 to 40 years.
- An Amnesty Committee empowered to consider applications from individuals seeking amnesty and to grant amnesty to some with consideration given to the weight of the crimes committed.

Due to the deep loss of trust within the clans of Somalia and lack of expertise to staff such a commission, it will be indispensable to use outside knowledge and experience to run effectively a Somali truth commission. As may be possible, members of the Commission may come from representatives of Somali non-governmental peace research outfits, international organizations such as Amnesty International and prominent Somali and foreign individuals.

# International War Crimes Tribunal on Somalia

A former prime minister of Somalia discussing the future constitutional structure of Somalia sees one of the challenges that face the country is to bring warlords and their accomplices to account for their deeds:

“During the reign of terror (January 1991 to June 2006), about 600,000 to 800,000 Somalis were killed by bullets or died of starvation and other diseases related the reign of terror. In addition, about a million more fled and sought refuge in other countries, while another one and half million were internally displaced. A further national cost has been the looting, by the warlords and their henchmen, of the public wealth and property”, (Hussein, 2012).

There are many governmental and non-governmental organizations that are busy collecting information relating to war crimes acts committed in Somalia over the past 30 years. Somaliland's War Criminals Committee, Somali Watch, Somaliland Research Society & SomalilandNet.Com are but a few examples. While Somaliland organizations are committed to documenting war crimes committed against the people of Somaliland, Somali Watch has the objective of producing to the best of their knowledge a series of genocide files documenting the acts of genocide and other serious violations of human rights in Somalia during the last 20 to 30 years.

As recorded by Somali Watch, the Military regime of Mohamed Siad Barre committed crimes against humanity, which affected many Somali clans and communities. In particular, the Isaq and Majerteen clans received collective punishment, as they were the first Somali groups to take arms and oppose the regime. Both clans were subjected to campaigns of looting, arrests and extra judicial executions. Somali Watch and the Somaliland Research Society recorded that, “In July 1989, about 55 Somalilanders were forcefully removed from their houses, shuttled into Jazira, fired upon by men who were supposed to guard the safety of the public”. Similarly, horrendous crimes occurred in December 1990 when the United Somali Congress (USC) an armed opposition group mainly composed of the Hawiye clan entered Mogadishu instigating an era of terror targeting the non-Hawiye civilians especially of those from the Darood clan. “The USC militia started consolidating power in Mogadisho leading to the exodus of non-Hawiye residents from Mogadisho to the southern towns of Somalia. Eyewitnesses reported house-to-house mopping up operations by the USC militia. The militia combed the city looting and killing innocent civilians if they are identified as a non-Hawiye irrespective of their previous opposition to the regime of Siyad Barre”, (Somali Watch).

Referring to information from Concerned Somalis of March 19, 1991, Somali Watch recounts, “Recent reports estimated the civilian casualty to number 500 dead, 1000 wounded and 200 hostages,” as a result of the USC February 26, 1991 attack on Galkayo, capital of Mudug region. This attack was particularly heinous as it targeted women, children and the older leaders over 70 years of age. These leaders were prominent men who opposed Barre's regime and were subjected to frequent

detentions and abuses (Somali Watch). Serious human rights violations were committed as a result of the inter-factional fighting in Mogadishu over who would govern the country. However, the crimes committed by the various militias are yet to be recorded and documented.

## Land and Property Recovery Tribunal

Following the outbreak of civil war in January 1991 until recently, thousands of Somali families were forced to flee their agricultural, industrial and housing properties in Mogadishu and other locations in Somalia. Since then people mostly moving from the central rangelands of Somalia occupy these properties. Most affected by this expropriation are the urban inhabitants of Mogadishu and the small holding farmers of the inter-river areas. Because the people who lost their assets to the armed militias come from Somalia's minority groups, the dispossessed enjoy scant official representation. Consequently, in recent times, none of the leading politicians have advocated publicly for the establishment of land claims tribunal, chiefly because most of them are themselves beneficiaries of the post-1990 land grab.

More than any other issue, inter-clan and intra-clan reconciliation hinges on having a mechanism to address the loss of land and properties of people who had to flee or were forced to leave their properties for fear for their lives. In order to ensure dispossessed people receive compensation or recover their assets and that internal reconciliation is lasting and effective, it is suggested that a UN resolution covering a war crimes tribunal on Somalia should include a section relating to the establishment of a land and property restoration Commission. Such an international commission could comprise commissioners from European countries which have been closely linked to the Somali reconciliation conferences such as Norway, Britain and Turkey.

## Regional Reconciliation

The framework for the management of Somalia envisages that peace would be attained if there were a regional reconciliation. Allowing for the peaceful movement of human and capital resources within the region will increase the opportunities for trade and investment across the region and positively impact on the economic modernization and transformation of the Somali pastoral society. For this to happen, there is a need for an environment of peace, stability and unity within Somalia and the Horn of Africa so that every individual, communities and the nation as a whole could pursue perfecting the democratic system, attaining economic development

and promoting cultural progress. Regional reconciliation is therefore an important and integral part of the framework for the management of the country.

It is widely recognized that Ethiopia and Kenya suspect Somalia to have expansionist dreams because for Somalia a “paramount foreign policy issue has been status of ethnic Somalis in Ogaden area of Ethiopia, in Kenya, and in Djibouti. Government claims only to seek self-determination for Somalis in adjacent territories, but suspicion of Somali irredentism remains source of tension in Horn of Africa” (Country Study 1982, p. xvii ) Somalia’s hesitancy to acknowledge colonial borders without consultation with the people inhabiting the territories is often represented as the policy of Greater Somalia aimed at creating one state encompassing five territories in the Horn of Africa, namely, Italian, British, French Somaliland, the Ogaden and the Northern Frontier District (NFD) respectively of Ethiopia and Kenya. This policy resulted in regional conflicts, hampering regional economic cooperation and integration and created mistrust among the peoples of the region.

Somalia believed that the border problems with the neighbors is a colonial legacy for which none of the regional countries can be held responsible and that regional countries are responsible for finding solutions. It is well known that the Somali inhabited territories generally known as the Ogaden (named after its principal Somali inhabitants) went into the possession of Ethiopia in the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of agreements with Great Britain and form a part of Ethiopia as recognized by international law. Similarly, the NFD remained part of Kenya despite the clear expression of the inhabitants to unite with Somalia declared to a British Commission in 1962. Somalia never demanded the return of territories in Ethiopia and Kenya inhabited by Somalis but the right of inhabitants of those territories to decide their future according to the principle of self determination (I M Lewis: *The Guardian* of July 29, 1966 as copied in Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed: *Halgan iyo Hagardaamo, Taariikh Nololeed*, Scansom Publishers, Stockholm 2012). However, the Imperial government of Ethiopia never inclined to allow any of its subjects to voice their political aspirations, rejected the Somali government demand for self-government in the Ogaden. Equally, Kenya rejected the findings of a 1962 British sponsored independent Commission to which the Somalis in the NFD overwhelmingly declared that they wished to secede from Kenya before Kenya’s independence and to unite with the Somali Republic. This result was set aside by Britain as the colonial power anxious to secure good relations with Mr. Kenyatta and unwilling to injure her relations with Kenya, where a large number of British settlers lived in prosperity.

These British actions and the rejections of both Kenya and Ethiopia to grant self-determination to the inhabitants of the Ogaden and NFD provoked the Somali government into supporting guerrilla activities within Ethiopia and Kenya. The first half of the 1960s was thus turbulent with military confrontations between Somalia and Ethiopia and deterioration of neighborly relations with both Kenya and Ethiopia. Both countries had good grounds to fear the result of any referendum and started to portray Somalia as laying an outright claim to their Somali inhabited territories. Beyond this, they feared the possibly contagious effect of Somali secessionist de-

mands, which might threaten the multiethnic empire of Ethiopia or the new and fragile nationhood of Kenya.

Feeling the economic pinch of the confrontation with neighboring countries, Mr. Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, appointed as prime minister of Somalia, in August 1967, embarked on a policy of reducing tensions entering into negotiations with the neighbors and redirecting the nation's energies from confrontation to addressing social and economic ills. Quick results were achieved when a few months later, in October 1967, a Memorandum of Understanding was reached between Somalia and Kenya at Arusha, Tanzania, which could form the basis of any future final settlement agreements between the two countries. Then, conscious that the interests of their peoples is not served by the continuance of tension, the two governments agreed to reduce the tension and maintain peace and security on both sides of the border by preventing the loss of human life and property; refrain from conducting hostile propaganda through the mass media such as radio and the press, suspend gradually any emergency regulations imposed on either side of the border; normalize diplomatic relations, and encourage the development of economic and trade relations, (Roobdoon Forum Chronicles, Toronto).

Similarly, tension reduction negotiations with Ethiopia were concluded with the Addis Ababa Agreement of September 1968, when Somalia and Ethiopia agreed to terminate the state of emergency in the border regions, which had been in place since February 1964, to establish air, road and telecommunications links, and to permit the resumption of free access by Somali pastoralists to their traditional grazing areas. They reaffirmed the usefulness of the Special Joint Commissions set up by the two Governments in Mogadishu in February 1968. They have further agreed to establish a Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee, which will meet periodically to discuss major and minor problems between the two countries and submit recommendations to their respective Governments. The two sides saw the aim of these agreements as positive steps towards the eventual settlement of major issues, relating to people and borders (Roobdoon Forum Chronicles, Toronto).

The Somali policy of regional rapprochement of the 1960s resulted in improved relations with Ethiopia and Kenya and created an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful discussion and settlement of differences between Somalia and its neighbors. This policy deserves to be taken to its final objective of peaceful resolution of the border issues. Clearly, these past agreements between Somalia and its neighbors provide a solid foundation to work out a final settlement of the border issues between the countries. Now, with Somalia on the receiving end of border transgressions, future settlements must include international guarantees of Somali borders, agreements on arms reductions in the region and sharing of natural resources in agreed border areas.

There are seven reasons why Somalia should reconcile with regional neighbors.

- First, it is argued that Somalia has achieved its demands as the inhabitants of both the Ogaden and NFD territories have now had opportunities to exercise their democratic right to determine their destiny, albeit most recently in the Ogaden. The people of these territories enjoy regional autonomy, democratic representation, prosperity and recognition as owners of that disputed territory. Those who

fought for the secession of NFD in the 1960s have long ago lost legitimacy as people value peace and the pursuit of their economic dreams. Since the mid 1990s, the Somali Ethiopian territories have also gained regional autonomy, are free to practice their culture including the use of Somali language and have a fair representation at the federal level. In these territories support for secession has dwindled to insignificant levels. However, in recent times, the rise of a small group of diehard fighters who are more driven by religious beliefs rather than national dreams represents another problem that involves the border areas between Ethiopia and Somalia.

- Second, Somalia is a failed state that has begun to rebuild its institutions and depends wholly on the support of the international community and in particular the member countries of IGAD including Kenya and Ethiopia. Both countries contribute to the security forces assisting the Somali government to overcome the Al Shabaab movement.
- Third, in order to rebuild the country's social and economic infrastructure, Somalia needs to direct all available resources and energies to peaceful purposes and, achieve a "peace dividend".
- Fourth, a regional reconciliation resulting from a Somali peace overture would pave the way for the development of trade and economic activities between the countries. For example, the issues relating to demarcation of maritime borders with Kenya would be discussed and resolved and in the absence of overall demarcation, the two countries could at least agree on equal shares of the revenue in the event of commercially viable deposits of oil or gas being found on blocks being disputed. Nima Khorrami Assl of the Transnational Crisis Project in London writes: "At stake are their "legal claims to sell rights for exploration and collect revenue from any discovery", and hence their disagreement can easily turn into a full-blown conflict should it remain unresolved".
- Fifth, regional countries still suspect that Somalia harbors expansionist dreams and descriptions of Ethiopia as "arch enemy" of Somalia is frequently used in the international media without a Somali denial or corrections. Somalia cannot afford to antagonize Ethiopia or any other neighbor, as there are no political, economic or other reasons to justify such an attitude. Friendship agreements with Ethiopia and Kenya would clear the air, remove mistrust and rebuild confidence between the countries. Other countries are ready to reconcile and have the history of conflict and confrontation behind them. The newly elected President of Kenya Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta declared that, "we have the desire as a nation to live at peace with ourselves, with our neighbors, with the continent and with the rest of the world". Somalia must ensure that past conflicts, misunderstandings and mistrust with neighboring countries are out of the way.
- Sixth, Allow ethnic Somali to be accepted in Kenya and Ethiopia as peace-loving and law abiding citizens of their countries and not be subject to harassment being considered as "fifth column", a sentiment expressed in recent Kenyan press reports in reaction to terrorist acts within Kenya by the Somalia-based Al Shabaab group.

- Finally, Formalize the de facto situation in accordance with the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations which affirm respect for the territorial integrity of each state.

Somalia must formally accept international recognized borders with Ethiopia and Kenya and desisting from pursuing the dream of establishing a Greater Somalia by bringing to conclusion the regional peace initiatives made in the late 1960s by M.I. Egal, the late Prime Minister of Somalia. The authors believe Somalia will reap incalculable benefits from a resolution of the border issues resulting in economic development, internal stability and peaceful co-existence with her neighbors. Also, assuming democracies in the region will develop and gradually mature, the likelihood that future conflicts will be able to be avoided or solved peacefully is high.

## Summary and Challenges

Since the collapse of Somalia's central political structure and institutions in 1991, a series of national reconciliation meetings have been held their main focus being to reach agreements on power sharing, write a new constitution, and establish a workable government structure. They have all missed to focus on reviving economic development, addressing wrongs committed in the civil war period and stretching a hand of friendship and good neighborliness to Kenya and Ethiopia in order to create a peaceful environment necessary for the growth of regional trade and the exploitation of the region's natural resources.

The framework for the management of Somalia stresses the need for peace, good governance, federalism, rule of law, and a dynamic private sector. Prerequisites for a successful transition for a failed state to a stable society include:

- A genuine and gentle exercise of national reconciliation based on honest and faithful reports covering all crimes, evil deeds and looting done before and during the civil war
- A restoration of the value of traditional leadership by blending pastoral democracy and modern democracy, and preservation of human rights to ensure political stability of the country
- A policy of rapprochement with the countries of the region

The framework requires a long-term view of change to achieve economic freedom through the transformation of the pastoral economy to a commercial one as the way forward. The authors believe that a more prosperous Somalia is more likely to be less attached to the ways of clans and more receptive to the rules and regulations of a civic and democratic society. Going to the main theme of the conference, the authors believe that oil exploitation would be a boon rather than a curse for Somalia as it "will catalyze what human suffering over the last 20 years has failed to do: a genuine



push by the international community to put an end into Somalia's social, political, and economic problems". (Assl: 2012). While reconciliation with the neighboring countries is more of an act of formalizing the de facto status, Somalia must first make peace with itself. The authors believe this is the greatest challenge.

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# Managing Resource Conflicts through People, Policies and Institutions: Lessons from the Berki (Ethiopia), Kuiseb (Namibia) and Pongola (South Africa) River Basins

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## Introduction

Global water resources access, use and management reflects back to us the deep inequalities in our societies. Roughly 80% of the world's income is in the hands of 20% of its people (UNDP, 1992), while an estimated 1.5% is in the hands of the bottom 20%. Given that water is in everything, it is clear that the vast majority of the world's water captured in an unrelenting 'hydraulic mission' benefits – economically, socially, and politically – a small fraction of the world's people. Where there are water 'conflicts', therefore, they tend to be of three broad types. At the level of the empowered and highly influential, they are largely wars of words either resolved through negotiation or put aside until another time. Even the 'hard cases' such as the Jordan and Nile River Basins – cases that attract so much media and academic attention – are more about hyperbole than action. A second type of 'conflict' is that between contending users over a specific use at the level of the resource itself: pastoralists and farmers squabbling seasonally or in reaction to a specific stimulus such as late rains; groups of people dependent upon the same well. Most of these conflicts fade with the rains, but generally recur because there is never a suitable human intervention undertaken to address the issue. A third type of 'conflict' results from structural inequalities, where one actor or group of actors have captured the resource resulting in the ecological marginalization of another group. Conflict may be spontaneous and transient, such as that in Cochabamba, it may also be iterative, returning seasonally, it may be persistent but low-level, involving poaching of resources or sabotage of infrastructure, and it often results in anomic violence, i.e. conflict between actors within the marginalized group who turn on each other out of frustration.

This paper presents three short case studies involving water resource conflicts. It probes them for insight regarding the ways and means of moving beyond conflict

toward cooperation, beyond resource capture toward resource and benefit sharing, and beyond spontaneous action toward institutionalized frameworks for collective action. As will be seen below, two of the conflict cases have been resolved (Kuseb and Berki) and have created robust institutions while one remains locked in a non-productive, social capital-sapping stalemate (Pongola) while potential institutional structures languish without power or effect. All three cases are sub-national, wherein the basins are contained (almost) entirely within one state. The Pongola is a bit of an anomaly as the dammed waters have backed up into Swaziland from neighboring South Africa where the dam is located.

## The Kuseb River Basin

The Kuseb River rises in the Khomas Hochland of Namibia, with the uppermost part of the basin only about 15km to the west of its capital city, Windhoek. Rainfall in this area is at least 350 mm/a. The upper part of the basin is generally farmed as commercial cattle ranches and there are a large number of farm dams. This part of the basin receives good rainfall, causing tributaries to flow frequently. Major losses to recharge and evapotranspiration as the river crosses the desert means that flows in the downstream reaches do not occur every year.

Table 1: The Kuseb River Basin

Item	Kuseb
Size	>15,500 sq km
Elevation	0-2080 masl
Rainfall	0-350 mm/a
Mean average temperature	<16 - >22
Main biomes	Desert/karoo/dry and bush savanna
Aquifer	Hard rock and alluvial
Water infrastructure	Boreholes, earth dams, pipelines
Watercourse character	One main ephemeral water course located entirely in Namibia; flows East-West draining into the Atlantic; alluvial aquifer dependent on river flow; may have zero flow in some years; ephemeral throughout basin; summer flow lasting days to weeks
Resources supported	Aquifer recharge; riverine vegetation
Agricultural production	Large and small stock; commercial agriculture in upper basin; subsistence lower down
Other land use	Namib-Naukluft National Park, game farming, tourism
Resource monitoring systems	Environmental monitoring at Gobabeb Centre in the park
Population and settlement pattern	Sparsely populated with capital city (Windhoek) above the watershed and main port (Walvis Bay) near the river's mouth on Atlantic Ocean
Conflict issues present	Smallholder communities downstream suspect resource capture by commercial farmers upstream

Source: adapted from Seely et al, 2005.

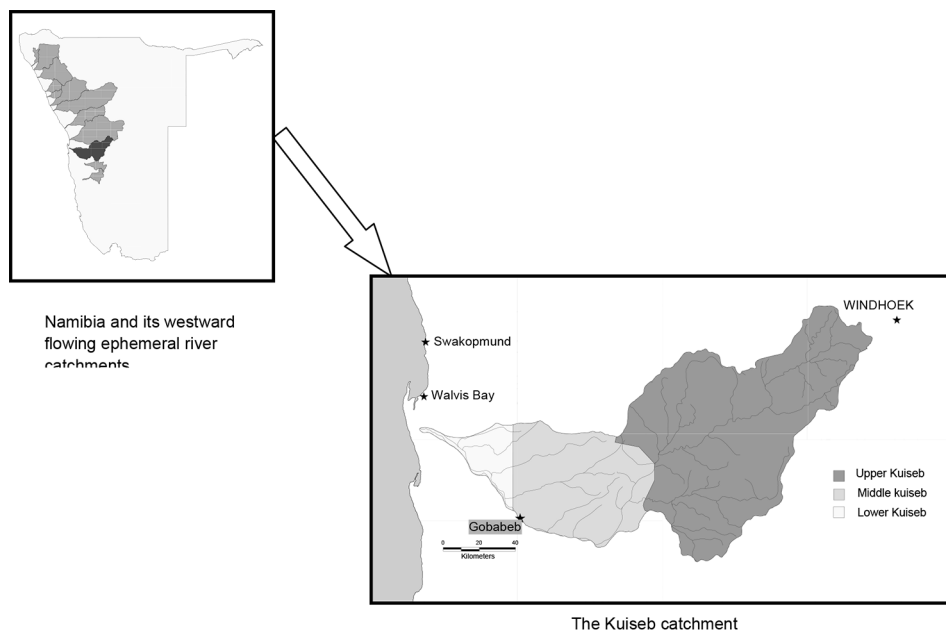


Figure 1: Kuiseb basin management area

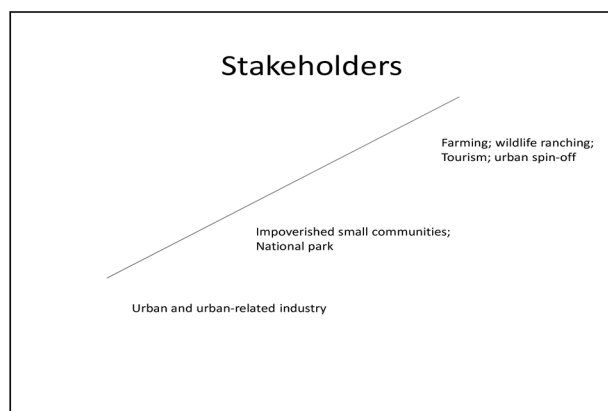


Figure 2: Upstream-Downstream User Profile

Apart from Walvis Bay (pop. 42,015 in 2001; see <http://www.npc.gov.na/census/index.htm>), there are no major settlements in the catchment, but the large number of farmers both commercial and subsistence account for a population of around 30,000. A large proportion of the basin falls within the Namib-Naukluft National Park (established as a game preserve in 1907 by German colonial rulers). Here the river supports the park's wildlife, communal farmers and also supplies water to the towns of Walvis Bay and Swakopmund. The Topnaar<sup>1</sup> Communal farmers reside

1 Loosely translated from Afrikaans this means 'people at the extremity', and accurately describes these people who reside along the verdant fringe of the Kuiseb as it wends its way through Namibia's western deserts.

along the Kuiseb River in the Namib-Naukluft Park. Approximately 300 people are resident along the river with the remainder of the 3,000 strong population residing in Walvis Bay. Permanent boreholes, provided in the 1980s, resulted in the rural Topnaar population settling in approximately thirteen permanent villages, so ending their semi-nomadic herding lifestyle. They raise a variety of livestock which number less than 4,000 in total, most being goats (Mendelsohn et al. 2002).

The mean annual runoff of the Kuiseb river reaches a maximum of 20.4 Mm<sup>3</sup>/a at the confluence of the Kuiseb and Gaub Rivers. This value steadily reduces as the river crosses the desert to a 4.33 Mm<sup>3</sup>/a at Gobabeb. The only large dam in the basin is the Friedenau Dam, built in the upper catchment in 1970 with a capacity of 6.33 Mm<sup>3</sup>. With its 210 km<sup>2</sup> catchment the dam was built for supplying water to the now-closed Matchless mine. Other state water schemes are at Gobabeb and Rooibank. (MAWRD 3, 2000)

It is generally accepted that the water resources of the Kuiseb River are being used close to or in excess of their sustainable capacity. Occasional large floods occur on average once every nine years to replenish the groundwater. There are well-founded fears – given Walvis Bay's continued growth and many uranium mines for example – that groundwater is being mined unsustainably. Given the above information on water use and availability, it is obvious that there are many competing uses in the basin. The uranium mines are thus considering desalination as an option for their fresh water supply.

In response to a combination of factors such as recurrent drought and increasing vulnerability of all actors in the base, especially the Topnaars, in 2001 a project was initiated by the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN) to consider new ways of managing the resources of the Kuiseb River Basin. The project received considerable support from the government of Namibia as part of the water management review process (Botes et al, 2003 for details). The project was dubbed ELAK – Environmental Learning and Action for the Kuiseb – and its initiators describe their intentions as follows: 'Through establishment of a basin-wide dialogue, information exchange, data management, research, education, outreach, monitoring and evaluation, the Elak project plans to bring together all viewpoints of Kuiseb basin interests' (Botes et al, 2003). Equitable access to water, the number and size of impoundments, (over)use of riparian vegetation for grazing, the general state of the natural environment, human health, and unemployment were identified as primary issues in the basin. As a confidence/trust-building exercise, several studies were carried out and exchange visits undertaken to openly assess claims that commercial farmers withhold water from users downstream. The DRFN acted as facilitator throughout the process – e.g., providing data to support decision-making and discussion, organising stakeholder forums, liaising with stakeholders. Given the DRFN's positive reputation among all stakeholders, they were able to assist Kuiseb River Basin stakeholders toward establishment, first, of a basin-wide forum, and second, in the creation of a Kuiseb BMC (see Manning and Seely, 2005 for a description of the process).

## The Kuiseb Basin Management committee (KBMC)

The KBMC was the first committee to be launched under the Water Act of 2004. Although a newly functioning committee, it has so far undertaken a number of activities. They include being successfully involved in convincing a new Australian uranium mining company in the lower Kuiseb region to seek alternatives to using purified alluvial aquifer water to suppress dust on its main road. The KBMC has also facilitated sharing of information with regard to farm dams in the upper Kuiseb, so heading off potential conflict among users. With few exceptions, stakeholders in the lower Kuiseb now acknowledge that farm dams in the upper Kuiseb are neither increasing in number nor are they having any appreciable impact on the lower Kuiseb aquifer. Overall the mines in the area, the Department of Water Affairs, the Gobabeb Training and Research Centre operated by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism in conjunction with the DRFN, and other key stakeholders have begun to use the KBMC as a useful platform for addressing a variety of issues of concern to them in an appropriately participatory way (Amakali and Shixwanmeni, 2003). The Committee is currently developing a basin wide management plan and profile for the Kuiseb River Basin.

## The Berki River Basin

Berki Catchment (410 km<sup>2</sup>) is located in Tigray Regional State, Ethiopia within the Tekeze river basin. It is shared by three weredas (districts): *Atsbi* at upstream, Wukro and Enderta at downstream. Atsbi wereda contributes much of the water resources while the downstream Wukro wereda has less contribution. Enderta wereda shares very small part in the watershed. Deforestation due to agricultural activities, fuel-wood collection and free animal grazing have had severe impacts on the ecosystem and hydrological conditions of the area. Almost all inhabitants of the catchment depend on the natural resources for their living. Farmers at the upstream use pumps to take water from the river and shallow wells, with possible impact on irrigation schemes downstream. *Chube* diversion in Atsbi Wereda irrigates around 43ha. In the same wereda World Vision is undertaking conservation activities in the upper catchment area.



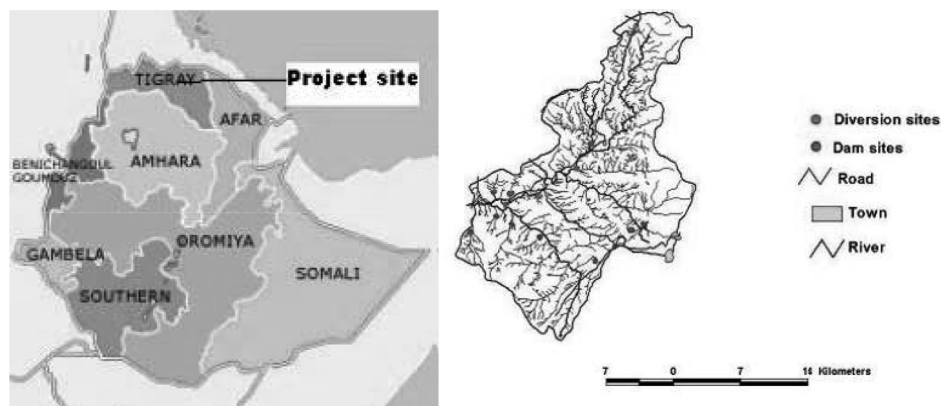


Figure 3: The Berki River Basin

In Wukro wereda, there are two diversions: Berki diversion with 100ha, and further downstream Laelay Agula with 70ha command areas. There is a spring near Berki diversion that is used by the Church for spiritual purposes (holy water). However, the church capped the spring anticipating that the government would develop it to supply water to Agula town. The action taken by the church created conflict between the Church and the Bureau of Water Resources. There is also conflict between downstream traditional irrigation water users and upstream Laelay Agula diversion water users, which resulted in the destruction of the diversion weir by downstream users. Different government institutions have various mandates/interests in managing water and related resources of Berki catchment such as use of water for drinking, irrigation, catchment protection. The different sectors were not effectively collaborating to deal with water resource management problems in Berki. There was no plan to use Berki water resource for multiple and integrated uses. Similarly, NGOs operating in Berki catchment work independently without being well considered as stakeholders.

Water is scarce in Berki catchment, and there are various water resource management problems, including conflicts among upstream and downstream communities and between administrative authorities. The different water use activities have put heavy pressure on water availability for different purposes, especially for far downstream users. Inefficient use of water, including wasteful technological selections, was also common practices. Communities downstream of Agula town (outside of Berki catchment) suffer from lack of water due to the upstream pumps and diversions. They need to travel long distances to access water especially during dry seasons. Moreover, upstream water users are polluting water (due to washing and cattle drinking) that is being used by downstream users.

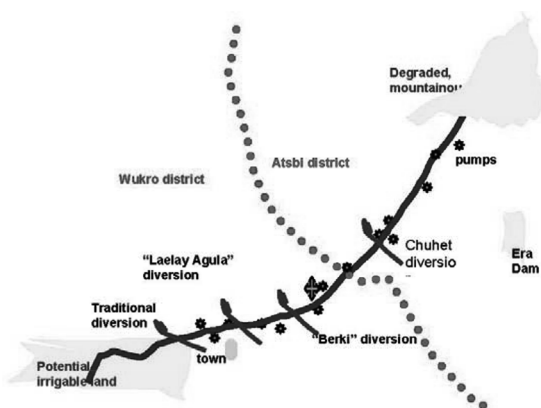


Figure 4: Water Conflicts in the Watershed

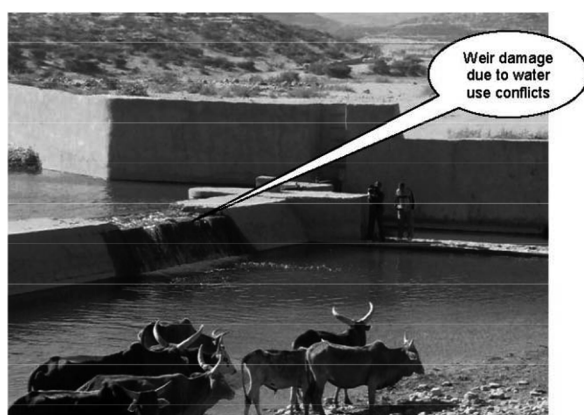


Image 1: Weir Damage in the Watershed

Water resources were being excessively exploited both beyond the natural limits of the system and beyond the regulatory offices' ability to control it. There were no land use plans or water regulations which led to the uncontrolled introduction of private pumps, and changes in cropping pattern and land use. In addition, water and other natural resources of the catchment were not known and decisions were made without adequate knowledge and information. Poor communication among various users and stakeholders and low level of awareness also contributed to this problem. The biggest challenge was the sustainable use and management of the Berki's water resources for all interest groups, in an equitable and sustainable manner.

## Approaches followed

Realizing these problems and the potential solutions provided by an IWRM approach, the Ethiopia Country Water Partnership (ECWP as part of the Global Water Partnership, GWP, network) decided to do a pilot activity in Berki watershed for further scaling up. The process involved multi-stakeholder participatory planning at the watershed level. Specifically the following approach was followed:

- Identifying policy gaps and constraints in implementing IWRM
- Identifying stakeholders, sensitizing them on IWRM approaches and launching the Tigray
- Regional Water Partnership (TRWP)
- Establishing and training a Technical Team from various disciplines and sectors
- Assessing water and other natural resources of Berki watershed
- Studying the socioeconomic dynamics of Berki watershed
- Establishing Wereda Watershed Committees and InterWereda Watershed Committee
- Documenting and sharing experiences on approaches, processes and findings at various levels.

## Achievements so far

### **IWRM policy gaps and implementation constraints identified**

ECWP reviewed the existing policies, laws, strategies and programs with the aim of identifying policy gaps and constraints for implementing IWRM. The process was highly consultative and a range of stakeholders at various levels participated. The gaps identified include lack of integrating water and land resource management; decentralization without building local level capacity; lack of holistic approach; low level of awareness; lack of regulations for managing demands and conflicts; and limited private sector involvement. The findings lead to the identification of key IWRM change areas for Ethiopia such as managing water demands, managing water conflicts, and identifying the best regulatory and institutional arrangements for sustainable water resources management.

## **IWRM is now widely appreciated among stakeholders**

As IWRM was new to the country and to the watershed, creating the necessary awareness and Organizing trainings on IWRM at various levels was important component of the program. In this respect, the project has played important roles in promoting and demonstrating benefits of IWRM to the wider stakeholders. Organizing trainings, awareness sessions, consultation meetings, public meetings and partnership meetings were some of the mechanisms for raising awareness of stakeholders on IWRM. World Water Days were specifically targeted to promote IWRM to the general public towards creating an IWRM conscious society in Ethiopia. Use of materials such as documentary films, CDs, published materials assisted the promotional activities. The media and civil society have been supported to appreciate IWRM. Raising stakeholders' awareness on IWRM facilitated the participatory process as it improved the capacity to actively participate in the process.

## **Participatory forums established for facilitating the process**

IWRM, being a participatory process, requires establishment of multi-stakeholder platforms that bring together stakeholders at various levels for consultation, experience sharing and coordination/networking. Water partnerships at Tigray regional, Berki watershed, and Wereda levels were established. Tigray Regional Water Partnership (TRWP) has now more than 30 members representing various stakeholders. It has a Regional Steering Committee and a Technical Team. The wereda watershed committees were established encompassing concerned government line offices, NGOs, and communities. A joint Watershed Committee was also established in AtsbiWukro that includes members from the two wereda watershed committees. Much effort has been made to ensure balanced representation of all stakeholders in different water partnerships. The forums have laid the foundations for all stakeholders to jointly plan and implement sustainable water resources management, and to manage water related conflicts.

## **Generation of knowledge and preparation of Catchment IWRM plan**

Lack of information on the potential of water and other resource as well as overall socio economic activities was one of the problems faced at the Berki watershed. Water resources assessment is one of the key components of IWRM implementation, and in most cases it is one of the biggest challenges. Water resources assessment (geology/hydrology, water resources potential, environment, water uses) and socioeconomic studies were carried out for the Berki watershed. The studies were conducted with multidisciplinary professionals from key stakeholders: concerned government line bureaus at the regional and district levels as well as experts from academic institu-

tions and NGOs. The process involved all stakeholders, including local communities. Several consultation and review sessions were also carried out at various levels to enrich the study. The study helped to create an understanding of the issues, such as conflicts among users of natural resources, and also helped in the prioritization of problems and the identification of possible solutions and gain further commitment of stakeholders. These studies were the basis for preparing the Berki catchment IWRM Plan, which is widely accepted and owned by all stakeholders. The pilot is also demonstrating knowledge-based sustainable development planning, showing development to be based on available water and other natural resources, and also planning to include both development and management of natural resources.

## Outcomes

Some of the outcomes/impacts are the following:

### **Change in beliefs and practices of communities and local governments**

Communities now have better awareness of water resource ownership and understand its implications on others. People speak about equitable water allocation, conflict resolution, and integration of different water uses. For example, before the intervention, local communities used to think that any water that flowed in their fields, was their own property. Now that thinking has changed and they see water as shared resource by all in the watershed. One clear indication of the increased awareness is the interest shown by the downstream wereda to contribute to the conservation program at the upstream wereda. Atsbi wereda's plan to introduce about 100 more water pumps was revisited because of the raised awareness by the local authorities. Moreover, water efficient technologies like drip systems are being introduced and plan is prepared for artificial groundwater recharging. The existence of the partnerships so far is also a sign of changing long held ideas, beliefs and practices entrenched in linear planning and single agency responsibility in the region and at the watershed level.

### **Bringing together key stakeholders**

The establishment of multi-stakeholder forums at various levels (Tigray regional, Berki watershed, and wereda) has given the opportunity for interaction among various stakeholders. This is also providing an opportunity to lay a framework for integrating/coordinating activities by various sectors/stakeholders.

## **Decline in local level conflicts**

As a result of establishing multi-stakeholder platforms and various consultations, water related conflicts have been minimized. There is now recognition of the importance of the multi-stakeholder partnerships at the local level and working together is viewed as a way to resolve water conflicts. For example, two key conflicts in the catchment were resolved without any legal or administrative intervention.

## **Common vision and joint planning (catchment as a water resource management unit)**

In Berki, the catchment is considered a planning/management unit despite the were-da boundaries. An integrated watershed development and management plan is already prepared for Berki, and stakeholders have agreed to implement the plan within the partnership framework.

## **Practical experience on addressing institutional arrangements for IWRM**

There is now a search for ways and means to implement IWRM locally because the establishment of the partnerships in Berki gave ample lessons and an alternative option for addressing institutional arrangements for IWRM. Additionally, the Berki IWRM process is providing knowledge and information for implementing IWRM in bigger river basins.

## **Key lessons**

### **Ownership of the change**

The IWRM change process needs to support people's livelihoods. Water resources management should not be done for its own sake, rather for sustaining the livelihoods of communities. It is only when people understand that their livelihoods depend on sustainable management of water and land resources that they can own and meaningfully participate in the change process. The challenge faced by ECWP in piloting IWRM was a long planning process, which made it difficult for the local communities to understand its linkages to their livelihoods. There was a high level of expectation around a quick fix physical infrastructure that would address their practical problems.

## **Political commitment**

Government commitment to IWRM process is crucial. IWRM requires an enabling environment (policy, legal and institutional framework) at the national level. Existence of an enabling environment and ownership of the process by government and other stakeholders facilitated the IWRM process. High level commitment of the Tigray Regional Government and other stakeholders at various levels was very useful.

A high level consultation meeting with government officials of Tigray Region raised the level of awareness about IWRM and the challenges of water resources management in Tigray and Berki watershed. The meeting also increased the interest of key institutions that further strengthened the regional partnership. The Tigray Regional Government reconfirmed its commitment to support the IWRM approach by delegating the Deputy Chief Administrator of the Regional Government as the chair of the Tigray Regional Water Partnership (TRWP) Steering Committee. Stakeholders in TRWP have designated focal persons and also contributed free expertise by designating their technical staff to the Technical Team.

Ethiopia operates under a decentralized government and local authorities have decision making power and authority over resources. They have the power to manage water and other natural resources within their constituencies. The wereda authorities are responsible for the preparation of development plan and coordination of development activity in the Wereda. They are also given a budget to execute their plans. Thus, any activity in the wereda must be approved by the wereda government and the role of weredas in the Berki pilot IWRM watershed was significant. Practically nothing could have been done without their interest, willingness and mobilizing role. The weredas played a key role in mobilizing all stakeholders in their respective weredas for participation in the process, in establishing wereda watershed committees, in contributing experts for the IWRM process and in owning the whole process.

## **Communication among stakeholders**

IWRM requires participation and ownership by all stakeholders, and communication facilitates participation. People down the chain often do not get enough information, do not get it in the right ways or do not have direct lines of communication available to them. Relationship building takes time and this was one of the challenges that ECWP have to overcome. Even though it is not an easy task, facilitating communication among all stakeholders at all levels by adapting local situations is crucial, as is the adaptation of traditional knowledge systems to spread information about IWRM.

## **Multi-stakeholder partnership building is time consuming**

Institution/process building is not immediate, but rather a long and tiring process. Participation, ownership and trust building among stakeholders were challenges but they were achieved through investing efforts and energy in establishing the water partnerships.

## **Capacity building and awareness raising as integral parts of the IWRM change process**

IWRM is a participatory process and it requires capacity building of stakeholders' for proper participation. ECWP's approach of combining awareness raising /capacity building with piloting was a helpful approach. It was mostly done through a training of trainers (TOT) program where experts from federal and regional levels were trained outside of the country to train other experts at country level, particularly regional experts. This was followed by training of regional and wereda experts by the trained national/regional experts. The wereda and regional experts, in turn, trained the communities. Capacity building on IWRM cannot be handled by an organization or an individual. The approach followed by ECWP was to mobilize individual stakeholders by training them to assist with the capacity building process in the country. Academics and the regional water resource bureau professionals played a key role. They participated in various training programs and also in carrying out technical studies (both water and other natural resources assessment and socioeconomic studies). They have also contributed a lot in replicating the trainings down the line for different decentralized partnerships. Most of all, the training has been instrumental in the introduction of knowledge based decision making.

## **Piloting and scaling up approach**

ECWP is now to move from institution building to implementation on a larger scale. The experiences so far from ECWP's activities are being fed into other national programs as a way of promoting IWRM, especially at a river basin scale. For example, due to increasing environmental degradation and investment opportunities at the same time, the Rift Valley is a basin of national importance and at the top of the government agenda. The Ministry of Water Resources has appreciated the inputs from other stakeholder groups in river basin master plan development (to broaden the focus from water resources development to more integrated development and management of water resources), and to establish a Rift Valley Lakes Basin Organization. ECWP also involved and shared its experience during the establishment of the River Basin Organization for the Ethiopian Blue Nile.



## **Build on existing systems and link with key water resources management problems/issues**

ECWP takes advantage of its having many stakeholders together to present different issues and initiate dialogue around key issues of national concern such as on challenges of water resources management in the Ethiopian Central Rift Valley lakes sub basin, and the Akaki catchment. As a result of such discussions, a multi-stakeholder working group (the Central Rift Valley Lakes sub basin Working Group) was formed which, with ECWP support, plays a key advocacy role within the Ministry of Water Resources towards establishing river basin organization for the Rift valley Lakes basin and highlighted the importance of multi-stakeholder involvement in water resource management. Similarly another Task Force was recently formed to address the water resources management of the Akaki catchment in the Awash river basin which is being compromised by urban and industrial pollution from the City of Addis Ababa and its surroundings.

## **IWRM as an approach for managing water conflicts**

In Berki, water resources are scarce and there are actual and potential water conflicts. A clear case was the destruction of an irrigation diversion weir by downstream traditional irrigation water users (Image 1 above). The partnerships played a facilitating role in conflict resolution. Organizing a joint visit program (by both downstream and upstream users/stakeholders) helped all concerned stakeholders to understand the problems from both sides, and also contributed to managing conflicts. Awareness raising and training also contributed to developing a shared vision for the watershed and to building trust among stakeholders. In this regard, the establishment of the partnerships played key role in the management of conflicts through shared vision planning and consensus building.

## **The Phongola Dam**

The Phongola Dam (also known as the Pongolapoort Dam or Jozini Dam), sits astride the Pongola River, a tributary of the Maputo River Basin system. The Maputo is a transboundary basin shared by Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa. In 1983, these three states established the Tripartite Permanent Technical Committee in order to jointly discuss intended water resource use. The dam predates the 1983 agreement by ten years, opening in 1973. It is owned by South Africa's Department of Water Affairs. Although established for irrigation, it has become a prime centre

of tourism, in particular sport fishing. Established during the height of ‘grand apartheid’, the impact on local communities has been dramatic (Tapela, 2012).

The Pongola River is a catchment of 7000 km<sup>2</sup> rising to the southwest of Swaziland at 2200 masl, passing through a narrow gorge between the Lembombo and Ubombo mountains at which point the dam is now situated. Beyond the dam, the river descends sharply into an extensive floodplain of some 50 km in length, varying in width between 0.8 and 4.8 km to the confluence of the Pongola and Usutu Rivers near the border with Mozambique (Nkhata, Breen, Hay, 2012) (see Figure 5).



Figure 5: Maputo-Usutu-Pongola River Basin System

Today, developments in the river basin are governed by South Africa's Water Act (Act No. 36 of 1998) wherein the national government is the custodian of the nation's water resources and is regarded as an 'indivisible national asset'. To facilitate sustainable development and management of South Africa's water resources, a new institutional structure was created whereby catchment management agencies will be/are to be established (in terms of Section 78(1) of the Water Act), within which a number of Water User Associations (WUAs) have been/will be created (in terms of Section 92(1)(a) of the Water Act) for the specific allocation and management of the resource at user level (Jonker et al, 2010).

There are three significant anomalies regarding this set-up. First, the Pongola River is part of the Maputo River Basin transboundary system. However, at the na-

tional level its CMA has been rolled together with the Mzimkulu River system (see Figure 6) so creating a number of uncertainties regarding governance arrangements and management structures.

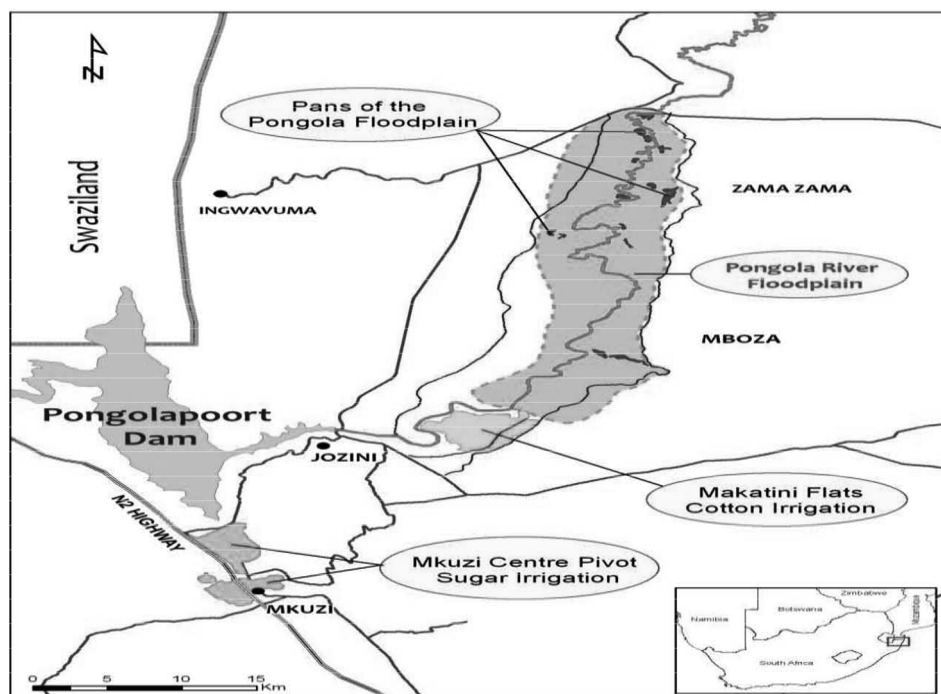


Figure 6: Study Area from Pongola Dam to Flood Plain

Source: Nkhata, Breen, Hay, 2012

Second, at the same time, in establishing the WUAs, the government disestablished the apartheid-era Irrigation Boards (IBs), making them instead the foundation for the WUAs, but this time including all ‘relevant stakeholders’. In the case of the Pongola, the upper and lower catchment has been divided into two separate WUAs – the ‘Recreational Water Users Association’ around the dam, and the Imfunda Yopongola WUA, which is centred on water for use along the floodplain. This lower catchment WUA is understandably obsessed with the timing and size of water releases from the dam. The degazettement of the IBs has not stopped their de facto functioning, as commercial farmers dominate the WUA where necessary and ignore it as and when they can.

This leads to the third anomaly, which sees a number of key ‘stakeholders’ in the basin not participating in the WUAs at all. For example, there is a huge private and direct water off-take from the dam for a single farmer who made the deal with the then minister of economic affairs. This commercial farmer is not a member of WUA because he buys his water directly from the Department of Water Affairs, who owns the dam. This commercial farmer also employs many people and has very good relations with the government, so considers himself exempt from the pri-

mary aims of the Water Act itself. Similarly, arrayed around the dam are a number of private game resorts. While the dam is public water held in trust for the nation by the government, these 'users' consider the dam their private property and have been excluding through force the use of the dam by local fishers. Whereas the WUA should be engaged in resolving these misperceptions leading to conflictful behavior, it is actually a moribund entity ignored by the powerful actors but championed by the disempowered who expect the state to help support their needs for access to the resource. Where the state is visible, however, it is aligned with the private companies, both the commercial farmers and the game/lodge owners. Through a discourse of 'conservation', the lodge owners and government departments of tourism and wildlife collude to deny fishers access to the dam. Citing 'sustainability', the fishers have been criminalized for poaching and the use of gill nets. According to one key informant, it is simply a case of racism and of neither side reaching out to the other: the mostly white and empowered preferring the unequal status quo; the mostly black and marginalized waiting for the state to take action on their behalf.

## Toward a theory of conflict resolution

These three cases illustrate a number of more general points that may serve as the foundation for a theory of conflict resolution around water resources.

### Scale and Complexity

In comparing the Kuiseb and Cuvelai basins, Amakali and Swatuk (2009) hypothesized that scale of the watershed and complexity of the number of stakeholders involved had a significant effect on conflict resolution: the smaller the scale; the smaller the number of stakeholders, then the more likely that a conflict would be resolved. However, in comparing the Kuiseb (15,000 km<sup>2</sup>) with the Pongola (7000 km<sup>2</sup>) and the Berki (410 km<sup>2</sup>), we see that the Pongola's abiding difficulties suggest that scale and complexity may be necessary but are insufficient conditions for positive outcomes to conflicts.

### Alternative sources of water

Amakali and Swatuk (2009) showed that where there were few or no alternatives to the waters of the basin, defection from participation in resource management was not possible. In the Kuiseb case, there is but the one source of water that must be used by all stakeholders. The basin is small and the stakeholders are limited in number.

Rainfall is limited and there is a clear dry season/wet season pattern, so necessitating resource capture for future use. Rainfall is more abundant in the Pongola (from 800 mm/yr to greater than 1000 mm/yr) and most abundant in the Berki. Unlike the clear bimodal rainfall patterns in the Pongola and Kuiseb, the Berki sees a trimodal pattern: small rains (Belg, February-May), big rains (Kiremt, June-September), and a dry season (Bega, October-January). With up to 2200 mm/yr, the Berki is clearly able to sustain a greater number of people and activities in the basins. All three basins are subject to drought and flood, particularly as impacted by the El Nino and La Nina Southern Oscillation effects (Block and Rajagopalan, 2007). So, whereas the Berki and the Pongola rainfall regimes permit and have given rise to more complex socio-economies, this also raises the stakes when there is either too much or too little rainfall: hence the initial stimulus for and importance of the Pongola Dam (the same may be said about Ethiopia's Renaissance Dam).

## Resource Capture and the Impact of History

In a transboundary context, Tose, Gleditsch and Hegre (2000) showed that 'a history of peace' was the greatest predictor regarding future water resource management. This says little about intra-state management where it is assumed that 'normal politics' will prevail and that states, bounded by their constitutions, will seek the greatest good for the greatest number. Homer-Dixon (1999), on the other hand, suggested that structural violence was a common occurrence particularly in states in the global South, and where resource access was highly unequal, 'violence' was most likely to be persistent, low level and diffuse. The Pongola and Kuiseb offer an interesting comparison here. Whereas current ruling governments in both South Africa and Namibia fought long drawn out battles against apartheid rule, and whereas elite economic power has remained virtually untouched, the Kuiseb case shows significantly more interest on the part of the government of the day in resolving resource-based access and use disputes. Perhaps this is due to the limited number of disgruntled actors downstream (the Topnaars) who nevertheless constitute a coherent, well-organized and well-known group. In the Pongola, those most seriously affected by lack of access to the dam are a small group of fisherfolk and their families. At present they are not organized, though there is some attempt by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries to assist them to become a cooperative association. Others who are negatively impacted by large commercial agriculture's resource capture are nevertheless compromised as they find seasonal work on the farms, and get some government support for diversification in cash crops, despite their small holdings. Also, given the size of the revenues generated both upstream (through luxury tourism) and downstream (through commercial agriculture), there is little incentive on the part of the government of the day to deviate from the status quo.

## The role of the state

It is indisputable that for resource access, use and management to be sustainable, equitable and efficient, the state must play a central role. As the legitimate arbiter of values in society, it is the state, through the government of the day which represents the 'national interest', who creates and enforces the law. In all three cases, there is positive development along policy, program, legal and institutional lines. There are clearly specific motivations behind the form and content of state behavior in these three cases. Given the location of the Berki, in the Rift Valley and as part of the Nile Basin system, government is clearly interested in fostering 'national unity' through positive action as it seeks to demonstrate a united front against downstream Sudan and Egypt. Regional government in Ethiopia is relatively autonomous, capable and interested. In Namibia, the central government was keen to see the Kuiseb succeed as a pilot toward the new national water architecture. The same cannot be said for the Pongola, where its location in an area remote from both regional and national government, leaves the politics of the day to local actors who are arrayed much as they were during the apartheid era, except now with an overlay of black beneficiaries of both the 'gravy train' and BEE initiatives (Black Economic Empowerment).

## Other Actors

Clearly missing from the Pongola case, but very present in the other two, are powerful extra-regional actors and/or influential national actors who are highly regarded and respected. In Namibia, donor governments were willing to support the overall shift to IWRM and catchment committees. Within the Kuiseb basin, the Desert Research Foundation (DRFN) was both a stakeholder (through its desert research centre within the basin) but a willing facilitator who was more than capable of conducting action based research, undertaking stakeholder forums and site visits whereby the different stakeholders could come together to exchange views, learn from each other, gain new insights and information. We describe a similar process in the Berki above. To this point in time, however, such a robust undertaking is missing in the Pongola.

## Local Authority

All three cases demonstrate the importance of local authorities as facilitators of conflict management. In the Berki, elders known as mai abo (water fathers) are universally respected and so empowered to meet and speak on behalf of their communities. The traditional authorities in the Pongola understand their roles as community representatives on the WUAs, but as stated earlier, the WUAs are moribund. Some stakeholders in the Pongola foresee a role for both the traditional authorities and also

traditional healers in bringing information to people and framing issues in a way that helps locate concerns within appropriate cultural contexts. It appears that one of the key barriers to conflict resolution in the Pongola is a common language spoken by different stakeholders who trust each other. Traditional leaders helped facilitate this especially in the Berki case.

## Money and Time

Both the Kuiseb and Berki cases show that while a short-term event can bring issues to a head (e.g. drought leading those downstream to confront those upstream as withholding the resource which should be shared), so precipitating action to deal with the immediate issue, what is important is that such an occasion serves to initiate a longer-term project whose end-goal is to institutionalize resource management so that future conflicts will have a legitimate space within which to air themselves out.

Money is essential in facilitating long-term change: resource assessments; action based research; site visits; meetings; on-going stakeholder forums and other such platforms are all necessary components of sustainable resource management. In the Berki case, USAID was willing to fund stakeholder forums and the GWP through its ECWP was willing to support all activities. One of the problems with South Africa's new water management architecture is that catchment management agencies and WUAs are expected to be self-financing. Change takes time. The evidence shows that where events were supported by government in terms of the activities cited above, there was a great deal of forward progress and building of social capital. This was all done in the run-up to the establishing the CMAs. However, once the CMA plans were submitted, everything came to a halt. What was needed was more support – human resource, financial and institutional. So, the Pongola WUAs sit idling (though the degazetted IBs still function happily) occupied by the powerless who wait for the government to 'do the right thing'. The longer they idle, the more social-capital dissipates and stakeholders return to their apartheid-era biases.

The evidence shows that stakeholder forums are a valuable commodity in conflict resolution. These cases highlight environments that are socially fragmented, economically divided and ecologically stressed. The Kuiseb and Berki show how non-legally binding talking shops such as forums can lay the foundation for an end to conflict and remediation of social, economic and ecological problems. In the South African case, the already-empowered look at the WUAs with deep skepticism. These are legally gazetted entities with the power to allocate resources. All the commercial farmers and resort owners see is a place where they are outnumbered and so likely to be outvoted. At the same time, municipalities and some private farmers, who buy their water in bulk from DWA, see no need to participate. The rich farmers only come to us when the dam levels are at their lowest, said one key informant to me.



## The political economy of the setting

What is sometimes missing from analysis is the extra-basin context. It is clear that both extra-basin and extra-water issues impact on the activities in these three cases. Namibia's government is interested in a positive case that it can use to drive change in more complicated, larger scale basins (Amakali and Swatuk, 2009). Ethiopia's government, too, is interested in local successes to garner support for such macro-scale projects as the Renaissance Dam. It is determined that this will not be just another African 'white elephant' project. The government needs to understand how it can resolve conflicts over resource access at the smallest scale, because these will be replicated again and again as climate change impacts hydrological cycles. In the Pongola, it appears that employment and income generation through sale of cash crops for export markets drive events in the Pongola basin. It remains to be seen how local marginalized stakeholders can bend this narrative to their advantage.

## Conclusion

While premature to claim that we have arrived at anything like a theory of conflict resolution, it nevertheless seems clear to us that there are at least eight important factors to consider when analyzing a conflict in order to resolve it. As discussed above, these are:

1. History of the area especially as it relates to who has the resource, how they got it, why, and what they use it for.
2. Wider political economic setting wherein it may be seen that extra-basin and extra-water factors may have a determining impact on events at the local level.
3. Scale and location of the basin. Where the basin is relatively small and located in an area of importance to decision-makers, a resolution may be possible.
4. Complexity seems an obvious point: the more in number, the more diverse, and the wider array of capabilities among actors, the more difficult it will be to resolve a conflict with any sort of positive-sum outcome.
5. It is essential to have sufficient information to understand the resource base, and to share this information in a setting where parties to a conflict can exchange views with a level of confidence that the information will not be used against them (hence the value of informal stakeholder platforms as opposed to legally institutionalized settings).
6. Nothing positive can happen without state involvement and by this we mean multiple levels of the state, from national to local and including traditional authority.



7. Often times an extra-basin (e.g. donor state; individual; think tank) or intra-basin but widely and highly respected (e.g. individual; organization) actor is necessary to assist in facilitating the process, with a primary aim in building trust and social capital.
8. It is difficult to reach sustainable outcomes without adequate amounts of both money (to facilitate necessary activities) and time (to take pressure off the need for immediate response).

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# The Political Impact of Damming the Nile: the Case of Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt

*M. Jalal Hashim*

The paper discusses the conflict between the Sudan and Ethiopia with regard to the issue of damming the River Nile. It first reviews the dams Sudan intends to build on the Nile downstream from Khartoum (seven dams with one of them already implemented). The paper discusses the feasibility of these dams in the light of the benefit the government has so far declared, namely power generation and irrigation.

The paper reviews the three frontiers dams planned by the Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt. It discusses the alleged benefits of the three of them. The paper dwells on the factors that have led to the continual postponement of building them. It raises the question of whether that was the reason for Ethiopia opting to build the Renaissance dam. It also discusses the benefits of the Renaissance dam and whether it poses any threat to the Sudan or Egypt. The paper tries to probe the factors that make the Sudan take sides with Egypt whatever the nature of the project.

The paper also tries to fit South Sudan into the conflict of the Nile water that it has inherited. It will try to answer the question why South Sudan has diverged from the historical stance of its mother state of yesterday, the Sudan, in allying with Egypt against other riparian states. Is it based on purely national interests, a vindictive stance against the Islamo-Arabised Sudan and the Islamic and Arab proper Egypt, or is it a matter of Pan African solidarity?

At the end, the paper discusses the possibilities of true and developmental co-operation between the Sudan and Ethiopia as an introduction to the realization of a fully-fledged regional market that includes all countries of the Horn of Africa, namely Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. Can such a project lead to the easing of inter- and intra-conflicts and help Somalia reclaim its lost institution of state?

# The River Nile and Potential Dams

The Dams Implementation Unit (DIU), mandated by the president of the state, declared plans to construct more than 20 dams with five of them in northern Sudan; Mugrat, Dagash and al-Shireik Dams at the 5<sup>th</sup> cataract (affecting the Rubatab tribe); Mirwi dam at the 4<sup>th</sup> cataract (has already affected all the Manasir tribe and part of Shayqiyya tribe); Kajbar dam at the 3<sup>rd</sup> cataract (affecting the southern area of the Mahas Nubians and the northern area of the Dungula Nubians); and the Dal dam at the 2<sup>nd</sup> cataract (affecting all Sukkout Nubians and the Mahas Nubians). The damming of the River Nile in the Sudan is driven by the notion that hydropower is the cheapest and cleanest energy that technology has so far come up with. Hydropower in the Sudan has a history of its own as there are four dams that have been built in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Below is an overview of the dams, with a look at the issues of hydroelectricity in Sudan. I will try to paint a picture of the overall vision/politics surrounding the dams.

According to Ibrahim (1984: 11) the potential dams along the Nile downstream from Khartoum with regard to power generation go as follows (counting the energy installed, not the power installed):

1. Al Roseiris (up the Blue Nile; already built): 250 MW
2. Sennar (downstream from al Roseiris; already built): 30 MW
3. Khashm al Girba (on the Atbara River in Eastern Sudan; already built): 13 MW
4. Jabal Awliya (on the White Nile, circa 45 km south of Khartoum; already built): 30 MW
5. Al Sabalouga (on the 6<sup>th</sup> Cataract; proposed): 120 MW
6. Al Shreik (on the southern end of the 5<sup>th</sup> cataract; proposed): 250 MW
7. Mirwi (on the 4<sup>th</sup> cataract; already built): 600 MW
8. Kajbar (on the 3<sup>rd</sup> cataract; proposed): 500 MW

What is worthy of notice is that there was no mention of any of the other dams proposed later by the Dam Implementation Unit (DIU), such as Dal (on the 2<sup>nd</sup> cataract), Mugrat (on the northern end of the 5<sup>th</sup> cataract), and Dagash (on the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> cataract, with only 45 km dividing it from that of Mugrat).

The experience of the Mirwi dam has clearly shown that the flooded areas will be evacuated in the same way as took place in the case of the Aswan High Dam. Incidentally news broke out revealing plans that aim at bringing in millions of Egyptian peasants to settle in the areas evacuated by the indigenous groups. Such a plan of demographic engineering will naturally be implemented in collaboration with the Egyptian government; it was the Egyptian government who first engendered this plan in its own Nubian region. It seems that this is not the first time for the Khartoum government to adopt such a policy, as it was implemented in Darfur leading to the crisis there. In the case of Darfur an Arab nomadic tribe from Chad was welcomed into the region. It was armed and supported by the Sudanese government to eventually wreak havoc in Darfur (cf. Hashim, 2008a).

# The Argument against the Dams in Northern Sudan

The presidential-mandated Dams Implementation Unit (DIU) declared plans to construct more than twenty dams, with five of them in northern Sudan; Dagash and al-Shireik Dams at the 5<sup>th</sup> cataract (affecting Rubatab tribe); Mirwi dam at the 4<sup>th</sup> cataract (affecting all Manasir tribe and part of Shayqiyya tribe); Kajbar dam at the 3<sup>rd</sup> cataract (affecting the southern part of the Mahas Nubians and the northern part of the Dongola Nubians); and the Dal dam at the 2<sup>nd</sup> cataract (affecting all Sukkout Nubians and the non-Mahas Nubians).

Dams are built either for productive (agriculture and power) or preventive (against floods and draught) objectives; their function however is not eliminatory as a dam can serve one, two, or even all the above functions (as with the case of the Aswan High Dam). It is necessary to clearly state the function of a dam when building one. If a dam is built to irrigate water, then the agricultural scheme should necessarily be conceived before the idea of the dam; the same rule applies when the dam is built to generate power for industry. So far, aside from generally saying that these dams are meant for both agriculture and industry, the Sudan government has failed to publicly bring forward the details of any development project in relation to the dams it intends to build.

Below, an explanation is given on the feasibility of building dams with regard to irrigation, industry and duration.

***The Argument about Power Generation:*** The total power to be generated from all the dams in the Sudan will not exceed in any way 5000 MW (according to former Makkawi al-Awad, then Director-General of National Electricity Corporation, cf. *Al-Ayyam Newspaper*, 16/2/2008). The cost of Mirwi dam has so far exceeded \$2.25 billion, borrowed from China and various Arab states and banks; the dam has not yet come to completion. With such a small amount of power the dam is thought not to be feasible, with regard to its high cost. For instance, the non-industrial consumption of power in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, is 8000 MW. This raises a host of questions such as: if Saudi Arabia, as an oil country, is able to generate all its power (35.000 MW in total), why cannot Sudan, which has also become an oil country? What will Sudan do when Khartoum becomes the size of Riyadh? Makkawi al-Awad (*ibid*) gives us the following options for power generation in Sudan covering the period up to year 2030, including thermal and hydro:

- Hydro-power generation: 4.587 MW (%28)
- Thermal-power generation: 18.491 MW (%28)

***The Argument about Irrigation:*** Dams are often built to provide irrigation for the agricultural development projects. However, this presupposes that there is enough water to be irrigated. The total share of Sudan in the Nile water is eighteen billion cubic meters (BCM), while its consumption is fourteen BCM, with a surplus of four BCM only. This means that it can rely on these four million cubic meters for its agricultural development projects. But building the five dams in northern Sudan will

waste much water through evaporation as the region is known for its hot climate. To make things worse, the region is also known for its relatively flat topography, a matter that results in the dam reservoirs being extensively stretched, thus providing a big water surface for evaporation. Of the five dams, here is the evaporation loss of only three of them: Mirwi, Kajbar and Dal. These figures are taken from Dr. Seif al-Din Hamad Abdalla (2008). The importance of this reference is that the writer, more than being a highly qualified person on water resources, is an expert of the Ministry of Irrigation and Water Resources and in this capacity he submitted these details:

- Mirwi Dam evaporation loss of water: 1.5 BCM
- Kajbar Dam evaporation loss of water: 1.7 BCM
- Dal Dam evaporation loss of water: 800 Million CM

This shows that the building of these three dams will literally leave Sudan without any water surplus that may allow it to undertake further agricultural development projects. The same author, speaking in the same capacity at a symposium convened by the government in Khartoum, stated that only 2 BMC of Sudan's surplus of water will remain after the completion of Mirwi dam (cf. *Al-Khartoum Newspaper*, 24/6/2008); the remaining 2 BMC will vanish into thin air by the completion of Kajbar and Dal dams. In the conference of Arab ministers of water resources held in Sharm al-Shaikh resort in Egypt, the Sudanese minister, Kamal Ali, admitted that the dams of northern Sudan are being built only for power generation (cf. *Al-Masri alyoum Newspaper* [The Egyptian Today], 22/3/2008).

## Dams and Arab Investments in the Sudan

Since the signing of the Four Freedoms Agreement between Sudan and Egypt in 2005, Egyptian labour has been pouring into Sudan under direct encouragement of the two governments and with a lot of economic incentives relating to tax exemption and easy money transfer. In a matter of 2 years the Sudanese labour was out of market due to this policy. Most of these Sudanese labourers came from Southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains, Darfur and Ingassana, i.e. from black African areas. Other Arab states also began scrambling on the Sudan to do business, with a host of development projects being secretly signed. Lately Kuwait celebrated owning lands in the Sudan the size of its territory.

In 2005 another Presidential Decree was issued (No. 206) upon which all the lands of northern Sudan (i.e. that lie in the State of the River Nile and of the North State) were to be expropriated from the authority of the two respective state governments to fall under the authority of the DIU<sup>1</sup>. Since then the DIU has started

1 Cf. Al-Toum Ibrahim al-Niteifa, al-tufayliyiin yuqaddimuun al-ard majjaanan lil-mustathmiriin al-ajaanib [The Parasitics offer Lands Free for the Foreign Investors], *Al-Maidan Newspaper*, 18/9/2007.

selling these lands to investors from various Arab states such as Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, Qatar, Jordan and Egypt. The land was used as investment bonds. While the Egyptians are aiming at settling into the northern part of the riverain Sudan, the Arabs, especially from the Gulf petroleum countries, are aiming at agricultural investment. The nearest of these million fedans are at least 30 km west of the Nile. This is the Nubian basin of Halfa-Dungula-Uwainat. About this basin the Arab Organization for Agricultural Development (AOAD) writes: "The capacity of this basin is 5500 million cubic meters with a total of 136 MCM feeds (from Atbara and the Nile rivers). The feed-up increases when water starts to be pumped from it<sup>2</sup>. Pumping the water from its ground reservoirs is not expensive as the aquifer is close to the surface<sup>3</sup>.

## Egyptian connection with dam-related de-population policies

The policies adopted by the Egyptian government with regard to the complete de-population tactic of the areas affected by the construction of the High dam give strong indications of how it is going to benefit from the dams being built in the Sudan simply because the same tactic of de-population is being followed.

## The Non-Nubian re-population of Nubia

The Nubians in both Egypt and the Sudan made many attempts to go back and establish small colonies of settlements and agriculture. They farmed the drawdown areas by pumping water from the reservoir<sup>4</sup>. However, all these attempts were occasionally aborted by the fluctuating water level of the reservoir, a matter the Nubians believe to be intentional by the authorities which never encouraged them to go back.

By the 1990s the Egyptian government began following a policy of repopulating the evacuated Nubian regions. It began encouraging Egyptians other than Nubians to settle in the evacuated areas around the reservoir lake. It did this while the Nubians were kept away from their own historical lands, living in a pigsty style of life in their barren area of Koum Ambo. However, two economical activities have been available to develop in the evacuated area; namely fishery and agriculture. And indeed there are such projects, but with no Nubians allowed among either the fishers or the farmers by the Egyptian government<sup>5</sup>. The same thing happened in the Sudan, with tacit

2 AOAD. 1983. *Dirasa istita'iyya gi lil-mawarid wal'istithmar al-zira'i fil-iqlimayn al-sharqi wal'shimali fi jamhuriyyat al-Sudan al-dimuqratiyya* [A Pilot Study about the Agricultural Resources and Investment in the East and North Regions in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan]. Khartoum.

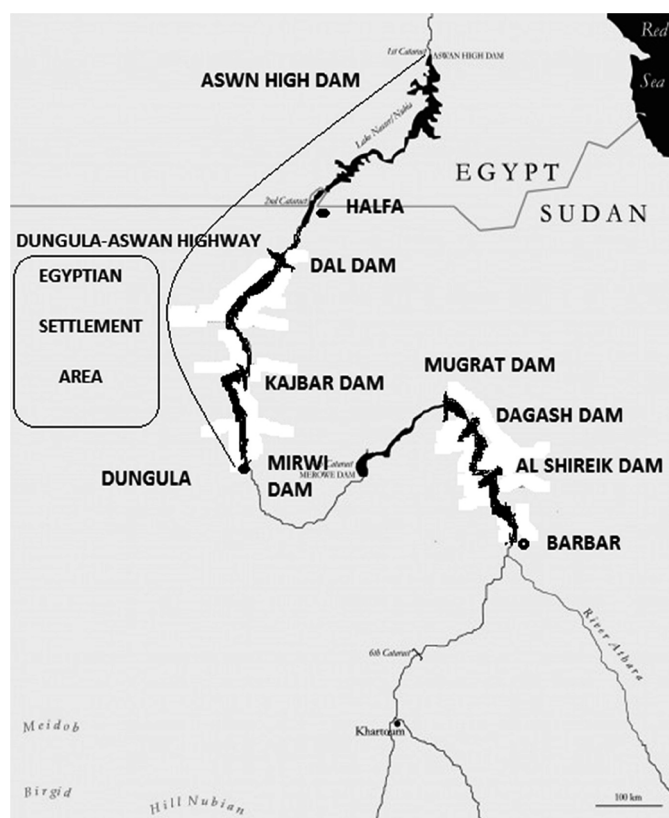
3 AOAD. 1990. *Tahdith dirasat al-tawassu' al-'ufuqi wal-ra'si fi zira'at al-qamih bil-iqlim al-shimali fi jamhuriyyat al-Sudan* [The Updating of the Studies for the Horizontal and Vertical Cultivation of Wheat in the Northern Region of the Sudan]. Khartoum.

4 Fernea & Rouchdy. 1991. Contemporary Egyptian Nubians, Epilogue, Part III. In: Fernea, E.W., Fernea, R. & Rouchdy, A. (ed). *Nubian Ethnographies*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

5 For fishery, cf. Lassailly-Jacob, V. 1990. Village Resettlement in Lower Nubia, Egypt: the Modification of a Development Project through Case Study. Unpublished. Paris; for agriculture, cf.

encouragement from the government to the Arab Bedouin who began settling in the evacuated area. The full and open selling out of Sudanese Nubia by the Sudanese government was to wait for a further few years.

The re-population of the Nubian region in Egypt has become an official policy entrusted to both the Minister of Agriculture and the military Governor of Aswan. Villages with full facilities and utilities have been built by the Egyptian government and distributed to individuals and families from outside the region with bank loans to start with. In 2006 the inauguration of the settlement at the old Nubian village of Kalabsha with 150 non-Nubian families took place; it was opened by the Minister of Agriculture Amin Abaza<sup>6</sup>. The *al-Ahram Newspaper* (the unofficial voice of the government) announced that tens of thousands of fedans were to be distributed in the Nubian region to people other than the Nubians<sup>7</sup>. When the Nubians demanded that their lands be returned to them, they got an arrogant reply from the military Governor of Aswan: "If you want your lands, go fetch them beneath the water"<sup>8</sup>.



Ferne & Rouchdy, *Op Cit.*

6 *Al-Wafid Newspaper*, 18/05/2006.

7 *Al-Ahram Newspaper*, 11/06/2006.

8 Rajab al-Murshidi in *Rousa al Yousef Newspaper*: [www.rosaonline.net](http://www.rosaonline.net).



This policy is adopted by the Egyptian government in order to contain the discontent among its Arab population who have been negatively affected by the 1992 Agricultural Law, which had come into effect by 1997. This law has liberalized the land tenure market by abolishing the old land rental and tenure by returning it to its old feudal owners, thus compelling the peasants to re-hire it all over again, with the threat of rental price increase looming over their heads. During the 1990s the price actually tripled and by now it has quadrupled<sup>9</sup>. This has caused a turmoil and unrest among the peasants who began seeking other jobs. Migration of the peasants to other areas of agricultural schemes of reclaimed land, away from their home villages, was encouraged by the government. The Egyptian government adopted the policy of inter-migration so as to solve (1) its chronic problem of population explosion, and (2) to compensate those who have been negatively affected by its land liberalization law. Re-settlement in the reclaimed land of the New Valley in Sinai was officially encouraged, a matter the peasants were not enthusiastic about. Being riverain all through history, such a move was too much for them. That is how the Egyptian government began re-settling them in the Nubian regions which was evacuated four decades ago against the will of its historical people, the Nubians.

Alarms were raised by accredited water experts in the Ministry of Water Resources to the effect that Sudan's "...storage capacity on the Nile and its tributaries at the present is so weak compared with its water share accorded to it by the Nile Water Treaty in 1957. The Sudan stores only 14% of its share compared to Egypt which stores triple its share. However, Sudan's capacity of storage will rise up to 75% of its share when the heightening of al Roseiris dam takes place [has already been implemented in 2012] and up to 100% when the Romeila dam on the highlands of Atbara River is built" (Seif al Din Hamad, 2007).

## Shared Interests, shared Water, shared Power

It is clear that Egypt is in a real fix with regard to its chronic agricultural problems. The contribution of agriculture in the NGDP witnessed sharp decline in the last 50 years. It went down from 33% in 1955 to 20% in 1990 (Abdel Magid, 1997: 189). The percentage of man power (from population) engaged in agriculture consequently fell from 56% to 10% in the same period (Abu Zeid & Rady, 1992). Egypt annually loses about 12000 hectares of agrarian lands due to soil erosion and rural expansion. Furthermore, the cultivated lands suffer from exhaustion due to a long history of cultivation and excessive use of fertilizers (Abdel Magid, *ibid*). The British foreign minister (*Al Hayat Newspaper*, 14/5/2007) warned that Egypt may lose about 80% of its Nile water due to the global climatic change.

9 Roudart, L. 2000/1. Microeconomic analysis of the liberalization of the rent price on agricultural incomes. In: *Land Reform: Land Settlement & Cooperatives*. Part II. No. 2000/1. FAO. Online: [http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/003/Y0434T/Y0434t07.htm#P5\\_730](http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/003/Y0434T/Y0434t07.htm#P5_730).



Dams built on rivers with high alluvial sediments, such as is the case with the River Nile, are deemed unfeasible (Seif al-Din Abdalla, 2007). The dam of Khashm al-Qirba on the river Atbara in eastern Sudan was built to irrigate the agricultural projects set up solely to sustain the Nubians affected by the Aswan High dam who had been resettled there. It was built at the same time as the Aswan High dam. The last 40 years have been enough to relegate it into redundancy as a result of the river's annual 170 million tons of sediments (Seif al-Din Abdalla, *op cit.*). This has led to the deterioration of the Khashm al-Qirba agricultural scheme to the extent that it could not sustain the people depending on it for drinking water. The situation at the Aswan High dam with regard to sedimentation can fairly be estimated notwithstanding the secrecy enveloping it. It is known that USAID has funded \$154 million in improvements to the High Dam since the late 1980s<sup>10</sup>. More than harming the turbines of the dam, the high alluvial sediments of the Nile water have caused acute problems of salinity in Egypt. In R.J. Oosterbaan (1999), we read: "The salt concentration of the water in Lake Nasser [read Lake Nubia in the Sudan] at the High Dam is about 0.25 kg/3 salt/m. The salt import into Egypt's water use systems thus amounts to about 14 million 3 3 tons per year (55 billion m water/year x 0.25 kg salt/ m water) or roughly 1.6 ton/fedan/year over 8.7 million fedans of irrigated land, i.e. 4.0 ton/ha/year". So, if the last 40 years were enough to turn the Khashm al-Qirba dam into redundancy, then it is quite possible that the dams being built in northern Sudan will face the same fate. When the River Atbara joins the Nile, the alluvial sediments reach 270 million tons. All the six or seven dams are located down the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile. This makes one question the feasibility of building these dams. However, by building them, Egypt will definitely be the major beneficiary as they are going to save the Aswan High dam from the fate that has befallen Khashm al-Qirba dam.

A few years ago, Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt agreed to jointly build three big dams on the Blue Nile, namely the Border dam (just on the Sudan-Ethiopia international frontier with 84.5 meters height and 1400 MW), Mandaya dam (a little upland from the former with 164 meters height and 1620MW), and Mabil dam (a little upstream from Mandaya with 113.6 height and 1200 MW). Upon a request from the three of them, a feasibility study was conducted by an internationally renowned company (cf. Bates et al, 2007). The three countries were going to benefit greatly from these three dams. First, for the first time in its long history, the flow of the Nile was going to be regulated once and for all. No wild floods were going to threaten either Sudan or Egypt. Second, although the soil erosion in the Ethiopian highlands was going to be controlled, this, however, was not going to affect negatively the alluvial sediments necessary for fertilizing agrarian lands that are carried annually by the Blue Nile. Third, the three dams were going to make the three countries export electricity to neighbouring countries such as South Sudan, Eritrea, Kenya, Djibouti, and Somalia. Fourth, the evaporation loss was going to be kept to the minimum as the water storage, due to the mountainous nature of the dam sites (gorges with circa

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10 Cf. (<http://egypt.usaid.gov/Default.aspx?PageID=84>; [http://www.usaid.gov/stories/egypt/cs\\_egypt\\_dam.html](http://www.usaid.gov/stories/egypt/cs_egypt_dam.html)).

1000 meter deep), will be vertical rather than horizontal as the case in the High dam of Aswan (12 Billion cubic meters evaporation loss annually).

## The Nile Water Treaty

In 1929, Egypt signed with Sudan (then under colonialist condominium rule of both Egypt and Britain) their first agreement with regard to how to use the Nile water. In that agreement, the states of East Africa (all under the colonialist rule of Britain with the exception of Ethiopia who was nevertheless under the influence of Britain) were included. After recognizing the rights of riparian states (presently Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Congo, Eritrea, and South Sudan) in the Nile water, the agreement recommended establishing a joint administration of all riparian countries, a matter that was realized with the founding of the Nile Basin Initiative 22 February 1999 (Hashim, 15 May 2009). In 1954 negotiations between Egypt and the Sudan started to negotiate the bilateral interests of the two states in how to use the Nile water. On 8 November 1959, both states signed their bilateral agreement which determined their exclusive right in using the Nile water (hence called Nile Water Treaty, 1959) without heeding the rights of any of the riparian states (Salman, 15 June 2013). Ethiopia was very quick in raising its concerns. In June 1955, it sent requests demanding to be included in the negotiations, a matter that Egypt and Sudan simply ignored (*ibid*). On 13 June 1956, Ethiopia again sent another memorandum to Egypt and Sudan demanding that it must be included in the on-going negotiations, but to no avail. On 23 September, Ethiopia sent its third memorandum to Egypt and Sudan in which it referred to the previous memorandums and the fact that none of them merited the attention of Egypt and the Sudan. In the wake of signing the Nile Water Treaty, Ethiopia sent two memorandums to the United Nations upon which it clearly declared its objection and that it was not going to recognize the treaty, a matter it has stuck to since then. On 9 October 1957, Britain (then the colonial state of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika) requested to be included in the Nile water negotiations, a matter that Egypt and Sudan flatly rejected. On 30 November, Uganda, claiming to represent the Great Lakes States, expressed its explicit rejection of the Nile Water Treaty stating that it was binding to no state other than the signatories (*ibid*).

The Nile Water Treaty (1959) suffers from many flaws with regard to international laws, the national rights of other riparian states, and accordingly their sovereignties. First and above all, in direct violation of international laws, it is a bilateral agreement claiming to be binding to non-signatory states. Second, it made Egypt (87%) and Sudan (14%) the only beneficiaries of the Nile water without addressing the need of any other riparian states. It further determined that any riparian state that wanted to make use of the Nile water should submit its application to Egypt and Sudan who had the right to deny it. No wonder that many riparian states started implement-

ing projects on the River Nile without even bothering to notify either Egypt or the Sudan, who have adamantly refused to recognize the right of other riparian states in the Nile water, not even Ethiopia from whose highlands about 86% of the Nile water flows (*ibid*). According to Seif al Din Hamad (2007: 14), Ethiopia severely suffers from the high levels of sedimentation of the Blue Nile and soil erosion. According to a study made by FAO, Ethiopia annually loses in its highlands from 100-300 million tons of eroded soil, i.e. the equal of 120-200 thousand hectares of agrarian land and about 200 thousand hectares of green cover.

Of the 85 billion cubic meters of water, Sudan's share is 18 billion cubic meters, of which it consumes only about 14 billion cubic meters and the rest goes to Egypt (water loan). According to Seif al Din Hamad, (2007), Sudan will start losing huge amounts of its water surplus when it finishes building Merowe dam on the 4<sup>th</sup> cataract (1.5 billion cubic meters of evaporation loss) plus Kajbar dam on the 3<sup>rd</sup> cataract (1.7 billion cubic meters of evaporation loss) plus Dal dam on the 2<sup>nd</sup> cataract (800 million cubic meters of evaporation loss). The Sudan will end up having no water for any agricultural extensions. Building the other 4 dams downstream from Khartoum (al-Sabalouga on the 6<sup>th</sup> cataract, al-Shireik, Dagash, and Mugrat, all three on the 5<sup>th</sup> cataract) in the same high hot tropical zone will mean that the further evaporation losses will be at the expense of Egypt's share of Nile water. This makes Egypt look as if it is jeopardizing its own water security. However, this becomes understandable when bearing in mind the new lands Egypt is supposed to grab in northern Sudan, plus safeguarding the Aswan High dam from sedimentation. Moreover, Egypt will have other gains that can be summed as follows: first, Sudan, as a riparian country, will become redundant as it will not be able to claim any additional quantities of water. Second, the demands raised by other riparian countries to re-distribute the shares of the Nile water, will also become redundant, as there will be none to be re-distributed. 3. In the case of the separation of southern Sudan, the new state will have to deal with Egypt and not the Sudan, to increase its Nile water, i.e. by allowing Egypt to dig Jongeli canal. However, this raises the question about the surplus of water to be stored in the reservoir of the proposed dams, such as those of Mirwi, Kajbar, Dal, Mugrat, Dagash, al Shireik, and al Sabalouga. How could Egypt complain about the Renaissance Dam in Ethiopia when it has raised no complaints against these dams that will surely incur huge water cuts from Egypt's own share? The loss of water from evaporation in Egypt and Sudan is 19 Billion Cubic Meters (BCM), with 12 BCM lost from the High Dam of Aswan and 7 BCM. 2.5 BCM lost from the redundant Jabal Awlia dam (circa 45km upstream from Khartoum) on the White Nile (cf. Hashim, 2009a; Salman, 28 June 2013).

The argument above shows that both Egypt and the Sudan are not managing their water resources in the best way possible. This is because of the very dams built on the Nile. First they are built in very hot areas and, second, the storage is horizontal due to the topographical nature of the flooded areas. Whereas the dams built in any of the other riparian countries will either be in relatively cool and highly humid areas (like those built in Uganda, South Sudan etc.) or in deep gorges and mountainous areas (such as the Ethiopian Renaissance Dam).

# The Ethiopia Renaissance Dam

Initially called 'the Millennium dam', the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, 170-meters high, 1800 meters long, and a 6,000 MW electric power plant, 40 km from the Sudanese-Ethiopian border, will put Ethiopia at the top of the power generating countries in Africa.

The dam will keep the huge annual sediments and all kinds of trash and wood trunks carried by the Blue Nile. The effect of sediment on the dams of Roseiris, Sennar, and Mirwi has been drastic; the former dams have lost almost half their storage capacity due to this factor (Seif al Din Hamad, 2007; Salman, 28 June 2013). Further, it will save Sudan and Egypt from the wild floods expected as a result of the global warming. And it will regulate the flow of the Nile (Hashim, 2007; Salman, *ibid*). This means that it is going to bring about the same benefits the great three border dams were going to do. Last but not least, Ethiopia has committed itself to sell electricity to the Sudan with less than what it costs in the Sudan (Salman, *ibid*).

Immediately after Ethiopia declared its plans to build the Renaissance dam in 2011 and upon the consequent objection by Egypt and Sudan, the former called for the establishment of an international committee to look into the worries of the two named countries and to see into any collateral damages the dam may cause. Understandably, Sudan and Egypt enjoyed the membership of this committee, which has been deliberating since then without any of the two named countries raising any objection to the project. However, once Ethiopia launched the project, the first reaction of Sudan and Egypt was total rejection. Sudan started swinging until lately it announced that the Renaissance dam is not going to threaten its national interests. Egypt, however, was adamantly against the dam. It went to the extreme of mobilizing the public and threatening that it is not going to allow the construction of the dam even if that meant declaring war. Certain wise voices of influential intellectuals in Egypt were also heard indicating that Egypt should heed the needs of other riparian countries, Ethiopia in particular (cf. Salman, 28 June 2013). In fact, according to Salman (*ibid*), both Sudan and Egypt have disqualified themselves from objecting to the construction of the dam as they had not raised any objection during the deliberations of the international committee.

## Conclusion

The paper concludes by saying that it is indeed high time for both Egypt and Sudan to give up the Nile Water Treaty of 1959 and join the Entebbe Treaty along with the other seven riparian states. The Nile Water Treaty must be reconsidered, with the participation of all riparian countries, Egypt in particular, and Sudan must realize that things cannot go on like this forever. The wars of the future are likely to be about

the water resources. If they don't cooperate, they will have to face political isolation, a state of affairs they are already suffering from. It is also high time for the Sudan to see the benefits it is going to gain from the Renaissance dam. Further, Sudan must disentangle itself from the political shackles of Egypt. It must realize that the directions of its interests point to the south, not to the North. The riparian countries must know that it is the Sudan that will make the balance swing to their advantage. Egypt alone cannot stand in the face of them, but with the Sudan at its side, it can. In the TV presidential meeting of 3 June 2013 with the Egyptian political leaders, which was aired while the President and his guests were unaware, the conferees made it clear that they were going to plot against Ethiopia (and understandably against any other riparian country that may do like Ethiopia). However, it is also clear that Egypt can only approach the riparian countries through the borders of the Sudan.

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# Resource Curse: Conflicts Within and Between the Two Sudans

*Omer Ismail*

## Introduction

Some nations with abundant extractable natural resources end up worse off with common themes of civil strife, corruption and bad governance. Sectors of their economy are negatively affected as a result of shifting investment from a diversified menu of exports into a single commodity resulting in loss of jobs in other economic sectors. Although there is strong evidence to suggest that extractable resources might lead to violence, particularly armed rebellion, the jury is still out on whether natural resources are the cause or effect of these rebellions.

This paper will examine how Sudan and South Sudan squandered a transformative wealth of natural resources that resulted not just in issues of high contention between the two neighboring countries but also within the borders of each country. Millions of lives were lost in needless civil wars in Sudan before a peace agreement in 2005 led to the secession of the South, giving birth to the newest country on the planet, and still internal deadly conflicts continue to plague both countries.

## Bigger Is Not Always Better

Internal conflict has been the birthright of Sudan since its independence from Britain in 1956. Successive regimes have pursued agendas that have put the ruling party and the people of Sudan at odds with each other. These agendas have been cloaked in ideological rhetoric associated with racism and religious intolerance; however, foundationally and ultimately each regime has pursued power through consolidation of the country's vast resources. Sudan was fortunate to have an abundance of water, arable land, incredible richness of various natural resources and a distinct culture enjoyed by its diverse peoples. But since its inception, the elite who ruled the country failed to harness its potential and effectively use its resources to foster growth by pursuing policies that benefit the majority of the Sudanese people.



When the British-Egyptian former condominium rulers left the country in the mid- fifties of the last century, they left behind a bureaucracy that was functioning and was the envy of Sub-Sahara Africa. The infrastructure, however, was inadequate, educational opportunities were limited, and health care services did not go much beyond primary care, but the country was running and there was great hope for progress. The Jazeera (or Gazeira) cotton project, the largest of its kind in the continent at the time (two million feddans) was the main cash-crop export and it supported not only the thousands that lived and worked in the Central Region, but because of fair distribution of income, the entire country enjoyed their share of the profits.

In August of 1955, shortly before Sudan gained its independence, a rebellion broke out in the southern town of Torit that soon engulfed the entire south and what became known as the “southern problem” began to be understood. The coup d’état staged by General Abboud in 1958 aggravated the situation until 1972, when another General, Gaafar Numeiri, signed a peace agreement known as the Addis Ababa Accord that put an end to almost two decades of violence and human rights abuses. At the heart of the contested issues were inequality, racism, and unfair distribution of income and wealth.

South Sudan became autonomous within Sudan under the terms of the Addis Accord, and Sudan enjoyed a decade of tranquility. Financial savings from ending the war were intended to rebuild the economy and to pursue development but economic hardships persisted. The dream of the early seventies of using Sudan’s resources and the surplus of petro-dollars from the Middle East to turn Sudan into the “bread-basket of the world” all but dissipated like the clouds on a hot summer’s day. The civil opposition ratcheted up its fight against the regime of General Nimeiri, either for fear that his new allies, the southerners, would support him against the traditional opposition parties; or they, the parties, saw that rebellion pays and wanted to demonstrate their ability to carry arms as well. A failed coup attempt was dealt with swiftly by the government in 1976, and Nimeiri reinforced his position as a dictator with the help of the US and the West who saw in Sudan the “buffer” in the middle of the “Socialist Crescent” stretching from Gaddafi’s Libya, through Sudan and Ethiopia under Mangistu, to Yemen.

In 1978, a so-called “national reconciliation” took place bringing back to Khartoum the opposition from exile, mainly the National Front, a loose coalition that included the Umma Party, led by Sadiq El-Mahdi, and the Islamists, led by his brother-in-law, Hassan El-Turabi. The Islamists and the Ansar of El-Mahdi influenced Nimeiri, who declared Sharia’a (the Islamic Penal Code) to be the law of the land in September of 1983, ignoring the pleas of non-Muslims who constituted roughly a third of the total population of the country. Nimeiri played the perfect divide and rule strategy, and his new allies emboldened him to annul the Addis Ababa Accord, which opened the gates of hell that threw Sudan into a tail spin when the remnants of the old “freedom fighters” of the south rebelled anew. Shortly before that, in 1979, Chevron Oil, which was conducting oil explorations in Sudan from the beginning of the seventies, announced the discovery of oil. Most of the areas rich with oil are either in or tangential to the southern region. This discovery brought a new dimension to the

fighting. In addition to the disparities in development and the share in power that fueled the rebellion before, this new tapped resource of fossil deposits was too big to be ignored. In 1983, the war of oil and identity began in earnest.

## The Break Up

Like its people, the geography of Sudan is quite fascinating. The north is arid desert plagued by dust storms, drought and desertification that gives way to highlands in the west and east and a vast swamp in the south known as The Sudd. An important lifeline running through the entire country and with regional significance is the Nile River – the White Nile flows from the south and joins the Blue Nile as it travels north and into Egypt. The north's resources include fertile land that produces dura, sorghum, sesame, groundnuts, gum Arabic and cotton. An incredible assortment of precious and other important metals like gold, silver, mica, tungsten, zinc, chromium ore, copper and iron ore are also registered. The south shares some of these resources and it is also rich in fertile agricultural land and extensive wildlife populations. Prior to separation, Sudan enjoyed significant deposits of petroleum found primarily in the regions between the geographical north and south.

The years prior to South Sudan's independence were marked with decades of internal, massive and deadly conflicts between the north and the south, and between the center and the west (Darfur) and the east. These conflicts were ignited and grew out of a frustration felt by the citizens of Sudan who did not identify with nor were recognized as equal citizens by the regime. While the leaders of Sudan grew wealthy personally from the resources of the country, the citizens of Sudan – especially those in the periphery – struggled to survive not only because of violence inflicted upon them by the regime but because of a lack of equitable distribution of income, wealth and services that citizens of a country should rightly expect but in the case of Sudan, were denied. To add insult to injury, not only were the Sudanese not allowed to enjoy the benefits afforded by the country's resources, but also many were forced from their homes and off their land in order for the state to seize valuable property that could further enrich the country's leaders.

Given Khartoum's unwillingness to "make unity attractive", the South chose to secede on July 9, 2011. The new country inherited the majority of the country's oil fields, which are situated within its new and in some cases disputed borders. While statehood promised and delivered new freedoms and opportunities, it has also resulted in extraordinary tension between and economic hardship for Sudan and South Sudan due to unresolved issues related to the oil industry. With vigilant attention by the international community, the two countries have avoided a war over oil but the possibility is a real and constant danger.

In addition to the threat of conflict between Sudan and South Sudan over oil, both countries face internal conflicts over resources that threaten their own stabil-

ity. Khartoum's fight in the west - in Darfur, has spread to encompass regions along its new southern border where gold, oil and fertile lands – especially important to Sudan's nomadic tribes – are found. In South Sudan, a brand new country with little to no established infrastructure and institutions, the opportunity for power grab based on access to resources such as oil, water, land and livestock could derail the aspirations of a country that fought and sacrificed millions for democracy, freedom and equal opportunity.

## Internal Bleeding

The government of the United States and many human rights organizations accuse Sudan of committing genocide in the western region of Darfur and many describe the recent conflicts in the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions in the same way. The International Criminal Court (ICC) indicted the sitting President, Omar El-Bashir, and several Sudanese officials, for executing that genocide. Many in Sudan believe that the government has spent billions of dollars on military gear and in patronage to maintain their grip on power. They also believe that spending that much money on war would not have been possible if Sudan was not an oil exporting country. After a decade of violence, however, the Darfur crisis is still raging on and more bloodletting is taking place in many parts of the country due to the government's policies of divide and rule. With the south separating from the mother country, over 70% of Sudan's revenue literally and figuratively has "gone south." Maintaining the war and paying warlords to fight for the government by proxy has become a daunting, if not an impossible, task.

In South Sudan, the growing pains, weak institutions and the historical militarization of communities has contributed to violence in the south. A tribal society that was left to its own devices since independence in 1956, the South was the theater of the longest civil war in Africa for decades. As mentioned before, the violence in the south started shortly before independence and became protracted. These decades of war fought on southern soil led to the destruction of the little that was there to begin with in terms of infrastructure of service potential. Schools, health facilities, civil service and the local economy and livelihood of the southern people were all but destroyed by war. The culture of violence prevailed as a result of years of conflict. Generations grew up in a state of war. The Government of Sudan has significantly leveraged the differences between the ethnic groups in the south and continues to pursue its assiduous strategy of divide and rule. Part of the revenue Khartoum received from exporting oil was used to build the military capability of Sudan not to quell any external danger, but rather to use against its own people. The tribal warlords of South Sudan had reportedly received cash, weapons and logistical support from Khartoum to fight the southern rebels, the SPLA, before and even after secession.

Before the South seceded from the mother country, it received substantial amounts of money by virtue of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which gave the southerners a taste of controlling their equitable share of the coffers of the country for the first time in history. They would have done well to pay attention to service delivery in order to allow the deprived southerners to see and feel the dividends of peace and the importance of rebuilding their lives. Service delivery could have also made unity of the country attractive to the southerners. Instead, money was spent on greater militarization and consolidation of power in the hands of the elite who led the struggle to independence. The abysmal record of the government of South Sudan is evident in the anemic growth of the country's economy and the poor infrastructure and service delivery after two years of independence. The story of the oil tug-of-war between the two Sudans is a clear illustration of their inability to turn the gift of oil into better use of resources that would have guaranteed the welfare of both nations.

## Conclusion

It is quite unlikely that the available data will lead us to conclusive evidence that resources are a curse for both Sudan and South Sudan, but the circumstantial indicators cannot be denied. Out of over 100 billion dollars that the two countries shared before and after the secession of South Sudan, there is very little to show for it in terms of real development in the two countries. The perennial conflicts that plagued the two countries have their roots from the time of the birth of Sudan as a nation. Nonetheless, the protracted nature of these conflicts suggests an acute mismanagement of resources and bad governance. There is suspicion that natural resources played a role in perpetuating the conflicts and led to the split of the country. The relationship between the two countries, as it stands today, is unsustainable and both nations stand to lose if they continue on this track of adversarial relations. Internally, both nations need to reconcile with their people by adopting good governance and by changing their oppressive behavior towards their citizens. The lingering issues of the border and the production and transport of oil must be resolved in order for the two countries to live in peace and to enjoy the fruits of their God given gifts.



# Conflict over Scarce Resources and Identity: The case of Abyei, Sudan

*Amira Awad Osman*

When the fighting calmed down I came back to my house. At 10am the next day men came and asked us to leave – told us ‘we’ll take everything and we’ll burn your house’. I tried to take one bag but they wouldn’t let me. They were wearing green khaki camouflage.<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

This paper focuses on Abyei as a case study of the scarcity of resources and armed conflict that started as an intrastate conflict between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) and escalated to an interstate conflict between Sudan and the newly independent South Sudan. The paper also explores the multiple factors that escalated the conflicts. These included conflict over scarce resources, including oil fields, undermining peace agreements, manipulation of ethnic differences and identity to fuel the war, ignorance of local initiatives for conflict resolution and the absence of democratic values such as justice and equality. Furthermore, the conflict led to insecurity, collapse of social infrastructure, loss of assets and destruction, disturbance of people’s lives and livelihood and displacement. The paper ends with a suggestion for a conflict resolution approach and recommendations.

## The area and its people

Abyei is a narrow patch of the border area between Sudan (South Kordofan and South Darfur states) and South Sudan (Warrap, and Northern Bahr al Ghazal states), see figure (1) and figure (2). It is one of the three disputed areas (along with the Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan) where the boundaries remain unresolved.

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1 A narrative from an internally displaced woman from Abyei (Human Rights Watch 2008: 19).

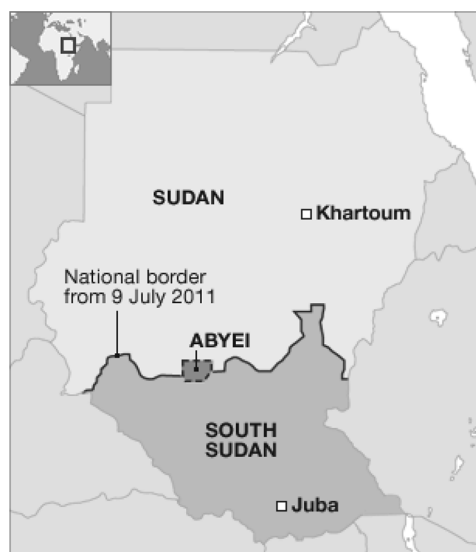


Figure (1): Map of Sudan and South Sudan  
Copnall (2011, Online)

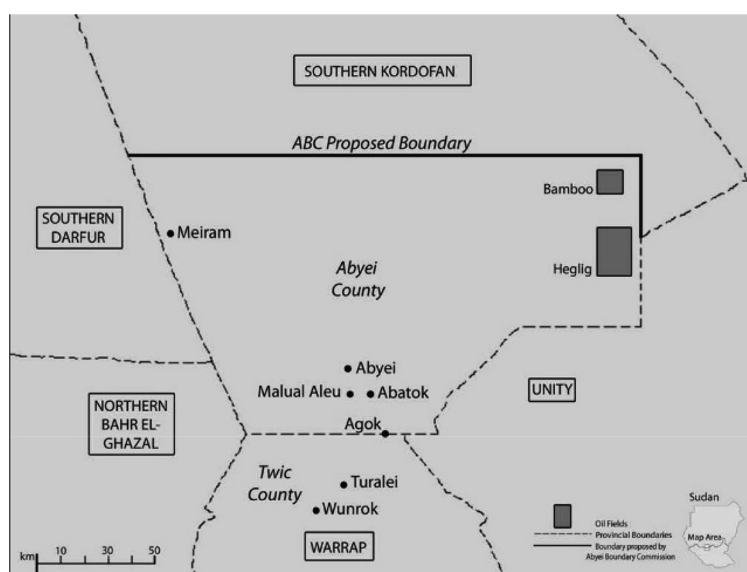


Figure (2): Map of the Abyei area  
Source: Human Rights Watch (2008: 1)

The indigenous population of Abyei is dominated by the Dinka Ngok community, many of whom supported the Southern rebels during the civil war (1983-2005). However, every year Northern Misseriya pastoralists, who are generally aligned with Khartoum, migrate to Abyei in search of pasture. This migration and sharing of land and pasture created conflict between the two communities over scarce resources. Moreover, the governments of both Sudan and South Sudan became heavily involved in the Abyei conflict, fighting to control oil fields in the area. They played on



the ethnic identities of the population and tried to use them against each other. The government of Sudan supports the Misseriya and the government of South Sudan supports the Dinka Ngok. Therefore, the conflict has escalated and become a conflict between two countries rather than a conflict between two indigenous communities inhabiting what used to be a small area in one country.

## Abyei: A disputed area

Abyei became part of Kordofan province (North) in 1905. A referendum was scheduled to take place in 1972 as part of the Addis Ababa Agreement that ended the second civil war in Sudan between the government of Sudan and the SPLA/M in the Southern Sudan. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, which ended the second civil war between the government of Sudan and the SPLA gave it a special administrative status under the Abyei Protocol Agreement (UNMIS<sup>2</sup>, 2011, Online), pending a referendum in 2011, which never took place due to disagreements on who was eligible to vote. The Protocol also called for demarcation of the borders of the area which did not take place either.

Under the Abyei Protocol the parties of the conflict agreed to establish the Abyei Boundaries Commission (ABC), which has representatives from the Government of Sudan, the SPLM and international experts. Their task was to determine the geographic boundaries of Abyei. The residents of Abyei were granted the right to vote on whether to be part of Sudan or South Sudan (Johnson 2007: 9). The Protocol also states that the oil revenue should be shared between the National Unity Government (NUG)<sup>3</sup> and the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS), with a small percentage to the Abyei population (Human Rights Watch 2008: 12). However, the NUG refused to give the residents of Abyei their share until the Abyei borders has been agreed (Human Rights Watch 2008: 12).

The protocol also states the voting rights in the referendum for the citizens of Abyei, who are defined as “The Members of Dinka Ngok community and other Sudanese residing in the area”. (Abyei Protocol 2005, cl.6.1, cited in Craze 2011: 23). However, there was disagreement on who should be considered as a resident of Abyei.

The SPLM views the Misseriya as being non-resident in Abyei although they have the right to graze their cattle there, therefore they believe they should not have the right to determine the future of Abyei in the referendum. Deng Arop Kuol, chief administrator of the Abyei Administration, claimed that the Misseriya were already

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2 UNMIS is the United Nations Mission in Sudan

3 The NUG was created in September 2005 after signing of the CPA, in which the National Islamic Front (NIF) had 52% of its seats, the SPLA had 28% and the rest was given to other political parties. The NUG became a NIF dominated government (Osman 2012: 79).

permanent residents in South Kordofan and therefore could not be considered permanent residents in two places at the same time (Craze 2011: 23).

On the other hand, the Misseriya fear that denying them voting to determine the future of Abyei would mean that Abyei would be part of the South. That would mean losing their grazing land in Abyei. They backed up their claim to participate in the referendum by the length of time they spend grazing the land in Abyei, which is about six months a year. (Craze 2011: 24).

The Misseriya's right to vote has been backed by the Khartoum government. On 31<sup>st</sup> March 2010, President Bashir told the press in Doha that 'there will be no referendum on Abyei without the Misseriya' (Middle East Online, cited in Craze 2011: 24).

It is worth mentioning here that in April 2005, the ABC met with representatives from the Government of Sudan and the SPLA and heard testimonies from the Dinka Ngok and Misseriya, as well as reviewing documents from Khartoum and the Universities of Oxford and Durham in the United Kingdom. They then reported their findings and presented them to the Presidency in Khartoum in July 2005, just a few days after John Garang became First Vice-President of Sudan (Johnson 2007: 10). Both sides had contradictory views on the report. In a private meeting President Al-Bashir said to Garang, "The experts have given us a report which will start a war with the Misseriya", Garang replied, "It is up to us to see that does not happen". (Johnson 2007: 10). The SPLA accepted the report but the Government of Sudan rejected it, refused to publish it and misinformed the Misseriya about its findings. The Misseriya in turn rejected it (Johnson 2007: 14).

Lack of implementation of the Abyei Protocol, including denying the population of Abyei their share in the oil wealth, and uncertainty about access to pasture and water were major factors that escalated the tension between NUG and the SPLM (Human Rights Watch 2008: 12).

## Conflict over scarce resources

Historically both of the ethnic groups in Abyei competed and sometimes clashed over water and pasture, the backbone of their lives and livelihoods. However, conflict over resources became more violent after the involvement of outside actors, notably the Government of Sudan backed by the National Congress Party (NCP) and GoSS backed by the SPLA/M.

Since the discovery of oil and the involvement of the Government of Sudan and SPLA/M in Abyei affairs, the conflict took on a new dimension. The Government of Sudan and SPLA/M are racing to control the oil fields and to influence the result of the referendum. Human Rights Watch (2008: 13) states that:

The arrangements for a future referendum provided the NCP and the GoSS with both the time and the incentive to influence the population count and the ethnic composition of Abyei in an effort to influence whether Abyei and its precious oil revenue remain with the North or join Southern Sudan.

After the signing of the CPA each part in the conflict tried to build up its own forces in Abyei. The SPLA complained that the Government of Sudan was not willing to withdraw its forces from Abyei and that its Brigade 31 remained in the town (Human Rights Watch 2008: 14), raising fears of a possible future offensive on the town.

In 2006 a unit of the South Sudan Defence Force (SSDF) in Abyei was ambushed and the Government of Sudan rejected UNMIS involvement and investigation into this incident (Johnson 2007: 16). Instead the Government of Sudan deployed more troops to Abyei, encouraged the settlement of more Misseriya in the area and obstructed the return of Dinka Ngok displaced persons (Johnson 2007: 16). This led to an escalation of the conflict. In September 2007 and while addressing the opening of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, Salva Kiir, the First Vice-President said that "it is likely that Sudan will revert again to war" (Johnson 2007: 16).

A few days after the Southern referendum on 7<sup>th</sup> January 2011, a Misseriya militia attacked a police station in a village near Abyei. This was followed by clashes that led to the deaths of tens of people (Craze 2011: 28). More clashes erupted after the referendum, leading to the death of more civilians. Villages were burnt and more people fled the area to the South seeking safety.

Before July 9<sup>th</sup> 2011, Independence Day, the government of Sudan accused the Southern government of attacking their army in the area. In response to that the Government of Sudan's army seized control of Abyei. President Al-Bashir issued a decree to dissolve the joint administration of Abyei, which was headed by a Southerner. Both actions were condemned by the US and the UN (Copnall, 2011, Online). It seems that both sides wanted to control Abyei so they could be in a better position for any future negotiations on the area.

After the secession the parties of the conflict were not happy about the boundary lines of Abyei: the two main oil fields (Heglig and Bamboo) became part of Sudan and the Misseriya lost a large area of their fertile land. The fighting continued, taking the conflict to a new stage as an interstate conflict.

Here it is worth mentioning that the Government of Sudan has a history of using the Misseriya in its war against SPLA/M. Johnson (2003: 151) points out that in the early years of the second war (1984-88), instead of using a conflict resolution approach to solve inter-tribal conflicts among different tribes in Darfur, Kordofan, Equatoria and Upper Nile, the government manipulated tribal differences and used militias to fight by proxy. These militias included *murahileen* (Arab raiders), mainly from the Misseriya and Rizaigat tribes, from Kordofan and Darfur. These forces targeted SPLA troops as well as civilians.

The absence of democratic values such as justice, equality, human rights and respect for grassroots organisations was another factor that contributed to the conflict. This has been perpetuated by the government effort to control the economic and

political process, ignoring agreements that give the indigenous population a share in their regional wealth. For example, distribution of oil revenue had been agreed on in the CPA, which stated that 50% was for the national government, 42% for the GoSS Sudan, 2% for Abyei and 2% for the Dinka Ngok and the Misseriya because they represent the major ethnic groups in Abyei (Global Witness 2009, cited in Abdalla 2010: 3). Nevertheless, it seems that the South was denied its 42%. Failure to implement wealth sharing in the case of Abyei also contributed to the violence.

Ignorance of local initiatives is a third factor that perpetuated the conflict. Grassroots mechanisms to solve conflicts are often marginalised and tend to be replaced by formal peace solutions. The two main ethnic groups managed to live in peace for generations and to develop their own conflict resolution mechanisms to solve conflicts that may arise from sharing and competing over scarce resources. These may include attacks on animals and their owners. A group of traditional leaders from each ethnic group would hold a meeting to address problems that each group may encounter during their grazing season (Abdalla 2010: 4). However, the involvement of external actors in the conflict has paralysed this way of conflict resolution and led to the marginalisation of traditional conflict resolution initiatives.

## Grassroots initiatives

One of the new local initiatives for conflict resolution and peaceful coexistence in South Sudan that works in Abyei is the Unity Community Organisation and Enlightenment Trust (UCOET). Its aim is to mobilise local communities towards conflict resolution and peace building. It has two projects in Abyei; Road to coexistence and stability in Abyei, and Al-Muglad and Villages assessment for returnees in Abyei (Peace Direct, 2013, Online). Another people's organisation is the Abyei Peace Initiative, which was launched in 2011 as a grassroots organisation to promote inter-tribal communication and cooperation between the Dinka and Misseriya communities and to work towards conflict resolution and lasting peace (Frontiers of Peace, 2012, Online). However, it seems that these peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution efforts were ignored by the warring parties.

Other creative approaches could also be useful in the case of Abyei. Abdalla (2010: 6) suggests a conflict resolution approach should consider scarcity of resources and the environmental factors. This would lead to stability and allow the population of the area, regardless of their ethnic origin to benefit from their natural resources and to reduce the tension over the border between Sudan and South Sudan. In my view, this approach would be more sustainable if the local population were at the heart of it, because indigenous people are the ones who are in a better position to understand their environment and how to manage it.

Abdalla (2010: 6) also states that a 'Peace Park' could be developed between Sudan and South Sudan to maintain biological diversity, promote peace and coexistence.

She referred to Peace Park experiences in some Latin American countries (the peace park between Bolivia and Guatemala and between Peru and Ecuador).

## Civilians suffering

The Abyei conflict, throughout its different stages (interstate or intrastate) has led to great civilian suffering, such as death, destruction and loss of assets and disturbance of the lives and livelihood of people fleeing their homes to seek safety in different areas.

### a. Death, destruction and loss of assets

It is still unknown how many lives were lost during the conflict in Abyei. However, civilian suffering intensified in 2008 when fighting escalated between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and SPLA. Militia supported by the SAF targeted civilians, looted their assets and destroyed their villages. Human Right Watch (2008: 3) reported that as a result of the fighting half the houses in Abyei were burnt down and the market was completely destroyed (Human Rights Watch 2008: 2). The militia also looted and destroyed the compounds of the UN and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) who had been providing humanitarian assistance and were also involved in post-conflict reconstruction. Moreover, nearly the entire population of Abyei has left. The vast majority of them went to the South. Many of them were reluctant to return home until the SAF withdraw from Abyei.

Civilians who were able to escape the town reported the deaths of their relatives, friends and neighbours who were not able to protect themselves or flee the town. A woman who fled Abyei stated:

I saw my neighbor shot dead by his house. That is why I ran. He had run to release his goats but a soldier came and shot at him and stole his goats. My neighbor was not a soldier, he was not wearing uniform. As we ran out we saw other dead bodies on the ground. (Human Rights Watch 2008: 17).

Nevertheless, statistics on casualties among civilians remain unknown because access to Abyei was restricted for weeks by the SAF and no independent international body was allowed to enter the city for a comprehensive investigation of human rights abuses and war crimes that accompanied the conflict. Later the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was allowed to enter the town and was able to clean tens of bodies from the street. This raised fears that more casualties may remain unaccounted for. (Human Rights Watch 2008: 18).

In an effort to resolve the conflict representatives from the National Congress party and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) signed the Abyei Road

Map Agreement on June 2008. The agreement focuses on security, return of displaced persons, establishment of interim administration and an international arbitration commission (UNMIS, 2011, Online). It also states the withdrawal of all armed forces from Abyei, to be replaced by a joint Integrated Unit (JIU) of SAF and SPLA forces and a joint integrated police force. Many of these agreement issues had already appeared under the Abyei Protocol (Human Rights watch 2008: 23). Therefore the challenge which still remains is how to implement agreements so that the local population can benefit from them and start rebuilding their lives and livelihoods.

## **b. Disturbance of people's lives and livelihoods**

Livelihoods can be defined as “constituting capabilities of people, tangible and intangible assets and activities undertaken to make a living” (Chambers and Conway, 1992, cited in Amirthalingam and Lakshman 2009: 503). Tangible assets may include resources such as land and livestock; intangible assets may include resources such as skills, information and experience (Kabeer 1994: 280). However, in the context of conflict and displacement Jacobsen (2002: 99; cited in Amirthalingam and Lakshman 2009: 503) developed the following definition:

In communities facing conflict and displacement, livelihoods comprise how people access and mobilize resources enabling them to increase their economic security, thereby reducing the vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict, and how they pursue goals necessary for survival and possible return.

The population of Abyei, who are either pastoralists or agro-pastoralists, managed to develop their own coping mechanism to overcome scarcity of natural resources. These include farming and seasonal migration looking for pasture. The Dinka Ngok settled in Abyei and have villages, agricultural and seasonal pasture to graze their cattle in the area. Other Dinka sub-groups from South Sudan also come to Abyei to benefit from its grazing land (Human Rights Watch 2008: 12).

The Misseriya Arab nomads also claim right over the land. Some of them settled in the area around Abyei. Many of them are traders who live in Abyei. This has sometimes created conflict between the Dinka and Misseriya, but these clashes used to be solved locally, without serious escalation, as mentioned earlier.

A study by Abdalla (2010: 4) reveals that the local population has developed the best techniques to deal with the variation in agro-ecological zones. In November the Misseriya, who are nomads and inhabited Northern Kordofan, Babanusa and Al-Muglad towns in the (North), move to Bahr Al-Arab (in the South) during the dry season looking for greener pastures to graze their animals. Then they leave the area in May/June so that the Dinka can take their turn.

This way of livelihood has been practiced for generations, but later was disturbed by the discovery of oil in the area and the conflict it generated. Instead of bringing prosperity and development, oil has become a destructive factor, where many parties are competing to control oil fields and the wealth it would generate.

Oil exploitation led to destruction of fertile land. The Government of Sudan has licensed more than one million square kilometres for oil exploitation (Global Witness 2009, cited in Abdalla 2010: 3). This not only disturbed the ecological environment but also led to a disturbance of local people's livelihood. Pastoralists are not able to graze their land and are pushed to a marginal area, leading to overgrazing of pasture and in many cases loss of their livestock. The alternative for the Misseriya is to go further South to reach the water in Bahr Al-Arab.

People's traditional livelihood was destroyed during attacks on the town and others lost their assets when soldiers deliberately destroyed or stole them, as the following narratives reveal:

When the fighting began we were in the mosque and we came out and went to our shops. The 31st Brigade came and called us out. We came out. They said bring your money. Those who refused their orders they threatened to shoot, but even those who handed over the money were detained. I left my money in the shop so they broke into it using a gun. They entered and took the money. They kept me in the market with others. They used matches and grass to burn the shops. I watched my shop burn.<sup>4</sup>

Human Rights Watch (2008: 20) states a narrative from an old sick woman who was not able to escape when fighting took place. She stayed in her own hut but soldiers entered her house, threatened her and stole her assets. She said:

I was sick in my house. I heard the sound of guns but could not move. Soldiers came into my house. One of them cocked his gun but the other said not to shoot. Instead they put me on the floor and took my bed and all other items. They took water. They threatened to light the house on fire. One day two men came – they took my water. On another day a lady came and said do not fear, they won't kill you, come out. But I did not want to move. I drank rain water. I survived on food that I had already prepared in the house.

### c. Displacement

Although the number of internally displaced persons has declined significantly since the independence of South Sudan, as many people headed back to the South, the very recent armed clashes both within South Sudan and in the "three areas" of Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, (IDMC and NRC 2011: 53) remain a thorny issue in fostering stability and peace between Sudan and South Sudan and are leading to further displacement.

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<sup>4</sup> A narrative by a displaced trader who fled Abyei to South Sudan in 2008 (Human Rights Watch 2008: 20).



People left their homes because of bombardment of their villages, which started before the secession. NGOs which provided humanitarian assistance to the Abyei population left the area because of the security situation and some of them relocated to Agok, in the South (UNMIS, 2011, Online).

Thousands of people fled Abyei to the South leaving their assets and livelihood behind. International Organisation for Migration (IOM) points out that most people who fled the area in 2011 were women and children: 56% of the displaced were women, while 21% of them were children (Children's Village-Canada, 2011, Online). NGOs are struggling to meet their needs. The Government of Sudan's attack on Abyei in May 2011 led to the displacement of more than 150,000 people. An estimated two thirds of them fled to Warrap, Bahr al Gazal and Unity states in South Sudan. Providing assistance to these displaced people, particularly those who fled to Warrap was difficult due to poor roads and flooding in the rainy seasons.

The host population of Warrap suffers from poverty, lack of resources and a high rate of malnutrition among children (SOS Children's Village-Canada 2011, Online). These could be the main reasons behind the local population of Warrap pretending to be displaced so that they could benefit from food aid. Some of them were stealing from displaced people, who were old, tired or unable to defend themselves (SOS Children's Village-Canada, 2011, Online). This made the task of NGOs to help the displaced harder.

A local administrator in Abothok, South Sudan, explained how the influx of the displaced affected the host community, where tens of thousands of the displaced arrived. He said "The people here had a small amount of food and space, and then when their relatives from Abyei came, they used it; then the livestock were sold for food" (IRIN, 2012, Online).

The situation of host communities made it difficult for the displaced, in particular those who did not have an income, to feed themselves and their children. A displaced woman from Abyei who fled to a Nyintar village in South Sudan revealed how she was struggling to feed her seven children after losing her earnings from growing and selling maize, sorghum, groundnuts and beans in Abyei. The alternative was to feed her children wild food (IRIN 2012, online).

Gathering wild foods and collecting firewood became crucial for the survival of displaced persons. An official with the ICRC says:

They were fishing but at the moment the river is almost dry. They rely on wild vegetables and wild fruits, and in many places they are just collecting firewood and making charcoal to sell these things to the market.<sup>5</sup>

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5 A narrative by an official with the ICRC on survival strategy of displaced women.



## Conclusion

It seems that “The end of a conflict cycle may be very well the beginning of another”, (Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society 2001: 5), at least in the case of Sudan. This includes the conflict in Abyei, as an interstate conflict, which later became a conflict between two states, where both the Government of Sudan, backed by the NCP and the Government of South Sudan, backed by the SPLA/M are fighting to control natural resources of the Abyei area, including the oil and its revenue, ignoring the local population and their need for peaceful lives.

Fighting escalated despite the signing of the Abyei Protocol and the Abyei Road map to end the conflict. This led to a loss of people’s lives, assets, livelihoods and displacement in alien environment.

Furthermore, local people’s initiatives for conflict resolution have been ignored by the warring parties; instead both warring parties are using the local population’s ethnic identity, mainly the Dinka Ngok and the Misseriya, to fuel the war. To end the conflict and to achieve sustainable peace, local population experience in conflict resolution and peace building needs to be considered as well as their innovative initiatives for peaceful coexistence.

## Recommendations

1. Supporting local peace initiatives is still relevant in the case of Abyei. Local people should be encouraged to maintain their own way of solving conflicts.
2. The international community should put pressure on both the Government of Sudan and the Government of South Sudan to stop militarising the local population.
3. The Government of Sudan and the Government of South Sudan need to focus on the economic, social and political needs of the local population rather than waging war by proxy.
4. The local population’s livelihood which they practised for generations needs to be sustained rather than disturbed.
5. Any formal peace agreement to solve the conflict in Abyei should take into account Sudan’s history of intrastate conflicts (the former conflict with Southern Sudan, conflict in Darfur, Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan).
6. Displaced persons have the right to voluntarily return to their homes and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement<sup>6</sup> should be applied to help them to return in safety and to be able to rebuild their lives and livelihoods.

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6 For more on the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement see <http://www.internal-displacement.org/guidingprinciples>.

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Appendix

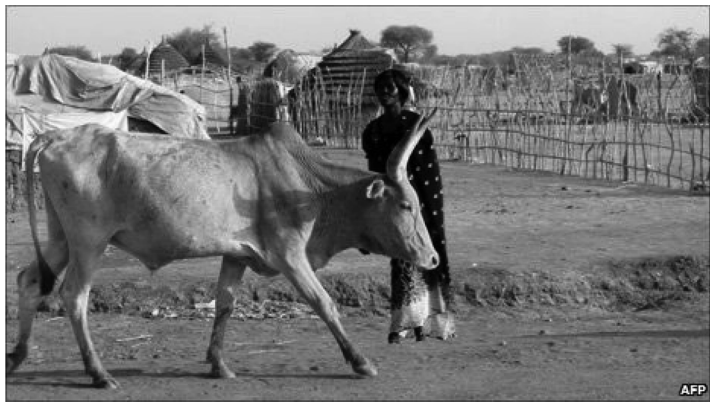


Figure (3): Abyei town  
Source: (Copnall 2011)

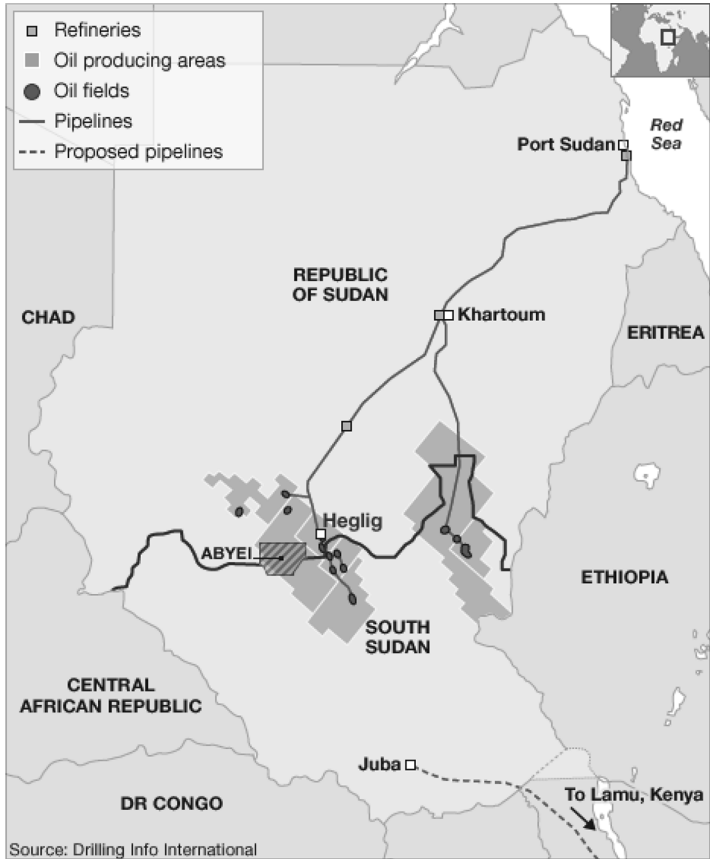


Figure (4): Oil fields and pipelines



# Summary and Recommendations

*Gillian Nilsson*

The theme of the 2013 Horn of Africa conference indicates a paradigm shift, a change of focus, compared to the previous conferences. Professor Arne Ardeberg, Lund University, set the tone in his Opening statement when he enumerated all the resources to be found in Somalia and the Horn region that could be used to promote prosperity. These ranged from the natural resources of fishing, forestry, agriculture, livestock, oil, gas and solar power to the human resources of a people with a favourable population density and a strong entrepreneurial spirit. But for these resources to be liberated and developed, peace, democracy and human rights are needed. Above all they should be developed by local stakeholders, not foreign interests.

This positive note, focussing on the promotion of prosperity while not disregarding the necessity of continuing to work for peace, was further developed by Ambassador Per Lindgärde from the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who emphasised the positive developments in the region, with increasing investments, growing economies and an expanding infrastructure. He also widened the frame of reference when pointing out that cooperation was vital, bringing in the role of IGAD, the African Union and the European Union. He announced that the Swedish government had made a commitment of long-term investment in Somalia over a period of five years, concentrating on building institutions and job-creation and giving the Somali diaspora in Sweden a crucial role.

One of the most vital resources of the region and one which internationally has often created conflicts is water. Different aspects of this issue were discussed by several speakers. They gave examples of conflicts around water resources both within and across national borders, including cases where the conflicts had been solved peaceably. They were agreed that cooperation was essential, that it was not an option but compulsory. Joint water development projects should be initiated, developing comprehensive regional plans and strategies. By supporting local peace initiatives and involving the local populations in negotiations, an understanding of shared benefits can be developed. Regional governance should link state and non-state actors and provide frameworks for multi-cooperation and behavioural change.

The other dominant theme among the papers presented and the plenum discussions concerned resources other than natural resources: human, financial, foreign aid and how they can be used to stabilize the region and achieve peaceful development. Substantial efforts are needed to build capacity at all levels of government as good governance is essential for long-lasting conflict resolution and stability. The institutional and physical infrastructure in Somalia must be rebuilt. The potential of the population must be developed by education, above all of young people and with

particular emphasis on closing the gender gap. Women generally must be included in the processes of reconciliation and rehabilitation and the youth need to be actively involved. The international community is now deeply committed to programmes of investment and support in Somalia and as the state is the chief organizer of socio-economic life in a society, the success of these programmes will depend on the degree of stability achieved in Somalia and the Horn region.

## Recommendations

1. Invest in knowledge and capacity-building through community outreach, schools and environmental projects.
2. Build confidence through exchange projects involving scientists, university professors and students.
3. Develop potential trans-boundary endeavours and projects: parks,
4. tourism, watershed management, rehabilitation of eco-systems.
5. Ownership of resources: respect the local population when the state or multinational companies are utilizing the resources in an area or region.
6. Respect the right of civil society to ownership, empowerment and compensation and thereby foster human rights, human development, accountability, good governance and transparency.
7. Deposit civil society compensation in the African Development Bank (ADB). The money to be used firstly, to support the most affected local populations; secondly for national development and thirdly for regional development.
8. Improve infrastructure and regulations to facilitate movement: between people and for the transport of goods.
9. Negotiate at leadership level on how to move goods and services (SACU).
10. Concentrate resources collectively.
11. Define democracy in our mother tongue, not the so-called “liberal democracy”, which is purely Western.
12. Use African models (e.g. Botswana) to solve the economic crisis.
13. A vision, philosophy and a clear direction must be in place before the creation of economic ties and a regional market, together with a banking system that can address the market economy.
14. Build a Horn of Africa Meat Commission.
15. Look for African mediators to find solutions for hot issues that need to be balanced.
16. The issue of currency must be addressed.

17. Property rights issues must be defined.
18. Create a Horn of Africa construction firm, instead of benefitting others.
19. We should make our own innovations and investments and recognize other outside forces that impose their ways on us.





# Contributors

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