

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**The Effectiveness of IGAD in promoting Regional Diplomacy: A Case Study of the
Somalia Peace Process**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research dissertation is my original work and it has not been presented for a degree in any other University or institution of higher learning.

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LONG LIFE!

ABSTRACT

The research is set to investigate the effectiveness of IGAD in promoting regional diplomacy: with a case study of Somalia. In its objectives, it sought generally to analyze the effectiveness of regional organizations in Africa in promoting regional peace and diplomacy and specifically to examine the role of IGAD in Somalia, and to assess IGAD'S achievements and failures in promoting regional peace and diplomacy. The first chapter laid a background to the study and set clear objectives and hypotheses to guide the research. The second chapter made an overview on the role of regional organisations in Africa and their role in promoting peace and diplomacy. The third chapter examined IGAD as regional organisation and its role in the Somalia conflict. The fourth chapter did an analysis of IGAD's achievements and failures in promoting regional peace and diplomacy with case study of the Somali Peace Process focusing on the mediation process and the outcomes and the role that IGAD played in the peace process. The fifth chapter gives a summary of the study and also makes recommendations based on the findings from the case study on the challenges that face the regional organisations in promoting peace processes and diplomacy. The research is recommended for reading by students of conflict management, scholars and government policy makers to understand how regional organisations would be effectively utilised as vehicles for managing internal conflicts that are numerous and recurrent in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

DEDICATION

To my beloved mum Habiba Ali Abdirahman for her patience, support, encouragement, motivation and understanding during the period of my studies at the University of Nairobi

May Allah Bless you Dear Mum!

ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM	-	African Union Mission in Somalia
AMU	-	Arab Maghreb Union
AU	-	Africa Union
BCP	-	Basotho Congress party
BNP	-	Basotho National Party
CEWARN	-	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
COMESA	-	Common Markets for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA	-	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DDR	-	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
DPs	-	Development Partners
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOMOG II	-	ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group II
ECOMOG	-	ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
GONU	-	Government of National Unity
GOSS	-	Government of South Sudan
ICPAT	-	IGAD Capacity Building Against Terrorism
ICU	-	Islamic Courts Union
IGAD	-	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD	-	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
IGADD	-	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGASOM	-	IGAD Peace Support Mission to Somalia
IGO	-	Intergovernmental Organization
JS	-	Jonglei State
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organisations
OAU	-	Organisation of Africa Unity
PDF	-	Protection and Deterrence Force
PSC	-	Peace and Security Council
RIGOS	-	Regional Organisations
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	-	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SDM	-	Somali Democratic Movement
SPLA	-	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLM	-	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPM	-	Somali Patriotic Movement
SRRC	-	Somali Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Council
SSDF	-	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
SSLA	-	South Sudan legislative Assembly
TFC	-	Transitional Federal Council
TFG II	-	Transitional Federal Government II
TFG	-	Transitional Federal Government
TNG	-	Transitional National Government
U.N	-	United Nations
UNITAF	-	Unified Task Force

UNMISS	-	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNOSOM	-	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
US	-	United States
USC	-	United Somali Congress

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

Intergovernmental Organization (IGO) can be defined as an organization that is formed by foreign states that are the primary member states. Or in conceptual terms IGOs can be defined as entities with established organizational structure that possess autonomy to carry out the formal, ongoing and multilateral process of making the decision between and among states in order to execute collective will of member states.¹

The contemporary definition of IGO describes several attributes of IGO which include: formal entity, member comprises three or more foreign states; must have permanent secretariat; headquarters and permanent staff. Statistics from the UN indicated that there were close to 6000 organizations categorized as intergovernmental organizations in 2005. Factors such as multilateral treaties, common objectives, and private constitutional structure are the basis on which intergovernmental organizations are based. The U.N remains the sole organization with a global outlook but other intergovernmental organizations have limited goals depending on the number of their members and the domains they operate in.²

Regional Organizations (RIGOS) play significant roles in promoting diplomacy among member states in the African Continent. The mechanisms used by RIGOS organization comprises the RIGOS facilitation forum which states can use in communicating to one

¹ UAI – Union of International Organization Websites, Volgy, Thomas J et al. *Identify formal intergovernmental organization*” Journal of piece research 45:6 (2008) PP. 849-862

² *Discussion points of the mediation support network* (MSN) 10-11 October 2012 Accra, Ghana

another directly and also to reduce level of misperceptions among members. Last but not least, RIGOS disseminate necessary information among member states. RIGOS are also familiar with local conditions, actors, and cultures. RIGOS also benefit from lower cost and able to respond faster.³

In order to strengthen Africa's voice globally however, the ability of regional RIGOS to reach a common approach to the issue of concern to Africa and the globe, there is need to such issue as reforming the UN Security Council to be factored in. Although, such idea sound utopian the African Union (AU) on another hand, must play this role the organizations find unable due to internal conflict within AU.⁴

The OAU the predecessor of the AU has been referred to "Dictators Club" referring to the presence of dictator heads of states that have refused to hand over power in their home countries. The principle of non – interference or non-intervention in member states' internal domestic problem has proved futile and contributed neighboring governments to ignore human right violation committed by neighboring government. Even when some of the countries that are members of the organization committed atrocities against their own people the OAU bloated bureaucratic paths and did not intervene⁵

The AU, in its mission in Somalia required 8000 troops to fulfill its mission in Somalia. However, to date only half has been contributed reason being lack of adequate funds.

³Koehene Robert O. *After a Hegemony, Cooperation and discord in the work political economy* (Princeton University Press 1984)

⁴www.kas.de *what if Africa's regional powers did better?*

⁵ *Problems plaguing the African Union Peace keeping forces* Major Robert L. Feldman

Literally, by looking at various developments that are happening in Africa it's easily concluded that the AU goals are not meet.

There are a number of regional bodies established in Africa and they include; Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) comprises the following countries: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eretria, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan.⁶

IGAD was preceded by the intergovernmental authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) which established in 1986 with the main aim of addressing environmental problems that caused food insecurity and famine in the Horn of Africa. However on March 21, 1996 the IGADD member countries transformed the organization into IGAD. The inauguration summit of new IGAD was held in Djibouti on November 25-26, 1996. With the new IGAD, much emphasis was given to the regional mandate of involving members in diplomatically ways of solving conflicts so that sustainable development could be realized in the region.⁷

Member states unanimously joined hands to eliminate threats to regional co-operation, peace and stability by establishing necessary mechanisms for consultation and co-

⁶www.Afdb.org, www.nabi.nih. *Government a review of the evolution and trajectory of the African Union as an instrument of the integration* Innocent E.W, Chirisa, Artwell Mumba and Simbarasha Odirwai

⁷ African Union commission, intergovernmental authority on development <http://www.igad.2015> (accessed 17th march 2017)

operation in order to solve disputes and differences among member states.⁸ Therefore three key areas of interest were identified: Humanitarian affairs and management, food security and development of infrastructure, environment, and prevention of conflicts. Additionally, the Somalia conflicts opened a new chapter and series of discussions to transform IGAD to facilitate the role of conflict prevention and peace initiatives. Therefore, based on this background this research is set to investigate the effectiveness of IGAD in promoting regional diplomacy.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The Horn of Africa is prone to constant violent conflict for instance as witnessed in the conflict in Somalia and South Sudan. Diplomatic intervention by the regional bodies like IGAD is therefore very crucial in promoting peace and stability in these member states. IGAD was fundamentally created in order to spear head efforts to promote peace and stability by creating a mechanism for preventing, managing and resolving inter and intra-state conflicts through dialogue. IGAD Secretariat created a peace and security division as well as a conflict early warning and response mechanism (CEWRM). In 2003, heads of states tasked the Secretariat to develop a comprehensive strategy for peace and security.

The region of IGAD has experienced extensive conflicts. For example, a war between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998-2000, in which 100,000 soldiers were killed, another war erupted in South Sudan in 1983 and 2005 with the civilian death toll estimated to be two million. Ethnic cleansing and violence occurred in Darfur since 2003, civil war in

⁸ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 1996. *Agreement Establishing the IGAD*.

Somalia and later insurgents or terrorist groups, heinous atrocities committed by The Lord's Resistance Army in North Uganda. Therefore; this study examines the extent to which IGAD has succeeded in its various diplomatic interventions in the region with a specific reference to Somalia.⁹

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1.3.1 Overall Objective

Generally, this study aims at analyzing the effectiveness of regional organizations in Africa in promoting regional peace and diplomacy.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

1. To examine the role of IGAD in Somalia.
2. To assess IGADs' achievements and failures in promoting regional peace and diplomacy.

1.4 Justification of the Study

1.4.1 Academic Justification

The result of this study will be beneficial to academicians and international studies scholars. It will extremely contribute to the current literature on Diplomacy and International Studies. This study will also benefit diplomats in an international organization such as the UN and AU as well as in Governments. This study notifies detailed analysis of the effectiveness of IGAD in terms of its roles and its contributions to

⁹ Working paper No. 81 *Global and regional Axes of conflict. Peace making effectiveness of regional organization*. Lauren Nathan crisis state Research Centre

stability in Somalia. The study assesses various approaches used by IGAD such as negotiations in managing conflicts and conflict prevention mechanisms. This study is expected to form the foundation upon which other related studies can be based on.

1.4.2 Policy Justification

This study seeks to inform ways in which IGAD can enhance its various procedures of diplomatic interventions such as negotiation, mediation conflict prevention, and conflict mapping abilities. On the other hand, the outcome of this study will have an impact on various stakeholders such as to the regional organizations and governments. It will provide the basis for policy formulation and improve existing ones. This will ensure efficiency in policy making. This study will also benefit diplomats and peace mediators because the study will give them a better understanding of necessary strategies in intervening in regional diplomacy. Perhaps, the study will also aid them in providing intervention suggestions making it more targeted and successful.

Last but yet importantly, this study will also be useful to the governments of other states experiencing political instability either internally or externally because it gives better ways to seek interventions. Literally, it can give them preferred suggestions in addressing the conflict, and political instability issues.

1.5 Review of Literature

1.5.1 Introduction

Somalia has experienced political and socio-economic crisis since the collapse of the government in Somalia in 1991. This resulted in a violent civil war carried out by different rival groups with help from outside actors. Nevertheless, the civil war in Somalia attracted interventions from both the region and the globe aimed at bringing stability in the war-torn country. Regional actors such as IGAD have played a significant role in maintaining peace and stability in the Horn of Africa and in particular Somalia. It can be argued that IGAD has played a significant role in mediating various rival clans in order to end the crisis. However, the organization's conflict resolution mechanism experienced weakness in implementing and consolidating efforts to resolve conflict.¹⁰

1.5.2 History and Mandate of IGAD

The idea to establish IGAD was proposed by the UN after realizing that there was need to a regional organisation in order to deal with the problem of famine and drought which devastated the Horn of Africa in the period of 1984 and 1995. IGADD was established in 1986 with the following as member states: Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, and Uganda.¹¹ The main functions of the organization were to coordinate and oversee conservation of the environment, enhance food security, and natural resource management. On April 1995 a proposal intending to expound IGADD's mandate was discussed during the extraordinary summit of heads of state held in Addis Ababa where a

¹⁰www.academicresearchjournals.org/IJPSD/PDF/2014/November/Memar.pdf[accessed on 29 March 29, 2017]

¹¹ Working papers no.59-*Regional and global Axes of conflict* Sally Healy, Royal institute of International affairs November 2009.

ministerial committee to spearhead amendments to be made to the charter of IGADD and to make the necessary amendments to the charter creating the organization in order to enhance cooperation in areas of food security, agriculture and environmental protection was formed. This committee was tasked with developing proposals in an attempt to increase the capacity of the member states in order to address the deterrence, handling and dealing of conflicts both inter and intra-state conflicts amicably. The amendments to its mandate were endorsed at a summit meeting held in Nairobi in March, 1996 therefore giving birth to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). IGAD lacks special organ to enable it facilitate the process of peace and security but this is taken care of by the secretariat headed by an executive secretary who is appointed by assembly of Heads of state and governments.¹²

1.5.3 Challenges Faced by IGAD in Development Initiatives

According to the Capacity Building Workshop report of IGAD,¹³ there are numerous constraints limiting the organization in its initiatives for development in the sub-region. Challenges such as Social political factors that is as a result of influx of small arms and light weapons in the region that heightened lawlessness in both rural areas as well as urban centers of the region. The wide spread intra-communal conflicts, for example, cattle rustling, natural based resource conflicts over water, pasture, and land. Moreover, the existence of inter-state tensions among member states of the sub-region (Ethiopia and

¹² Crisis states working papers serial No2 H.Wulf and T.Debiel ,2009

¹³ Sheriff, G.I. (2013): Lectures on International Relations: *from Economic Nationalism, Internationalism and Structuralism*. Abuja, Richmore.

Eretria, Uganda and Sudan) and also governance issues which led to the collapse of states such as Somalia.

Economically, there is poor performance of economies in the region. Basically, this is attributed to the fact that there is stagnant economic growth, poor investments leading to less development. Economies of this region are producers of primary products that are continuously resulting in poor returns in the international market. Possibly, the sub-region also experiences a decline in foreign investment. IGAD member states are in the periphery with high levels of poverty with majority of them ranked among the poorest nations in the world. The sub-region is currently faced with environmental degradation issues. This is mainly causing scarcity of natural resources; this alluded to the fact that there have been long droughts resulting in famines in states such as Somalia and Kenya. The insufficient seasonal rainfall poses many challenges such as poor agricultural production, and shortage of enough water and pasture for livestock which triggers intra-state conflicts among pastoral communities in search of pasture and water.

The IGAD region also experiences poor infrastructural development and telecommunication networks that cause unproductive exploitation of human and material resources endowed in the IGAD member states. Lack of infrastructure and telecommunication networks undermine sharing of resources and intra-regional trade.¹⁴

¹⁴IpinmoyeAyodele,et al, international journal of multi-disciplinary Research[www.rdmodernresearch.org]vol 1[2015]

1.5.4 Role of IGAD in Somalia

After the transformation of IGADD to IGAD, the biggest challenge was to address the long-standing inter and intra-state conflicts in the region. IGAD has been involved in several initiatives to address many conflict issues among them the Somali crisis.

1.5.5 Initiative of Djibouti in 1991

After the coup d'état that removed Siad Barre from office in Somalia in 1991 president Hassan Gouled Aptidon of Djibouti tried to mediate in the Somalia conflict. This effort was welcomed by IGADD and its member states. A meeting that brought together several groups that included; Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), United Somali Congress (USC), Somali Democratic Movement (SDM) and IGADD proposed the convening of a national conference on reconciliation. Therefore a second conference was convened by the government of Djibouti in July 1991 where the fighting groups within Somalia agreed to a ceasefire and to the formation of a transitional government.

1.5.6 Efforts of Ethiopia

The UNSC sponsored peace conference was held in Addis Ababa in 1993 that brought on board Fifteen Faction leaders. The meeting proposed among other things to establishment of a transition council for two years. In mid-1990s Ethiopia was mandated by IGAD to coordinate peace dialogue and mediation process. Ethiopia held Sodore peace process in 1996 which was recognized by IGAD heads of states and governments. Several factions

attended the Sodre peace conference however, some boycotted. The Sodre peace ¹⁵ process resulted in the establishment of a National Salvation Council which would lay the ground for the establishment of a provisional central government of Somalia. However, before the enforcement of Sodre agreement, Egypt convened a counter conference for the same faction leaders and those who boycotted the Sodre peace process. This caused a lot of concern among IGAD member states. Following an assembly of heads of governments and states meeting and ministerial session held in Djibouti in March 14-16, 1998 all parties in this conflict were reprimanded and ordered to use the relevant platform in giving their aid to Somalia.

In a summit of IGAD held in 1998 the member states further supported Ethiopia's new proposal which with the basis of regional autonomy as foundation of reconciling warring groups. IGAD also prepared strategic paper named "New Approaches to the Somalia Reconciliation process." This facilitated both Ethiopia and IGAD to hold First and Second International Consultative Conferences for Somalia towards the end of 1998. Somali faction leaders and Global leaders attended these meetings and these conferences facilitated the creation of a Somali standing committee as well as a Fact Finding Mission for Somalia.¹⁶

¹⁵Kidista mulugeta *The Role of Regional and International Organizations in Resolving the Somali conflict: The case of IGAD*,2009 pp 25-29

¹⁶International Crisis Group 2003.*Negotiating a Blue print for peace in Somalia*. Africa No 59

1.5.7 IGAD Involvement in Eldoret Peace Process

In the Eldoret peace conference IGAD was assigned the responsibility of undertaking peace initiative named through the IGAD Technical Committee in the first phase that brought on board 300 delegates drawn from political parties, military, traditional and civil society leaders with a hope that the delegates would reach an agreement on the way forward because it was assumed that delegates represented every actor in the conflict. Phase two was to address issues of substance in the peace process and it therefore six committees were formed each to tackle the following areas: drafting the federal Charter /constitution, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, land and property, local conflicts, economic recovery, and regional and international issues. In total, seventy five delegates drawn from the total 300 delegates were selected to sit on these six committees who were supposed to deliberate on the issues before them and table their reports on the plenary. The third phase saw the reports from various committees discussed and approved by the plenary. Besides, power sharing arrangement and other issues of contention under an all inclusive government were discussed and agreed upon. The Eldoret peace initiative gave preference to substantive issues, and representation rather than power sharing issue.¹⁷

1.5.8 IGAD's Role in establishing the Transitional Federal Government (TFG)

On January 9, 2004, a retreat by leaders of Somali factions as well as IGAD representatives was held in Safari Park Nairobi that lasted until 29 January 2004. After a period of negating and lobbying, a consensus was reached and a deal signed there of. This agreement reached contained the charter establishing a new government, the

¹⁷Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2004. IGAD Secretariat Annual Report 2004

composition of the legislature, and the term of the transition authority.¹⁸ The signing of the declaration would have set final stages for subsequent conferences and bring to an end the process. However, confusion over the declaration emerged due to some Somali leaders again rising to restructure the declaration. Therefore, IGAD in an attempt to save the peace process and stabilize Somalia threatened the factions of Somali leaders who pulled out of the peace process with sanctions.

Despite the Somali leaders protesting, IGAD council of ministers reinforced the mandate given to IGAD. Towards the conclusion stage of the peace process, IGAD facilitation committee proposed 4.5 formula based on clan factor and appealed to Somali leaders to agree. Therefore, with the adoption of 4.5 formula, Somali Transitional parliament was established leading to the election of members of parliament and president.¹⁹

1.5.9 The Effectiveness of IGAD'S Diplomatic Role in Somalia

Somalia has generally been experiencing a state of failure for almost three decades. IGAD has been active in Somalia for a peace-making initiative. The signing of Somali peace agreement in late 2004 was an indicator that IGAD was becoming successful in its diplomatic intervention in Somalia particularly in conflict resolution role, but a closer examination of circumstance in which the agreement was signed raised doubts about IGAD's institutional role. Previously IGAD diplomatic role in Somalia especially the peace initiative was largely undertaken by IGAD member states in which the main

¹⁸Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2009b. *Strategic Plan of the Office of the IGAD Facilitator on Re-establishing effective Government Institutions in Somalia 2009–2011*.

¹⁹Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2007a. *Declaration of the 26th Session of IGAD Council Of Ministers*, April 13, 2007, Nairobi, Kenya.

regional players were the interested parties.²⁰ IGAD secretariat was never given the confidence or support required for the peace process that it was carrying out. Additionally, IGAD did not have the capacity or authority to undertake the peace process.

The Somali peace process heavily relied on Kenya diplomatic capacity. Kenya provided chief negotiator - Ambassador Bethwel Kiplagat. The success of Kenya in the peace process was not limited to diplomacy and organizational capacity, but the unbiased was integral.²¹ In 2002 Kenya provided a platform for different Somali parties backed by Ethiopia and Djibouti. IGAD unable to bear with limitation to her institutions as well as lack of a central authority over member states, the secretariat institutionalized donations from willing external actors to fund the peace process for it to bear fruits. However, the donor fund became a burden. The extent of donor involvement to the peace process created issues about who owned the process and imposition of the deadline by the external donors which created a deadline of diplomacy tied on financing IGAD peace process. IGAD having obtained support from Western donors excluded secondary actors in the region such as Yemen, Libya, and Egypt. These countries had an interest in the region but IGAD's intention was to monopolize the peace process in the region.

In regional conflict management environment, IGAD lacks institutional capacity to enhance peace and secure the region. For instance, tensions and rivalry in the region played out during Somali mediation efforts in which IGAD member states portrayed

²⁰Khadiagala, G. L. 2007. *Meddlers or Mediators? African intervention in civil conflict in Eastern Africa*, Leiden: Brill.

hostilities to each other. The Somali peace process has shown IGAD member states unwillingness to contribute to solving the Somali crisis, in fact, there are several reports by The U.N Security Council in which Ethiopia has been accused of providing military assistance to rival Somali factions between the year 2003 to 2004. Eritrea was also accused of supporting Islamist opponents against the TFG. Therefore both Ethiopia and Eritrea undermined IGAD peace process.²² The major failure faced by IGAD since it was formed is the inability to resolve the difference between Ethiopia and Eritrea that led to a full-scale war in 1999 and 2000. IGAD showed weakness in its failure to persuade Ethiopia and Eritrea in order to finalize the peaceful agreement.²³

IGAD security sector building capacity is tasked with the responsibility of facilitating national capacity to resist terrorism and promote regional cooperation by tightening borders and enhance judicial measures against terrorism. But, rather, IGAD secretariat has not shown any significant role in conflict-prone regions such as Darfur, Ogaden, Mogadishu and South Sudan.²⁴

In conclusion, IGAD's diplomatic interventions in Somalia did not achieve the desired results; particularly in the conflict resolution sector. IGAD member states frequently violated interstate relations especially with respect to territorial sovereignty and keeping off from internal issues of member states. Moreover, the sub-region of IGAD still suffers

²²Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). 2005. 'Communiqué of the 24th Ordinary Session of IGAD Foreign Ministers', *March 18, Nairobi*.

²³Negash T. and Tronvoll, K. 2000. *Brothers at War: Making sense of the Ethiopia-Eritrea War*. Oxford: James Currey.

²⁴Yihdego Z. W. 2007. 'Ethiopia's Military Action against the Union of Islamic Courts and others in Somalia: some Legal Implications', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 56: 666-76.

a lack of institutional framework towards collective security approach as well as an inadequate institutional mechanism for regional consultation and decision-making. This interestingly demonstrates that the organization is lazy.²⁵ IGAD being a regional body that implements various diplomatic interventions in the region particularly in the conflict resolution enjoys recognition beyond the boundaries of Horn of Africa states. Ordinarily, this imply that rather IGAD's techniques of interventions such as peace making process are defective and flawed will remain in place and increasingly gain recognition from international community for instance, African Union and United Nations.²⁶

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The functionalist theory is the guide to this study because it pays more attention to commonalities that exist among nations as well as non-states in promoting global integration resulting from eroding sovereign power as well as increased levels of research of scientists and experts in the process of policy making. According to the functionalism school of thought each organ of society plays a role to the attainment of integration.

Emile Durkheim observed society as an organism, in which each component performs a vital role, however, none can work on its own and in an event that one collapses , the other component substitutes it. Functionalism lays more attention on the agreement as well as orderliness existing in society, concentrating on societal stability as well as mutual values. Therefore, on this understanding, disorder in the society for instance, deviating bahaviour, results in changes since organs of society have to react in order to

²⁵ Woodward P. 2004. '*Somalia and Sudan, a tale of two peace processes*', Round Table 375: 469-82.

²⁶Kioko, B. 2003. '*The Right of Intervention under the African Union's Constitutive Act: from Non-interference to non-intervention*', International Review of the Red Cross 85(852): 807-25.

attain stability. In fact, if one organ in the society fails, it impacts on the rest of society therefore as a result brings about societal challenges creates social problems, consequently leading to transformation of society.

Basically, the functionalism theory is also relevant in this study since it emphasizes on global unity, collectiveness, and co-existence among nations.²⁷ Both regional and international organizations are working together to try to resolve a problem that faces one of their members which is just like one organ of the body system. This organ in the system affects the entire system directly or indirectly because the system requires all the parts to function well for it to be complete and for the attainment of social order in the society.

1.7 Hypotheses

1. IGAD played a major role in the Somali conflict
2. The prevailing instability in Somalia is partly attributed to weaknesses in approach in terms of intervention.
3. The conflicting interest of various actors in Somalia contributes to lack of stability.

²⁷Mitrany, D. *Functional Approach to World Organization*. “ International Affairs. Vol 23 (Yale: Yale University Press, 1948). Florian kohlbacher, The use of qualitative content in Case study Research vol7, No 1 Avt 21, qualitative social Research [2006] <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fp/articles/view/75> [accessed 21 March 23, 2017]

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Case study

The study focuses on the IGAD roles in diplomacy in Somalia. In social science research case studies are advantageous in the sense that they provide the researcher with a platform to examine areas of focus in particular phenomena to understand and generalize them. Furthermore, in this research IGAD as an actor of diplomacy in Somalia will be representative of greater Horn of Africa.

1.8.2 Data Collection

The study will be using qualitative data collection. This study will be based on secondary data by reviewing library data, written books, online source materials, articles, reports, magazines and conference papers. The study will approach these materials from diplomat's point of view meaning the study will review available literature from scholars of diplomacy, International Relations, and practitioners.

1.9 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the effectiveness of IGAD in promoting diplomacy in the Horn of Africa particularly Somalia. The success and failures IGAD has in a country that deeply experienced conflicts such as civil war and drought crisis, insurgents and other proxy conflicts of other actors in Somalia. The study will provide an overview of diplomatic interventions of IGAD in Somalia in an effort to stabilize the country. The study will generate on suggestions to improve IGAD's diplomatic interventions in Somalia.

1.10 Chapter Outline

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one highlights general introduction to the study. Therefore, providing background to the study, problem statement, objectives, hypothesis, justification, and theoretical frame work, and literature review, the scope of the study and methodology of the study. Chapter two discusses a review of the literature on Regional organizations in Africa in promoting Regional peace and diplomacy. Chapter three discusses the Role of IGAD in Somalia. Chapter four involves an analysis of IGAD's achievements and challenges in promoting Regional peace and Diplomacy. Chapter five concludes and recommends on the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA AND PROMOTION OF REGIONAL PEACE AND DIPLOMACY

2.1 Introduction

Chapter two discusses a review of the literature on regional organizations in Africa in promoting regional peace and diplomacy. It will give a brief history of all these regional organizations. The following regional organizations will be under review: Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

2.2 Historical Background of African Regional Organization

There are five major regional organizations across Africa whose primary role is to promote economic cooperation and a loose social integration. To better understand how the roles of regional organizations have evolved, a short background is provided for each of the following five major regional organizations in Africa.

2.2.1 The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

Founded in 1975, the Economic Community of Western African States was formally established to promote the free movement of people and goods in the western Africa region. It currently has fifteen member states: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria,

Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo.²⁸ In May 1981, six years since the establishment of ECOWAS, the members met at the Freetown Summit in Sierra Leone and expanded the scope of ECOWAS by establishing a defense pact as an instrument of regional security.²⁹ ECOWAS' first major intervention was in Liberia,³⁰ followed by its intervention in Sierra Leone. These interventions tested the institutional capacity of the organization to respond to violent conflicts in the region and promote peace.

2.2.2 The South African Development Community (SADC)

Established in 1980, the South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADDC) first focused on economic integration and development, as well as serving as a political alliance against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Twelve years later, in 1992, SADDC evolved into the South African Development Community (SADC), with an expanded mandate to promote peace, human rights, and democracy.³¹ While SADC's interventions were limited, one of its interventions included the intervention in The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) crisis.

2.2.3 The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

In 1986, the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) was established to serve as a regional mechanism to address the problem of drought and desertification in the Horn of Africa. IGADD's mandate was to coordinate short and

²⁸ Brown, Natalie E. (1999, pp.5-6). *ECOWAS and the Liberia Experience: Peacekeeping and Self Presevation*. Thesis. Command and Staff College.

²⁹ Okolo, Julius Emeka. "Securing West Africa: The ECOWAS Defence Pact." *The World Today* 39, no. 5 (1983): 177–184.

³⁰ Aning, Emmanuel. "Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997." *Review of African Political Economy* 26, no. 81 (1999): 335–348.

³¹ Nathan, Laurie. "The Peacemaking Effectiveness of Regional Organisations." Working Paper 81. *Global and Regional Axes of Conflict*. London: Crisis States Research Centre, 2010.

medium term efforts and activities of member states to mitigate the effects of drought and other natural disasters in the Horn of Africa. Its mandate also included establishing a new base for regional development and cooperation. Initially, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda constituted membership to IGADD. Eritrea joined in 1993 and South Sudan in 2011. In 1994, member states recognized that the lack of development in the region was even more detrimental than drought, and had much more to do with resource competition and conflict. As a result, IGADD began to shift its attention to politics and security, and endeavored in ending protracted conflict in Sudan³². In April 1995, in Addis Ababa, member states agreed to include the duty of facilitating stability in the Horn of Africa to their mandate. On 21 March, 1996, in Nairobi, Kenya, they renamed the organization Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).³³

IGAD's interventions in conflict were mostly driven by the initiatives of individual member states that were in turn endorsed by IGAD.³⁴ These interventions included Kenya's mediation effort in the Sudan conflict (2001–2005) and disparate Ethiopian, Djiboutian, and Kenyan initiatives in Somalia (1992–2004). Although the Kenyan effort in Sudan generated a Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which eventually led to a

³² Healy, Sally. "Peacemaking in the Midst of War: An Assessment of IGAD's Contribution to Regional Security in the Horn of Africa." Monograph. November 2009b. <http://www.crisisstates.com/Publications/publications.htm>.

³³ IGAD. "Agreement Establishing the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development." IGAD/SUM-96/AGRE-Doc. Nairobi, Kenya: Intergovernmental Authority on Development, 1996.

³⁴ Healy, Sally. "Seeking Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa: The Contribution of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development." *International Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2011): 105–120. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2011.00962.x.

referendum and the secession of South Sudan,³⁵ Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya have not achieved much with their Somali intervention initiatives.

2.2.4 The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)

Originally established as a customs union in 1983, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) is another African regional organization.³⁶ It comprises Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe.³⁷ ECCAS was mostly dormant until it adopted the Protocol for Mutual Assistance Pact in 2000, with the aim of assisting each other in cases of aggression. Most of the ECCAS member states have suffered from protracted civil war, and the ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is one of the bloodiest civil wars in African history.³⁸

2.2.5 The Arab Maghreb Union

Created in 1989, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) is the weakest of all the regional organizations. It has five members, including Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and

³⁵ Waihenya, Waithaka. *The Mediator - Gen. Lazaro Sumbeiywo and the Southern Sudan Peace Process*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Publications, 2006.

³⁶ Berman, E., and Katie Sams. "The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations." In *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, edited by Jane Boulden. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

³⁷ Berman, E., and Katie Sams. "The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations." In *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, edited by Jane Boulden. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

³⁸ Moller, Bjorn. "Africa's Sub-regional Organizations: Seamless Web or Patchwork?" Working Paper 56. Regional and Global Axes of Conflict. London: Crisis States Research Centre, 2009b.

Mauritania.³⁹ Although peace and security is one of its stated objectives, it has never undertaken any such endeavor.

2.3 Role of Regional Organizations in Africa to Resolve Conflict

Multilateral interventions in civil conflicts have been among the fundamental and contentious issue of contemporary global affairs. The recent increase in the level of intervention has created debate about the legal, moral, and political justifications for and against interventions in civil conflicts.⁴⁰ A careful survey of the literature on intervention suggests that most conflicts do not resolve by themselves. They require some form of intervention that is dependent on the magnitude and stage of the conflict, the willingness of the parties, and the capacity of the interveners.⁴¹ Some conflicts may demand economic or diplomatic intervention while others, military or diplomatic intervention. Economic intervention may come in the form of sanctions, while diplomatic interventions mostly focus on mediation and facilitation. Military intervention is an extreme measure to resolve intractable conflict, and has the potential to cause more death in the course of trying to stop the bloodshed and end the hostilities. Nevertheless, current research shows that while peacekeeping does contribute to maintaining peace in the aftermath of civil

³⁹ Berman, E., and Katie Sams. "The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations." In *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, edited by Jane Boulden. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

⁴⁰ Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2005.

⁴¹ Crocker, Chester. "Interventions: Toward Best Practices and Holistic View." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2005.

war, long-term outcomes are less certain in terms of success.⁴² Combining both diplomatic and military intervention can pressure the stronger party in an internal conflict to change behavior and come to dialogue. It may as well ensure that peace is likely to endure.⁴³

There is wide consensus that the United Nations, as a universal body, still has the formal legitimacy to intervene in any conflict in the world.⁴⁴ However, the United Nations Security Council, as a body mandated to authorize such intervention, has increasingly experienced difficulty in convincing its members to support intervention in conflicts they do not perceive as an immediate threat to their individual interests and security, particularly in Africa. As a result, it has encouraged more regionalization of interventions. The framework of intervention in a civil war by regional organizations is stipulated in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, which states that regional organizations may intervene in conflicts upon getting an approval from the UN Security Council. Literature by Francis argues that the UN Charter explicitly recognizes the importance of regional organizations in conflict management and notes that Article 33 (1) provides a legal framework for organizations to maintain peace and security in their regions.⁴⁵ In addition, former UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's 1992 "Agenda for Peace" recommended a greater role for regional organizations in the maintenance of international

⁴² Fortna, Virginia Page. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 269–292. doi: 10.1111/j.0020-8833.2004.00301.x.

⁴³ Jeong, Ho-Won. *Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2010.

⁴⁴ Bonyongwe, H. "Employing African Force in Peace Operations in Africa." In *Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa: Methods of Conflict Prevention*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg. Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation and Brookings Institution Press, 2000.

⁴⁵ Francis, David J. *Uniting Africa: Building Regional Peace and Security Systems*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006.

peace and security. While the mandate for regional organizations appears to be solidifying, some commentators in the field envision trouble for continents like Africa that lack the necessary effective capacity to intervene.⁴⁶ A report by Brahimi on the panel on UN peace operations warned against the regionalization of peace operations, and stressed its detrimental effect on the poorer parts of the world that do not have the resources to intervene in violent conflict.⁴⁷

2.4 The Role of ECOWAS Intervention in Liberia (1990–1997)

ECOWAS' intervention into Liberia's civil war contravened one of the core principles of the African Union's policy of non-interference in sovereignty of member states.⁴⁸ It also gave prominence to the increasingly significant duty of regional organizations in conflict resolution in Africa. According to Howe,⁴⁹ ECOWAS was the first sub-regional organization to intervene in a domestic conflict in a member state. The lessons learned from ECOWAS' intervention in Liberia not only strengthened ECOWAS' mandate for future diplomatic and military intervention, but also fundamentally contributed to the evolution of African regional peace and security architecture as well as international acceptance of African regional organization intervention in the domestic matters of member states.

⁴⁶ Berman, E., and Katie Sams. "The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations." In *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, edited by Jane Boulden. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

⁴⁷ Brahimi Report. "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations." New York: United Nations General Assembly, 2000. http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/docs/a_55_305.pdf.

⁴⁸ Interview with Somali MP/Politician ("the rule of AU non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states was still the custom at the time of the ECOWAS intervention in Liberia").

⁴⁹ Howe, Herbert. "Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping." *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996): 145–176.

2.4.1 The Politics of ECOWAS Intervention in Liberia

As the conflict in Liberia escalated and began to have a systemic regional impact, ECOWAS member states increasingly argued that the Liberian conflict was getting out of everyone's control and that there was a genuine need to intervene militarily after diplomatic measures had failed to resolve it. Neighboring countries were feeling the heat, as there was an influx of Liberian refugees into their countries.⁵⁰ As a result, ECOWAS member states perceived the Liberian conflict as a threat to regional peace and stability and therefore created a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC). The SMC's first task was to mediate in the Liberian conflict. The ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was also created in August 1990 and deployed its first peace-making contingent to bring an end to the conflict. Under the framework of these new protocols for regional peace and security, ECOWAS brokered a series of peace agreements between August 1990 and August 1996, aimed at bringing peace and stability to Liberia. During this period, ECOWAS facilitated at least fourteen peace accords before the 1997 election.⁵¹

On 30 May 1990, ECOWAS heads of state met in Banjul, Gambia, and among the items on their agenda was the Liberian crisis. During the summit, President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria expressed his concern over the Liberian crisis and proposed the formation of a committee that could mediate between the parties in the conflict.⁵² In response, the

⁵⁰ Sesay, Max Ahmedu. "Politics and Society in Post-War Liberia." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, no. 3 (1996): 395–420.

⁵¹ Mutwol, Julius. *Peace Agreements and Civil Wars in Africa: Insurgent Motivations, State Response and Third-Party Peacemaking in Liberia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone*. Amherst, NY: Cambridge Press, 2009.

⁵² Berman, E., and Katie Sams. "The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations." In *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, edited by Jane Boulden. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

summit called for an immediate ceasefire for all parties in the conflict, and decided to create the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC), comprising Gambia, Ghana, Mali, and Niger, to mediate conflicts within ECOWAS states. The SMC was created as a permanent organ and its first task was to resolve the Liberian conflict.⁵³ The SMC then established the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire and Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to prepare for possible intervention in Liberia. The justification for the intervention was based on the Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance of 1981, which was reinterpreted as providing mutual aid and assistance for defense against any armed threat or aggression to a member state, external or internal.

2.4.2 ECOWAS Peace Initiatives in Sierra Leonean Conflict

Following persistent condemnation of the coup d'état in the sub-region and in response to the request of President Kabbah and OAU leaders, ECOWAS took measures to resolve the Sierra Leone crises. At the initiative of Nigeria's General Sani Abacha, ECOWAS Chairman then and following the request of General Lansana Conte, President of the Republic of Guinea and in consultation with other Heads of State in the sub-region, the Foreign Affairs Ministers of ECOWAS met in Conakry on June 25, 1997, to review the situation in Sierra Leone and explore ways and means for reaching expeditious return to constitutional order in the country. The meeting came up with three objectives to be pursued and they were; reinstatement of the legitimate government of President Kabba, restoration of peace and security and addressing of the issue of refugees and displaced

⁵³ Adeleke, Ademola. "The Politics and Diplomacy of Peacekeeping in West Africa: The Ecowas Operation in Liberia." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 33, no. 4 (1995): 569–593.

persons. To actualize these objectives, a Ministerial Committee of four made up of Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana was established.⁵⁴

ECOWAS held series of peace accords with the junta with a view to ending the conflict. After the Abidjan meeting of July 17, 1997, there was much optimism after a broad agreement was reached for reinstatement of Kabbah. This hope was shattered when Koroma made a statement on national radio and television that it would not handover to anyone until 2001.⁵⁵ Accordingly, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of ECOWAS met at ECOWAS Secretariat in Abuja from August 27-28, 1997 and recommended the establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Sierra Leone to be known as ECOMOG II, to assist in bringing about the immediate restoration to power of the legitimate government of Sierra Leone.⁵⁶ Following the refusal of the junta to re-instate Kabbah, ECOMOG implemented the mandate given to it by ECOWAS leaders and restored the democratically elected government of Kabbah in February 1998.

2.4.3 ECOWAS Peace Initiatives in Guinea – Bissau Conflict

President João Bernardo Vieira wrote to General Abdulsalami Abubakar then Nigeria Head of State, who was also ECOWAS Chairman and requested that ECOMOG be deployed in Guinea-Bissau. A meeting of ECOWAS Foreign and Defence Ministers was accordingly convened on July 3, 1998 to consider this request. The meeting reprimanded

⁵⁴Vogt. M.A. "Nigeria's Participation in the ECOWAS Monitoring Group ECOMOG", in Journal of international Affairs, Lagos, Voil. 17 No. 1, 1999 p.12

⁵⁵Omagu D. *Regional Peace & Security, A Historical Perspective of the Role of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone*, Ushie Printing and Publisher Co. Ltd Calabar, 2001, p.250.

⁵⁶Twentieth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, Nigeria, 27th – 28th August, 1997.

the rebels, reassured President Vieira of their support, and recommended that the scope and mandate of ECOMOG be broadened to extend to Guinea-Bissau. Following the intervention of ECOWAS, an accord was reached in Abuja in November 1998, where Vieira and Mane agreed on the following: Pulling out all foreign forces from Guinea Bissau and be replaced by an ECOWAS Military Observer Group interposition force, lifting of weapons embargo for both sides, the formation of a government of national unity with elections held by March 1999.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, in May, 1999 renewed violence broke the shaky truce signed between President Vieira and Brigadier General Mane. However, ECOMOG troops could not prevent the ousting of President Vieira on May 7, 1999 by Mane and his military junta. Therefore, in this particular case, ECOWAS intervention did not achieve much.

2.5 IGAD'S Role in Somalia Conflict (2002–2008)

In the case of Somalia, since the collapse of the Siad Barre government in 1991, more than a dozen international reconciliation conferences aimed at rebuilding a functional state in Somalia were held.⁵⁸ The majority of these initiatives were facilitated or co-sponsored by IGAD and its members. These interventions included political and military operations, but none achieved a durable peace. The reasons for the failure can be attributed to historical regional nation-state competition as well as historical competition between IGAD and the League of Arab States over Somalia.⁵⁹ A lack of financial

⁵⁷UN Document S/1998/1028 Annex, *Agreement between the Government of Guinea – Bissau & the Self Proclaimed Military Junta*, 3 November, 1998 Para. 2

⁵⁸ Samatar, Abdi Ismail, and Ahmed I. Samatar. "Somali Reconciliation." *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* 3 (2003). <http://digitalcommons.maclester.edu/bildhaan/vol3/iss1/>.

⁵⁹Interview with Kenyan Academician – an academic – 13 January 2010; Interview by IGAD official – 29 June 2010; Interview with – Kenyan diplomat who was involved in the Mbagathi Conference – 13 July 2010

resources for IGAD has also meant that it has virtually exclusively relied on Western super state largesse for financial support.⁶⁰This has meant that IGAD has mirrored Western super-state interests rather than being able to develop a genuinely regional identity and genuinely regional interests.

2.5.1 Somalia's Reconciliation Conference: The Role of IGAD and Ethiopia

The first foreign intervention in Somalia began in 1992 as a response to a devastating famine that gripped much of south and south-central Somalia. The deteriorating security context in the country was driven by the proliferation of clan-based factions and warlords. Aid organizations were unable to deliver food to much of the starving population. Therefore the United Nations Security Council had to pass a Resolution No. 775, of April 1992 which authorized the deployment of 3,000 peacekeepers to protect the humanitarian aid distribution process.⁶¹

Due to worsening images of Somalis starving to death in the western media, President George Herbert Walker Bush announced his intention to send U.S. troops to Somalia in “a coalition of the willing,” to help with the delivery of food aid to avert the humanitarian crisis. Consequently, on 9 December, 1992, the first military deployment of the U.S.-led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) arrived on the beaches of Mogadishu with a clear mandate and exit strategy: to secure humanitarian supplies and to provide access and security for those lifesaving humanitarian supplies and services to be delivered safely. This coalition

⁶⁰Interview with – a European Ambassador to Somalia – 17 June 2013

⁶¹ Clarke, Walter. “Failed Visions and Uncertain Mandates in Somalia.” In *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, 3–19. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

of the willing was largely praised for its success in mitigating the worst effects of the famine.⁶²

While the U.S.-led UNITAF operation was able to alleviate the worst effects of the famine initially, the United States did not want to be drawn into “mission creep” or a process of “nation-building.” In fact, President Bush had promised skeptical senior State Department and Department of Defense personalities that mission creep would not occur and that once the humanitarian mission was over, he would withdraw the troops from the mission.⁶³

On the diplomatic front, the U.S. and United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali organized a conference in Addis Ababa in January and March 1993 for key Somali faction leaders which led to the signing of a cease-fire agreement⁶⁴ which came to be known as the Addis Ababa Agreement. The new focus on Ethiopia rather than Djibouti pleased Ethiopia, and gave Ethiopia the opportunity to become the integral actor in the reformulation of Somalia going forward.⁶⁵ However, the UN was not able to enforce the agreement inside Somalia and the Somali factions within the country continued to ignore it. At this point, historical suspicion of Ethiopia began to be reworked into new narratives about Ethiopian designs and control over a new Somali state.

⁶² Terdman, Moshe. “*Somalia at War – Between Radical Islam and Tribal Politics.*” Tel Aviv: The S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, 2008.

⁶³ Menkhaus, Ken. “International Peacebuilding and the Dynamics of Local and National Reconciliation in Somalia.” In *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

⁶⁴ Terdman, Moshe. “*Somalia at War – Between Radical Islam and Tribal Politics.*” Tel Aviv: The S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, 2008.

⁶⁵ Interview with– Somali Member of Parliament – 23 April 2010

2.5.2. From Djibouti to Mbagathi

According to literature by Sally Healy, “Until 2001, IGAD played no institutional role in Somali reconciliation beyond endorsing individual member state initiatives.”⁶⁶ In 1999, President Ismail Omar Gheleh of Djibouti (an IGAD member state) announced in his speech at the UN Security Council his intention to organize a reconciliation conference for Somalia. This took the initiative away from Ethiopia and the proxy set of Ethiopian-backed Somali warlords that were increasingly hated within Somalia. After a series of consultations with Somali civil society activists, businessmen, and politicians, some 1,000 delegates from all walks of Somali society came to Arta, Djibouti, to participate and deliberate their future. Out of this initiative a transitional charter was drafted, a transitional parliament was formed, and the Somali Transitional National Government (TNG) materialized. Abdiqasim Salad Hussein was elected President by the Transitional National Parliament. Most of the members of this peace process were drawn from Somali civil society within the country and from the Diaspora. Abdullahi Yusuf (then-President of Puntland), however, the Somaliland government, and most of the warlords who were aligned with Ethiopia refused to participate in this conference. Although Djibouti is a member of IGAD, the Arta Conference, as it came to be known, was solely under the auspices of the Djiboutian government. IGAD had no formal role in the conference’s proceedings at all. On the other hand, Ethiopia was very comfortable with its management of Somalia through its warlord proxy network. It saw no need to stabilize

⁶⁶ Healy, Sally. “*Peacemaking in the Midst of War: An Assessment of IGAD’s Contribution to Regional Security in the Horn of Africa.*” Monograph. November 2009b. <http://www.crisisstates.com/Publications/publications.htm>.

Somalia.⁶⁷ The catalyst for IGAD engagement came from the Djiboutian initiative and an Ethiopian desire to maintain control of Somali “peace initiatives.”

The TNG formed in Djibouti was recognized by the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, and IGAD as the legitimate government of Somalia. When the TNG arrived in Somalia from Djibouti, it was welcomed by the public, but continued to be faced with Ethiopian-backed hostile warlords in Mogadishu and beyond.⁶⁸ Ethiopia publicly accepted the Arta initiative, but undermined it covertly through the use of its proxy warlord network.⁶⁹ Ethiopia was wholly unsatisfied with the results of the Arta peace process and organized a conference of its own in March 2001 in Ethiopia, “ostensibly to undermine and remodel the Djibouti initiative in its own image and interests, and to endorse and sanction the network of proxy Somali warlords that it supported”.⁷⁰ These Ethiopian-backed warlords then formed an alliance called the Somali Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Council (SRRC),⁷¹ which provided a counter-structure to the nascent and systematically underfunded TNG. Without the support of the warlords, regional governments, the U.S., or the UN, the TNG was unable to assert its power throughout the country. It could not secure any funding base to begin the process of rebuilding national institutions, and it was plagued by infighting between the president and the prime minister as well as other institutional leaders. This critically weakened its

⁶⁷ Interview with-Somali Member of Parliament – 23 April 2010

⁶⁸ Samatar, Abdi Ismail, and Ahmed I. Samatar. “Somali Reconciliation.” *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* 3 (2003). <http://digitalcommons.maclester.edu/bildhaan/vol3/iss1/>.

⁶⁹ Interview with – Somali politician – 20 January 2010

⁷⁰ interview with Somali Member of Parliament who was involved in both the Arta and Mbagathi peace processes 23 April 2010

⁷¹ Healy, Sally. “Regional and Global Axes of Conflict - Peacemaking in the Midst of War: An Assessment of IGAD’s Contribution to Regional Security.” Working Paper 59. Crisis States Working Papers Series No. 2. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2009a. <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/download/wp/wpSeries2/WP592.pdf>.

capacity to deliver desperately needed social services and security to the public, as well as secure the legitimacy to rule.

2.5.3 From Mbagathi to Djibouti

On 15 October 2002, the Somali reconciliation conference began in Eldoret, Kenya, under the leadership of the late Honorable Elijah W. Mwangale, Kenya's special envoy for Somalia. The initial outcome of this conference was a declaration on the cessation of hostilities and a ceasefire signed by the TNG and most of the major faction leaders.⁷² However, due to logistical reasons, the conference was then moved to Mbagathi, Nairobi, in January 2001.⁷³ Protracted negotiations followed which lasted for more than two years and produced a transitional charter and transitional federal parliament, with SRRC warlords and their proxies dominating what was established. A Somali politician said that a critical failure of this process was restarting all negotiations from the beginning and completely disregarding everything that had been achieved in the Arta process. Ethiopia was able to outmaneuver IGAD member states like Djibouti and utilized super state hysteria over the Twin Tower attack to become the major winner in this process.⁷⁴ It had its preferred Somali leadership in place and had significantly deepened Western dependence on Ethiopia through the Mbagathi process.⁷⁵

⁷² IGAD. "Declaration on Cessation of Hostility and the Structures and Principles of the Somali Reconciliation Process." Intergovernmental Authority on Development, 2002.

⁷³ Samatar, Abdi Ismail, and Ahmed I. Samatar. "Somali Reconciliation." *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* 3 (2003). <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/bildhaan/vol3/iss1/>.

⁷⁴ Interview with— Somali Member of Parliament who was involved in both the Arta and Mbagathi peace processes 23 April 2010

⁷⁵ Samatar, Abdi Ismail. "Ethiopian Invasion of Somalia, US Warlordism and AU Shame." *Review of African Political Economy* 34, no. 111 (2007): 155–165. doi: 10.2307/20406369.

In January 2005, IGAD created the IGAD Peace Support Mission to Somalia (IGASOM). However, deployment was delayed due to lack of funds and other obstacles.⁷⁶ By this time, the international community had ascertained that indigenous Somali militants posed no transnational threat to their interests since most of them were co-opted in the peace process. This overall delay gave the opposition much-needed time to mobilize its own funding (domestic and international).⁷⁷ The opposition then began a stabilization program in Mogadishu in partnership with civil society groups, however this eventually failed when they disagreed on the formation of a municipal council.⁷⁸

2.6 The Role of Southern African Development Community in the Democratic Republic of Congo 1998-2003

SADC intervened in the DRC after the authorization of the UNSC and the AU. Though the whole process of mediation in the DRC has by a large extent been undertaken by SADC its member states have as well with interests in the conflict have unilaterally intervened militarily in one way or another with the pretext of restoring stability and the rule of law. SADC fitted into the shoes of the international community to take the initiative after the international community reluctantly ignored the conflict in the DRC.⁷⁹ SADC come up with various proposals aimed at containing the situation in light of silence from the international community.

⁷⁶ Healy, Sally. “*Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa: How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel.*” London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2008.

⁷⁷ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD).

⁷⁸ Menkhaus, Ken. “The Crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in Five Acts.” *Oxford University Press on behalf of Royal African Affairs* 106, no. 204 (2007): 357–390.

⁷⁹ Stefaan, S. and Wamu, O. 2002. Complex political emergencies, the international community & the Congo conflict. *Review of African Political Economy*, 29 (93/94), pp. 411-430.

2.6.1 SADC Mediation Process

Member states among them South Africa, Angola, and Zambia spearheaded peace initiatives which culminated into the signing of the DRC's Global and All-Inclusive Agreement in December 2002. The DRC conflict resolution initiatives were held in two stages⁸⁰ with the first one covering the period from August 1998 to July 1999 culminating in the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. This stage saw much of diplomacy was directed towards the main actors in this conflict which comprised the government, the rebel movements as well as groups armed and supported by external actors with interests in the DRC. The Mai Mai armed group did not participate in this peace talks and therefore was not a signatory to the agreement despite being among the key actors in the conflict.⁸¹ The Lusaka peace Accord brought about a ceasefire that facilitated the efforts to resolve the DRC conflict. The second stage of this initiative saw the signing of yet another agreement known as the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on 17th December, 2002 that established a power sharing deal and an establishment of a transitional government, which would organize an election in the next three years.⁸² It also proposed a power sharing formula as the only way to promote peace and reconciliation among various opposing sides.

⁸⁰ Mpangala, G.P. 2004. Conflict resolution and peace building in Africa as a process: Case studies of Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, paper presented at *conference on Africa's road map to development and self-reliance: reality or myth in Tanzania*, Dares Salaam, 22-23 April.

⁸¹ Naidoo, S. 2000. The Role of track two Diplomacy in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 1(2), pp. 85-104.

⁸² Daley, P. 2006. Challenges to peace: Conflict resolution in the Great Lakes regions, *Third World Quarterly*, 27(2), pp. 303-319.

2.6.2 The SADC Intervention in Lesotho 1994

In spite of the intense opposition to external intervention, the SADC heeded the government's appeal for assistance to reverse a coup that was in progress.⁸³ In any case the SADC was deeply concerned about regional stability and their resolution to avert the emergence of an undemocratic government in the small mountainous Kingdom which had embarked on multiparty elections after a prolonged period of autocratic civilian and military regimes. As such, at its summit in Gaborone (Botswana) the SADC unequivocally called for the reinstatement of the democratically elected regime. Its communiqué read: "The Summit expressed strong objections to the ...decision by His Majesty King Letsie III to unlawfully dissolve parliament and disband the democratically elected government in gross violation of the constitution of the Kingdom." The Summit called on the king to put the interests of the country first and the entire region at large and therefore reinstates Prime Minister Mokhehle unconditionally.⁸⁴ The Summit also appointed a Tripartite Task Force comprising Botswana's president Masire (the Chairperson of SADC), president Mugabe-Zimbabwe (Chairperson of the Front Line States) and South Africa's president- Mandela (charged with resolving the crisis and restoring order to Lesotho).⁸⁵ The Troika was tasked to provide a rapid assessment of the situation as a basis for determining the root causes of the crisis and to seek a solution as well as to examine ways to prevent similar incidents in future.

⁸³ Matlosa, K. 2007. South Africa and regional security in Southern Africa. In Adebajo, Adedeji and Landsberg, eds. *South Africa in Africa: the Post-apartheid era*. South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, pp. 116-117.

⁸⁴ Southall 1998, 1999b, Petlane 1995

⁸⁵ Ngoma N. 2005. *Prospects for a security community in Southern Africa: An analysis of regional security in the Southern African Development Community*. Pretoria: Institute Security Studies.

In line with the SADC Treaty (1992) and Harare Declaration of 1991, the region was determined to avert any military coups against democratically elected regimes in Southern Africa. The SADC Treaty of 1992 pledged commitments to democratic governance, regional cooperation, peace and stability and peaceful resolution of regional conflicts. According to the regional organisation did not want to see the reputation of the new SADC now inclusive of South Africa undermined by its inclusion of unelected governments as it sought to win its appeal to investors and international donor countries in the increasingly competitive post-Cold War era. As such the SADC was duty bound to restore the democratically elected government and ensure regional peace and stability. The SADC Harare Declaration of 1991 on the other hand, had unequivocally pledged protection of the fundamental political values of the Commonwealth; democracy, democratic processes and institutions which reflect national values, the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, just and honest government.⁸⁶ It was in this context that the Chairman of the SADC security Organ pointed out that a task force would be sent to knock sense into those elements causing lawlessness in the country."

In fulfillment of these commitments, the regional organisation refused to recognise Letsie's government and persistently called for the restoration of the democratically elected Basotho Congress party BCP government. The SADC clarion call was also boosted by the OAU, the Commonwealth, the USA, the European Union, the Council of Churches and the South African National Union of Mine Workers. In its assessment of the situation, the Troika submitted that the crisis was broader than a struggle between the

⁸⁶ Ngoma N. 2005. *Prospects for a security community in Southern Africa: An analysis of regional security in the Southern African Development Community*. Pretoria: Institute Security Studies.

Basotho Congress party (BCP) government and the Lesotho Defence Force. In their view, discontent was but symptomatic of a much broader, more deep-rooted malaise within Lesotho, a malaise which was essentially political in nature. They recommended calling an all-inclusive national dialogue to discuss the problems engulfing the nation and how best they could be resolved. The Troika also found that the BCP government was faced with thorny and immense challenges. Matlosa observed that "...the BCP ...found itself in contradiction with both a civil service and an army that had been recruited and trained to serve the BNP government. The manifest mistake of the BCP was to assume that its massive majority in the elections, which accorded it legitimacy, did not thereby nullify opposing centres of power in the society. ...Its ultimatum was to forge an alliance between unruly military in which discipline had sadly broken down and the monarchy..."To that extent, it failed to implement an effective and transparent national reconciliation and integration programme. As the Troika asserted "...it was and remains our very clear impression that, notwithstanding a recognised need for reconciliation, little if any progress has been made towards the implementation of such policy towards the promotion of a truly national dialogue..." (Report on the Presidential visit to the Kingdom of Lesotho in Pherudi 2000: 154). The Troika further emphasised development of a comprehensive programme to build a non-partisan national army to maintain law and order, defend the citizens, democracy, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho.

2.7 Conclusion

While scholars from diverse backgrounds have contributed to the growing volumes of literature on the role of regional organizations, their focus has been on the cause and

effect of external intervention in civil war;⁸⁷ conflict prevention and early warning; the capacity of regional organizations to intervene; and the success or failure of peace processes.⁸⁸ Beyond this self-evident knowledge, the role of regional organizations and regional hegemonies, and how they contribute or undermine lasting peace within collapsed states, lacks innovation.

This literature review indicates that the verdict is still out on the effectiveness of the intervention of regional organizations into the internal affairs of other sovereign nation-states, particularly the role of regional hegemonies and their capacity and ability to act in the best interests of a region, rather than themselves. There are still very significant questions relating to the role of regional organizations that need to be examined. How do the strategic interests of member states impede or contribute to the regional organization's interventions and the peace building goal.

⁸⁷ Regan, Patrick M., and Aysegul Aydin. "Diplomacy and Other Forms of Intervention in Civil Wars." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 5 (2006): 736–756. doi: 10.2307/27638519.

⁸⁸ Sharamo, Roba, and Berouk Mesfin. "Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa." Vol. 178 of ISS monograph series. South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2011.

CHAPTER THREE

IGAD'S ROLE IN THE SOMALIA CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

Somalia has experienced a prolonged civil war running to over a quarter a century. A militia of the leading clan in 1991 overthrew the government of Siad Barre leading to the collapse of state institution due to poor coordination by the militia group on the post Siad Barre .Therefore, Somalia was controlled by various militia from different clans who portioned it to according to their strength who at some point contested territories under rival militias and warlords. An effort to counter by the use of force was in vain however. A US-lead coalition and a trusteeship mandated by the UN-Mission called the UNOSOM II left nothing to be desired as a result of a wrong approach adopted by the external powers in Somalia.⁸⁹

The state of lawlessness and the complexity of the conflict made it hard to form a new government in Somalia. International mediation efforts were undermined by many factors including competing interests from external actors especially Ethiopia and Egypt who pushed conflicting agendas in this conflict. This saw hosting of conferences and counter-conferences by both the two to try to champion their interests and outmaneuvering each other.

⁸⁹ Clarke, Walter. "Failed Visions and Uncertain Mandates in Somalia." In *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, 3–19. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

IGAD and the OAU delegated the responsibility to lead mediation efforts to Ethiopia in the late 90s. This however, did not attain much as witnessed during the Sodere peace conference held by Ethiopia in 1997 which failed to achieve the intended goal. This was forthcoming because Ethiopia lacked impartiality as a mediator in the conflict because it played double standard strategy whereby it played a role of a regional hegemony, a spoiler, and a mediator. Ethiopia was accused of arming and supporting rebel groups in Somaliland as well as the Somali Reconciliation and Reconstruction Council (SRRC) in the south whose head was Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf for Puntland, Hussein Aideed, and the Rahanweyn Resistance Army of General Morgan.

3.2. IGAD's Background

3.2.1. IGAD's Genesis

The Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Desertification (IGADD) was founded in 1986 with the objective of mitigating the effects of drought and environmental devastation that had affected the Horn of Africa.⁹⁰ The UN had realized that there was a need to have a coordinating body in the Horn of Africa that could be used to address these problems of hunger and starvation as well as the increasing cases of inter and intra-state conflicts in the region. IGADD was therefore formed by the following countries: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda with Eritrea joining in 1993. IGAD acts like a subsidiary of the African Union's (AU) in the Horn of Africa and it is based in Djibouti.

⁹⁰ IGAD Documents: www.igad.org.

IGADD is a platform used by its members in addressing matters of mutual interest among them peace and security even though its initial mandate provided a narrow scope of operation. For instance, IGADD was used as a facilitator in the conflict involving two of its members- Ethiopia and Somalia. The challenges facing the Horn of Africa were cross cutting and were beyond those associated to environmental degradation a fact that motivated member states to expand the scope and mandate of the organisation and as a result IGADD was renamed the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) on 21st March 1996.⁹¹

The new IGAD gave preference to the use of peaceful means through dialogue to tackle conflicts in the region so as to enable the region achieve sustainable development. It was therefore agreed upon by member states that they should: a) eliminate acts that are threatening the region's cooperation, peace and stability; b) find regional solutions for regional problems rather than referring them to the international forum; c) always hold consultative meetings and cooperate in order to help address rifts and disputes amicably⁹² under the following priority areas: preventing conflicts, management and humanitarian assistance; environmental preservation, infrastructure development, as well as food security. The Somalia and Sudan conflicts prompted the restructuring of this organisation to mandate it to effectively facilitate the amicable resolution of the conflicts. Regional economic integration too was also an area of priority.⁹³

⁹¹ Agreement Establishing the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Nairobi, *March 1996*.

⁹² Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 1996. Agreement Establishing the IGAD.

⁹³ Kinfu A (2006). *The Horn of Africa: Conflicts and Conflict Mediation in the Greater Horn of Africa*. Addis Ababa, EIIPD and HADAD.

3.2.2. IGAD's Vision, Mission, and Principles

IGAD was formed with a clear vision of championing peace efforts, prosperity, as well as the unity of its members. Its mission is to facilitate through complementing member states in achieving; food security, conserving the environment, peace and security, economic partnership cohesion.⁹⁴ Good governance, human rights protection, democracy and transparency, unity among communities, and peaceful resolution of disputes between and within member states⁹⁵ form the principles of the organisation. Among the activities of the organisation are: building capacity, enhancing policies that are compatible with its priority areas, and formulating strategies and concepts relevant to the needs of the region

3.2.3. IGAD's Institutions

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the prime decision making organ of the Authority which approve the objectives, guidelines, and programs of IGAD in its annual conference. The chairmanship is on a rotational basis among member states.⁹⁶ A Council of Ministers comprises Ministers of Foreign Affairs and one Focal Minister from every member. The Council formulates policy and approves the work program and annual budget of the Secretariat during its biannual sessions.⁹⁷ A Committee of envoys comprises envoys representing each member at the organisation in Djibouti. They meet more often to advise the secretariat.

⁹⁴ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2001. *IGAD Institutional Assessment*, 2001:41

⁹⁵ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2003a. *Strengthening the Role of IGAD in Regional Peace Initiatives and Post Conflict Reconstruction*.

⁹⁶ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2001. *IGAD Institutional Assessment*, 2001:41

⁹⁷ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD).2001. *IGAD Institutional Assessment*, 2001:41

The day to day operations of the organisation is headed by the Secretariat which is the executive organ of IGAD and is headed by an Executive Secretary an appointee of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and serves a term of four years which can be renewed once. The Secretariat has the following responsibilities: formulate projects, resource mobilization, facilitates the coordination and harmonization of development policies, and enhances infrastructure needed to implement its projects and policies.⁹⁸ There are four directors in the secretariat responsible for: 1) Economic Cooperation and Social Development; 2) Agriculture and Environment; 3) Peace and Security; and 4) Administration and Finance.⁹⁹

The other organ is Conflict Early Warning Network (CEWARN) whose objective is to give warnings on early signs of a conflict and the best way to prevent it especially within the pastoral communities through exchange of reliable information among member states. IGAD also has the ICPAT which is a security sector program to build capacity in the fight against terrorism, and also promotion of cooperation on security issues through tightening border control and enhancing and strengthening capacity of member states to fight the menace of terrorism. There are also established liaison offices in member states with the one in Nairobi dealing with matters environment, the one in Kampala addresses the challenges of HIV/AIDS. The one in Somalia gives updates on the everyday events on the ground. Addis Ababa holds a Facilitation Office for Somalia which follows the events in Somalia. There is also another liaison office at the AU headquarters.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2001. *IGAD Institutional Assessment*, 2001:41

⁹⁹ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD).2008a. *IGAD Secretariat Annual Report 2008*.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with IGAD official on *October 28, 2009*

3.2.4. IGAD's Peace and Security Strategy

The peace and security strategy that come into being in 2003 requires all member states to collectively act towards promotion of peace and security as per the UN Charter as well as the Constitutive Act of the AU. The Charter promotes collectiveness among its member states to achieving mutual security in the region ¹⁰¹ by preventing, handling, and mitigating conflicts by the established Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism, IGAD Capacity Building Against Terrorism (ICPAT), and the Eastern Africa Standby Brigade. The peace and security strategy states that it's a primary responsibility of every government to promote peace and provide security to their citizens. This is aimed at attaining a strategic objective of strengthening conflict prevention; consolidating preventive diplomacy; promoting cooperation to deal with peace and security challenges of mutual concern; management, and resolution of conflicts and enhancing cooperation in other areas such as environmental and trans-boundary resources. The main principles of this strategy are: Respect for international law, mutual respect, and non-interference in the sovereignty of other members, condemn forceful means, honouring territorial integrity and equity in utilizing trans-boundary resources, and respecting the sovereignty of member states.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Agreement Establishing the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Nairobi, *March 1996*.

¹⁰² Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2001. *IGAD Institutional Assessment*, 2001:41

3.2.5. Ongoing Revitalization

Much of the efforts by IGAD have been geared towards issues of peace and security with little attention being given to economic integration and cooperation.¹⁰³ This is what informed member states to revitalize IGAD in June 2008 in its twelfth ordinary summit. This saw IGAD in collaboration with the EAC come up with a Minimum Regional Integration Plan (MIP) IN 2008. This was a summary of all the strategies and approaches that IGAD has always employed from the time of its formation and the successes attained in regional unity. This therefore underscores the importance of regional integration in the face of the current global economic problems, problems in the region and opportunities. This also sets out a road map for integration comprising: peace and security, infrastructure, trade, environment, agriculture, and natural resources.

3.3. The Role of IGAD in Somalia

3.3.1. IGAD's Involvement from 1991 to 2002

The conflict in Somalia is one of the longest in the region. IGAD has dedicated a lot of effort in resolving this conflict through mediation process among the key stakeholders both inside and outside Somalia. IGAD delegated a mandate to some of its members to organize and hold talks aimed at reaching a ceasefire.¹⁰⁴ This demonstrated that member states were actually concern about the situation in Somalia and therefore had a mutual agenda of helping Somalia stabilize and were ready to support efforts from any of the member states.

¹⁰³ MOFA. 2009. "IGAD calls for Sanctions against Eritrea; it underlies its political and Economic Role in Somalia Peace Process." *Week in the Horn*.

¹⁰⁴ IGAD, Protocol on the Establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism for IGAD Member State, Khartoum, 2000.

3.3.2 Djibouti, Initiative in 1991

The overthrow of Siad Barre in June 1991 and the subsequent eruption of civil war, prompted Djibouti through President Hassan Guoled Aptidon, stepped in to mediate among the warring parties in Somalia a move that was applauded by IGADD. In the inaugural meeting the following were in attendance: the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), United Somali Congress (USC), Somali Democratic Movement (SDM), and IGADD where they all endorsed the holding of a national reconciliation conference. Djibouti played host to the second meeting a month later in July where a ceasefire was agreed in order to form a provisional government though this did not achieve much because General Aideded and also the SNM that had declared Somaliland independent disowned this agreement and the provisional government and as a result renewed the conflict.

3.3.3 The 2000 Arta Conference

After failing in the earlier attempt, Djibouti come up with yet another proposal which gave more priority to the members of the Civil Society Organisations which was in accordance with the bottom-up approach that had been agreed by IGAD in 1998. According to IGAD the bottom-up approach was the only alternative way for peace in Somalia and that the inclusion of civil society was like the building blocks for peace.¹⁰⁵ The city of Arta played host to the Somali Reconciliation Conference in May 2000 which brought on board close to 400 delegates. The regions of Somaliland and Puntland which had declared independence from Somalia and some other powerful warlords within

¹⁰⁵ IGAD Working Document, A Report on the Visit to Somalia, (Djibouti) 1999.

Somalia boycotted this conference terming it unrepresentative and externally imposed. After months of deliberation and bargaining, the Arta conference endorsed the creation of a Transitional National Government (TNG) in Somalia in August 2000 with Dr. Abdiqasim Salad Hassan appointed as the president. Even though the TNG was welcomed and supported by all member states, Ethiopia's sincerity was suspect. It was Djibouti and Eritrea who fully supported the TNG.

Ethiopia reluctantly supported the TNG even though it had played a great role in supporting the Arta conference terming it as abhorring Islamists and terrorists groups. Ethiopia openly gave support to the Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Council (SRRC) with an aim to undermine the TNG.¹⁰⁶ Kenya and Uganda were concerned about the TNG leaning towards groups perceived as having terrorist links fearing that they could find ground to launch attacks in neighbouring countries. This was how the TNG lost the much needed political support from most members of IGAD. What followed thereafter was a scenario where regional powers fought their proxy wars in Somalia by arming and supporting opposing sides resulting in the proliferation of arms into the country.¹⁰⁷ The TNG did not get domestic support either with main clans disowning it as they felt that it was just a representative of Hawiyee/Habar, Gidir/Ayr sub-clans resulting in fierce inter-clan rivalry especially with the Darood clan whose members formed the SRRC with the support of Ethiopia.¹⁰⁸ This meant that the TNG operated only within Mogadishu in its three year term therefore falling short of what that can be described as a

¹⁰⁶ International Crisis Group. 2007b. *Somalia: To Move Beyond the Failed State*. Africa Report No.147.

¹⁰⁷ International Crisis Group. 2007a. *Somalia: The Tough Part is Ahead*. ICG Policy Briefing, No 45. Brussels: ICG.

¹⁰⁸ International Crisis Group. 2002. *Salvaging Somalia's Chance for Peace*. Africa Briefing No. 11.

national government.¹⁰⁹ The Arta conference therefore did not achieve much in addressing this conflict. Fighting persisted in Somalia.¹¹⁰

IGAD supported mediation process in Somalia between 1991 and 2002 through endorsing of initiatives of member states especially the Sodere peace process and the Arta peace initiative even though all these did not end the crisis in Somalia.¹¹¹

3.4 The Role IGAD Played in the Formation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG)

3.4.1 The Eldoret Peace Conference

Eldoret town in Kenya played host to another peace conference on Somalia. Unlike the previous initiatives i.e. the Sodere initiative and the Arta initiative, the Eldoret initiative was held in three phases. In the first phase that brought on board 300 delegates drawn from political parties, military, traditional and civil society leaders with a hope that the delegates would reach an agreement on the way forward because it was assumed that delegates represented every actor in the conflict. Phase two was to address issues of substance in the peace process and it therefore six committees were formed each to tackle the following areas: drafting the federal Charter /constitution, disarming exercise, demobilization and reintegration, land and property, domestic conflicts, economic recovery, and regional and global issues. In total, seventy five delegates drawn from the

¹⁰⁹ Kinfe, Abreha. 2006a. *"Somali which Way? The New Conflict between the TFG and UIC and its Challenges to Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa."* EIIPD Occasional paper No 24.

¹¹⁰ IGAD. "Declaration on Cessation of Hostiity and the Structures and Principles of the Somali Reconciliation Process." Intergovernmental Authority on Development, 2002

¹¹¹ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2003a. Strengthening the Role of IGAD in Regional Peace Initiatives and Post Conflict Reconstruction.

total 300 delegates were selected to sit on these six committees who were supposed to deliberate on the issues before them and table their reports on the plenary. The third phase saw the reports from various committees discussed and approved by the plenary. Besides, power sharing arrangement and other issues of contention under an all inclusive government were discussed and agreed upon. The Eldoret peace initiative gave preference to substantive issues, and representation rather than power sharing issue.¹¹²

3.4.2 The Eldoret Declaration

The Eldoret conference displayed high level of inclusivity if though Somaliland which had declared independence boycotted it. A declaration was made on 27 October, 2002 on what had been agreed upon among them end to fighting, and the composition and agenda of the Somali National Reconciliation Process.¹¹³ Signatories to this declaration promised to commit themselves to: ceasefire, accept the federal charter, principles of decentralization and federalism, abide by the declaration and backing of the enforcing criteria.

The issue of representation to the six reconciliation committees threatened the second phase of the Eldoret conference. Delegates for Somalia politicians were by far more than the expectations of the secretariat of 300 delegates. 1000 delegates turned up for this particular conference complicating matters and earlier arrangements. This confusion was a manifestation of the failure by the Technical Committee to come up with a robust

¹¹² IGAD. "Declaration on Cessation of Hostiity and the Structures and Principles of the Somali Reconciliation Process." Intergovernmental Authority on Development, 2002

¹¹³ IGAD, Working Documents for Somali Peace Talks, Nairobi, March 2003.Ikle, F.

formula of selection of delegates to this conference and abiding by that.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Ethiopia and Djibouti two members to Technical Committee disagreed on the allocation of slots to the respective groups that were supporting.

A formula was arrived at on how to allocate the slots by the Technical Committee. They proposed a 4.5 formula of allocating the seats with the four major clans getting equal allocation and the minority groups getting half as many seats as the major clans. In this arrangement, each major clan got 84 seats and the minority ones getting 42 seats collectively with the remaining 22 seats were shared as per the agreement by the technical committee.¹¹⁵ This was intended to ensure that the process was inclusive and that decision made were inclusive of all stakeholders even though this did not reach a consensus¹¹⁶ therefore holding the entire process to ransom for 4 months. As a result, the TNG withdrew its membership from the entire process even as the Technical Committee undertook initiatives to address the stalemate.

The Technical Committee however, was accused of imposing themselves and dictating the terms of the peace agreement to the delegates who felt that their role had been reduced to that of just rubber stamping decisions made by the technical committee. Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya were accused of extending their supremacy contests in

¹¹⁴ A detailed assessment of the Eldoret peace process (as of early December) is available in International Crisis Group (2002a).

¹¹⁵ A detailed assessment of the Eldoret peace process (as of early December) is available in International Crisis Group (2002b).

¹¹⁶ International Crisis Group. 2003. *Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia*. Africa Report No 59.

Somalia at the conference therefore creating confusion among the delegates.¹¹⁷This prompted the expansion of the Technical Committee and rename it the Facilitation Committee on Somali Peace Process. With Kenya as the head and Eritrea, Sudan and Uganda added besides Ethiopia and Djibouti.¹¹⁸ The Facilitation Committee was asked to organize and convene a retreat for leaders in order to iron out contentious issues of the peace process.¹¹⁹Those leaders who had withdrawn their delegation were prevailed upon to rescind their decision by the Facilitation Committee. The retreat was however, delayed because there was not consensus on those to be invited and the differences between Kenya and Uganda over the venue of the retreat.¹²⁰

3.4.3 The Retreat and the Formation of the TFG

Delegates retreated to safari park hotel in Nairobi for three weeks and they made a statement on the consensus on what that had been raised at the consultative meeting at State house in Nairobi. The new charter and the name of the new government were agreed upon by the delegates. Also agreed on was the size of parliament and the transition period.¹²¹ However, there emerged when some delegate attempted to amend some provisions of the charter.¹²² The unsatisfied ones contemplated the formation of an opposing alliance.

¹¹⁷ Peace and Security Council of AU. 2004. Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the Situation in Somalia.

¹¹⁸ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2003b. Communiqué by the 10th Ordinary IGAD Summit, Uganda, Kampala, October 24–25, 2003.

¹¹⁹ IGAD, Working Documents for Somali Peace Talks, Nairobi, March 2003.

¹²⁰ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2004. IGAD Secretariat Annual Report 2004.

¹²¹ Peace and Security Council of AU. 2004. Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the Situation in Somalia.

¹²² Peace and Security Council of AU. 2004. Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the Situation in Somalia.

Selection of 275 members to the transitional parliament was a point of contention which made the Facilitation Committee to propose a 4.5 formula which would see the 4 major clans get 61 seats each with the minority ones collectively getting thirty one seats. And therefore the transitional parliament was formed.¹²³ The new parliament approved the constitution that provided for institutions, duties, and rights. Members of parliament were elected by clan leaders in consultation with politicians, who in turn would elect the president in parliament. This was a bi-cameral house with both state and regional representation that was to serve a term of five years-transition period. The executive arm comprised the president, prime minister who was to be deputized by three deputy premiers.¹²⁴The Federal parliament elected Abdullahi Yusuf to the office of the presidency of the TFG on October 10, 2004.

This was an achievement that other organisations had failed to achieve. This was possible because spoilers and other external actors such as Egypt, Libya, and Yemen were kept at bay.¹²⁵ Moreover, IGAD won the support of international actors by the fact that it was able to initiate peace process and sustain it in the Horn of Africa.¹²⁶

3.4.4 The Role of IGAD in Sustaining the TFG

The TFG faced opposition from the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) which had emerged and taken control of Mogadishu and the volatility of the security situation inside Somalia

¹²³ IGAD Council of Ministers Meeting. Joint Communiqué, Issued Nairobi on 12th March, 2004.

¹²⁴ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2003a. Strengthening the Role of IGAD in Regional Peace Initiatives and Post Conflict Reconstruction.

¹²⁵ Sally Healy Royal Institute of International Affairs November 2009, Working Paper no. 59 - *Regional and Global Axes of Conflict*.

¹²⁶ Healy S (2009). "Peacemaking in the Midst of War: An Assessment of IGAD"s Contribution to Regional Security", *Working Paper*, Royal Institute of International Affairs.

so it was reluctant to move to Somalia at first. The TFG lacked a strong military to march that of the UIC which was supported by the Hawiye a dominant clan in Mogadishu.

3.4.5 The Unrealized IGAD Peacekeeping Mission

IGAD heads of states and governments meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, on 31 January, 2005, declared that they were planning to deploy a peace keeping mission to Somalia to help restore order.¹²⁷ This was in an effort to help the TFG establish its authority in Somalia effectively in order to sustain the gains that had been attained. It was also intended to help train and empower Somalia army and police to take control of security situation later.¹²⁸ During the 4th Ordinary Session of the AU, IGAD's proposal was endorsed and ratified by the 24th meeting of the AU's Peace and Security Council on 7th February, 2005. A joint AU/IGAD fact-finding mission was therefore dispatched to Somalia on 14th February, 2005, to gather information and assess the situation and recommend the size of the force, its mandate, and their role in Somalia. The deployment plan was approved by IGAD ministers of defense with 10,000 troops being the number to be deployed with an estimated cost of US\$ 413 Million every year.¹²⁹

IGAD Council of Ministers meeting in Nairobi on 18th March, 2005 adopted a resolution to deploy IGASOM to Somalia with Sudan and Uganda proposed to send their forces while the other IGAD members were expected to help in training of Somalia forces and

¹²⁷ Intergovernmental Authority on Development, Communique of the Heads of State and Government, 31 January 2005 Abuja, Nigeria

¹²⁸ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2005a. IGAD Communiqué on January 31, 2005 Summit in Abuja, Nigeria.

¹²⁹ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2005b. Communiqué of the 24th Ordinary Session of the IGAD Council of Ministers on Somalia on March 18, 2005, Nairobi, Kenya.

logistics with a possibility of contributing troops for combat mission later on. They also amended the some provisions of the charter to allow the deployment of IGASOM.¹³⁰ This was welcomed by the UNSC which approved the deployment of 8,000 IGASOM troops for a period of six months; however, they excluded the frontline states from being part of the combatant mission. Moreover, the UNSC lifted arms embargo on Somalia but only for IGASOM under resolution 1725 (2006).

The deployment of IGASOM did not materialize however, because there was a controversy to other members, with Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda supporting the move but Djibouti, Eritrea, and Sudan disowned this agreement. This planned deployment was not welcomed by some factions in Somalia including UIC. Another crucial reason for failure to deploy IGASOM was lack of financial and logistics support from major powers notably the US¹³¹ therefore drawing his entire plan into a limbo.¹³² Even with this delay Ethiopia sent troops to Jowhar and Baidoa in 2005 to help the TFG against insurgents. This allowed IGAD Council of ministers to hold its 26th ordinary meeting in Jowhar on 29th December, 2005.¹³³ TFG did not have a strong army to help it assert its authority in Mogadishu because of the presence of IUC which had an upper hand in terms of military

¹³⁰ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2005b. Communiqué of the 24th Ordinary Session of the IGAD Council of Ministers on Somalia on March 18, 2005, Nairobi, Kenya.

¹³¹ Bryden, Matt. 2007. *Situation Assessment and Prospects for Stabilization in Somali*. Nairobi: Development Alternative Inc.

¹³² Bryden, Matt. 2003. "Security Challenges and the International Dimensions of the Somali Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Studies* (forthcoming, Fall)

¹³³ Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). 2005b. Communiqué of the 24th Ordinary Session of the IGAD Council of Ministers on Somalia on March 18, 2005, Nairobi, Kenya.

power and had extended its influence to the central and southern parts of Somalia in 2006.

3.4.6 TFG's Weaknesses

TFG and the TFIs made some gains in creating some institutions including the Supreme Court, regional and district councils. A National Reconciliation Congress was also facilitated and held under the reign of the TFG. The TFG however, experienced some challenges that included insufficient resources due to failure of the external actors to help, and above all incapacitated in terms of its institutions. As a result the TFG did not afford to establish its own national security force to enable it assert its authority effectively in the country. Instead it was the warlords and clan organized security forces took control of Mogadishu and other territories. The competition and rivalry between the Darod clan and Hawiye clan resulted in the rejection of President Abdullahi Yusuf by the Hawiye the dominant clan in Mogadishu because he belonged to the Darod clan. He further lost legitimacy with the Hawiye clan when he called for the deployment of 20,000 foreign troops in Somalia. The Darod clan on the other hand was opposed to Professor Ahmed Ghedi as the choice of the premier because he belonged to the Hawiye clan. Clan rivalry found its way to the TFG with President Abdullahi Yusuf engaging in supremacy battles with his Prime Minister Professor Ahmed Ghedi. The tenure of office of the prime minister as envisioned in the charter took centre stage in this supremacy battle as well as issues of transparency and accountability. The acrimonious work relation between the

president and his Prime Minister meant that both of them could not unite the two major clans and as a result prime minister Ghedi.¹³⁴

3.4.7. The Formation of the TFG II

The TFG lost popularity among the major clans because its leader concentrated on fighting for supremacy in stead of forging a way forward to unite all the clans for the seek of stability. This prompted the international community to come up with yet another plan to bring sanity to Somali to avert a humanitarian crisis. This was to bring on board to the so called the moderate ARS, and isolate those who were perceived as radical groups. This saw Djibouti play host to yet another peace conference on Somalia on 9th May, 2008. There was division within the ARS however, between those allied to Djibouti and those aligned to Asmara. ARS –Asmara as they were referred to rejected any move to dialogue with the TFG until the foreign troops on Somalia soil had be withdrawn.¹³⁵ The Djibouti backed ARS accepted a move to form a government of national unity with the TFG which saw the increase in the composition of parliament to 550 members. Under the new arrangement, Sheikh Sharrif was elected president while Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke as prime minister of the TFG. A joint security force was also put in place to help the TFG. This new initiative got the backing of the UN. Having learnt from the problems faced by the TFG I, IGAD endeavoured to give the necessary support the new government by making sure that bringing on board members of the ARS who were perceived to have a moderate stand in order to broaden the representation of various clans in the TFG and to send a signal those leaders who disowned this arrangement.

¹³⁴ Interviews with Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs official on October 31, 2009, Addis Ababa.

¹³⁵ Interview with United Nations Political Office for Somalia-UNPOS official on October 16, 2009.in Nairobi.

Established also was a Somalia Peace Process to update the IGAD on the progress on the implementation of the peace process.¹³⁶

3.4.8 IGAD Facilitation Office for Somalia Peace and Reconciliation

This was an office on Somalia established in October 2008, in Ethiopia and mandated to be a facilitating agent of reconciliation, help in building capacity of institutions, mobilize financial and logistics support for TFG II, and also support the TFG II in executing its mandate in Somalia. It was the coordinator for IGAD, AU, and the United Nations. A two year strategic plan between 2009- 2011 known as “Reestablishing Effective Institutions in Somalia was created in order to facilitate the operations of the Facilitators Office and addressing challenges in Somalia.¹³⁷ There was also a liaison office in Mogadishu that was supposed to give updates and information on day to day activities to the Facilitator’s Office. The TFG got unwavering support from IGAD member states with Ethiopia and Kenya training TFG II forces, Uganda sending troops to AMISOM, and Djibouti hosting peace conferences.

3.5. IGAD’s Successes in Mitigating the Somali Conflict

3.5.1. The Continued Engagement

IGAD’s role in mediating the conflict in Somalia cannot be underestimated though it achieved mixed results. A number of initiatives were undertaken by member states between 1991 – 2002 alone even with the unwillingness of the international community

¹³⁶ Interviews with IGAD officials October 28, 2009, in Addis Ababa.

¹³⁷ Interviews with IGAD officials November 10, 2009 in Addis Ababa.

to come into the aid of Somalia.¹³⁸ IGAD helped form the TFG and the GNU which it endeavoured to support for it to achieve its aspiration of the people of Somalia through mobilizing for financial aid, and diplomatic support for the TFG. The establishment of the Facilitator's Office for Somalia to support the TFG II clearly showed weight with IGAD accorded the course of peace and stability in Somalia and the entire region at large.¹³⁹

3.5.2. The Commitment of Member States

It was through the commitment of member states that saw the success that was realized see the light of the day. Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya did a commendable job by coming up with different peace initiatives and playing host to peace conferences aimed at resolving the conflict in Somalia through dialogue and therefore bringing an end to blood shed and establishing the rule of law. The Assembly of Heads of States and Governments and the Council of Ministers of IGAD endeavoured to address the conflict through holding summits more often than not. 2008 saw two extraordinary summits for head of states and government and five extraordinary summits for Council of Ministers being held to exclusively deliberate on the situation in Somalia. Also there were four summits for the Council of Ministers in 2009 with the agenda being Somalia crisis.¹⁴⁰

Another clear indication of commitment to the course for peace was the hosting of the Eldoret peace conference on Somalia. Even though it experienced some hitches at the beginning, member states took no chances but used their wisdom to try to resolve some

¹³⁸ Interviews with IGAD officials November 10, 2009 in Addis Ababa.

¹³⁹ Interviews with Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs official on October 31, 2009, Addis Ababa.

¹⁴⁰ Interviews with Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 31, 2009.

difference that had emerged among the delegates.¹⁴¹ Even at the face of serious financial shortages for the entire process, Kenya took it upon itself to ensure that they were dealt with and the conference continued smoothly for the entire period. Resource mobilization by member states and their willingness to deploy peace keeping mission in Somalia to enable the TFG execute its mandate was evident that they were committed to the course of peace and stability and establishing a functioning national government in Somalia.

3.5.3. The Efforts of the Secretariat

The achievements in Somalia cannot be celebrated without mentioning the work of the IGAD Secretariat which has been at the forefront in facilitating the work of the organisation all through. The secretariats organized all the summits that were held. It also gathered information and issued regular updates and advised the Council of Ministers accordingly. Besides, it prepared concept papers for the council of ministers meetings. Regular workshops and seeking of expert advice with an aim to come up with concept papers in order to support endeavours taken by IGAD to promote peace and stability in the region. For extraordinary meetings, the Secretariat provides logistical services and produces documents.¹⁴²

3.6 Conclusion

IGAD made attempts to resolve the devastating conflict in Somalia in cooperation with the international community. These included, cooperation with the AU in conflict resolution, IGAD peace keeping mission in Somalia (IGASOM), the establishment of

¹⁴¹ Kinfe, Abreha. 2006a. *“Somali which Way? The New Conflict between the TFG and UIC and its Challenges to Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa.”* EIIPD Occasional paper No 24.

¹⁴² Interviews with IGAD officials November 22, 2009.

Liaison Office to the AU in cooperation with IGAD, supporting regional efforts and others. However, IGAD could not resolve this conflict effectively because of the long standing hostility and tension between some member states which were displayed in the Somalia crisis through proxies, as well as the personnel shortage at the secretariat, and inexperience in handling conflicts of this nature among others. Obviously, IGAD and the combination of her members are engaged in inter-and intra state feuds by intervening in the domestic issues of one another, assisting opposing sides thereby straining their relations. These problems undermined IGAD in its effort to meaningfully mediate in the Somalia conflict. The other factor for the failure of IGAD in conflict resolution is the unpaid financial contribution from its members on time. So IGAD depends on the foreign donors and it hampers its performances in all priority areas.

Furthermore, the pursuance of sovereign to reign supreme within the IGAD has continued to place some constraints on the IGAD action in the conflict resolution. The issue of neutrality often caused hostility among its member states, hampering IGAD's mandate in addressing Somali issue. So it would be unfair to reprove the IGAD or to evaluate and scrutinize the activities of the organizations in the abstract when it is the member states who decide on its structure, character, functions and resource. The IGAD member states will need to eradicate all problems and require coordination, long term engagement and commitment among them in conflict resolution effectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN ANALYSIS OF IGAD'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES IN PROMOTING REGIONAL PEACE AND DIPLOMACY

4.1 Introduction

This section analyses IGAD's achievements and shortcomings in its mandate of promoting regional peace and diplomacy through mediation in various conflicts in the Horn of Africa on the context of its broad initiative of promoting peace and security. Established in 1996 to succeed Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development that had become redundant, IGAD is one of the eight RECs known as African Economic Community (AEC). The founding members were: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda. Eritrea¹⁴³ and South Sudan became members in 1993 and 2011 respectively. The need to have a strategic plan to the problem of desertification and drought necessitated the formation of IGADD. This was to supplement the efforts from the international community and respective governments.

An agreement bringing IGADD into force was ratified by the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments in Djibouti in 1986. This was to be renamed IGAD on 26 November, 1996 after amending the charter and redefining the mandate of the organisation based on the new challenges in the region. This gave it a broad mandate: food security and environmental conservation; economic partnership, regional integration, social development; peace and security as well as humanitarian assistance.

¹⁴³In 2007, Eritrea withdrew its membership, citing its border dispute and war with Ethiopia in 1998 and Ethiopia's military intervention in Somalia in 2006. It remains absent from IGAD to this day.

This was put under the IGAD Secretariat which was tasked with the responsibility of facilitation in attainment of these targets.

From the time of its inception, the organisation has broadened its areas of operation even though this has been seen to be by default rather than design. It is on that basis that the strategic planning process on peace and security was formed on 2nd October, 2005 in Sudan which facilitated the enactment of the 2010-2014 strategic plan.¹⁴⁴ The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Sudan in January 2005 in Nairobi, as well as the formation of a transitional government in Somalia were laudable efforts played by IGAD. It has as well been involved as an elections observer in her members through request as well as facilitating dialogue in conflicts.

4.2 IGAD's Achievements

4.2.1 IGAD'S Peace Initiative in South Sudan

OECD defines peace building as a process involving wide range of measures intended at a reduction of risk outbreak of conflict through capacity building and enhancing the management of conflict thereby laying the foundation for sustaining peace and development. The process of building peace is long term and it usually focuses on transition from violence to peace and involves inclusivity in peace process to bring an end to conflicts and creation of a platform for attaining political settlements and conflict resolution without violence within the relevant institutions. This process addresses the root cause of conflicts and its impact which if not well addressed tends to recur over time.

¹⁴⁴This peace and security strategy, however, was never endorsed by the IGAD Summit of Heads of State and Government.(IGAD, 2010)

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Sudan created a road map which The Government of South Sudan (GOSS) and the Government of National Unity (GONU) and other development partners embraced as a strategy to force Khartoum and Juba to find a common ground on the resolution of the long term conflict. Under this arrangement Sudan was to have a six-year interim period of governance. As per the accord on sharing of power and stability, created a unitary government as well as regional parliaments., stipulated that election would take place at all levels of government which happened in April 2010, recommended on the following; that 1956 border be delineated , that oil revenue be shared on 50% basis after a 2% share to oil rich regions, a joint integrated military forces units be deployed on border and a disarmament, demobilization and integration (DDR) process begin with UN monitoring the process and popular consultations be made in Blue Nile state and South Kordofan for purposes of settling concerns with the North. Generally CPA was seeking redress the cause of conflict by laying a frame work to facilitate sharing of power and resources as well as guarantying human rights.

IGAD was at the forefront in promoting peace and diplomacy through negotiation in trying to implement the CPA after the decision vote such as post referendum arrangement between North and South as well as negotiation with dissidents in Jonglei State (JS) and Upper Nile State through mediation efforts through conferences sponsored by the global partners and NGOs.

Measures taken by IGAD so far to mitigate the security threats in South Sudan include; sending its mission to Sudan to help mitigate the crisis/ Offering reinforcement, Employ early warning mechanisms to prevent conflict, Approval of Protection and Deterrence Force (PDF) to come to South Sudan, Special coordination with UNMISS peacekeepers battalion on conflicts zones, Deployment of Monitors through the Monitoring and Verification Mechanisms (MVM)¹⁴⁵, Built capacities of national security and Built capacity of South Sudanese security organs. The successful diplomatic intervention by IGAD resulted in achieving dialogue between the north and south in Sudan conflict. Efforts to end the north-south conflict begun in 1999 with a resolution by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Abuja which became to be known as “the Abuja peace talks.” However, due to the limitation of OAU, the Abuja peace process collapsed.¹⁴⁶This prompted the government of Sudan to use another alternative by endorsing IGADD¹⁴⁷ as a mediator in the conflict in Sudan. IGAD therefore formed a sub-committee on conflict resolution comprising presidents of Kenya, Uganda, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. This was the first time IGADD was involved in mediation process away from its original role which focused on ecological disaster relief work.

The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) cast aspersions on the neutrality however, they participated because this was the only peaceful means to resolve the impasse having been unsuccessful in combat. The mediation between north and south prolonged past a decade recording both progress and setbacks at some point, the latter

¹⁴⁵*South Sudan’s Political Turmoil* By: Susan Stigant, United States Institute of Peace, August 1, 2013

¹⁴⁶Steven Wondu and Ann Lesch, *Battle for peace in Sudan: An analysis of the Abuja conference 1992-93*(Lanham: University Press of America, 2000).

¹⁴⁷In 1993, IGADD changed its name by dropping “Drought” and became known as IGAD.

being attributed to conflicts within Sudan as well as external factors for instance divisions within IGAD following the Ethiopia-Eritrea War from 1998 to 2000.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the mediation by IGAD with backing from the African Union (AU),¹⁴⁹ gave birth to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the south and north in January 2005 in Nairobi which paved way for the independence of South Sudan on July 9, 2011. This was an historic achievement which however, would not have been attained without the intervention of IGAD and the unwavering support from the AU which by large supported the South Sudanese claim to independence.

A political crisis emerged in South Sudan in December 2013, following the dismissal of vice president Riek Machar by President Salva Kiir which resulted into clashes pitting the army and rebels supporting the former vice president. In this case, this conflict took an ethnic dimension pitting two major ethnic groups –The Dinka where President Salva Kiir belongs to and The Nuer where Riek Machar comes from. Rivalry between these two major groups has led to an escalation in violence and armed conflict with far reaching consequences on the civilian population and South Sudan's economy as a whole. It is estimated that the conflict has led the death of tens of thousands of people with close to 1.4 million others being displaced internally with over half a million seeking asylum outside South Sudan. Moreover, this has exposed large populations to the risk of humanitarian crisis such as famine.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸For a detailed description of IGAD's mediation efforts in the north-south conflict, see: Ruth Iyob and Gilbert M. Khadiagala, Sudan: *The Elusive Quest for Peace* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), 101-132.

¹⁴⁹ The African Union (AU) was established in 2002, replacing the OAU.

¹⁵⁰ "Uprooted by Conflict: South Sudan's Displacement Crisis," International Rescue Committee, November 2014,

IGAD has been concerned by this development in South Sudan and has initiated a mediation process with a primary aim of striking a power sharing between Kiir and Machar as a possible way to end the conflict. However, attempt to broker a political agreement has encountered setbacks from either sides in the conflict. For instance, Machar mistrust IGAD and AU both of which he alleges are biased towards Kiir , while on the other hand Kiir feels that the United Nation Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) has out stepped its mandate and is colluding with the rebels to undermine him.¹⁵¹

Even though any political settlement might be attained, this will be a short term remedy and therefore there is still need for IGAD to continue monitoring the situation with a view of reaching a long term solution to the conflict. IGAD however, has not ruled out imposing sanctions such as travel bans and arms embargo on the side that appears to impede this process or even both sides after exploring all possible means. Besides, IGAD's diplomatic initiative, local initiatives such as through the National Platform for Peace and Reconciliation (NPPR), civil society organizations, and umbrella of churches which represent the victims of this conflict will go a long way to fostering peaceful end to this conflict.

4.2.2 IGAD's Role in the Somalia conflict

There is no comparison between the conflict in Somalia and thee one in Sudan because of the causes of both conflicts. Somalia conflict dates back t0 1991 after the then president Siad Barre was overthrown and as a result this resulted in total collapse of state institutions. Consequently, a power struggle was witnessed among various clans over the

¹⁵¹ "Machar decries Juba's comments on power-sharing deal," Sudan Tribune, *November 13, 2014*.

control of Mogadishu. IGAD was definitely the most immediate platform to be used in this conflict just as it had been the case in the conflict in Sudan. This conflict took a regional dimension with Ethiopia and Kenya taking centre stage when it emerged that Islamism was gaining popularity in this conflict. This was also of great concern to the US together with her allies and other Western powers because of the dangers of global terrorism posed by the rise of the Islamists. It was a challenge for IGAD in trying to confront the problem of state collapse without a properly constituted authority in Somalia. This meant that Somalia was not represented in IGAD and even internationally.

Ethiopia was preferred to lead the course for peace by OAU in 1993 though the UN had this conflict in Somalia among its agenda. This resulted in intervention from outside in this conflict such as (UNITAF, UNOSOMs I and II) with an aim of creating safe zones to allow distribution relief Aid and other assistance and to restore political stability. This however did not achieve much eventually collapsing in 1995. The emergency of Al-Itihad al Islamia as a force to reckon with in various parts of Somalia which advocated for the establishment of a government based on the teaching of Islam (Sharia law) worried Ethiopia who saw that it was necessary to take steps to defeat it and establish a functioning government in Somalia. They had a vision of uniting all Somali communities in the Horn of Africa including those in Ethiopia and Kenya as brothers. This proved to be a major threat to Ethiopia because it hosts a huge number of the Somali community.

Ethiopia had to use its hegemony status within IGAD and unilaterally take military action against Al- Itihad al Islamia destroying their camps in Gedo in 1997¹⁵² because it felt that they were training grounds for Mujahidin and terrorists affiliated to Al Qaeda.¹⁵³ IGAD together OAU remained quiet on this action by Ethiopia as well as the United Nation. Ethiopian army guarded its borders with Somalia until 1998. Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi justified this occupation to the UN claiming that the conflict in Somalia could destabilize the entire region because of extreme groups and terror groups in Somalia.¹⁵⁴

The Sodere peace conference organized by Ethiopia in January 1997 was an attempt to give this conflict a political approach. This eventually led to creation of a National Salvation Council comprising 41 members with Abdullahi Yusuf as the head and five co-chairmen as well as a National Executive Committee comprising 11 members. They were tasked with convening a national reconciliation conference of 465 members later that year. To counter this, Egypt and the Arab League jointly convened a counter Somalia peace conference in March 1998 in Cairo which was attended by the factions which had boycotted the Sodere conference led by the Aideed faction culminating in the Cairo declaration. This was a major setback to efforts reached at Sodere. A summit of heads of

¹⁵²Tadesse, M. 2002. *Al-Ittihad: Political Islam and Black Economy in Somalia*. Addis Ababa:Meag Printing Enterprises.

¹⁵³Tadesse, M. 2002. *Al-Ittihad: Political Islam and Black Economy in Somalia*. Addis Ababa:Meag Printing Enterprises

¹⁵⁴ United Nations Security Council (UNSC). 1997. *Report of the Secretary General on the Situation in Somalia*. New York: UNSC.

states and government held in March 1998 unanimously rejected external interferences in the Somalia conflict implying Egypt and the Arab League.¹⁵⁵

In May 1998, Ethiopia and Eritrea both of which were supporting opposing factions in Somalia went into war complicating IGAD'S consensual approach to the mediation efforts. The war between the two neighbours continued to the new millennium making it difficult for Ethiopia to continue with the lead role of a mediator in the Somalia conflict. This paved way for Djibouti another IGAD member to assume the lead role of this mediation under the leadership of President Ismail OmahGuelleh. A National Peace Conference for Somalia (Arta conference) was held under the auspicious of IGAD and with external funding from Egypt, Libya, and a number of gulf countries. President Guelleh adopted a new approach of inclusivity including involvement of traditional and civil Somali leaders¹⁵⁶ a break away from previous approaches which had given preference to warlords as well as rebel leaders from the earlier mediation efforts.¹⁵⁷ The Arta peace conference ended in August 2000 and resulted in the formation of a Transitional National Government (TNG) with Abdulqasim Salat Hassan as the president. The TNG got the backing of the business community in Mogadishu as well as from the international community including IGAD, the OAU and the UN.

¹⁵⁵ Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). 1998. 'Communiqué by the 6th Ordinary IGAD Summit', Djibouti March 16, at

www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity_to_union/pdfs/igad/6THSUMMIT.pdf

¹⁵⁶ Interpeace. 2009. *The Search for Peace: A History of Mediation in Somalia since 1988*. Nairobi: Interpeace

¹⁵⁷ Interpeace. 2009. *The Search for Peace: A History of Mediation in Somalia since 1988*. Nairobi: Interpeace

This though was not received well by other parts of Somalia. For instance, authorities in Somaliland as well as Puntland and other major warlords in Somalia disowned the TNG. Opposition to the TNG got a shot in the arm when Ethiopia openly supported those opposed to the TNG within Somalia because it felt that its long term allies including president Abdullahi Yusuf were not included and the fact that it was leaning towards Islamists and the fact that it got support from Arab countries. A new force therefore emerged in March 2001 known as the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) headed by Abdullahi Yusuf and comprising the factions opposed to the TNG which got the support of Ethiopia intended to undermine the TNG.

The fact that Ethiopia and Djibouti were supporting two opposing sides in the Somalia conflict complicated the equation for IGAD. Therefore in a summit in January 2002, IGAD appointed President Moi of Kenya to lead efforts to convince both Ethiopia and Djibouti to prevail upon SRRC and TNG respectively to come into negotiation table. With Ethiopia supporting SRRC and Djibouti supporting the TNG, Kenya played the role of a mediator.

This was the birth of the IGAD, Kenya-led mediation effort in the Somalia conflict known as Somalia National Reconciliation Conference with financial though there was no direct involvement in mediation process from United States and her allies who had taken center stage during the Sudan mediation something commentators interpreted this as a clear vote of confidence in IGAD's ability to mediate in this conflict conclusively.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Nyuot Yoh, John G. 2003. 'Peace Processes and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa', *African Security Review* 12(3): 83-93.

Eldoret town in Kenya played host to a series of conferences from October 2002. The Eldoret meeting was able to achieve the immediate short term goal of cessation of hostilities however, the progress took a snail's pace afterwards due to disagreement on representation to the transition parliament which would in turn approve the transition charter and elect a transitional president. This dilly tallying and disagreement saw the mandate of the TNG expire in August 2003 without any agreement reached. However, eventually a deal was struck on representation to parliament on the basis of clans and based in Kenya from where it elected Abdullahi Yusuf as the president of the transitional Federal Government (TFG) in October 2004. Two months later after heated negotiations in parliament, a government was formed with Mr. Gedi as the Prime Minister. This new TFG would however, not relocate to Somalia because of the instability that threatened this fragile government. To this far IGAD was able to successfully mediate in the Somalia conflict and help establish some political authority.

Just like in the mediation in Sudan, Kenya was at the forefront at the mediation in Somalia crisis. When President Abdullahi Yusuf's government faced some opposition within Somalia, IGAD had to take a lead role and bypassed individual member states interests to support this new government gain ground with the controversial issue of military intervention in Somalia.

4.3 Assessing Success in Sudan and Somalia

It can be argued that IGAD was a major facilitator in mediating the conflict in South Sudan since its independence in 2011. The importance of intervention by a regional

organisation can be witnessed in the example of IGAD in its involvement in resolving the north – south conflict between 1990 and early 2000 a success story in the history of IGAD. IGAD’s conflict-resolution endeavor has shown how competition, suspicion, power play, and alliance building among member states undermine the progress as well as operations of IGAD¹⁵⁹ and in its efforts in ensuring stability in the region. In cases where IGAD has recorded success it has had to contend with politics in this region and beyond rather than enhancing efforts aimed at giving peace process a chance.

The CPA agreement in Sudan though successful, was a recipe for the eruption of another conflict in the Darfur region.¹⁶⁰ The Darfur region wanted to use the CPA as a reason to force the government of Sudan to negotiate with them as it had done with the rebels from the south. Therefore they felt that armed struggle would force a political solution.¹⁶¹ The CPA purported to be a representative document, however, the rebels in the Darfur felt that it only isolated them and thus they felt that they had been ignored.¹⁶² Though the CPA was used to successfully to mediate and bring the north-south conflict to rest, it earned criticism for having isolated other regions of the country where conflict was experienced too. It was mainly an accord signed by the North and the SPLM therefore excluding other stakeholders such as the civil societies who were part of the entire process to bring peace.¹⁶³ These weaknesses are a reflection of weaknesses in problem

¹⁵⁹ Kinfe A (2006). *The Horn of Africa: Conflicts and Conflict Mediation in the Greater Horn of Africa*. Addis Ababa, EIIPD and HADAD.

¹⁶⁰ Nathan, Laurie. 2007. ‘*The Failure of the Darfur Mediation*’, *Ethno-politics* 6(4): 495-511.

¹⁶¹ Woodward, Peter, (2004), ‘*Somalia and Sudan: A Tale of Two Peace Processes*’, *The Round Table* 93(375).

¹⁶² Nathan, Laurie. 2007. ‘*The Failure of the Darfur Mediation*’, *Ethnopolitics* 6(4): 495-511.

¹⁶³ Young J. 2007. *The Sudan Peace Process: a study commissioned by IGAD*. At http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/Igad_in_Sudan_Peace_Process.pdf

identification and defining when the organisation first started the mediation in this matter.¹⁶⁴

IGAD's agenda was to bring a peaceful settlement to this conflict rather than to initiate a transformation agenda within Sudan. The mandate was to empower the south, by providing a platform on which to decide whether to cease or continue being part of the entire Sudan. The CPA can therefore be praised as a success because it led to the referendum on independence in 2011 which gave way to the independence of South Sudan.

The common strategies IGAD has employed in the management of the conflict in South Sudan are; engaging high diplomatic mediation such as IGAD secretariat and peace ambassadors which has not worked, Building capacities of national security, making ultimatums for different leaders, use of Gacaca courts like the ones used in Rwanda and coming up with an early warning system for conflict eruption in South Sudan respectively. Some of other possible solutions to the conflict in South Sudan is engaging in home based negotiations like those that took place in Somalia (Fight against Warlords). In addition the best strategy IGAD has employed in the management of the conflict in South Sudan is engaging high diplomatic mediation such as IGAD secretariat and peace ambassadors which however has not worked.

¹⁶⁴ Cliffe, L. 2004. 'The Sudan-IGAD Peace Process: Signposts for the way forward', *African Security Analysis Programme Occasional Paper 86*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

The success of the CPA in Sudan is a flipside of IGAD's mediation effort in the Somalia conflict. IGAD's role in the Somalia conflict has not yielded the same results as did the CPA in Sudan. Even with the election of a transitional federal government in Nairobi, this did not gain acceptance by all the stakeholders in the conflict within Somalia. The TFG was so weak and could not establish its authority in Somalia a fact that prompted President Abdullahi Yusuf to appeal to the Africa Union to deploy military forces in Somalia to help the TFG establish its authority effectively. In response to this appeal in an IGAD summit in Abuja in January 2005, a decision was made to deploy 10,000 peacekeepers in Somalia under the umbrella of IGASOM.¹⁶⁵ However, this met stiff opposition from several parliamentarians who argued that this was a guise for Ethiopia to intervene in the internal affairs of Somalia and help its self imposed president Abdullahi Yusuf to establish an unpopular regime. These concerns prompted IGAD to clarify and array suspicion by declaring that the first batch of the peace keeping mission will exclude forces from neighbouring nations and would rather comprise troops from Uganda and Sudan.¹⁶⁶ Tough IGASOM got a go ahead from the United Nation Security Council; it did not see the light of the day because of resource constraint which hampered this mission. This however set a precedent for future interventions that were to follow later. The decision by IGAD to authorise a military intervention in Somalia one of the member

¹⁶⁵ In agreeing to this IGAD's political organs were ahead its institutional development: there was no provision in IGAD's founding agreement to allow intervention in a member state. IGAD itself lacked any institutional mechanisms for the political oversight of such a mission. Coincidentally, such mechanisms were in the process of being established for EASBRIG, the projected East African Standby Brigade, which was already under development with the participation of several IGAD member states

¹⁶⁶ Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). 2005. 'Communiqué of the 24th Ordinary Session of IGAD Foreign Ministers', March 18, Nairobi.

states even with opposition from a section of parliamentarians and other stakeholders disregarded the organisation's credibility and neutrality in Somalia.

The emergency of the Islamic Courts Union that seized power and control of Mogadishu in 2006 changed dynamics in the intervention by IGAD in Somalia. This raised concern in Washington with fears that ICU harboured international terrorist responsible for the bombing of American installations in the region in 1998. Ethiopia an ally of president Yusuf warned that the ICU was a dominated by radical jihad groups associated with Al Itihad Al- Islami group.¹⁶⁷ Therefore Ethiopia used this excuse to militarily intervene to help the TFG with IGAD's endorsement and support for the TFG.

IGAD failed to be a neutral mediator between TFG and ICU but rather proved how narrow IGAD's platform was and biased to provide the direction needed in this particular case.¹⁶⁸ AU's Peace and Security Council gave a nod to IGAD's intervention in Somalia with hope that this would help tilt the playing ground in favour of the TFG and eventually contribute to peace and stability in Somalia.¹⁶⁹ By endorsing the deployment in Somalia demonstrated that PSC turned a deaf ear to the ICU's concerns which they saw as illegitimate.¹⁷⁰ This further got a boost when the UN Security Council¹⁷¹ approved the deployment of a military mission in Somalia to help the TFG establish itself but reaffirmed IGAD's 2005 resolution not to include forces drawn from border countries

¹⁶⁷ Zenawi, Meles. 2006. 'Melas Zenawi Press Conference', 27 June 27, at <http://www.ethioembassy.org.uk/Archive/PM%20Meles%20Zenawi%20Press%20Conference%2027th%20June%202006.htm>

¹⁶⁸ International Crisis Group (ICG). 2006. 'Can the Somali Crisis be contained?' *Africa Report* 116. Brussels: ICG

¹⁶⁹ African Union. 2006a. 'Press Statement of the PSC on Somalia', July 24.

¹⁷⁰ African Union. 2006b. 'Communiqué of the 61st meeting of the PSC', August 31

¹⁷¹ United Nations Security Council (UNSC). 2006. 'UNSC Resolution 1725', December 6.

therefore preventing Ethiopia who had a vested interest in Somalia from contributing troops in future interventions as a peace support operation.

The AU's Peace and Security Council replaced IGASOM with AMISOM on 19 January with the approval of the UNSC and this saw 1700 troops from Uganda being deployed with logistic assistance from the US.¹⁷² AMISOM continues to operate in Somalia even though it faces insurgency from the Al-Shabbab militants who are opposed to its presence in Somalia. The UN initiated a mediation process between what it referred to as moderate elements ICU and the TFG which led to the election of a new president Sheikh Sharrif a former ICU head who replaced Abdullazhi Yusuf. IGAD, AU, and the international community as a whole failed in this case to effectively stop bloodshed in Somalia and protect civilian from violence which led to over 1.3 M being displaced and over 16,000 being killed. Ethiopia's intervention has been blamed for fuelling violence, insecurity and leading to radicalisation.¹⁷³ This had an adverse effect to efforts to the prospects of lasting peace and security in the region.

4.4 Challenges that IGAD has Faced in Its Effort of Promoting Regional Peace and Diplomacy

IGAD taken an active role aimed at building peace and security, especially in both Somalia and Sudan. Of particular interest is Somalia, whose case has an origin to state and institution failure. The collapse of state institutions meant that representation and resource allocation difficult. It is worth to note also that lasting and sustainable peace and

¹⁷²United Nations Security Council (UNSC). 2006. 'UNSC Resolution 1725', December 6.

¹⁷³ Menkhaus, K. 2008. 'Somalia: a Country in Peril, a Policy Nightmare', *Enough Strategy Paper* 8. Washington DC: Enough.

security may not be possible without local stakeholders and therefore, IGAD lacks partners in the region who are committed to the peace process. Again in Somalia, the fall of the central government, resulted in a flood of arms and ammunition overrunning the Somalia space.¹⁷⁴ The effectiveness of IGAD¹⁷⁵ in preventing and minimizing the impact of armed conflict is stymied by the following factors:

- i. **Rivalry amongst member states:** important as mutual respect and collaboration is to effective partnership within regional member states, the case of IGAD had always been of rivalry and mutual suspicion among its members. The rivalry amongst member states had led to a situation of difficulty in framing and achieving common positions on Somalia and Sudan. For instance, Ethiopia and Eritrea had extended their own proxy wars to Somalia in their support and arming different Somalia sides, thereby aggravating and extending this crisis from 1998.
- ii. **Regional Instability:** IGAD is inundated with significant regional issues. Member states are confronted by many intra and inter state conflicts. Sudan had gone from crisis to crisis; Ethiopia had fought long, bitter wars and is still battling internal insurrections; Kenya remains a fragile state whilst the duo of Uganda and Eritrea are faced with internal issues of armed rebellion and political challenges. Member states always meddle in domestic issues of others and therefore supporting rebellions for mutual destabilization. Generally, the regional governments have a characteristic of “bad governance,

¹⁷⁴ KidistMulugeta. *The Role of Regional and International organizations in Resolving the Somali Conflict: The Case of IGAD*. Addis Ababa. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2009)

¹⁷⁵ KidistMulugeta. *The Role of Regional and International organizations in Resolving the Somali Conflict: The Case of IGAD*. Addis Ababa. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2009)

poor human rights records and weak democratic institutions and culture”.¹⁷⁶

Apart from the intra and inter state conflicts the roles of the Arab States in undermining the effectiveness of IGAD is significant. Egypt has repeatedly undermined the peace efforts in Somalia, while Qatar and Saudi Arabia have been accused of funding arms support to Al-Shabbab.

- iii. **Lack of a regional power:** IGAD region lacks a regional hegemony **therefore** no country can take a lead role and assume unchallenged authority just like is the case with Nigeria and South Africa in ECOWAS and SADC respectively.¹⁷⁷ Ethiopia has the military and population required but lacks a strong economic base whilst Kenya does not have the military power to assume regional leadership. Sudan has oil wealth, but is weakened by internal conflicts whilst South Sudan is engaged in multiple ethnic armed conflicts.
- iv. **Lack of Political Will:** IGAD secretariat is limited in influencing decisions. It can only implement the decision enacted by the assembly of head of states and governments as well as the Council of Ministers. The secretariat took a back seat in the Somali mediation in Eldoret as the driving seat was taken by frontline states that were assumed full control of the entire process. It is argued that there is no interest among member states to make IGAD stronger but they rather prefer a weaker IGAD so that they can outmaneuver it to champion their own agendas.

¹⁷⁶ KidistMulugeta. *The Role of Regional and International organizations in Resolving the Somali Conflict: The Case of IGAD*. Addis Ababa. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2009)

¹⁷⁷ Kuna, Muhammad. “*The Role of Nigeria in Peace Building, Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping since 1960*,” presented at the Nigeria and the Reform of the United 200 Nations Conference, organized by the Centre for Democracy Development, Research and Training, Hanwa, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 11 June 2005.

- v. **IGAD Secretariat's Limited Capacity:** The secretariat lacks enough capacity, financial resources, and political authority to effectively execute its broad mandate.¹⁷⁸ It is therefore weak and has limited professional expertise and administrative staff.
- vi. **Financial Constraints:** IGAD relied much on funding from donors especially IGAD Partners Forum (IPF) i.e. donations from donor states and organizations in order to run its day to day activities. Member states however, are responsible for the operation budget through membership contributions which is erratic.
- vii. **Lack of Enforcement Capacity:** IGAD relies on member states to contribute in order to effectively meet its obligation. That means that IGAD's successful enforcement of its policies lies on the mercies of member states. Therefore, IGAD has only been issuing communiqués some of which don't get to be implemented and if implemented they are constrained financially. There is also a tendency to enforce only matters of less sensitivity as well as politically in nature for instance, environmental conservation.
- viii. **Poor Policies on Peace and Security:** IGAD's inability to have a comprehensive policy on the region's peace and security in order to mitigate the main source of conflict in the region was evident during its involvement in the Somalia conflict. This showed that IGAD lacked robust policies and objectives to the region's insecurity situation. Attempts have been made by IGAD in order to find common ground to regional conflict, even though

¹⁷⁸ Healy, S. 2008. 'Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa: How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel', *Chatham House Report*. London: RIIA.

emphasize has always been on revitalization rather than on a common strategy on security policy with short term political gains. Undemocratic tendencies, poor human rights record, intolerance of many diversity, and ailing economic climate are factors that limit the development of a common policy.

4.5 Conclusion

IGAD's success and limitations in executing its core responsibility of integrating the region was exposed in the way it managed the conflicts in this region especially the Somalia conflict. In both its mediation the conflict in Sudan and Somalia which were characterized by opposing interests from member states IGAD had to employ ad-hoc mechanisms and external autonomous means in this complicated situations. These factors hamper the ability of the IGAD secretariat in executing its mandate.

There is lack of leverage therefore in IGAD in order for it to effectively solve conflicts on its own capacity. The secretariat entirely depends on support from member states to be able to manage all its responsibilities and this support is always erratic and even sometimes tied to some conditions.

There is a need to redefine the cooperation of the secretariat and member states in order to empower and facilitate the secretariat to execute its responsibilities smoothly without unnecessary delays. In Sudan and Somalia, outside pushing was important to attain objectives intended IGAD alone exhibited weaknesses in mediating in these conflicts,

because of “spoilers“ as well as those profiting from this conflict that was evident in the case of Somalia.

The manner in which IGAD handled the crisis pitting two of its members Ethiopia and Eritrea clearly demonstrated the weaknesses of the organization. In this very case IGAD did not handle it using ad-hoc measures. IGAD found it difficult to mediate in this crisis with impartiality because IGAD’s political matters director was an Ethiopian national and the secretary general was an Eritrean national therefore prompting IGAD to refer this crisis to the OAU for mediation. However, this move was seen as ironical for IGAD to refer a matter that was within its jurisdiction and yet its founding treaty stipulates that IGAD is an institution to peacefully handle such conflicts within the sub-region. Another point of weakness was the fact that IGAD ignored the conflict in Northern Uganda which clearly showed the limitations of the organization in promoting regional peace and security.

Being a real regional organization aimed at promoting regional integration. It can be argued therefore that IGAD is rather a collective tool for initiating diplomacy with small projects attached than being a real regional organization for promoting peace and security. Make no mistake however, with all these shortcomings; it has had some remarkable achievements especially in eliminating spoilers in conflict management in the region by ensuring transparency in the entire process.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary

This study set out in Chapter one to investigate the role of regional organisations in promoting diplomacy in internal conflicts with a case study of IGAD in the Somalia conflict. The study was guided by the functionalism theory with the concept of intra-state and inter-state relations. The existence of conflict in one state in a given region indicated that states related in a specific pattern that protects their national interests. Conflict triggers insecurity among neighbouring states in sub-regions. Therefore the member states in a sub-region that are in proximity to the conflict usually seek to resolve the conflict through a collective approach so that to avert the spill over of the conflict. The collective approach of states in pursuing peace and security is identified as achievable only through regional organisations such as IGAD.

Chapter two reviewed literature on the role of regional organisations in Africa in promoting peace and diplomacy. The literature revealed that regional organisations have been useful to the states in pursuing trans-national interests. For states to integrate there is need to pursue collective security and economic prosperity. Regional organisations also help define the best approaches to defending territory of member states from external aggression and developing common policies towards economic progress. The numerous regional that have emerged in Africa and beyond have managed to integrate and enhance security of member states. However, several challenges have emerged that hinder their

progress, such as inadequate resources and lack of complete autonomy reduce the potential of regional organisations in promoting diplomacy.

In the Somali conflict, the choice of IGAD as a mediator was highlighted in Chapter Three. The idea of IGAD involvement in mediation is founded on the basis of its proximity to the conflict.¹⁷⁹ In addition the member states of IGAD in which Somalia is party, are contiguous to the Somali territory and hence possess a vivid comprehension on the sources of this conflict, the conflict dynamics and the issues that require attention to bring it to an end. The conflict has lasted for more than two decades and the previous interventions did not yield sustainable peace. IGAD as a mediator had to build on the weaknesses of previous Somalia peace initiatives to design a sustainable peace strategy. Therefore the Chapter observed that the IGAD-led Somali peace process would give a solution to the protracted conflict in Somalia.

Chapter Three pointed out that IGAD peace process was founded through intergovernmental consultations between member states. The council of ministers took the responsibility of the overall mediation process. The IGAD Secretariat was charged with responsibility to handle mediation. This arrangement for the Somali peace process was shifted to the Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs due to lack of adequate personnel and logistics from the IGAD secretariat. The host was responsible for meeting requirements of the mediation and its continuity. This provision meant that individual member states defined the peace and process of the mediation thus weakening the IGAD

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Kenya's Ambassador to Somalia and lead diplomat in the IGAD-led Somali Peace Process, in Nairobi on 5th July, 2007

institutional framework for the mediation. Thus the correlation between IGAD objectives and individual interests could lead to a compromise in the peace initiatives together with its outcome.

Somalia peace agenda in Kenya was a culmination of other previous attempts. The Somali National Reconciliation Conference proved a few milestones for IGAD as an institution. First it was able to use legal status to network with the extra-regional actors to ensure sufficient resources were available for the conduct and conclusion of the peace process. IGAD was also able to reconcile the various interests that emerged from the regional actors.¹⁸⁰ This was important if meaningful support would be realised for decisions agreed upon during the peace talks. This support would ensure resolutions were not interfered with or sabotaged by the states supporting certain opposing clans in Somalia. This approach also reduced diplomatic tensions among states that supported opposing interests in the territory.

The Fourth Chapter ultimately demonstrated that the IGAD peace talks for Somalia realised the objective of involving all stakeholders in the peace talks. The IGAD peace talks recognised all those delegates representing their clans and those from the civil society. The inclusion of the civil society was a pointer to effective representation of interests that were not necessarily espoused by the factional leaders.¹⁸¹ The sustainability of the peace deal depended on wider participation in decision-making and consensus

¹⁸⁰ Interview with a former technical Advisor to the IGAD Somali Peace Secretariat, Nairobi, 7th July 2007

¹⁸¹ Interview with Kenya's Ambassador to Somalia and lead diplomat in the IGAD-led Somali Peace Process, in Nairobi on 5th July, 2007

building. Comprehensive inclusion of clan and secular interests in the peace deal would perhaps ensure post-conflict consultations among the rival groups to build Somalia.

This study set out to achieve three objectives. These objectives were well demonstrated across the chapters. The first objective was to analyze the effectiveness of Regional organizations in Africa in promoting regional peace and diplomacy. This was discussed in Chapter two with an overview of regional organisations and management of conflicts within their jurisdiction which showed that the IGAD institution has acted as a mediator in Sudan and Somalia conflicts. The mediation of IGAD in the conflicts is based on its acceptability to parties to the conflict. This means IGAD as an institution is trusted with neutrality in handling the conflicts and fulfill the parties to conflict's interests. The parties albeit raising issues that are incompatible, the institution is expected to harmonise these views to a level where both sides accept the outcome.¹⁸² This provision was realised in IGAD Somali peace talks. The delegates from Somalia clans and the civil society were coalesced at the conclusion of the peace talks to come up with a peace accord which was used to form a Transitional National Government for Somalia.

It was demonstrated in chapter one that another duty undertaken by IGAD to manage internal crises is to facilitate the peace talks. This was achieved through the Summitry decisions that bind member states regarding the acceptable approach to handle conflicts that threaten regional stability. IGAD is an entity created by states and it should formulate common external policies on regional stability. This responsibility was

¹⁸² Interview with the Former Kenya Ambassador to Somalia, and Lead Diplomat in the concluded IGAD led Somali Peace Process, Nairobi, 5th July 2007

demonstrated by the way the 14th Somalia Peace Talks were formulated. The member states consulted on how to reverse the degeneration of Somali state through peaceful negotiations.

The second objective set out in the research work is interrogating contribution of regional institutions in promoting peace and security among member states. This objective suggested that the regional organisations are established to help member states attain peace and stability. The review of literature on regional organisations in Africa, it was established that regional organisations are founded by states due to security challenges. The security threats among states compel them to adopt a cooperative approach to resolve issues that threaten state or regional stability. This is exemplified in IGAD whose mandate was to engage member states in environmental and food security, and management of trans-border disputes. All these considerations point out that states are vulnerable to threats that are beyond territorial control. States develop a need for cooperation within a region to pursue common security when threatened by factors that are internal at regional or across regional levels. Therefore IGAD member states engage in cooperative efforts to manage peace in the region for stability, and progress.

The third objective of the study was to assess IGADs' achievements and failures in promoting regional peace and diplomacy. This objective was achieved in the analysis of Somali IGAD peace talks in chapter four. IGAD as a regional institution aims to promote peace and security. To that end, IGAD achieved some success but, also it has faced various impediments in trying to achieve this objective.

A close look at the mediation process in the Horn of Africa shows that IGAD has played a pivotal role in this region that has had both political and ethnic conflicts especially in the case of South Sudan the youngest state in Africa. Moreover, IGAD's mediation in the North- South crisis in the 1990s and the 2000 decade demonstrated the contribution of regional organisations in achieving success in resolving conflicts. The conflict-resolution mechanism demonstrated IGAD's misunderstanding with the political fora which have common mistrust, formation of alliances and supremacy battles by member states¹⁸³ and IGAD in its endeavor to strengthen its institutions and capacitate them in order to promote peace and security and practically bring about conflict resolution. In some cases where it has achieved success, this has been however, by involving the political influence from the region and beyond centered on power than rather through modern means of mediating and peace initiative process.

As a platform for regional integration and cooperation, IGAD had to limit its mandate to only resolving the persistent crisis instead of orchestrating a re-formation of Sudan. It only facilitated the south through empowerment with a possibility of deciding whether to secede or remain part of Sudan through a CPA that made it possible for a referendum on independence by the south which culminated in the birth of South Sudan in 2011. The common strategies IGAD has employed in the management of the conflict in South Sudan are; engaging high diplomatic mediation such as IGAD secretariat and peace ambassadors which has not worked, Building capacities of national security, making ultimatums for different leaders, use of Gacaca courts like the ones used in Rwanda and

¹⁸³ Kinfe A (2006). *The Horn of Africa: Conflicts and Conflict Mediation in the Greater Horn of Africa*. Addis Ababa, EIIPD and HADAD.

coming up with an early warning system for conflict eruption in South Sudan respectively. Some of other possible solutions to the conflict in South Sudan were engaging in home based negotiations like those that took place in Somalia (Fight against Warlords). In addition the best strategy IGAD has employed in the management of the conflict in South Sudan is engaging high diplomatic mediation such as IGAD secretariat and peace ambassadors which however has not worked.

In the case of Somalia, IGAD and its predecessor IGADD continuously strived to address the crisis in Somalia by endorsing various initiatives by individual member states. Even when political will from the international community was not forthcoming, member states still championed the course of peace in the Somalia crisis through various initiatives.¹⁸⁴ IGAD started a new initiative under its own auspices in the year 2002 for two years. IGAD supported the TFG and the GNU establish their authorities through mobilizing financial resources and diplomatic assistance to enable them perform their duties. To effectively facilitate the TFG II, IGAD established a facilitator's office for Somalia.¹⁸⁵ This was a clear indication that IGAD was fully committed to help stabilise Somalia. It is therefore to note that IGAD mobilized the international community to help Somalia in a crisis that could otherwise be forgotten.

Somalia neighbours - Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti and other member states in IGAD played a key role in promoting peace in Somalia and ending hostilities through initiating and holding various peace conferences with warring factions within Somalia. Both the

¹⁸⁴ Interviews with IGAD officials November 10, 2009 in Addis Ababa.

¹⁸⁵ Interviews with Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs official on October 31, 2009, Addis Ababa.

Assembly of Heads of states and governments and the Council of Ministers held regular meetings which are exclusively to address the conflict in Somalia. For instance, there were two extraordinary summits for the Assembly of heads of states and governments and five extraordinary meetings for the Council of Ministers which were majorly to discuss and review and evaluate the progress in the mediation effort in 2008 alone. Besides, the Council of Ministers held four sittings in 2009 to exclusively discuss the Somali issue.¹⁸⁶

The first constraint arises from the competing national interests of member states.¹⁸⁷ For example the hegemony status of Ethiopia in the IGAD region. The IGAD faced this obstacle in every level of peace talk where the Chair to head the Somali Peace Process was contested. The Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Sudan members were excluded from chairing the Somalia Peace talks due to the historical inter-linkages with the Somali conflict. While Ethiopia and Djibouti harbour boundary disputes with Somalia, they would not act as neutral mediators in the peace talks. In addition these countries are known to support certain clan faction in the Somali territory.¹⁸⁸ Sudan and Eritrea have been known to support some clan factions militarily to help destabilise Ethiopia over its role in insurgency in the two states.

The above competing interests led to a situation of institutional indecisiveness on how to deal with conflict situations where the other member states are directly involved. This made the regional organisation to take long before making meaningful progress in the

¹⁸⁶ Interviews with Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 31,2009

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Kenya's Former Ambassador to Somalia and lead Diplomat in IGAD Somali Peace Process, Nairobi, 5* July, 2007

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Kenya's Former Ambassador to Somalia and lead Diplomat in IGAD Somali Peace Process, Nairobi, 5* July, 2007

design of effective peace process. The institution therefore finds it difficult to engage the states in diplomatic discourse and expect them to be transparent and trustworthy to each other.

IGAD also found it difficult to mobilise resources from the member states to facilitate the negotiations of the protracted peace process for Somalia. This is because most member states are underdeveloped and many of them are healing from conflicts.¹⁸⁹ The state of economic growth is varied whereby some states are perceived as more developed than others. Therefore making them to assume hegemonic behaviour and eclipse the regional organisation's delivery of the expected goals. Although countries in the IGAD region are dragged economically by underdevelopment and conflicts, they are relying heavily on foreign aid to run their domestic budgets. This makes IGAD to establish network with the donor community to support peace initiatives in the region. In most cases donor support is always tied to some conditions depending on the interest vested by the donors. This derails the effective process of mediation and promoting peace and security according to schedule.

The dependence behaviour of IGAD on donor funding was also a hindrance towards the Somali peace process. The donors did set a limit of funding and the institution was expected to cater for the budget deficits. Budgetary constraints limited the number of participants in the peace talks, the duration within which to conclude the peace talks and the type of personnel and resources to be available. However the Kenya Government as the host government donated the extra budget requirement that would not be catered for

¹⁸⁹ Interview with a Technical Resource Person in the IGAD Somali Peace Process, Nairobi, 7th July, 2007

by the donors.¹⁹⁰ This pre-determined funding impedes an institution from independently running a peace process to its meaningful conclusion. The IGAD peace processes for Somalia witnessed postponements and venue relocations as a result of inadequate funding therefore delaying the conclusion of peace talks and effective negotiations.

IGAD further encountered a constraint emerging from the sabotage of its initiatives mainly from parties or stakeholders whose interests would not be adequately catered for in the peace process. This saw the positions arrived at by the delegates repudiated by others not on the basis of merit but rather the ostensible wish of some patrons.¹⁹¹ Therefore, the issues concluded in plenary sessions would resurface again in the committees when other substantive agenda were being debated. This made the peace talks stall or negotiation on non-issues for a long period of time. Time wastage leads to resource under utilisation and poor document for peace agreement may be realised.

The other challenge witnessed by IGAD in the Somalia peace process emerged from the effort of reconciling clan interests in what seems to be the only nation-state in the IGAD region. The Somalia state with a homogenous community should indeed have peaceful coexistence. But the clan factions seeking to have power led to a long process of reconciling the delegates' position on what should be the structure of their future government. The clan issues that are not national in nature dominated the discussions and the final document encouraged the delegates to elect their leaders before leaving the country. The clan based approach in identifying the leaders was necessary for IGAD

¹⁹⁰ Interview with a Technical Resource Person in the IGAD Somali Peace Process, Nairobi, 7th July, 2007

¹⁹¹ Interview with a former Technical Resource Person in the Somali Peace Process, Nairobi. 7th July, 2007

considering that Somalia was not having a government that would be the basis for implementing the peace accord. The absence of the Somali government was a challenge considering that in ordinary negotiations, a government in power and a rebel groups are involved. The end result was that the warring factions that controlled regions had to make reasonable and constructive decisions about government structures and power sharing. The warlords and factional leaders were meant to take part in the role of leadership in the transitional government and ensure that there would be effective control and order of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in the Somali territory. IGAD made a leeway for an effective TFG whose role was to give Somali a functional government after a long period of lawlessness.

IGAD mediators observed that no regional leaders, Somali group or factional leader knows what constituents they represent, what they will do, or what they would add to the negotiations.¹⁹² The factions are proxies of regional and foreign powers. Understanding the regional dimension of the Somalia conflict and the attempts to its settlement is crucial. Identifying the intentions and motives of the regional actors would make IGAD make informed decisions on proposals brought to the peace process.

This study was informed by three hypotheses. The first one asserted that the prevailing instability in Somalia is partly attributed to weaknesses in approach in terms of intervention. As witnessed from the preceding chapters, there were weaknesses in intervention approach attributed to differences between some IGAD member states that

¹⁹² Interview with Kenya's Former Ambassador to Somalia and Lead diplomat In the IGAD Somali Peace Process, Nairobi, 7th July, 2007

supported different parties in the conflict. This made it difficult to adopt a common approach of intervention. The differences between Ethiopia a regional hegemony and Eritrea played out when they supported opposing sides in the conflict.

The second hypothesis postulated that the conflicting interest of various actors in Somalia contributes to lack of stability. In Chapter 3, this hypothesis was demonstrated through the analysis of decision-making structures of IGAD. The IGAD summit is the top decision-making organ. It is composed of head of states and governments. In nature these executives have a mandate to protect and represent national interests in the region. The leaders of governments and states in the IGAD region for instance, Ethiopia, and Djibouti contravene some of the decisions arrived at in the institutional decisions. This institution seeking to end war at one of the member states reneging on its good will do not play complementary roles in the negotiations. The International Crisis Group¹⁹³ observed that deep and persistent rivalries among regional states have undone the peace making and done much to sustain and aggravate the Somali crisis. It noted that IGAD should end the internal divisions if peace could be attainable for Somalia.

Regional organisations roles in managing regional conflicts are entrenched in the UN Charter provided they act in accordance to the UN principles and purposes. This gives them power to initiate actions on their own but with the approval of the UNSC. Such possibilities make the regional conflict management susceptible to subservient interests of regional actors.

¹⁹³ International Crisis Group, *Biting the Somali Bullet, Africa Report No.79*, 4th May 2004, Nairobi/Brussels

5.2 Conclusion

The preceding section has made a critical analysis of the study on the role of regional organisations and the management of internal conflicts. It has evaluated the research findings and made cross reference to the proposed objectives of the study. The objectives that were proposed for the study were demonstrated in the study. The section further tested the hypotheses and they were validated in the research findings. This section makes concluding remarks and the study proposes recommendations for the way forward in institutional intervention in internal conflicts.

This study has to this end identified the role of regional organisations in mediation and diplomacy to successfully bring stability to a given region. IGAD's intervention in the Somali crisis illustrates the role intra-regional institutions could play in negotiations to end protracted conflicts. It emerged that the regional organisations would successfully assemble the actors in the conflict and align the competing interests to draw a peace deal. The debate on how a peace initiated by a regional organisation is useful in the process of reconciling competing interests from various actors was illustrated in the process of constituting the Somali peace process. The regional actors despite their ideological or inter-state differences, they managed to agree to have the chair and venue assigned to Kenya. This made it possible to have a neutral actor spear heading the peace process.

The regional organisations are founded to bring stability among the member states. Regional organisations are tasked with the responsibility of establishing the mechanisms to harmonise the interests of member states and those of fighting groups to draw up a

comprehensive peace agreement. IGAD called upon the member states to contribute resources to support Somali peace process and eventually protect the stability of the region. The Somali conflict was a recipe for instability in the Horn of Africa therefore a solution had to be sought from within IGAD sub-region.

This study has further highlighted that regional organisations have developed conflict management procedures to guide peace processes. Besides, the regional organisations possess comparative advantages in dealing with conflicts that occur within the territory of the member states for instance, nearness to crisis scenario therefore able to take swift actions to any emerging threat to peace and security. The regional organisations also have personal relationships with some key players in the peace processes and can therefore embark in diplomatic efforts much more quickly than extra-regional organisations. IGAD revealed that accomplishment by regional organisations in crisis managements is dependent upon the understanding of the conflict and the access of the negotiators who make decisions without reference to any other authority outside the region. The parties to the conflict in the IGAD led Somali peace process was convinced that they owned the peace process following the contribution and adoption of their position papers. This led to a progressive peace process that accommodated the diverse interests of the concerned parties.

Regional organisations are cheaper to maintain and to run than extra-regional initiatives in conflict management. For instance, in the assessment of the operations of IGAD, it emerged that IGAD initially utilized the foreign affairs staff of Kenya to lay foundation

for the negotiations. The extra regional initiatives are expensive to arrange for in terms of personnel and logistics. They also delay in the intervention of peace initiative because of the bureaucracy red tape and distance between the conflict environment and the location of the headquarters of the organisation. IGAD is located close to the Somali conflict and the member states are within the conflict system of Somali. IGAD need a better position in the negotiations of the peace process as it enjoyed political support from the frontline states such as Kenya.

IGAD intervention in the Somali conflict was motivated by the consequences of a failed state and its cumulative consequences in the entire region. Issues such as insecurity and influx of refugees were of concern to neighbouring states. The conflicts in one country would often spill over into neighbouring states and it becomes imperative to take collective action among states seeking a comprehensive resolution of the Somali conflict. IGAD as an institution therefore took up the collective security perspectives in pursuing peace in Somalia and eventually stabilize the region from the contagious effect of the Somali conflict.

5.3 Recommendations

IGAD has managed to draw together member states to discuss and come up with durable solutions to recurrent conflicts in the Horn of Africa region. However, IGAD should continue engaging member states in a dialogue to effectively define the way forward for managing conflicts emanating from within the region. IGAD should also desist from depending on the donor community to fund its peace initiatives. The peace processes

should be planned and budgeted for through the available resources. There is need for the institution of IGAD to be more independent financially may be by initiating projects that can generate income. Besides, the institution should commit the regional member states to meet their targets when paying their annual quotas. Countries that have lagged behind in payments should be pushed to pay their arrears promptly so that to ensure that the institution fulfills its obligations on a timely manner.

IGAD's mandate is to promote the regional peace and security therefore countries that are party to its charter should persistently recall of their duty towards achieving that mandate. This would be done through pressurising the leaders of the states or sanctioning governments that do not comply with resolutions arrived at with an intention of facilitating a peace process in collaboration with other international organisations or the donor community. IGAD initiatives attracted goodwill from across the continent which indicates that the institution would bring peace and reconstruction in Somalia. There were efforts to bring deeper reconstruction in Somalia and reconciliation amongst the political leaders with an objective to establish a Transitional Federal Government. In spite of the IGAD mediation, various issues confronted the successful conclusion of the Somali peace process. First, the issue of Somaliland that sought to integrate all the regions that are inhabited by the Somali population. Secondly, the mapping of the stateless Somalia into three autonomous regions. Similarly military intervention would not lead to restoration of peace in a state. These divisions draw a contestation for a united Somalia.

The IGAD led Somali peace process is a fundamental lesson to the protracted internal conflicts. Internal conflicts should not be left to institutions of universal characters such as The UN to deal with when there is an existing regional mechanism. IGAD was able to negotiate the Somali peace by aligning intra-regional competing interests thereby winning the trust from the feuding sides and the support of the entire region. The trust and support from within the region would ensure that the peace agreement was tenable. IGAD member states should therefore continue to support the peace in Somalia especially in the post conflict phase when Somali government seeks to establish its national structures.

IGAD peace process concluded without any planning on the relocation and resettlement of the Somali Transitional government. The Somali peace process should have made a proposal on the member states to offer support to the TNG to relocate to Somalia. The Somali TNG required necessary security, financial resources and effective control of the territory for military intervention would not lead to a restoration of peace and order in a state in conflict. The current level of insecurity would be contained if there was a plan to relocate the government with enough peace keeping forces. The IGAD should also plan to establish its own peace keeping contingent for the region to mobilise when the situation demands like the case in Somalia.

The IGAD Somali peace process brought about some lessons in institutional conflict management. The wider and more inclusive a peace process is, the more the issues to reconcile from the parties to conflict. This means that a peace process whose issues are

not clear-cut and there is no government in place to negotiate with, it would be required to draw as many representatives as possible into the peace process. The representation of each party to the conflict would convince them to reduce their hostilities. The Somali clans, business interest groups, warlords and religious groups should have made the reference point for the selection of the delegates. This would have avoided the eruption of war with Islamic Court Unions who did not recognise the authority of the new government. This would mean that a comprehensive and sustainable agreement would have been drawn and implemented with ease. The TNG would have served in home country with a higher degree of acceptability. This would also help come up with a government that exercised effective control in the territory and therefore create some orderly Somalia state.

The Somali conflict witnessed quite a number of peace conferences, which however could not realise concrete and desirable peace in Somalia. The international community is fatigued by the Somalia instability and conflict. The Somalia community would be seeking to enter into new peace talks without any commitment to implementing the agreements. The international community would not be ready to take further intervention and help Somalia if the community itself is not ready to accept peace agreements that were concluded. The Somali community should note that shopping forums do not guarantee a better resolution for their conflict but should rather be committed to implementing IGAD peace deals. Any new peace process would only serve as a platform for the Somalis to talk and come out with resolutions that they would not readily implement.

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APPENDIX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	Date	Location
European Ambassador to Somalia	17 June 2013	Nairobi
Somali Member of Parliament	23 April 2010	Nairobi
Somali politician	20 January 2010	Nairobi
Kenyan Academician	13 January 2010;	Nairobi
IGAD official	29 June 2010;	Nairobi
Kenyan diplomat	13 July 2010	Nairobi
Somali Member of Parliament	23 April 2010	Arta
former technical Advisor to the IGAD Somali Peace Secretariat,	7th July 2007	Nairobi
IGAD official	October 28, 2009	Djibouti
Kenya's Ambassador to Somalia and lead diplomat in the IGAD-led Somali Peace Process, in	Nairobi on 5th July, 2007	
Kenya's Former Ambassador to Somalia and Lead diplomat In the IGAD Somali Peace Process, Nairobi,	7 th July, 2007	
United Nations Political Office for Somalia-UNPOS official on	October 16, 2009.	Nairobi.
Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs official on	October 31, 2009,	Addis Ababa.
IGAD officials	November 10, 2009	Addis Ababa.
IGAD officials	November 22, 2009	Addis Ababa
IGAD officials	October 28, 2009	Addis Ababa.