CROSS BORDER NATURAL RESOURCE-BASED CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY: A COMPARISON OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN AFRICA EXPERIENCES

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DECLARATION

I declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented in any other university/institution for consideration of any certification. This project has been complemented by referenced sources duly acknowledged.

Signed: …………………………..…   Date: ……………..………….

Name: Alio Wako Keyate

I confirm that the work reported in this project was carried out by the candidate under my supervision and has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Signed   : …………………….….   Date: ………………….

Supervisor: Dr. Mumo Nzau

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to my beloved wife who stood with me with patience and understanding. I also dedicate this work to my mom for her immense support and prayers towards my academic achievements, without forgetting my young kid for his understanding despite his tender age. My love for you all can never be quantified.

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I would like to record my appreciation to all people who assisted me in one way or another in writing this project report. Secondly, I take this earliest opportunity to appreciate the effort of my supervisor, Dr. Mumo Nzau in guiding me through this work and inspiring me to believe that I am capable of authoring a project.

ABSTRACT

The Eastern and Western Africa countries have experienced many episodes of violent conflicts and insecurity in the recent past, as compared to any other parts of the continent. Due to the trends of conflicts and instability witnessed in the Eastern and Western Africa, the region has become one of the most volatile in Africa. For several years, many parts of the region have become more volatile due to the afflictions of communal violence, civil wars, political instability, violent extremism, ethnic conflict, anarchy and state failures. Generally, armed conflicts and insecurity of these regions are concentrated near boarder areas, which may lead to a major risk of conflict spillovers, which will eventually become a major actor of cross-border conflict drivers. In recent years, there have seem to be some window of opportunities which has come as a result of numerous efforts by regional governments to protect their borders and their renewed attachment to address trans-border and spillover conflicts. However, not every regional state have the capability to adequately administer the expansive and far remote border regions. Consequently, the local communities around these border areas have embraced to take the responsibility of managing and preventing trans-border conflict issues, in conjunction with inter-state regional organizations and the central governments. The crucial factors that will be discussed in this study is the flexibility and adaptability of the regional governments and local actors in addressing and to what level, the cross-border conflicts and insecurity issues are managed effectively. The study revolves around the following critical areas: the synopsis of conflict in Africa, an assessment of the West African Peace Processes and the Eastern Africa Peace Processes; The causes of conflicts and the impetus of spillover of conflicts into regional governments as a result of instability. The study aimed at analyzing the impetus of conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa countries. The study applied human needs theory to demystify conflicts and international relations. In the study, internet searches and library were utilized. Also used to explain the phenomenon and to justify the study were the published and unpublished data. All these study materials were used to help bring into the limelight the prevailing natural resource–based conflicts and insecurity in other regions of the continent. The research findings disclosed that conflict management and prevention in the Eastern and Western regions of Africa have created a major challenge to the regional governments, states and non-state organizations, as well as the international communities. A good example of such conflicts is the one witnessed in Somalia and South Sudan, whereby, conflicts are mostly fragmented along the borders of Kenya with the two countries and it mainly involves terrorist activities and pastoralist communities. This is a presser that most of these conflicts emanate from the natural resources. Also stretched along these borders is the natural resource-based conflicts and management of these conflicts between the locals and the refugees. The sub-regional bodies like the EAC, IGAD ECOWAS have been in the forefront in managing and resolving these conflicts. In this regard, various documents and policy papers have been ratified through various conventions, although the implementation of these efforts have remained in limbo. The study further revealed that the states and governments in the Eastern and Western Africa has failed to effectively recognize conflicts and its management in these regions. On the other hand, the international communities have been reluctant in addressing solutions to these conflicts. The study is of the view that regional bodies and institutions in the Eastern and Western Africa countries should collaborate effectively and help resolve and manage natural resource–based conflicts and regional security in these regions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFRC   Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

AMISOM   African Union Mission to Somalia

AU   African Union

CEWARN   Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism

ECOWAS   Economic Community of West African States

ECOMOG   Economic Community of West African States Monitoring

                Group

EAC   East African Community

ICJ   International Court of Justice

IDPS   Internally Displaced Persons

IGAD   Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

LDC   Least Developed Countries

LMA   Linas-Marcoussis Agreement/Peace Accord

NPFL   National Patriotic Front of Liberia

REC   Regional Economic Communities

RUF   Revolutionary United Front

SPLM/A   Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

TFG   Transitional Federal Government

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNHCR   United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses the following study areas: Background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the research, the literature review, justification of the study, research hypothesis/assumption of the study, theoretical framework/theories that explains the phenomenon, and finally outline of the chapter.

1.1 Background of the Study

The term "security" is a situation of feeling free from or resilience against harm or threat, or effects of unwanted instances from external forces. Security in many instances refer to protection from hostile forces. Beneficiaries of security may include but not limited to individuals and social groupings, assets, organizations, states and nations, ecosystems and any other entity which is vulnerable to potential harm or threat.[1]

"Conflict" on the other hand may be defined as an antagonism that occurs between two or more adversative peoples, groups, ideas and interest as a result of an incompatibility of goals.[2] Conflict and insecurity are popular in the society. The two phenomenon usually arise from incompatibility of goals, ideas or interests among individuals or groups of people, or between groups. Conflict is inherent when an essential incompatibility of interest and objectives of two or more characters take place. When conflicts turn violent, threat to security is experienced.

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[1] Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, and Jeep de Wilder. (1998). "Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Boulder.
[2] Young, John (2007). "Emerging North-South Army Tensions and Prospects for a Return to War". Small Army Survey.

Conflicts and insecurity have consequences across the different aspects of human live, including political, sociological, economical and cultural consequence sand leads to the decrease of socio-economic development, degeneration of government structures, inadequacy to provide essential services, annihilation and depletion of both natural and man-made resources, ceasing of agricultural activities and loss of investments.[3] By evaluating the loss of potential domestic and foreign investments as a result of insecurity, degeneration of revenue from tourism, and losses of income in government sectors like agriculture, it will then be possible to measure the implications of conflicts and insecurity in economic terms. In terms of violent conflict and insecurity, there are other direct implications like the mass displacement of the people, leading to creation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) and the inflow of refugees from neighboring countries, which will further create security challenges due to the prevalence of small arms and crude weapons in major towns and along the borders as was witnessed in the coastal and north-eastern parts of Kenya, border areas of South Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Somalia, among other areas. This occurrence is exacerbated by civil wars and prolonged droughts in these regions.

The border areas of several Eastern and Western Africa countries have been a major field of various low-intensity conflicts for several decades. In the African continent, there is a history of social and economic marginalization of people living across the borders. Due to these marginalization and scarcity of resources, there is always increased competition for natural resources like land, water, timber, solid minerals and pastures, among other resources, because of unregulated population increase from refugee influx and degradation of the environment, and declining attachment to the

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[3] Thomas Edward (2010). "Decisions and Deadlines: A Critical Year for Sudan". A Chatham House Report.

markets, credits and extension services like agriculture, leading to poverty. This disconnection will then create tensions, hence leading to conflicts and insecurity along the border areas.

Collier[4] opines that the African continent experiences civil wars, which is in contrast to the past when conflicts were mostly international in nature. Most internal conflicts are now a characteristic of the African continent: For example, the cases of Liberia, Somalia, Angola, Sudan, Congo, Ethiopia, DR-Congo, Burundi, Sierra Leone, and many others.[5] Civil wars have resulted in catastrophic consequences to the continent especially putting in mind the fact that the international community often does very little to stop these conflicts with the belief that since these conflicts are internal, they should be solved internally.[6]

1.2 Problem Statement

The Eastern and Western Africa border regions have experienced various types of cross–border conflicts and insecurity from independence to the present day. Resource-based conflicts in these regions continue to manifest due to a number of factors beyond the scope of the project control (Pkalya, 2003). Various regional, state and international organizations have shown significant interest in addressing cross-border conflict resolution. Despite their various efforts, there is a growing fatigue since the problem has persisted and has taken different forms such as conflicts and insecurity as a result of natural resources, livestock theft, highway robberies and banditry (Nene, 1999). Trends of conflict and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa regions manifest

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[4] Collier, P. (2003). Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy. Washington Dc. 20433: WB and Oxford University press.
[5] Intriligator, M. D. (1975). Strategic Consideration in the Richardson Model of Arms Races". *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 83 (2).
[6] Collier (2003, P. 1-10)

through more frequent cross-border attacks like livestock thefts and disputes over natural resources like water, land, pastures and disputed territories, among others. Most conflicts across the borders emanate from the scramble for the scarce natural resources. Often times, natural wealth is discovered in the border regions. Territorial disputes are a major driver of conflicts and insecurity along the borders. Trans-boundary natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity are being experienced due to the errors made by the colonial masters while marking the boundaries. Population bulge along the borders, which heighted scramble for scarce resources, poor governance and inefficient border management by the states and regional authorities are some of the drivers of conflicts along the borders.[7]

Across the border regions, often times people live with fear and uncertainty. Conflicts and insecurity brings with it loss of lives and livelihoods, physical and mental injuries, disruption of trade and interference with education. Many dwellers of border areas are forced to be on a high alert at all times to fend off any incursions (Linda, 2003). Due to displacements during conflicts, education of school-going children is disrupted, local businesses are affected, and agro-pastoral farming is jeopardized, leading to slow growth of the economy in the border regions. All these activities will have negative impacts, killing the key social and livelihood sectors of the people in the border regions. Besides the above negative impacts, conflicts and insecurity leads to losses of human life and property (Dietz, 1993).

Conflicts and insecurity in the border regions of the Eastern and Western Africa countries are triggered by a number of factors: Such as inappropriate distribution of natural resources, poor management of natural resources, firm and explicit cultural

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[7] I.O Albert (2001). Introduction to Third Party Intervention in Community Conflicts. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd

assumptions, poor governance, porousness of the border areas, exchange of illicit arms, continued instability in the regions like Somalia, South Sudan, and Liberia, among other regions, and the influence of the climate change.[8]

The assessment of the influencing factors of cross–border natural resource-based conflicts and regional security will provide a benchmark on how to address grey arrears with an essential aim of finding cost effective and sustainable solutions. The survey will also seek to look at the influence of various institutions in conflict management and resolution. In the end, the survey will explore on the reasons as to why there has never been durable peace and provide key recommendations on what needs to be done.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objectives

This research project seeks to analyze the historical background of cross-border conflicts and security situations in the Eastern and Western Africa border areas as the general objectives, and the role of sub-regional bodies like EAC, IGAD and ECOWAS in conflict management in these regions.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

i.   To provide an overview of natural resource-based conflicts and security situations in the Eastern and Western Africa border regions.

ii.   To analyze the linkages between natural resources and conflicts from the conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

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[8] Yinger, J Milton. (1997). Ethnicity: Source of Strength? Source of Conflict? New York. State University of New York Press.

iii. To critically examine the roles of EAC, IGAD and ECOWAS in the management of conflict as they are the main mediators of conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Literature on Stability and Security in Africa

Africa faces many chronic problems such as: ethnic, religious, social, geographic or imperialist, to name just a few. Although not necessarily of importance, nearly any suggested cause may be contributory due to Africa's complex and diverse problems. For example, Africa's problems have been attributed to ideologies that solutions only focus on the symptoms.[9] However, cultural diversity in Africa may have positive as well as negative connotations. Certainly, some things like Africa's proneness for diseases is adverse and dangerous–but most of Africa's challenges have already been successfully solved by more advanced countries.[10]

Ahead of his visit to Ghana in July 2009, Barack Obama, the United States of America president highlighted the reasons why Africa was lagging behind in development by declaring, "…for many years the people of Africa have made excuses about economic crimes or poor governance". He pointed out that he did not believe in the notion of oppression from colonial powers or the west.[11] His speech outlines serious problems Africa is still facing.

Africa's problems can be summarized into two critical challenges. These are: building good foundations for political stability and socio-economic development. Both aspects are well within Africa's ability to control and implement, and form the basis for

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[9] Barnes (1991) p.10
[10] Percy S. Mistry (2005). "Commentary: Reasons for Sub-Saharan Africa's Development Deficit that the Commission for Africa did not consider". African affairs October, 2005.
[11] Mark Smith (1998)

building stable and secure states.[12] When there are internal and regional security and stability, proper governance and economic progress can be achieved. Security and instability formed a foundation for solving other problems in a country.[13] Traditionally, state security is viewed from the perspective of military control of national borders and important accesses and absence of unbecoming foreign incursions in the affairs of sovereign states. For a country to succeed in security and stability there is need for rule of law, order and justice.[14]

Historically, it has been proven that nations have been built on strong militaries that ensure state security and internal security. Conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa have clearly demonstrated that violence, conflicts and war are the major prohibitions of economic development.[15] Successful viable states must be politically stable in order to achieve good governance and economic development.[16]

1.4.2 Causes of Natural Resource-Based Conflicts in the Border Lands

Most of the conflicts experienced in these regions are intractable in nature. Intractable conflicts are severe and intense, deadlocked, and are resistant to de-escalation or resolution. They remain persistent over a long period of time, while remaining unresolved, and become stuck at a high level of intensity and destructiveness. Intractable conflicts typically attract several parties and involve complex set of issues such as political, economic, social, historical and cultural issues. All these issues are considered core to human social existence and any attempt at resolving them are

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[12] Muller (2000) 3-07,pp.1-11-1-12
[13] Homer Dixon (2001)
[14] Dietz, D. (2009) 307,pp.2-6-2-10
[15] Juliet, Elu (2000). "Human Development in Sub-Sahara Africa: Analysis and Prospects for the Future". *Journal of Third World Studies*, Fall 2000, available from *findarticles.com/p/articles.*
[16] Carrett, M. (1998). "The Twenty Years Crisis: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations". Palgrave, New York, NY.

typically resisted. In fact, the parties involved are unable to come to a negotiating table, and they are as well unable to compromise with such complex issues that touches on their social existence. Consequently, each side to the conflict views the hardline stance of the other as a threat to its existence. Differing groups may develop fear and the urge to harm each other. The developing hostilities at many times mislead the groups into failing to recognize their shared heritage, development concerns and destiny, creating an unfriendly atmosphere for peace to thrive.[17]

In situations where conflicts escalate, any palpable matter may become entrenched within a wider string of beliefs, identities, values and cultures of the parties. There are increased symbolic significance on some disputes over resources like land, pasture, minerals, and other resources. As new causes of conflict get driven by actions within the conflict itself, over the period of conflict, the initial issues can even become immaterial. The conflicting parties will see each other as enemies and may turn to inflict more harm and destruction to each other. This will in the long run lead the actors in conflicts to disregard other avenues for peaceful resolution and concentrate on total defeat of the other group.[18]

Conflicts and their causes are dependent on various factors like cultural identify, security or ethnicity. There is diverse range of causes of conflicts amongst the communities, touching on the political, socio-economic and geographical differences of the regions. However, for the most communities living across the borders of Eastern and Western Africa regions, scramble for the scarce natural resources are the major causes of conflicts and insecurity between various groups or among the communities

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[17] R. Charlton & M. Dewdney (2004)."The Mediator's Handbook. Skills and Strategies for Practitioners", p.12-15.

[18] Barry, Buzan., Ole Weaver, and Jeep de Wilder (1998). Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Boulder

themselves. These natural resources include pasture lands, land for settlement, land for agriculture, water sources, territorial disputes and mineral deposits, among others. All of these are the resources upon which the livelihood of the communities are attached.[19] Disputes and disagreements over resources include use of water points like dams, occupying parcels of land of the people displaced as a result of civil wars, trespassing of animals into agricultural lands, ownership and use of arable lands, competition over available mineral deposits like gold, diamond, oil and other natural resources. There are some other factors such as trans-boundary cattle rustling and raids among the communities as some of other sets of interconnected causes of conflicts in these regions of Eastern and Western Africa borderlands.

1.4.3 Conflict Management Mechanisms in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions.

In as much as there are various causes, origins and contexts of conflicts, there are also various ways of managing them. The aim of conflict management, regardless of whether it is championed by the parties in a conflict or whether it is championed through the intervention of a third party, is to have an immense effect on the entire structure of a conflict system so as to assimilate and control the catastrophic components in the conflict process, such as hostility and violence, hence, help the parties in a conflict reach some amicable solutions. Efficient conflict management succeeds in: **(1).**Minimizing disruption resulting from the existence of a conflict; and **(2).** Providing a solution that is consumable and acceptable to all parties in a conflict.[20]

In managing the conflicts, efforts can be directed towards limiting or containing some aspects of behavior of parties in a conflict. Such efforts can be described as measures

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[19] R. Charlton & M. Dewdney (2004)."The Mediator's Handbook. Skills and Strategies for Practitioners", p.12-15.

[20] J. P. Folger. (2007)."Working Through Conflict". New York: Educational Publishers Inc.

of conflict management, while the efforts geared towards the situation of a conflict, attitudes and behaviors of the parties in a conflict can be described as strategies of conflict resolution. In order to utilize effective techniques and methods of solving conflicts, administrators and conflict managers should be well equipped with necessary skills in this field. Whether simple or complex, all authorities and organizations must possess diverse mechanisms for containing and managing conflict. These are incorporated into the administrative and organizational systems and are consciously applied by the administrators and conflict managers to influence the course and development of a conflict.[21]

1.5 Justification of the Study

This research work seeks to analyze the historical background of cross-border conflicts, the situation of the security in the Eastern and Western Africa borderlands, the feature of regional and local constraints, the socio-economic impacts of conflicts and instability in the border regions, the past and present strategies taken by states in addressing conflicts and insecurity in the region and their limitations, the response of the international communities, deterrence of conflicts, and the lessons learned from the conflict and insecurity in these regions.

The study also examines if there are other factors that causes conflicts and insecurity in the borderlands of Eastern and Western Africa countries. Apart from the natural resource competition, do the territorial disputes play any role? What about banditry and livestock theft by neighboring communities? Cattle raids are a common factor as a cause of conflict between various African communities.

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[21] I. O. Albert (2001). Introduction to Third Party Intervention in Community Conflicts. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Limited.

This study further aimed to explore the impact of cross-border natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa countries. The outcome of this research work may be useful to various scholars and professionals, academicians, lecturers, policymakers, journalists, students, non-governmental organizations, diplomats, United Nations, states and the general public in order to evaluate and appreciate efforts made by EAC, IGAD and ECOWAS in bringing peace and stability in the region and what it means to the communities living in these regions, and their countries.

The findings of the study may also be instrumental to the government agencies to adopt best practices in combating security issues which emanates from natural resource-based conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa borderlands. Such practices can be applied through drafting of various policies to enhance security. The recommendations of this research work might be instrumental in bringing to an end or changing the dynamics of natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity by analyzing alternative sources of livelihoods.

1.6 Research Hypothesis

This study will seek to test the following hypothesis:

H1: There are frequent natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa countries.

H0: There are no frequent natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa countries.

H1: There is an impact of spillover conflict into the neighbouring countries from the conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

H0: There is no impact of spillover conflicts into the neighbouring countries from the conflict in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

H1: EAC, IGAD and ECOWAS has played a role in conflict management as they have been the main mediators in both the Eastern and Western Africa Peace Processes in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

H0: EAC, IGAD and ECOWAS have not played a role in conflict management as they have been the main mediators in both the Eastern and Western Africa Peace Processes in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

As an important conceptual tool, human needs theory is a grand theory that not only connects and addresses human needs at all levels, but also recognizes the existence of negotiable and non-negotiable matters. Scholars like Burton argue that needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for.[22] To reach a consensus-based solution, human needs should rather be negotiated. This research work will concentrate on the impact of cross-border natural resource-based conflicts and regional security: a comparison of the Eastern and Western Africa experiences. What are the unmet human needs that bring about intractable or protracted conflicts and insecurity in these border regions? These needs include the basic needs for survival such as access to food and shelter, security and recognition which are instrumental for human survival. In Burton's view, human needs theory has a great promise that provides a relatively objective basis, and it has a wide range of applicability. Human needs theory has a great attachment to restorative justice structures, and it can be well applied at all levels of conflicts in the society, ranging from intrapersonal or conflicts between persons, groups or interstate. In the context of the world, human needs theory attempts to different groups and

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[22] Burton, John. (1990)."Conflict: Resolution and Prevention". New York: St. Martin's Press, P.39.

cultures to create a unified understanding and a shared feeling of the society.[23] Sandra Marker notes that as per this theory, human needs are the minimum possible rights that cannot be negotiated.[24] Therefore, the concept of human needs approach creates an avenue for turning away from the traditional techniques of negotiation that do not consider non-negotiable items. According to John Burton,[25] conflict resolution means terminating conflict by methods that are analytical and that gets to the root of the problem. As contrasted with sheer conflict settlement or management, conflict resolution brings about an end result that, considering the parties involved is a permanent solution to a problem.

1.8 Methodology

The research method employed in this study are library and internet searches. In this regard, both published and unpublished data will be applied to put issues into perspective and to justify the research work. Besides, data from various sources like journals, reports, books, protocols, and other suitable published materials were utilized in the study to shape the literature review and put issues in the conflict into context. All these and other materials were put into use to help comprehend the prevailing conflict situation in other parts of the world. However, this study encountered several constraints, among them, the time factor. There was limited time to conclusively collect primary data, hence, this limited the scope of the research.

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[23] See Rubenstein, Richard E. and Crocker, Jarle. (1993)."Challenging Huntington". *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1994.
[24] In Sandra Marker (2003). "What Human Needs Are? In Beyond Intractability". August 2003. *<http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/human_needs.jsp>*.
[25] Conflict Resolution (1993). Theory and Practice, Manchester University Press.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study is well organized into five chapters:

»Chapter One: An introduction to the study.

»Chapter Two: An overview of conflict in Africa; and the natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa countries.

»Chapter Three: The linkages between natural resources and conflict; and the impact of spillover   of conflicts across the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

»Chapter Four: An analysis of EAC, IGAD and ECOWAS as the regional peace and security tools in the management of peace and security in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

»Chapter Five: Summary of the research findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF NATURAL RESOURCE-BASED CONFLICT AND INSECURITY IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

The first chapter which is the bedrock of this research work introduced the study. The chapter addressed statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, and justification of the study, theoretical framework and the hypothesis applied. It also observed the methodology employed in the study.

This chapter will examine the general overview of natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in Africa. It will also examine an overview of natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa countries, and the conceptual analysis. This is accomplished by focusing on the causes of conflicts and insecurity that is experienced in the Eastern and Western Africa as a result of the natural resources and other key factors.

2.2 Natural Resource-Based Conflicts and Insecurity in Africa: An Overview.

Africa which is a large continent with a varied set of topography is rich in various kinds of natural resources. The genesis of conflict and insecurity in Africa is complex and diversified. Sources of conflicts and insecurity in Africa reflect a wide range of socioeconomic and political contexts which involves aggressive behaviours. Conflicts and insecurity in Africa takes different forms. Some are purely internal; some reflects sub-regional dynamics while others are of international magnitude. Regardless of these circumstances, sources of conflicts and insecurity in Africa are basically resource-based.

Natural resources have been the major drivers of conflicts and insecurity with both the direct and indirect linkages. The control over valuable renewable and non-renewable

natural resources has induced acute conflicts.[26] The underlying causes of these resource conflicts are poverty, the policy choice that states have pursued over the years, and the inefficiency of institutional frameworks in the management of the resources and where they exist, and the lack of conflict resolution and prevention mechanisms.[27] Scarcity of natural resources is viewed as the main trigger of conflicts due to the competition for the scarce resources, which is often catalyzed by increase in the population.

Africa is blessed with a wide spread natural resources which means that the continent has economic prowess to create sustainable development. These natural resources are oil, gas, gold, diamond, cobalt, copper, and many other gem stones; land, pasture, water, forest and its produce like timber, among many others.. Despite these blessings, Africa is characterized by social violence and insecurity. Instead of resource blessings, Africa is facing resource curse. This is contributed by bad governance, political unrest, protracted civil wars, economic degeneration, food insecurity, border conflicts and territorial disputes. Examples of countries in Africa that is grappling with various forms of conflicts are: Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Somalia, Egypt, Nigeria, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Libya, and Zambia among many others in the continent.

The characteristics of unstable countries include lack of conducive environment for sustainable economic development, lack of transparent and legitimate political institutions, insecurity among the population, especially protection from extremism and conflicts as well as population experiencing lack of basic rights. This lack of capacity to fulfill the crucial government responsibilities makes these countries failed states.[28]

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[26] L.K Jackson and P. Pradubraj. (2013). Introduction: Environmental Conflict in Asia –Pacific, Op.Cit. pp.1-11

[27] L.K. Jackson and P. Pradubraj. (2013). Introduction: Environmental Conflict in Asia –Pacific, Op.Cit. pp.5-17

[28] See Rice, S. E. and Patrick, S. (2008). Index of State Weakness in the Developing World. Washington DC. The Brookings Institute, P.3.

According to Klare, the past decade has seen scholars and policy makers focus on the economic dimensions of contemporary armed conflicts and have made a prompt consideration on conflict promoting aspects of resource abundance.[29] Klare additionally asserts that civil wars in Africa have been identified with an emerging economic resource-based model of armed conflicts. The analysis of the conceptual framework applied also observes the correlation between assimilated corresponding rebel-centric and state-centric theories in relation to economic downfall of political violence, poor governance and exploitation of the poor, apart from social, economic and political causes.

According to Naylor, in most parts of Africa, natural resource-based conflicts are characterized by violence, and like other social activities, wars require financial muscles and other resources to proceed, a fact that has been used to explain many intra-state conflicts in Africa.[30] On the other hand, Botha argues that the underlying historical causes of conflict is attributed to domestic grievances for circumstances that may prompt warfare are conflict over natural resources which cause instability like the case of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Sudan and Angola, and religion as a political tool in mobilizing warfare as in Sudan and Central African Republic where Muslims and Christians are involved in conflicts and instability.[31]

Natural resources are characterized by scarcity which triggers conflict and instability, if not managed accordingly. Conflicts in resource-rich communities are often fuelled by lack of an accepted formula for equitable distribution of resources to benefit the

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[29] M. Klare, (2001). Resource Wars, The New Landscape of the Globe. New York (Metropolitan books), p43.

[30] R. T. Naylor, (2000). Economic Warfare, Sanctions, Embargo, Busting and their Human Costs. (Boston : Northern University Press) p.18

[31] A. Botha. Relationship between Africa and International Terrorists, Causes and Linkages (2000). Tswalu.

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community. It can also be caused by improper compensations and lack of employment opportunities for the local community or importation of labour.[32]

Table 2.0 below indicates some recent conflicts and insecurity in Africa that are attached to natural resources.

Table 2.0   Recent conflicts and insecurity in Africa that is attached to natural resources.

Country	Duration of years	Natural resources
Algeria	1992	Oil, gas
Angola	1975-2002	Oil, diamond, timber, ivory
Burundi	1994	Land
Cameroon and Nigeria	1997	Oil
Chad	1980-1993	Oil, uranium
Congo –Brazzaville	1992-1997	Oil
DRC	1993-1994	Copper, timber, gold, diamond
Kenya	1991	Livestock, grazing land, water and pasture.
Liberia	1989-1997	Timber, diamond, rubber, iron and drugs
Mozambique	1974-1996	Timber, land and ivory
Rwanda	1990	Land, pasture, coffee
Sierra Leone	1992-1999	Timber, diamond, bauxite
Somalia	1988	Livestock and bananas
Sudan	1983	Oil
South Sudan	2012-2018	Oil
Tanzania	2003	Land, water, forest
Uganda	2009	Forest, water, land
Zimbabwe	2000	Land, pasture

Source: Maphosa, S.B. (2011)

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[32] Rosser, A. (2000). Escaping the Resource Curse. New Political Economy, 11(4). Pp. 557-570.

2.3 Natural Resource–Based Conflicts and Insecurity in the Eastern Africa.

The Eastern Africa region is part of the Sub-Saharan Africa consisting of two regions recognized traditionally. These are; East Africa which comprises of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; and the Horn of Africa, which comprises of Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti. Each of the Eastern Africa countries has experienced natural resource–based conflicts and insecurity central to each of the countries. Some of the conditions occurring from the history of these conflicts and insecurity in these countries have to a higher degree contributed to instability among the communities in these regions.

Conflicts have often been seen as part of human inter-relationships and integration.[33] In view of the natural resources, conflict and insecurity is believed to come up from the scramble of various interest groups placing demands on various natural resources. Even within a community which coexists in a cohesive manner, conflict and insecurity is inevitable due to scarcity of shared natural resources which is exacerbated by increase in the population of people, which cause the demand to stifle and exceed supply.

In Eastern Africa region, there are different tribes with different cultures and beliefs. Ethnicity is highly practiced by communities living in the Eastern Africa region, which has become their way of life politically, socially and economically. In some areas, it is found that one ethnic group have different use for such resources like minerals, pasture, forest and its produce, water and its resources, and land. Different people tend to manage and have control over these natural resources in different ways. Conflict and insecurity arises when people who have certain right on these natural resources believe that their needs cannot be met, or when there is competition over material goods,

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[33] Rosser, A., (2006). Escaping the Resource Curse. New Political Economy, 11 pp.557-570.

economic benefits, property or power competition, and when parties involved or interest attached are under threat .[34]

Diverse ethnic groups living in the Eastern Africa region are getting involved in conflict and insecurity. Often times, disagreements over the use of certain natural resource arise. It will eventually lead to disputes and conflicts, hence creating insecurity and other forms of confrontations between the parties involved. Conflicts can remain latent until triggered by something new; or may develop into disputes and physical confrontations. Disputes always reflect conflicts. A dispute occurs when there is a conflict over a specific issue or event which has turned public. Disputes can be in the form of a court battle, an appeal to concerned authorities, or a fight.[35]

Occurrence of community–based resource conflicts and insecurity may be realized at different levels, such as the local, regional, national, or even at a global level. Natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity ranges from conflicts among the local villagers, or families, over the use of land; to conflicts among diverse communities over the use of pastures for grazing animals. Conflicts and insecurity at the community level might involve domestic and multinational businesses, government authorities, local politicians, international development agencies and non-governmental organizations, while those at regional or national levels may involve regional authorities or international bodies.[36]

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[34] Christine Pendzich, Gary Thomas and Tim Wohlgenat (1994). The Role of Alternative Conflict Management in Community Forestry. Resolve and FAO, P.1

[35] Makumi Mwagiru (1998). Understanding Conflict and its Management. Institute of Diploma and International Studies. University of Nairobi, Kenya.

[36] Golicha, B. G. (1999). Identities Along Resource Borders. Longhorn Publishers, Nairobi-Kenya

2.3.1 Conflict and Insecurity over Water and Pasture

Many ethnic communities living in the Eastern Africa are pastoralists. Conflicts and insecurity oftenly arise between the pastoralists in this region. Conflicts between pastoralist communities usually arise when there is a growing competition over natural resources like water and pastures. Several factors are responsible for this competition: such as change in the demography-like urbanization, migration and population growth; market pressures-like privatization of community lands; and increased commercialization; and changes in the environment that force people to change their livelihoods-like recurrent and prolonged droughts, floods and famine.

People's greatest concern is having access to resources like pastures and water, for the pastoralist communities especially when such resources are scarce. Key examples here are scarcity of grazing areas and availability of water resources in arid or semi-arid regions. Since pastures and fresh water are necessities for life for people and livestock survival, and cannot be grown or produced, access to these natural resources may serve as focus of disputes and confrontations.[37]

Over the years, pastoralist communities have been engaging in conflict and insecurity in different parts of the Eastern Africa. Pastoralist refers to communities who depend on livestock as their main economic activity, mostly living in arid and semi-arid areas with a tendency to migrate in search for posture.[38] For instance, we have various pastoralist communities in the East Africa. These are: Turkana, Pokot, Samburu, Karamojoong, Maasai, Borana, and Rendille, among others. The type of livestock kept by these pastoralists are mainly cattle, sheep, goats and camels and donkeys. These

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[37] Jeremy, C. H. (1968). Last Chance in Africa. University of Manchester, London.
[38] Schlee, G. (1989). Identities on the Move. Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya. Oslo PRIO(Mimeo)

animals kept vary according to availability of natural resources like the environment, climatic conditions, availability of water and pastureland.

The Borana and Gabra for instance, who are the two largest pastoralist communities found in Marsabit county, northern part of Kenya, have a long past history of often violent competition over scarce resources like pasturelands and water points. For several decades, the two pastoral communities have engaged in a number of conflicts over the resources, and the deadly conflict between the two communities was witnessed in the year 2013, whereby, over a hundred death was reported across the board as a result of the heightened conflict and insecurity. The cause of this and many other conflicts between the two communities are mainly water and pasturelands, though political influences play a role too. Most of these conflicts started at various water points and pasturelands in the region where the two pastoralist communities share the resources. Of all the conflicts and insecurity witnessed between the two communities, the worse of it occurred in 2005 in Turbi when Turbi Massacre was orchestrated, which resulted in the death of about 500 people, mainly women and children. During such conflicts and insecurity, houses are burnt, people and animal are killed aimlessly, children and women are not spread either. They are maimed, wounded, raped and tortured.[39]

The Karamajong, Turkana, Maasai and Pokot live along the borders of Kenya and Uganda, neighbouring each other. Conflicts over grazing lands and water have been known to result in insecurity fluctuations between these different groups. (Muller, 1989). All these and other tribes have warriors, who usually conduct raids on

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[39] George, F. K. (2008). Pastoral Organizations is a Key for Uncertain Environments. Utah State University, Logan.

neighboring communities in an effort to replenish livestock lost through natural calamities and even stolen by other communities (Ehrhart and Ayoo, 2000).

Conflict and insecurity is often contributed by pastoralists when they forcefully move into a territory of another tribe in search of green pastures and water for their animals. Pastoralists normally move temporarily from one place to another in search of the vital natural resources-water and pasture. This movement usually leads to raids and counter-raids, which consequently lead to conflict and insecurity between two or more tribes. In the past, livestock trade was important in maintaining social interactions between different communities. These relationships grew out of shared economic interests between neighboring tribes (Sabania, 1990).

2.4 Natural Resource-Based Conflicts and Insecurity in West Africa

West Africa, also called Western Africa, consists of sixteen countries that make up part of the region. Most of the Western Africa countries are found in the Sub-Saharan Africa. West Africa countries are Burkina Faso, Gambia, Benin, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Togo, Nigeria, Guinea-Bissau, Niger, Liberia, Mali and Mauritania. The estimated area of West Africa region is about 5,112,903 M.[40] conflicts resulting from naturally resources in Africa are now increasingly becoming the centre of attention from academicians and policy makers.[41]

Due to the protracted conflicts as a result of civil wars in various parts of West Africa region like Côte d'Ivoire (also known as Ivory Coast), Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, among other countries in West Africa, the region has attracted international attention. Of particular interest as a cause of the civil wars and insecurity in the region are

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[40] Data and statisticcs gathered from the West Africa: Economic Community of West Africa.
[41] Coolier, P. Elbadowi, I, and Sambanis, N. (2000). Perennial conflicts in Africa. Washington DC, World Bank. (Unpublished manpower).

competition for available natural resources like solid minerals, land, oil and various types of resources. Parts of the areas like northern Ghana and Niger delta in Nigeria has, over the years, suffered intense inter-group violence due to the presence of oil and its products. The civil violence and insecurity in these regions are also connected to poor governance as a result of political competition. However, scramble for the scarce natural resources is the major cause of conflicts in these regions.

West Africa is a vast and expansive region in Africa. Although not every country in this region is well blessed with enough natural resources to sustain an income, most parts of the region is rich in the natural endowment like land, solid minerals, water and oil as the common ones.

2.4.1 Conflicts and Insecurity Over Land Resources

Land is undoubtedly the most significant natural resource world over. Its use ranges from spiritual, social, political and economic importance. All our natural endowment are found in land, making land the most important natural resource over others. Land attracts conflict and insecurity more as a result of it being abode to most important natural resources. Recently, Africa has experienced a widening scope of land conflicts, making them important in investigating and understanding security and development in Africa.[42]

Oftenly, conflicts and insecurity attached to land has a string to the scarcity of land, both natural and artificial. Natural scarcity is realized when there is over-population in a given area, such that available land is not enough for other use like for agriculture. On the other hand, artificial scarcity is realized when there is forced migration and displacement of people into a given area making land available for use not to be enough.

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[42] Richards Downed (2005). "Cynical Politicians, Pipedreams and How We Can Make a Difference". *Independence* (London) June , 1, 2005

A good example of a country in Africa where there are both natural and artificial scarcities of land is Rwanda, as a result of conflict that led to the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Scarcity of land cuts across many countries, especially in Africa.

Conflicts and insecurity over land emanates from different cause. Forced migration by conflicting communities and displacement by government agencies are the common causes. The less advantaged people in the society are displaced of their land by the government or private developers from large-scale farming or for developing private, rental or commercial buildings. The less advantaged segment of the society will remain with no choice but to move to already overcrowded areas. An example to deconstruct this argument is the differences on how to address government's acquisition of land in Cotonou, Benin in 2001; the acquisition resulted in scuffles among the displaced persons.[43] The second example of conflict over scarcity of land is in Nigeria, in 2001 too, between the local communities and the political classes. In Nigeria then, land acquisition by the government in Ajah, Lagos resulted in clashes, most likely arising from the compensation package for each land owner (Lynne Reinner, 2002).

Conflict over land resources come in different ways. Communities living together can fight over land ownership or management, over a border or a territory, and it can be between communities or states. There is also the issue of inheritance and ancestral connection to land ownership. Such conflicts can be between families, villages, clans or ethnic groups. For instance, in eastern Nigeria, there was conflict between two communities between 1995 and 2000 over land alond the shared border.[44] As a result of this conflict, many people were killed (Lynne Rienner, 2002). The outcome of this tribal land conflict in Nigeria was thought to have been influenced by the powerful

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[43] Jeremy Gauntlet (2004). ''Mugabe's Broken Bench''. Counsel, February, 2004, p.16.
[44] This Day (Lagos). July 22, 2003,p.19

connections Chamba tribe had in an indigene, Lt. General Yakubu Danjuma, a former Minister of Defense, who has been alleged to have manipulated the situation to favor his tribe.[45] In this example, it is evident that there is a vicious cycle of conflict due to manipulation of powerful individuals in the society, and that there is lack of clear structures to manage natural resources. Conflict and insecurity between ethnic groups over disputed boundaries has been rampant especially in West Africa. Another example in Nigeria was in July 2003, deputy governors Edo and Kogi states were forced to meet and resolved a conflict over land. The same scenario was witnessed in Ebonyi and Benue states. (David Malone, 2000).

2.4.2 Conflicts and Insecurity over Solid Minerals

 Solid minerals are natural resources that are found in solid forms as finished products. Examples are gold, diamond, iron and copper among others. Conflicts and insecurity emanating from solid minerals have been a devastating one in many African nations, which has destabilized most of the states. There are some linkages to the rise of conflicts and insecurity that is attached to the solid minerals, such as prominence of activities of warlords, presence of foreign mercenaries who attach high interest, connection of external actors like the multinational corporations, which escalates conflicts in the regions endowed with solid minerals.

In West Africa, there are three instances under which mineral resources can be linked to the causes of conflicts and insecurity. These are: When two or more different ethnic entities claim ownership over a piece of land which bears mineral resources or when states claim a region rich in mineral deposits; when the local communities violently protest the management policies of the government or authorities entrusted with the

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[45] West African civil society have formed an organization to complement ECOWAS in addressing the issue of small arms.

management of solid minerals; and when there is an involvement of the national politics in the control and management of these resources, which eventually interrupt the activities of the local artisan operators.

Whether by different ethnic groups or by different nations or states, disputes over the possession of land which bears solid minerals have been the main cause of conflicts and insecurity in West Africa. The manifestation of such conflicts and insecurity can be witnessed at both the national and international levels. Such conflicts have caused instability in many West Africa nations. The intricate political resource governance in West Africa in particular, and in Africa a whole, is the major cause of conflicts. People do not exploit these resources mainly for their direct benefit but for development, an area failed by the political governance, like providing good health care, good roads, schools, access to fresh water, and so on, using the country's resources. It has also been noted that the source of these conflicts were beneficial interests and small government compensation for the land.[46]

As earlier mentioned, two categories of conflicts manifest in solid mineral resources. Here are examples from West Africa: First is in south-west Nigeria between two rival communities, the Igbojaiye and Ofiki in Oyo North.[47] Both the communities claimed ownership to a portion of land which is rich in solid mineral resources. Their dispute over the land began in the year 2002. The government had to come in and mediate with the two factions to save the situation and reconcile the two communities.[48] In Sierra Leone, between 1991 and 2002 (period of civil war in Sierra Leone), the Kenema and

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[46] This chapter will later discuss in Nigeria's Niger delta, some of the expectations may sometimes be misplaced. However, the expectations from the community of benefiting from a government windfall have not diminished. There is still expectation that they would still benefit from the resource, even if it means proceeds going to miners and government officials/agents.

[47] Tell Magazine (Lagos), February, 11, 2003

[48] Tell Magazine (Lagos), March 20, 2002.

Kono districts which has land rich in diamond, suffered a high level of conflicts and instability due to the disputes over portions of land rich in alluvial diamonds. Unequal distribution of diamond resources was the major cause of civil war in Sierra Leone. The local communities feel frustrated because the proceeds go to benefit Stevens and close government and business associates.[49] [50] The diamonds in Sierra Leone are easily extractible but the government and the political elites would exploit it for their personal gains. The diamond rich areas of Sierra Leone were lost by government to rebel functions in 1984. These minerals provided the much needed funding for the rebels to arm themselves. Smuggling and illicit trading in diamond then became rampant, while being controlled by private investors. The civil war in Sierra Leone was largely due to resource curse and led to lose and displacement of thousands.

Communities living in areas rich in solid minerals most of the time object the government's policies in management of these resources, leading to conflict and insecurity. Indeed, political situation in Sierra Leone was highlighted by the fight over minerals and the strive to control this vital natural resource.[51] The civil war in Liberia is also connected to the mismanagement of diamonds and iron resources. Conflicts in Liberia came in two phases: 1989-1996, and 1999-2004.[52] The first was a political fight to overthrow the then president Samuel Doe but later became a multidimensional civil war,[53] while the second was a fight between two rebel groups one one hand and the administration of president Charles Taylor on the other[54] All these wars had linkages to

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[49] Auty, Richard M. (1993). Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies. The Resource Curse Thesis. London, Rutledge

[50] Federico, Victoria (2007). The Curse of Natural Resources and Human Development. L-SAW. Lehigh Student Award Winners.

[51] The other country where solid mineral resources have turned to be a factor in conflict and insecurity is Angola and the DRC.

[52] The civil war in Liberia is basically grouped into two: War against Doe, and against Taylor.

[53] The Liberian war basically involved factions led by Charles Taylor, Prince Yomie Johnson, George Boley, Roosevelt Johnson and Alhaji Kromah.

[54] The unity between LURD and MODEL fanctions degenerated into a civil war in 2003.

mineral resource-exploitation by various groups and mismanagement by the government agents. The civil war in Liberia also led to the death of hundreds of people and displacement of many others.

2.4.3 Conflicts and Insecurity over Oil Resource

In addition to land and solid minerals, oil has attracted a high-level conflict and insecurity. Various factors are attributed to conflicts related to oil. These are: Oil is highly profitable; when it is explored, it has negative consequences on the environment; it attracts politics of international magnitude; and lastly, oil has a major role to play in the socio-economic and ethno-political affairs of the country of produce. Most of the countries in Africa are endowed with oil resources. Discussions at many high level state meetings prominently features on how energy issues are linked with conflict globally. With Africa's increasing discovery of oil and gas, it is believed that this will fuel the continents interest in energy politics, especially fueled by the greed over the oil resource (Paul Wihbey, 2000).

Almost all oil producing countries in Africa face challenges of management of oil resources, which is at the center of socioeconomic and political governance. These oil-producing countries could not strike a balance between national interests and local claim, primarily due to corruption and mismanagement of this vital resource. In understanding the linkages between oil and conflicts in Africa, four factors are at play: Foreign multinational corporations have high interest in the affairs of the oil producing countries due to its high global demand for energy and as a result, intervene in the local politics; high corruption rate by political elites in oil-producing countries which widens the gap between local claim and national interest, consequently leading to "resource curse"; civil society group pushing for good governance and accountability, following the change in the nature of politics; and lastly, the effects of globalization.

The table below shows countries in West Africa which produces oil.

Table 2.1 West Africa oil production

Country	Barrel per day
Nigeria	1,900,000
Equatorial Guinea	317,000
Gabon	210,000
Ghana	59,000
Côte d'Ivoire	37,000
Niger	20,000
Mauritania	6,000

Source: African Confidential (March 16, 2006)

Oil and conflict are intertwined in all the oil producing countries in West Africa. Conflict over oil arises in various ways. These are: disputes on ownership of oil-producing areas like land and marine; mismanagement of oil proceeds and its products; controversies over exploration processes; reaction by local inhabitants against government agencies and international investors due to interference of their cultural and religious practices; and secessionist interest by oil producing regions, which creates rebels and armed groups.

Disputes in ownership claims of oil producing lands manifest in three ways: inter-communal conflicts over a site bearing oil resources; at national level where the belligerents are often armed groups or rebels against the government; and at international level where two or more independent states fight over resource-rich territories, especially at border areas. The local level conflicts over land bearing oil is between two or more ethnic groups, or sub-clans laying claims over a site of land rich in oil. The motivation behind the conflicts has been associated with the value attached

to the land having oil deposits. There is believe that discovery of these resources increases the value of the land and once the resources are harnessed, there will be greater development to the local community.[55]

In Africa, Nigeria has been the largest oil producer, with most of the deposits located in the Niger delta.[56] Niger Delta is occupied by several ethnic groups which have engaged in conflicts since the discovery of oil.[57] Discovery of oil in Nigeria covers about eight states. Disputes and conflicts mainly arise between different ethnic groups over a portion of land with oil discoveries, each ethnic community putting claim on it. Another level of conflict over land with oil discoveries is on how to distribute compensation that comes from land with oil deposits. These communities could not equitably share the compensation from the central government or overseas companies. This outlines some of the communal conflicts in oil-producing communities in Nigeria.

The national level conflicts over ownership claims over a portion of land with oil discoveries can be seen in two ways: When different ethnic communities join hands and base their claim over a site rich in oil, and they jointly challenge the central government. An example here too is in Nigeria, where, although they sometimes disagree among themselves, different communities in oil-producing areas sometimes come together to fight the government on ownership claims. The second way is when such communities join hands and fight the central government, while questioning its legitimacy. This sometimes lead to secessionist claims as in the case of South Sudan

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[55] Wale Adebanwi (2001). "Nigeria: Shell of a State," *Dollars and Sense Magazines*, July/ August 2001.
[56] This Day Lagos, July 11, 2004
[57] D. S. P. Alamieyeseigha. (2005). The Delta Crisis, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", Tell Lagos. Discourse Section, April 4, p. 2.

and Northern part Sudan, the latter becoming reluctant to secession attempt by the former due to the oil deposits.

At international level, two or more independent states disagree over ownership of a portion of land with oil deposits leading to a conflict between nations/sates. A good example is the claim of owner on Bakassi Peninsula, which led to a conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon, which was at its peak in 1981 when Cameron troops killed eight Nigerian soldiers. In 1975, Cameroon claimed the territory, Bakassi peninsula which borders Nigeria, and as a result, an agreement was signed by former Nigerian military ruler, General Yakubu Gowon, ceding the disputed peninsula to Cameroon. After Gowon was overthrown, Nigeria disputed the agreement and laid their claim on the Peninsula, leading to conflict between the two nations.

Another example of territorial conflict over land with oil deposits between two nations is the conflict between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. The disputed territory is at the border of the two nations, called Mbagne Island which is in the Gulf of Guinea, with oil deposits. Both the two countries cited historical claims over the island while basing their ownership claim on the island. Their conflict reached its peak in 2002 when the Gabon took over the island, forcing both the countries to reach a solution in order to evade further conflict.

2.5 Chapter Summary

It is clearly evident that conflicts and insecurity in Africa is largely contributed by natural resources. Out of these conflicts and insecurity, only a small percentage is experienced at the international level. The rest are at national level between the central government and the local communities, and between different ethnic groups at the local level. The Eastern and the Western Africa regions are highly susceptible to conflicts and insecurity. The two regions have experienced protracted conflicts and instability over many decades. The next chapter seeks to address the linkages between natural resources and conflicts and insecurity, together with the impact of conflict spillovers and its contributing factors.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LINKAGES BETWEEN THE NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONFLICTS AND THE CROSS-BORDER EFFECTS OF CONFLICT SPILLOVERS

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two addressed the general overview of conflict and insecurity in Africa. It also observed an overview of conflict and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa regions, together with the conceptual analysis.

This chapter will critically look at the linkages between natural resources and conflicts and the effects of cross-border conflict spillovers across the Eastern and Western Africa border regions.

3.2 The Linkages between Natural Resources and Conflict

Conflict can be violent or non-violent, the former being associated with the use of force as a means to an end of the conflict, while the latter involves peaceful negotiations between conflicting parties in a conflict.[58] In today's context, violent conflicts are trans-border and multi-dimensional in nature, with high networks and complexity. Consequently, these characteristics make violent conflict deadly and more prolonged. It is also intractable. These features make immense challenges for those responding to it. On the other hand, non-violent conflict denotes non-violent characteristics, with absence of violation. It is therefore easily tackled and resolved.

John Galtung (1969), in his article, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", argues that conflict occurs when there is injustice in the structural system and because one party has organizational structures in place while the other party does not have, making it

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[58] P. Wallerstein (2007). Understanding Conflict Resolution: Sage, p. 34

weaker and more vulnerable to violence and conflict. It is the deeply rooted structural anomalies that are responsible for conflict rather than the subjective elements in the nature of the relationship.[59] According to Galtung, some social structures or social institutions may cause affliction to other people in the society in order to prevent them from meeting their basic needs. There are social stratums in the society. Since there are anomalies in these strata, those with power and economic muscles exploit the disadvantaged and the vulnerable groups in the society. The former will use force and cause violence in order to keep the latter from attaining their basic needs and rights. Hence conflict is inevitable. Since higher percentage of the world resources are natural ones, there will always be exploitation and violence meted on the less privileged members of the society by those in power, which will subsequently lead to conflict and insecurity.

Further, David Keen explains that in Africa, countries that are faced by the challenge of not being able to solve resource management issues without conflicts.[60] He states that violent distributional struggle over the abundant resources result from a deliberating effect on economies and governance institutions. This violence can therefore, be viewed as a means through which groups take advantage to exploit these natural resources for their own gain. He argues that the nature of conflicts drastically changes when the natural resources in question involve offshore territories. In this case, the conflicts take the form of inter-state conflicts. In most African countries where there is resource abundance, there is violence and insecurity most of the time since different people are fighting over control of these resources. If the central government is not distributing the wealth created from the natural resources adequately, those who feel

[59] J. Galtung (1969). Violence, Peace and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*. Volume 3, p. 68
[60] D. Keen (1998). The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars. (Adelphi Papers, No. 320). Routledge.

deprived will arm themselves and fight the government, hence, creating conflict and insecurity. Economic sabotage will then be experienced, leading to instability in a country. In situations where there is scarcity of natural resources, competition over these scarce resources will arise leading to disputes and conflicts.

According to Wallerstien, apart from depending on actions of actors, conflicts depend on incompatibilities and are formed in three parts, namely: incompatibility, action and actors. Conflict is therefore, a fight between at least two groups over control of scarce resources.[61] This clearly explains that scramble for scarce natural resources leads to violence and conflict. This is where two or more parties fight over scarce natural resources in order to have access and ownership of these resources.

3.2.1 Environmental Linkages to Natural Resources and Conflicts

The link between the environment and natural resources and conflicts is basically connected to scarcity of the environment that bears natural resources. Scarcity of natural resources negates violence since the environment that bears the resources is not enough for everyone, leading to disputes and eruption of conflicts (Homer-Dixon 1996).

There are some factors that determine the linkages between the environment and conflicts as a result of natural resources. These are: the quantity or the level of environmental resources, political good will, the structure of social interactions, the nature of the nations and the patterns of economic relations among the social classes. These factors affect the usage and sharing of natural resources, the consequences of scarcities of the environment, inequalities that come as a result of environmental scarcities and the disputes and conflicts that will follow.

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[61] P. Wallerstein (1974). Understanding Conflict Resolution. London (Sage, 2007). P. 34

There are three kinds of environmental scarcity of resources. These are: demand-induced scarcity, supply-induced scarcity and structural scarcity. Demand-induced scarcity is a situation where there is limited availability of natural resources and increasing levels of the population. The increase in the population level raises the consumption level of the limited resources, leading to its depletion. Supply-induced scarcity on the other hand is a situation where the limited natural resources suffers environmental degradation which leads to the decrease and subsequently, depletion of available resources, decreasing the quantity available to a group or individuals. Structural scarcity refers to unequal distribution of natural resources in a given area while there is a high level of population depending on a given natural resource. Here, the available resources are being controlled by a few people in the society while a higher percentage of the population suffers from shortages. As a result of the three factors of environmental resource-scarcity, two levels of interaction are evident: resource capture and ecological marginalization. Resource capture refers to a situation where one group takes control of a resource and shifts distribution to favour them, leading to scarcity to the other group(s). Ecological marginalization is as a result of increased utilization of the resource combined with inequalities in distribution. The dominance of the powerful groups will force the weak to migrate to areas lacking these resources or that have been degraded (Homer-Dixon, 1994:15-160).

Environmental scarcity and social competition over limited natural sources create disputes which will eventually lead to conflicts and insecurity. Reduction in agricultural produce, displacement of communities due to effect of environment and degradation of governing institutions are the direct consequence of scarcity of resources (Homer-Dixon, 1991:91).

Environmental scarcity and social imbalances are most often addressed through violence. Various social groups come together to form a rebel group, arm themselves and jointly fight for their rights. Civil violence also erupts in different areas, which is a fight between the state and the society. When a group of the society feels aggrieved and that their fundamental rights have been trampled upon, they join hands and fight the state, leading to civil war. In order to ensure peaceful relations states must ensure fairness in provision of the societal needs and be able to control groups and organizations in the society (Migdal, 1994:27). There is need for the Civil society groups to continue championing the course of its constituents by presenting their grievances to the state. This leads to greater understanding and sharing of ideas on how to solve the conflicts that arise out of misunderstandings (Chazzan, 1994; Putnam, 1993). Some civil society groups are well equipped with military strengths due to their ownership and control of high profile natural resources, which gives them economic muscles. In such circumstances, it will be very challenging for the government to contain them. In order to succeed in undermining rebel groups, state resources and leadership behaviour are key. States with declining state resources and autocratic/dictatorship leadership style tend to attract rebellion from the society and are eventually ousted from power. (Gurr, 1993:130).

3.2.2 Poverty Linkages to Natural Resources and Conflict

Due to lack of income and better livelihood options, poor people around the world depend largely on available natural resources. The rural population depends on crop farming and livestock rearing to sustain an income. Availability of water is the determining factor for the two livelihood practices, agriculture and animal husbandry. Most of the times, the rains, which are highly depended upon by the poor, fail to come. As an alternative, the poor population will resort to surface or underground water.

However, the challenge here is easy accessibility by the poor to the available lands with water. The rights of the poor and the disadvantaged groups in the society are oftenly trampled, making it hard for them to enjoy their basic rights. As a result, they resort to violence as a means to fight for their rights. Prudent utilization of land, water and all natural resources is a catalyst to socio-economic development.[62]

There are a number of factors and interconnections that threatens the livelihoods of the local communities. These are environmental degradation, economic liberalization, rapid population growth, HIV/AIDS and poor health, bad governance, unequal distribution of resources, and gender discrimination. In the name of sourcing for livelihoods, the poor population is abusing the natural resources. For instance, deforestation through cutting down of trees for charcoal and firewood, clearing bushes, harvesting of timber, and so on; and pollution of water in various sources like rivers, lakes, dams and so on. The condition of poverty is increasingly contributed by bad governance, lack of access to drinking water and water for domestic use, flooding and droughts. These and many factors increase the level of aggression of the poor folks, making them hostile and eventually leading to violent behaviours.

3.3 Effects of Cross-Border Conflict Spillovers across the Eastern and Western Africa Regions

The Eastern and Western Africa countries share historical factors regarding ethnic and geographical aspects. Various ethnic groups live along the borders of the two regions. While conflict spillover is the object of a lively literature (see for instance Ward and Gleditch, 2002, Gleditch 2002, Brathwaite 2005, Salehyan and Gleditch, 2006,

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[62] Abraham Maslow (1943). Conflict, Frustration, and the Theory of Threat. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. 38, n0. 81-86

Kathman 2010 and 2011),[63] there is no paper that separately estimates this spillover for different regions of the world. However, there are some studies that describes spillover is likely to be stronger or weaker across geographical regions.

Brathwaite (2005) finds that in resource-rich countries are more likely to cause regional unease than other disputes. Following his explanation Brathwaite also noted that states with higher capacity to deal with conflicts experience reduced conflict spillover. Buhag and Gleditsch (2008), Bosker and De Ree (2010) and De Groot (2011) report that transnational ethnic inter-relationships were the major catalysts for conflicts. Beardsley (2011) in his study noted that involvement of peacekeepers greatly reduced the spread of both domestic and inter-state conflicts. Based on these studies, the spillover of conflicts into the neighbouring regions is stronger in the Eastern and Western Africa countries due to ethnic balkanization. This is because of the presence of some of the factors that contributes to the diffusion of conflicts across the regions, such as the availability of natural resources which breeds conflicts, high presence of ethnic balkanization along the borders and presence of small arms. To synthesize this argument, Carmignani and Chowdhary (2012) noted that there was a higher combination of availability of enormous natural resources and weak institutions in countries located in Western and Eastern Africa regions. It was also noted that ethnic spread across borders contribute to internationalization of domestic conflicts, this is because, the borders drawn by colonial masters did not take into consideration the ethnic boundaries. This leads to retention of very strong inter-state ethnic linkages. (Alesina et al., 2006).

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[63] Majority of papers contain information on the influence of conflicts in neighboring states on domestic conflict in the another state.

Many conflicts spill over into neighbouring countries, especially those along the borders. The Eastern and Western Africa countries are prone to this phenomenon. An example from Western Africa is the Liberian Civil War (1989-1996), whereby, during the period, a refugee camp was created along the border of Sierra Leon and Liberia. As a result of the camp, a rebel army was bred-Sierra Leone's rebel army called the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). The refugee camp provided plentiful manpower for Sierra Leon's rebel Army-RUF, which got its support from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), headed by Charles Taylor. The RUF then fought a civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) for more than a decade. RUF later intervened and supported Taylor during the Second Liberian War (1999-2003). The Liberian conflict is one of the most devastating conflicts in West Africa. This conflict later spilled over to Guinea, after Sierra Leone, since it progressively evolved into a tri-partite conflict.

Regional linkages also create spillover of conflicts in the neighboring countries. Some of the West Africa countries like Mali, Niger and Mauritania are bordering the Sahel region. Some of the radical groups on the Sahel region have brought insecurity to many parts of the world. Such radical groups like Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and MUJAO/MOJWA, and Boko Haram insurgents are a security threat in the region. There are connections and collaborations between the Boko Haram insurgents and the radical Islamist groups in the Sahel, which also gives the Boko Haram support in operations. For instance, in 2009, when the Nigerian military carried an offensive operation against Boko Haram, the remnants of Boko Haram re-grouped again and entered Mali, through the north, where they were trained. Three years later, in April 2012, close to 100 remnants of Boko Haram attacked Algerian embassy in Gao, Mali. This describes the regional spillover of conflicts across the states. Boko Haram insurgents are forces fighting the Nigerian government.

Boko haram insurgents have brought numerous security challenges due to the dynamics of the regional and trans-national security issues. Between northern Nigeria and Mali intersection sits the Niger state. Due to the diffusion of conflicts and inter-mingling of the remnants of Boko Haram, Niger's internal security has been at stake. The movement of Boko Haram insurgents from north-eastern Nigeria exacerbated internal conflicts in Nigeria. These insurgents are also found in northern Mali, southern Libya and the Central Africa Republic. Burkina Faso also hosts a good number of refugees which were fleeing conflicts from northern Mali, caused by the Boko Haram attacks. Cameroon and Chad were not spared by the cross-border activities of Boko Haram due to the movement of the insurgents who are radicalizing and recruiting its members from cross the entire West African Countries.

To understand the dynamics of conflict spillovers across the borders, we need to understand the types of wars fought in Africa and the conflicts that emanates from such wars and violence. There are various types of wars fought in Africa, depending on various factors. The common type of war in Africa is intra-state wars. Intra-state wars are basically wars or conflicts that occur internally, or within a state. It can also be referred to as civil wars. Intra-state wars often stem from ethnic hatreds that manifest through nationalism, separatism, or a fight for ethnic diversity (James and Goetze, 2001). Most of the border regions in Africa are ethnically homogenous. In a traditional-rural settling, an individual is a member first of all of a family and then of a tribe.[64] The demands the tribe makes on an individual vary with the complexity of the tribal systems of government,[65] as does the degrees to which family and tribal loyalties are distinct.

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[64] *A Tribe is What Murdock Calls a Community.* (G. Murdock, Social Structure, New York). Macmillan, 1949, p. 79
[65] Statements on the Typologies of Tribal Organizations in Africa are to be Found in: M. Fortes and E. Evans. Pritchard, African Political Systems, Oxford 1940.

However, there is a harmonious support amongst the tribal and family loyalties in every community.

In most parts of West Africa and East Africa boarder lands lies people of the same ethnicity, who live across two or more border regions. The boarder lines were not cleverly cut out by the colonial powers. The imperialists did not put into consideration many factors while drawing border regions in Africa, since most of the ethnic communities were cut out from their ancestral loyalties. Michalopoulos, (2011), quoting the words of Lord Salisbury inferred that the colonialists drew the boundaries without really knowing the ethnic spread, noting thay they were donating mountains, lakes, rivers to each other without really knowing their location. He farther notes that those who wanted the boundaries to reflect ethnic spread were not heard or taken seriously.

Presence of ethnic groups across the borders highlights the risks of spillover of conflicts and also internationalizes conflicts. Ethnic conflicts fought along the borders spread like wild fires, putting the regions involved into potential risks. Such conflicts create regional conflicts as it moves away from being internal conflict into inter-state conflict. Such conflicts bring high death toll, massive destruction of properties, displacement, fear and confusion. Regional conflicts involve two or more countries in the same region. Initially contained internal conflicts spark off regional intervention, thus, internationalizing the conflicts. For instance, the war in DRC comprised of about eight countries, all with its armed forces. Most the conflicts in Africa take regional dimension. Other examples in Africa are wars in Sierra Leone, Angola and Sudan. Most of these conflicts are proxy in nature. Some countries develop interest in such conflicts, but do not physically take part in the fight. Instead, such forces give their support to the party of their choice in terms of resources, man-power, weapons and ammunitions.

Most of the proxy forces are geared towards the exploitation of natural resources. They serve their interest.

Most of the countries in the Eastern Africa too share historical factors with each other, regarding both ethnic and geographical aspects. Apart from Somalia, who had conflict with its neighboring countries, most Eastern Africa countries had intra-state conflicts. Most of the countries in the Eastern Africa share people of the same ethnicity across their borders. For instance, there are Somali speaking people in Kenya with border of Somalia, also at the boarder of Ethiopia with Somali. During conflicts, the spillover is easily felt across the borders of these countries due to the existence of people of the same ethnic background across the borders.

Inter-clan conflicts in Somalia are a good example of conflict spillover in the Eastern Africa region. Somalia has experienced high-level of violence for decades. Kenya has been grappling to contain Somalia conflict spillover, which has affected Kenya's security greatly. After many years of inter-clan violence, conflict in Somalia has changed its form, whereby, a militia group known as Al-Shaabab was formed to fight Somalia government. Somalia is one of the unstable countries in the world. Most of the times, Al-Shaabab militias crossed into Kenya from Somalia, across the borders of the two countries, and cause mayhem. Al-Shaabab foothold along the Kenyan border with Somalia has been high causing high level of insecurity and affecting the economy in Kenya. Sneaking in of the Al-Shaabab militias into Kenya has caused a major challenge to Kenya's lucrative tourism industry. Decades of conflicts in Somalia has for a long time deeply implicated and affected Kenya. Violence in Somalia affects Kenya. Violence in Somalia easily spread into Kenya, due to the presence of Somalis along the borders of the two countries. Refugees also spillover regularly into Kenya from Somalia

across the border. At one time, a disabled French woman was kidnapped in Lamu while she was at her home in Ras-Kitau on Manda Island in the year 2011.

During the period between 2010 and 2013, kidnappings of the Kenyan locals and international workers alongside the tourists from abroad became so common along the border of Somalia with Kenya, especially in Mandera, Lamu and Mombasa. Kidnappings of the western tourists attracted international attention. Border violence and insecurity increased along the borders of the two countries as Al-Shaabab militants crossed over and caused violence, killing and kidnapping many Kenyans. The border of Kenya and Somalia at one time got controlled by warlords and militants, who gets support from their sympathizers from across the globe. Their unbecoming activities along the borders made Kenya to attack Al-Shabaab, in a swift of operation called "Linda Nchi", with the objective of controlling its sovereignty.

Boarder conflicts and kidnappings also create economic challenges, in addition to security. The tourism sector in Kenya was grossly affected during the period in question, following the kidnappings of the western tourists.

Right after the independence, the Somali government planned to unify all the regions inhibited by Somalis, which includes the north-eastern part of Kenya-Garissa, Wajir and Mandera. In this regard, Northern Frontier Liberation Army (NFLA) was formed in 1960 by ethnic Somalis to fight for this course, supported then by the Somali Government.[66] This secessionist threat was later contained by the Kenyan government in 1967, after an agreement with the Somalia government, and the Kenyan government declared war on the shiftas of Somali origin.

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[66] Brown, Michael E. (1996). The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict. Centre for Science and International Affairs. Harvard University. Cambridge. Massachusetts.

Since the outbreak of the civil war that led to the toppling of Siad Barre's regime in 1991, Somalia has been grappling in deadly inter-clan violence, as a result of greed for power and control for resources like water and land, violence that has led to the death of thousands of people. The internal conflict in Somalia is still ongoing. Kenya has been friendly with Somalia for over a long period. Large number of refugees fleeing war in Somalia has been taking refuge in Kenya. According to (UNHCR,[67] 2014) it is believed that all conflicts have some impacts on the neighbouring countries in some ways. The impact of Somali refugees in Kenya was devastating. This idea is in support of Browns concept which explains that refugee is as a result of internal conflicts and it mostly affects the neighbouring countries.[68] As a result of this refugee influx, Kenya has faced many instances of insecurity along its border with Somalia.

Kenya has never been at peace with the internal conflict in Somalia. Cross-border movement was easy due to the presence of Somalia ethnic population on the Kenyan boarder with Somalia. Since the conflict in Somalia broke out in 1991, Kenya has faced several instances of insecurity as a neighbour. This exemplifies the Browns concept which argued that refugees were associated with insecurity spill over which can sometimes lead neighbouring countries to intervene in an otherwise local conflict.[69] Despite threats of insecurity, Kenya has tried to lead mediation processes in Somalia that was geared at resolving Somalia conflicts during the years 2010-2014.

Spillover of Somalia conflicts was felt in many instances. Al-Shaabab militants would cross over through the Kenyan border with Somalia and cause mayhem. Apart from Al-Shaabab militias, there is also the presence of Al-Qaeda militants in the Somali conflict.

[67] UNHCR (2014). Refugee Population in Kenya.
[68] Brown, Michael E. (1996). The International Dimensions of Conflicts. *Center for Science and International Affairs.* Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
[69] Brown (1996). P. 591

The two illegal groupings have, in many instances, threatened to cause insecurity in Kenya. The two groups formed terrorist organization that killed, maimed and kidnapped several citizens in Kenya, including the foreigners. At one time, over 72 locals and foreigners were killed at a city mall in Nairobi, called Westgate Shopping Mall, after the terrorists seized the mall on 21st September 2003. A similar attack was orchestrated on the Moi University students in Garissa, whereby, about 148 students were killed on 2nd April, 2015. As a result of these and many other outrageous attacks, tourism sector and economic activities of the Kenyan country was adversely affected. On top of this, terrorist groups started to recruit youngsters from Kenya, which are of Somali origin, and other Muslim nationals inside Kenya, into their groups.[70] Due to the increased high insecurity, the Kenyan government decided to fight the terrorist groups, Al- Shaabab, by sending its troops-Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) into Somalia to protect its territory.[71] This helped reduce Al-Shaabab insecurity threat significantly.

Spillover of conflicts across the Kenya–Ethiopia border is another example. Due to poor governance across the borders, conflicts that take place in one country can easily spread into a neighbouring one. Across the borders of the two countries live a population of people of diverse ethnic groups, especially in areas of Moyale in Kenya and Moyale in Ethiopia, Mandera, and so on. Whenever ethnic conflicts erupt, it easily get spread across the borders, creating devastating effects on the political order and economic development, as well as interfering with the social norms. Such effects impact on the neighbouring countries by bringing instability and insecurity threats. In the Eastern Africa, just in other areas of the world, due to the existence of population of the same

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[70] ICG (2012). The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia. International Crises Group. Africa Report. Feb-15, 2012. No. 184
[71] ICG (2012). The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia. International Crises Group. Africa Report. Feb-15, 2012. N0. 184

ethnic groups along the borders, conflicts from one country tend to spread into a neighbouring country and become entwined with conflicts there. The dynamics of boarder insecurity is due to the existence of weak states which makes communal violence to easily spread across the borderers.

One major incident of spillover of conflicts is the Turbi Massacre of 2005. In the early morning of July 12th 2005, about 1000 Borana militias who were armed to the teeth crossed the border of Kenya from Ethiopia, and recklessly attacked residents of Turbi town. The attack is believed to have a connection to the competition over water and green pasture between the Borana and Gabra ethnic groups. The dawn attack led to the death of about 70 people, 22 of which were children. A dozen others were displaced. Immediately, the Turbi conflict spread to the neighbouring town of Busbisa, where 10 people were killed in a revenge attack. Turbi town is mainly inhabited by Gabra ethnic group. The Turbi massacre is one of the major post-independence atrocities witnessed in this region of East Africa. This massacre defines the failure by the Kenyan government to provide enough security to its citizens. Ethnic-based politics and inter-tribal feuds also play a role in such high level insecurity. The Turbi massacre had cross-border dimensions into Ethiopia. It is the duty of the state to secure the borderlands.

The borderlands of Ethiopia and Kenya have been a source of inter-communal conflicts. Many ethnic groups live across the borders of the two countries. These are: Borana, Garri, Gabra and Burji communities. Oftenly, conflict breaks out between Burji and Garri in Ethiopia and between Borana and Gabra in Kenya. The protagonists in the conflict in the Moyale borderland region[72] align themselves principally along group

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[72] Glowacki, Luke; and Gonc, Katja (2013). Investigating the Potential of Peace Committees in Ethiopia. A Needs Assessment in IGAD CEWARN's Kenya-Ethiopia Clusters.

identities. Many decades of hostilities between different communities living along Moyale border has been experienced. A conflict taking place on one side of the border often spread over to the other side and having some effects, due to relation of clans or ethnicity among the communities living in Ethiopia and Kenya. Among other factors, the redrawing of the regional borders based on ethnic settlement, demarcations of administrative units and parliamentary constituencies, giving regional governments autonomy had been the drivers of conflict in the border area of Moyale, on both sides of the two countries.

The border town of Gambella is one of the regions in the Eastern Africa which is highly contagious to conflict. Gambella town is in Ethiopia, and it is a highly conflicted part of the country. This conflict has its roots in political divisions that have led to disagreements between two major ethnic groups residing in the region. These major ethnic groups are the Anuak and Neur.[73] Both the two ethnic groups have settlement across the borders of the two countries, on the sides of Ethiopia and South Sudan. The second Sudan civil war of 1983 led to the increase in the number of refugees in the region. This has greatly changed the demographic balance of the region, which the Anuak had enjoyed an upper hand until the mid-1980s. (Esei, Kurimoto, 2005).

The Nuers, one of the ethnic communities in the current South Sudanese civil war, has a larger representation in South Sudan, than it has in Ethiopia. However, due to the decades-long conflict, the Nuers have a large number of refugees across the border of Ethiopia, settling at Gambella due to the presence of its affiliate clans in Ethiopia. As a result of this cross–border movement, the Nuers became the majority ethnic group. The

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[73] Dereje Feyissa (2011). Playing Different Games: The Paradox of the Identification Strategies of the Anuaks and the Nuer in the Gambella region. New York: Berghahn Books.

Anuak ethnic group, who have historical attachment in Gambella region, disputed high presence of Nuers in Gambella, while arguing that they are not Ethiopian citizens. Historical and demographic attachment and political interest became one of the major catalysts of the conflict between the groups. The current civil war in South Sudan has led to influx of a large number of refugees, currently standing at over several hundred thousands who are now majorly hosted in refugee camps in Gambella. According to statistics, these refugee numbers had surpassed 190,000 by mid-September 2014[74] the refugees were predominantly ethnic Nuers. This influx of refugee into Ethiopia has political impact.

According to Ethiopian constitution, regional administrative authority is given to a larger ethnic group in a given region. The increasing number of Nuers brought tension to the already existing Anuak, who have felt that they are being marginalized. Most of the Nuer refugees have been issued with Ethiopian identity cards by the local politicians. Anecdotal evidence shows that some Nuer's political leaders are taking advantage of the refugees for political gains. Issuance of Identity cards to Nuers has caused unease between the political class and the representative from the Federal Institution of the Administration for Refugee Affairs (FIARA).[75]

Nuer's refugee influx into Ethiopian Gambella region was politicized by the Anuak ethnic group. The political elites of the Anuak, in its press release together with the diaspora–based Gambella Nilotes United Movement/Association (GNUM/A) noted that there was an effort by …..to resettle refugees in order to gain political advantage.

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[74] Before December 2013, there were already 56,000 South Sudanese refugees in Gambella.
[75] http://www. zehabesha.com/Ethiopian government-must stop-resettling–refugees-throughout–the Gambella-region-Gambella Nilotes-United-Movement Army/GNUMA

They criticized what they called ethnic cleansing by resettling refugees in Anuak land.[76]

This has increased tension and hostilities between Anuak and Nuer. The Ethiopian government hosted Nuer refugees in good faith but it has turned out to be a scheme to further marginalize the Anuak ethnic group in Gambella.

3.4 Factors Contributing to Spillover of Conflicts across the Borders in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions

3.4.1 Weaknesses of the Regional Governments

In Africa, borderlands are potential sources of conflict and insecurity due to lack of proper security arrangements by the local governments and the regional organizations, including the Eastern and Western Africa regions. Regional administrative units and state authorities lack effective security policies along the borderlands. Border security is central to the security of a state since insecurity incidences can easily destabilize a country through spillover effects. Border insecurity also easily jeopardizes a state's socioeconomic, as well as political structures of a country. Various socioeconomic activities takes place along the borders, which increases a state's economic growth through cross-border trade. Moreover, most of the countries in Africa are landlocked, which means that such countries depend on neighbouring countries to import bulky goods which are normally transported by ship. When the border-lands are insecure, such countries are at a great economic loss, which also brings humanitarian crises that comes with lack of essential commodities.

Border security and management has always been an essential debate on policies of immigration in the developed world. This is based on the important role that a state's border have played in safeguarding its interest on various developmental aspects. Africa

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[76] Pkalya, R.; Adan, M. and Masinde, I. (2003). Conflicts in Ethiopia and Kenya. A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict Victims. Edited by M. Karimi. Nairobi: ITDG.

should also focus on this critical debate on how to secure its borderlands. Africa needs to adopt stringent measures to control its border security challenges. Apart from bearing devastating effects on the economic aspects, border insecurity has claimed many lives of the civilians, as well of that of a state's security agents.

3.4.2 Porous Boarders

Most of the border regions in Eastern and Western Africa countries are unsafe. The existence of the borders between most of these countries adversely contributes to conflict and insecurity, since these borders are unpatrolled. Armed militias can easily cross the border, cause damages and safely cross back to their home country without being traced. Whenever a criminal gang or armed militias cross over a border after causing violence, the security apparatus from both sides do not make a follow up due to the fear of attack. A good example is the case of the Kenya and Somalia cross-border violence. In the case of Kenya-Ethiopia border, most of the times, armed militias and paramilitary forces from Ethiopia crosses over the border into Kenya, especially on the sides of Sololo and Moyale, and commit devastating crimes like killings, maiming and kidnappings, and raiding of livestock without fear of the Kenyan security apparatus.[77]

Nigeria also has a porous border, among other Eastern and Western Africa countries. Nigeria shares its border with Cameroon in the east, Niger in the North, Benin in the west, and Chad in the north-east. All of these borders have porosity, which is either mountainous or is in the jungle, giving the Boko Haram militants a place to hide. Devastating violence perpetrated by Boko Haram insurgency has been worsened by the Nigeria's porous border with the four countries above.

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[77] Pkalya, R.; and Adan, M.; and Masinde, I. (2003). Conflicts in Northern Kenya. A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict Victims. Edited by M. Karimi. Nairobi: ITDG.

3.4.3 Cattle Raids and Banditry

Since time immemorial, stealing of livestock between different tribes in Africa was considered to be a cultural practice, with a stretched history. Such practices used to be sanctioned and supervised by elders in every community. In the case of Eastern and Western Africa countries, most of the marginalized tribes practice this outdated acts of cattle raids, while others cause anarchy and violence. We have the Pokot, Turkana, Keiyo, Turgen, Maasai, Marakwet, Samburu, Rendille, Borana, Gabra, Karamojoong, and many other tribes in the Eastern and Western Africa who see cattle rustling as their way of life.

Cattle raids and banditry has with time taken different forms. As the nature of politics has taken shape, such cultural practices are now being controlled politically.[78] Proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate security measures employed by the state, disregard to the traditional governance structures have been noted as some of the major ingredients to expansion of small local conflicts into major regional conflicts that cause massive destruction of property, poverty and ungovernable states/failed states.[79]

3.4.4 Increase in the Exchange of Firearms and Crude Weapons

The ease at which guns and ammunitions can be found along the borders in the Eastern and Western Africa countries is an amplifier of conflicts and insecurity along the borders of these regions. The illicit proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons[80] is the biggest security threat in the regions. Thousands of innocent lives are being lost every passing calendar as a result of easy accessibility of these arms and weapons. Many thugs like criminals and terrorists use these weapons, so is the warring

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[78] UNHCR (2004)
[79] Sanders, E, (2009). "Changing Climate, Changing Lives-Fleeing Drought in the Horn of Africa". The Los Angeles Times (25, October)
[80] The Organization of African Union Summit of June, 3rd 1991.

communities in a conflict. Criminals and terrorists outdo security apparatus in possession of these weapons, such that containing and disarming them has become so challenging. Due to the presence of semi-automatic guns, it is easier for criminals and militias to massacre a population within a short time. The result is that, casualty rates in contemporary violence in the border areas are much higher than was the case fifty years ago, overwhelming customary laws designed to handle conflicts from an earlier, less lethal era.[81]

Given the porosity and weak governance of the borderlands in the region, existence of small arms and light weapons will remain a lethal reality for the communities living in the border regions. These weapons come from many sources, like those countries like South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Liberia, and many other countries. In some cases, government security agents are selling weapons to the communities. Each community, especially the pastoralist ones arm itself. In some cases, guns are exchanged with one head of cattle. This motivates the activity of cattle rustling to purchase guns and secure their assets, this in turn cause insecurity to other communities.[82]

3.5 Chapter summary

Spillover of conflicts has, since time immemorial, caused serious security challenges to economic growth and political order of the states in the Eastern and Western Africa regions. The risk of conflict spillover is therefore, a vital concern to the states in these regions. Spillover of conflicts, if left unabated, can spread further and affect a region already in trouble to get into more violence. Spillover of conflicts also has interventions

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[81] The African Union Agenda 2063, April 2015. Final edition.
[82] East African Community-Quick Facts. EAC-QF. Achieved from the original on 19th march 2009, and retrieved on 22nd, October, 2018.

from neighbouring states and international communities. Once a state supports a weaker party in a conflict, or when there is support or interference from many quarters, there will often be a more serious impact to conflicts. It will get prolonged and more atrocities may be witnessed. The debate on the control of spillover of conflicts has been ongoing for quite some time now. Regional bodies, states and international communities should come together and address this phenomenon.

CHAPTER FOUR

EFFORT OF THE SUB-REGIONAL BODIES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICTS IN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN AFRICA REGIONS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter critically analyzed the linkages between natural resources and conflict and insecurity, together with the effects of cross-border spillover of conflicts across the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

This chapter analyses an overview of the management of conflict by three Regional Economic Communities (REC) covering the Eastern and Western Africa regions. They include: EAC, IGAD, and ECOWAS.

African Union (AU), which is a continental union of 55 countries in Africa, has identified Regional Economic Communities in Africa (REC). Under the REC, there are eight sub-regional organizations which are regarded as the foundations that led to the establishment of the African Economic Communities (AEC) in 1991 by the Abuja treaty which created a framework for African economic cooperation.[83] The eight Regional Economic Blocks are: SADC, CENSAD, AMU/UMA, EAC, ECOWAS, IGAD, ECCAAS and COMESA.

All the above regional bodies are the building blocks of the African continent whose purpose is mainly economic integration in Africa. The economic bodies work in collaboration with the African Union. Apart from economic integration, these regional economic bodies are also mandated to promote peace and stability in their regions in collaboration with the African Union (AU).

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[83] International Monetary Fund (IMF), (2005)

Beyond their role in peace and security, Regional Economic Communities (REC) in Africa have the immense challenges of working with different governments, civil society groups and the African Union Commission in improving the socio-economic development landscape and spurring development of the member countries.[84] Among the eight Regional Economic Blocks in Africa , we have the EAC and IGAD, serving the regions of East Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Nile valley and the African Great Lakes region; and the ECOWAS as serving those countries in West Africa. These economic unions play a vital role in promoting peace, stability and development in the Eastern and Western Africa regions. I am going to analyze the roles the three economic regional blocks have played, in this study.

4.2 An Overview of the East African Community (EAC)

The EAC is an economic integration which is made up of six countries. These are: Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda, The organization was initially established in 1967, with by countries-Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The rest of the countries joined the organization after it was revived in the year 2000.[85] During the pre-colonial era, in 1917, Kenya and Uganda joined hands first and formed a customs union. After a decade of their unity, the then Tanganyika (Tanzania) joined them. As a result, the three East African countries developed a cordial economic relationship that culminated into the East African High Commission between the period 1948-1961; then the East African common services organization during the period 1961-1967; which borne the East African Community in 1967. EAC was active until it collapsed in 1977; after which there was the East African Cooperation in 1993 to

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[84] International Monetary Fund (2005)

[85] EAC (2007) Secretariat. Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC custom union, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

1999.[86] The headquarters of EAC is in Arusha, Tanzania. The EAC was ratified in a treaty which was signed in November, 30th 1999. It was later enforced on 7th July 2000 when the three founders of the East African Community were ratified in a treaty which was signed in November, 30th 1999. It was later enforced on 7th July 2000 when the three founder states –Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania ratified it. The republic of Burundi joined the East African Community on 18th June 2007 and became full member on 1st July 2007.[87]

The East Africa region has a vast and long history of experiences in regional unity. Their harmonious unity started during the early days of scramble for Africa by the Europeans in early 1900, when Uganda and Kenya formed customs union, a type of trade bloc with a free trade. This union was later joined by Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1922.[88] The present East African Community was established out of a agreement signed in 1984 during sharing of assets for the former EAC that provided for future cooperation.[89] Several meetings as a result of this Agreement were planned by the three heads of states. This was followed by establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission (PTC) for EAC on 30th November 1993. The East African Community was fully implemented on 14th March 1996, with a launch at EAC headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania.[90]

The three original East Africa communities-Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are also part of the various trading partners like the African Union (AU), the African Economic Community (AEC), and the Regional Integration Facilitation Forum (RIF). In addition

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[86] EAC (2004), the Vision and Strategy Framework for the Management and Development of the Lake Victoria Basin.

[87] EAC Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC custom union Arusha, EAC secretariat.

[88] East African Community Secretariat Online Information. Available at: *www.eac.int/history.htm*

[89] East Africa Community Secretariat Online Information. Available at *: www.eac.int/histrory.htm*

[90] EAC, Overview. Availability from *http:eac.int/sectors/peace-and–security* (Accessed October 2018

to EAC, the three countries are also members of various regional bodies. There is the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in which Tanzania is a member. Kenya and Uganda are also members of COMESA and IGAD. There is also the Indian Ocean Rim-Association for regional cooperation (IOR-ARC) in which Kenya and Tanzania is members. The membership to several economic blocks and integrations has created challenges to member countries, mainly caused by trade agreements and overlapping interests. Inter alia origin criteria have also raised more challenges for these integrations.[91]

Figure 1: Map of Eastern Africa Countries[92]

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[91] Others include: Training and combating cattle rustling, training settlement and regional and international cooperation in peace and security matters.
[92] Christian Tryon (2015). Azania Archaeological Research in Africa. 47(1) 14-38

4.2.1 Effort of the EAC in the Management of Conflicts in Eastern Africa.

Since its formation, the East African Community has committed itself to ensuring that there is peace and security in the member countries. Article 124 of the EAC treaty emphasizes the importance of peace and security as means of achieving economic prosperity in the region. This led to the adoption of Peace and Security strategy in 2006.[93] The member countries followed this with the adoption of the Protocol on Peace and Security and the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism in January 2012. The East African Community Peace and Security Protocol highlighted 20 strategies for ensuring peace and security in the region. These strategies included identified over 20 objectives for fostering regional peace and security, which include addressing areas such as peace, disaster management, combating terrorism and piracy, refugee management, minimizing smuggling of arms and.[94] The community also supported initiatives that support early warning systems in prevention of conflicts in the region (David Booth, 2007).

In any conflict, there are various causes and dynamics that shape it. In resolving and managing conflicts, and to realize an impressive peace and harmony, an in-depth assessment of the source of conflict must be identified. The origin of conflict must be analyzed. Mapping of the conflict situations is the key initial step in understanding and containing conflict. In a region, cooperation and integration is achieved through peace and security. Economic achievements come with regional integration. For peace and security to be realized, regional cooperation is significant. Since most of conflicts revolve around national borders, regional intervention is highly important in order to have sound peace and stability world over. Integration and cooperation of various states

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[93] EAC News (2001). Issue 8th March 2001.
[94] Christine Pendzich; Gary Thomas; and Tim Wolhenate (1994). the Role of Alternative Conflict Management in Community Forestry, Resolve and FAO, p.1

in a given region have been effective in bringing economic development, long lasting peace, durable stability, viable development and democratic governance.

As per the East Africa Treaty of 2001, the EAC plans to realize a political federation starting with a common market and a monetary union.[95] The EAC cooperation is still growing with its aim of becoming a federal union yet to be achieved. It is envisaged that this can only be done after all the road blocks have been cleared. There is a growing believe among member states that the community will in the near future achieve common market and common currency union (Mukandala, 2000).

All of the member states which form the Eastern Africa has faced various challenges in managing natural resources. Most of these states has political historical of conflicts that has come with natural resources. Most of the conflicts that emanates from the natural resources takes the political form of these countries. In Eastern African, politics exacerbate conflicts to a higher degree.

Conflicts manifest in several ways. It has always been part of inter-community engagement and integration.[96] When analyzed from the direction of the natural resources, conflict is realized when the scramble of the demands on the natural resources increases, with increased population. Most of the times, increase in the population cause demands for natural resources to outdo supply. In such situations, even the communities living in harmony and cohesion will find themselves involved in a conflict and insecurity in order to address their frustrations. Nonetheless, the situation in the Eastern Africa is not different. In this region, there are diverse ethnic groups,

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[95] Okoth Ogendo (1991). Tenants of the Crown: Evolution of Agrarian Law and Institution in Kenya. Act Press Nairobi.

[96] Ghai and J.P.W.B Mcauslan (1970). Public Law and Political Change in Kenya: A Study of the Legal Framework of Government from Colonial Times to the Present. Oxford University Press, Nairobi, Chapters 1 and 3.

each of which has its own beliefs and cultural practices. Use of natural resources is most of the times based on the identity of tribes. Each ethnic group has its own resources. In situation where there is scarcity, such groups move into the territory of another ethnic group, hence causing conflict. In situations where two or more ethnic groups share the same resource, increased effects for the resource-demand is realized, leading to frustration, and hence conflict.

Through the influence of international community, democracy has been thriving well in the Eastern Africa region, much as the rest of the world, leading to change in the political atmosphere. Subsequently, civil society organizations have grown and have gained support from the states in this region. Since they are deeply rooted in the communities, civil society organizations have initiated positive implications. Through various interactions, these organizations have engaged the local people on the ground, empowering them to take part efficiently in adding their voices on their governance issues, which is relative to their way of life. Civil society organizations play the important role of being an actor in the management of conflict and insecurity, since they play the neutral role between the local communities and the government. Since they are closer to the community, these organizations collect the views and the grievances of the locals and present it to the government, while at the same time pushing the government to address the concerns of the locals, and hence, address it effectively.

During the colonial period, institutions where disputes were resolved and legal frameworks were put in the place, which has now fully grown and is being depended upon by the communities living in the Eastern Africa region. On the other hand, communities living in this region have adopted the traditional way of resolving disputes and conflicts, though in an informal set-up. However, in Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, some communities have adopted the formal setup of resolving disputes and

managing conflicts. This is through customary laws which the states and governments also recognize. The customary laws are legally binding. Customary laws are also supported by statutory documents. In some countries in Eastern Africa, customary laws are ignored by the courts and the governments. Instead, the imported laws are being institutionalized by the authorities. This has exposed the weaknesses of customary laws in solving conflicts.[97]

In many rural set-up of Eastern Africa region, most of the communities continue to identify itself with the customary laws and apply the customary laws and norms to control their natural resource-based conflicts.[98] Since time immemorial, rural communities in the Eastern Africa region used the traditional forms of legislation to manage their resources, solve any form of disputes and misunderstanding and even conflicts. Whenever an individual or a group of people wants to access any resources, they are strictly guided by the customary laws which were put in place by the communities through the informal traditional set-up. Whenever anyone breaks from the norm and access or use the resources without following the traditional laws, there are fines and discipline which will be inflicted upon the individual, group or the community that has erred. Enforcement of the customary laws is guided by the norms and beliefs of the communities.

Through their concerted efforts in cooperating and integrating the Eastern Africa regions, the heads of states of the member countries have immensely contributed in managing and resolving any form of disputes and conflicts in the Eastern Africa region.

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[97] Okoth, Ogendo (1991). Tenants of the Crown: Evolution of Agrarian Law and Institutions in Kenya. ACTS Press, Nairobi.

[98] Ghai and J. P. W. B. McAuslan, Public Law and Political Change in Kenya: A Study of the Legal Framework of Government from Colonial Times to the Present. Oxford University Press, Nairobi; 1970. Chapters 1 and 3.

This agenda has been effected through the establishment of the legal institutions, through various Treaties that guides working framework and through putting in place Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanisms that responds to disputes and conflicts that arises in the Eastern Africa regions.

4.3. An Overview of lGAD

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is another one of the sub-regional peace and security body in Africa, covering the Horn of Africa, the Nile valley and the African Great Lakes region. IGAD was established in 1986, on the basis of covering the droughts menace and desertification issues amongst its member states.

The body was originally founded by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda and Sudan, with headquarters in Djibouti. IGAD was established as a trade bloc in Africa, with membership as follows: Countries from the African Great Lakes- Kenya and Uganda; countries from the Horn of Africa- Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia; and the countries that form the Nile Valley- which includes Sudan and South Sudan. IGAD is one of the reliable trade blocs among the eight Regional Economic Communities (REC) in Africa, which form the building blocks of the Africa Union (AU) thorough the integration and cooperation mechanism to foster economic growth and development among the African countries, through the framework of peace, security and political dialogue.

With its headquarters in Djibouti, IGAD is headed by an executive secretary and has established several central organs which include the committee of Heads of States and Governments, Council of Ministers, the Ambassadors committee and the secretariat. The IGAD was established on equity of members' basis, where member states enjoy equal status. They employ the strategy of consensus and democratic voting in decision

making. IGAD has identified three strategic areas of cooperation. These areas include conflict prevention and mitigation, conflict management and support for humanitarian concerns in the region.

The main objectives of IGAD were at first built on economic development. However, the Agreement of the IGAD through its Assemblies of Heads of Sates and Governments also identified the need for promotion of peace and stability in the sub-region, and initiate mechanisms within the region for the prevention, management and resolution of both the intra-state and inter-state conflicts and insecurity thorough dialogue; and to facilitate repatriations and reintegration of refugees, returnees and displaced persons and demobilized soldiers. The Agreement also mandated the member states of IGAD to tackle disputes within the sub-region before it escalates into violence, and before involving other regional or international organizations (Ibid, pg.364).

Figure 2: Map of West Africa Countries[99]

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[99] Christian Tryon (2015). Azania Archaeological Research in Africa. 47(1) 14-38.

4.3.1 Effort of IGAD in the Management of Conflicts

The aspect of coordinating peace and security through peace building and peacemaking initiatives has been the target of IGAD in the sub-region. In the world of today, in order to realize economic growth and development, peace and security is fundamental. Providing peace and security is essential since the basic human needs should be observed in order to enhance sustainable development by providing favourable environment and avert preventable conflict and insecurity. In its 2003 Summit, IGAD member states formulated IGAD strategy which was basically providing a working framework for its Secretariat, detailing an extensive layout of aims such as promoting democratic governance and human rights, which is significant in attracting the donors who are mostly depended by IGAD for financial support.

The main focus of IGAD is the Horn of Africa, especially Somalia and Sudan, which has been grappling with decades of violence and insecurity. In this quest, IGAD, through the Heads of member states and government, together with its Secretariat, have established various forums as part of its commitment to fulfill its objectives. These Forums are: Reliable non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society forums, and community–based organizations. These forums were put in place through the decision of the IGAD Council of Ministers with the soul mandate of providing peace and security in Somalia and Sudan. These Forums are used to formulate policies and discuss the strategic deliberations, and the designing, planning and implementation of programmes and processes of the IGAD organization. To see the implementation of these Forums, IGAD has created Permanent Secretaries to both Somalia and Sudan, to see that its peacemaking efforts are realized.[100]

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[100] Ibid, pg.366

IGAD has developed a strong commitment in the Somalia and Sudan peace processes. The aspect of peace and security in the Horn of Africa region can be described as the core strand of the fabric of IGAD.[101] This is in line with the arrangement of the multiple peace and security approaches in the sub-region, which has been initiated by IGAD in one way or another.

In this quest to bring a formidable peace and stability in the sub-region, IGAD has developed a partnership with about twenty countries, together with the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN), and the World Bank (WB). This partnership is described as the IGAD Partner's Forum (IPF), which assists IGAD in providing peace and security. The UN, the US and the EU have been closely monitoring peace efforts in Somalia and Sudan, together with the newly formed South Sudan which gained its independence in 2011.

Through collaborative efforts with international institutions like the US and EU, IGAD developed a program to combat terrorism in the sub-region, called IGAD Capacity Building Program Against Terrorism (ICPAT). In the Horn of Africa region, terrorism was at its low until 2006 when the US-backed Ethiopian troops invaded Somalia to prop up the Somalia Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Baidoa, Somalia.[102] Through retaliatory tactics, Somalia's Al-Shaabab insurgents carried out a number of terrorism activities in Ethiopia which began in 2012, following a shooting incident against the tourists in Afar region in Ethiopia, where about 5 people were killed. Al-Shaabab is an Al-Qaeda affiliated jihadist group in Somalia.[103]

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[101] Okubo N. Ag. Director Peace and Security Development Legal Advisor, IGAD. Personal Interview, AU Summit Uganda, July 25 2010.

[102] Somalian Islamist Demand Ethiopian Troops Withdraw. July, 20-2006. Down Jones International News

[103] Daniel Torbjornsson. (2017). Swedish Defence Research A,gency Stockholm. May 2017

Due to its connection to Al-Qaeda-based terrorist networks, and as a result of various atrocities and violence committed in Somalia and along the border areas of countries like Kenya and Ethiopia, the United States views the region as "hotspot" of international terrorism (Moller, 2005).As a result, the American government provided funds to the affected states and governments, including Somalia's TFG, to finance their security apparatus in order to counter terrorism (Moller, 2005).

In September 2002, IGAD created a conflict response structure called a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) in its Protocol in Ethiopia. CEWARN is a research network mechanism of IGAD, which has been reflected in the entire countries member to IGAD. The head of CEWARN in all the member states is a Director who is responsible to the Executive Secretary of IGAD, based at the headquarters of the organization. Through the authorization of the IGAD Council of Ministers, the CEWARN as a mechanism can work together with non-governmental organizations, inter-state institutions, and civil society organizations to deal with the gathering of information. CEWARN unit was set up in 2003 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Mwaura, and Schmeidl, 2002).

The role of CEWARN is basically to collect information and data on the likely outbreak of conflict and to respond to it appropriately, before it escalates into violence. It also monitors on the escalation of conflict among its member states, collect and keep data on conflicts, analyze likely occurrence of conflict, and share information with its units in the IGAD member states and with the non-governmental and civil society organizations, which are involved in the collection of intelligence in conflict early warning strategies. CEWARN would then share the gathered information and analyzed data with IGAD decision-making organs. As at 2009, there were three sectional clusters of CEWARN which were functional, referred to as: Somalia Clusters, Karamoja

Clusters, and Afar-Issa Clusters, the former focusing exclusively on the border regions of Kenya with Somalia (Mulugeta, 2010).

IGAD had immense contribution in the Somalia peace process. It is worth noting that IGAD is the only sub-regional 0rganization of which Somalia is a member.[104] Somalia has been embroiled in conflict and insecurity for decades. The genesis of Somalia conflict is deeply rooted to the toppling of Siad Barre's regime. Clan-based factions overthrew Barre's government in 1991,[105] after which various rebel groups composed of clans began scrambling for recognition following the power vacuum. As a result, anarchy ensued when warlords fought each other, making Somalia to be unstable and remain without a government since 1991. When the humanitarian crisis got at its peak following the conflicts, United Nations Security Council 733 and 746 was passed, primarily to respond to the humanitarian crisis and also help end the conflict in Somalia. UN also asked the US to make an intervention, which reluctantly sent its troops on a short-term humanitarian target. Though United Nations Security Council Resolution 746 (UNSCR-746), and United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM-1) was created, and through UNSCR-794, led to the formation of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), which was a multi-national force, led by the US troops, after it was sanctioned by the UN to operate in Somalia. This was between the years 1992 to 1993. After facing a hostile resistance when their soldiers and humanitarian aid workers were killed and tortured, the UN and the US withdrew from Somalia. The clan-based factions then created regional autonomy without independence. Each clan tried to control a

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[104] Malkara, J. Personal Interview, During a Workshop on "Viability of Preventive Diplomacy in the Eastern Africa Region", at IPSTC, October 15, 2010.
[105] Langley, V. (2011). Central Intelligence Agency. Retrieved November 1, 2018.

given section of the country in Somalia, while fighting against each other and unrest continued to manifest.

In 2004, IGAD made a tremendous effort in establishing Somalia Transitional Federal Government (TFG), with support of the international community. Earlier in 2000, after making several attempts, IGAD succeed in trying to unite clan factions in, through a conference organized in Djibouti, called the Arta conference, which led to the formation of Transitional National Government (TNG) of Somalia. TNG was established after a vigorous mediation processes were conducted between the rival groups and clan functions by IGAD. These were done with the aim of uniting them and help end conflict. In October 2002, IGAD hosted Somalia political leaders in Kenya, called Somalia Peace Process, where an agreement was reached on federalist political dispensation. Transitional federal parliament and government was agreed in 2004 in Nairobi Kenya through the effort of IGAD.

The formation of TFG changed the dynamics of conflict in Somali when the clan rivals joined hands and formed an Islamist group called Al-Shaabab, which is linked to Al-Qaeda, fighting the TFG. This is after IGAD unswervingly remained on the side of the so called "government" which lacked democratic legitimacy and showed no capacity to govern the country (Moller, 2005).

In July 2006, through the support of the US, Ethiopian troops invaded Somalia to fight the Islamic Court Union (ICU), an Islamist umbrella group in Somalia. IGAD effectively condoned the Ethiopian invasion in support of the TFG, after TFG asked for Ethiopian intervention in Baidoa to help flash out the ICU (Menkhaus, 2007). Ethiopian troops created a *de facto* occupation in Somalia, until two years later when Ethiopia withdrew its troops. The Ethiopian invasion of Somalia led to a serious humanitarian

crisis ever witnessed in Africa, forcing IGAD to ask AU to send a peacekeeping mission called African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM), which began in 2007 to present, ostensibly intended to allow for an Ethiopian withdrawal, and restore order in the war-torn part of Africa. (Menkhaus, 2007).

Another enormous contribution of IGAD in the Horn of Africa is the negotiation of the peace processes between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement /Army (SPLM/SPLA) and the Sudan government. IGAD fostered peace negations between the two parties, set up a permanent Secretariat, and commissioned special envoys, among other efforts in the Sudan conflicts.

Since gaining independence in 1955, Sudan have been embroiled in a deadly conflict, which lasted over 17 years. The first conflict was between the northern part of Sudan and the southern part, the latter fighting for autonomy and recognition. This took place between the years 1955-1972. The second Sudanese conflict was between Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and Sudan government, which happened between the years 1983 to 2005. The first Sudanese conflict was contained after Addis Ababa Peace Agreement was reached in 1972, also called Addis Ababa Accord that ended the war. The Accord, which was included in the Sudanese constitution, was fostered to tackle the grievances of the South Sudan liberation agenda and secession movement.[106] Through this Accord, South Sudan was given regional autonomy to run itself through an executive body and legislative arm which is separate from that of northern Sudan.

The Addis Ababa accord brought relative peace for only a decade. Following the exploration of oil in the south, the Sudanese president, Gaafar Muhammad Nimeiry,

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[106] Malkara, J. Personal. Interview, During a Workshop on "Viability of Preventive Diplomacy in the Eastern Africa Region", at IPSTC, October 15,2010

revoked the Addis Ababa Accord in 1983. This was followed by the dissolution of the National People's Assembly and the Southern Regional Assembly, and the imposing of the Islamic Sharia across Sudan. This meant that even the majority Christian faithful of the south should observe the Sharia Law. Marginalization and state neglect then ensued in the southern part of Sudan. As a result, the Second Sudanese Civil War broke out in 1983, and took about 22 years. The conflict was between the north and the south.

Various peace negations were triggered in the 1990s, but to no avail. The south was represented by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) while the north, by the central government. The second Sudanese conflict is one of the longest in Africa, with devastating effects. Although the war was between the north and the south, the south rebels would at times fight among themselves, derailing their efforts for self-determination. The commanders of SPLM competed for power and mobilized supporters along ethnic lines, resulting in atrocities by both sides.[107] Under the leadership of John Garang, the southern insurgents coalesced again and fought vigorously for self-determination. Through series of peace negotiations and mediation processes, IGAD made its first achievement in 2002, called the Machakos Protocol, which was based on the principles of governance and government. In 2003, the Agreement on Security Arrangement was also signed in Naivasha. In the year 2004, IGAD and IGAD partners established several Protocols: the Protocol on Power Sharing; the Protocol on Wealth Sharing; the Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Abyei Area; the Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States; the Permanent Ceasefire and Security Arrangements, all signed in 2004 in Naivasha, Kenya. All these Protocols culminated into the Comprehensive Peace

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[107] . Langley, V. (2011). Central Intelligence Agency. Retrieved November 1, 2018.

Agreement (CPA) signed in Naivasha, Kenya on 9th January, 2005 between the Sudanese central government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), which was aimed at ending the Second Civil War in Sudan. The CPA entailed to end the war in Sudan and create a timeline for a referendum of the south Sudanese after a grace period of six years of peace was observed between the two factions.

4.4 An Overview of ECOWAS

Just like other sub–regional organizations, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), was created as a tool for economic collaboration, comprising of fifteen countries in West Africa. It was created on 28th May 1975 after a Treaty detailing its creation was signed in Lagos, Nigeria. The member countries are: Nigeria, Ghana, Niger, Gambia, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Togo, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Guinea Bissau. Mauritania left ECOWAS unit in 2000, while Morocco requested to join the sub-regional body in 2017 where it was unanimously agreed by all the member states. Other members have remained firm in the organization.[108]

The objective of ECOWAS is to encourage regional integration and cooperation. To achieve this, ECOWAS is geared at uplifting the standard of living of West Africans through economic liberalization and provision of peace and stability to its member countries. Whenever there is unrest among its member countries, ECOWAS is determined to manage it, and it has succeeded in a number of cases. ECOWAS has made various strides in managing conflicts in West Africa sub-region. Some of the interventions are in Liberia in 2003, Ivory Coast in 2003 too, Guinea Bissau in 2012,

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[108] Edgar O. Balance: The Secret War in the Sudan 1955-1972(Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977): 48-53.

Mali in 2013, and Gambia in 2017.[109] [110] ECOWAS plays pivotal role in uniting the states under its watch by attending to various issues that is threatening, and by controlling troubling issues and conflicts from spreading from one country to another, controlling exchange of small arms and light weapons, and curbing organized crimes. Nigeria, which surmounts most of the states in this region in terms of the economy and military power, hence, enjoying a regional hegemony, is a common uniting pillar of this union.

4.4.1 Efforts of ECOWAS in the Management of Conflict

Though established on the pillar of economic liberalization and social integration, ECOWAS adopted various Protocols that was geared at bringing peace and stability among its members. In this commitment ECOWAS nations assigned a Non-Aggression Protocol in 1978 and 1981, and later in 1990. They also signed a Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1981, which contributed to the establishment of an Allied Armed Force of the Community.[111] In the Agreement, ECOWAS also established a Defense Commission and a Defense Council. Despite these commitments, peace and stability was compromised by the member states of the union on several instances, for instance, by Sierra Leone and Liberia following civil wars which resulted in economic meltdown and damages of various infrastructures and loss of many lives.

Following the start of the first Liberian Civil War in 1989, and Sierra Leone Civil War in 1991, ECOWAS took a unique role in showing its commitment to manage conflict

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[109] U.N Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN-OHCHR). "Pillay Urges South Sudan Leadership to Curb Alarming Violence Against Civilians". December 24,2013
[110] African Research Institute, June 2015
[111] Adeyemi, Segun. (2003). "West African Leaders Agree on Deployment to Liberia". *Janes Defense Weekly*

among its member states. In 1990, Standing Mediation Committee of ECOWAS was created, a Military Observer Group referred to as ECOMOG–(Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group), mandated to resolve Liberia's internal armed conflicts. As a result of challenges faced in managing the two conflicts, ECOWAS resolved to revise the Lagos Treaty in 1993, which detailed several peace and security measures. In the revised Treaty, the member states focused to put in place peace and security observation system and peacekeeping forces where necessary, and agreed to bolster the existing peace and security measures (Ajulo, Sunday, 2001).

Through the Liberian Civil War intervention, ECOWAS played an outstanding role in controlling rifts and political complications from growing. At the start of the First Liberian Civil War of 1989, Charles Taylor, with his forces called the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), fought the government of President Samuel Doe. What ensued was an ethnic division. There was also a rebel group called Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), led by Prince Johnson. The two factions fought for dominance against each other.

The conflict caused a devastating effect to the economy of Liberia, especially when the INPFL led by Prince Johnson toppled Taylor's government. Then the two factions of NPFL and INPFL continued fighting for power. As a result, thousands of civilians were displaced, and the conflict was about to spillover to the neighbouring states. Subsequently, ECOWAS established a five member Standing Mediation Committee (SMC), chosen from the member states, with an objective of ending the crisis. A large contingent of military troops from Nigeria, Gambia, Liberia, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone were then deployed, numbering about 3,500, with the mission of keeping peace and attending to humanitarian crisis. Through the intervention, a cease-fire was

enforced when the troops seized the Liberian capital-Monrovia. After Taylor refused to recognize the interim government formed by ECOMOG, and formed a parallel government, a fierce fight ensued between Taylor's rebels and ECOMOG. This action led to the division of the Liberians, which forced ECOMOG to change its mission from peacekeeping to peacemaking, and stayed in Liberia for a period of seven years while monitoring stability in Liberia. Other members later joined hands and sent its troops, increasing the presence of ECOMOG troops to 10,000.[112]

The Second Liberian Civil War took place between the years 1999 to 2003. ECOMOG succeeded in resolving the Liberian conflict. In 1995, ECOMOG managed to protect about 160 United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL).[113] ECOMOG also assisted in the humanitarian aid initiatives, facilitated many peace agreements, and disarmed about 24,000 combatants. They also created a conducive environment for elections, and assisted in the transparent election in Liberia 1997.[114]

The second intervention of ECOWAS was in the Sierra Leone during the 11 year civil war. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces, with support of Taylor's NPFL forces, joined hands and attempted to topple the government of Joseph Momoh. A devastating conflict then ensued, that saw the death of over 50,000 people.[115] After the failure of several attempted mediation processes, ECOWAS sent ECOMOG II to Sierra Leone, which succeeded in reinstating President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, who was deposed through the war. Nigeria unilaterally contributed to this operation. Kabbah was

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[112] Segun, Adeyemi (1997). "UN Security Council Commends ECOMOG". Pan African News Agency, 31 July; 1997.
[113] Gberie, Lansana (2005)
[114] Gberie, Lansana (2005).
[115] Uppsala Conflict Data Program. Conflict Encyclopedia, Guinea-Bissau.

toppled in 1997 by a military Junta headed by Johnny Paul Koroma, through his forces –Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).

There was an overlap of interventions in the Sierra Leone's conflict by ECOMOG II and the Nigerian troops, together with UN'S UNOMSIL mission and the unilateral British intervention. These several interventions created confusions, and as a result, conflict and insecurity was compromised (Fowler, 2004). After the election of Olusegun Obasanjo as the new Nigeria's president in 1999, Nigerian troops were withdrawn, which promoted the UN to send a genuine peacekeeping mission–United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to Sierra Leone, which later asked for Nigerian troops reinforcement, and about 3,000 troops were then deployed by Obasanjo. The intervention by ECOWAS through ECOMOG II was really successful, although they suffered from several weaknesses like poor control and poor funding, among other challenges.[116]

The third intervention by ECOWAS in West African conflict was in Guinea-Bissau when a civil war broke out in June 1998 up until May 1999. The genesis of the conflict was an attempted coup d'etat by forces led by Brigadier General Ansumane Marie against President Joao Bernado Vieira, which resulted in the death of hundreds of people and the displacement of thousand others.[117] President Bernardo sought military assistance from Senegal and Guinea, which responded well and sent their troops to suppress the uprising, although the two neighboring countries did not seek the endorsement of ECOWAS. Senegal and Guinea then failed in their mission, partly contributed by absence of Nigeria in the mission, what Adebajo Adekeye describes as,

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[116] Africa Portal Roundup Newsletter, 01 April 2011.
[117] Guro, Almas. The Political Implications of Economic Adjustment. Crisis, Reform and Political Breakdown in Côte d'Ivoire. Uppsala: NAI Discussion paper 39,2007,p.10

"Lacking the regional Gulliver, the Lulliputian peacekeepers had to withdraw from Guine-Bissau by June 1999".[118]

ECOWAS, through ECOMOG deployment, then intervened in Guinea-Bissau civil war, where ECOMOG defeated forces loyal to the former Chief of Defense of Staff of Guinea-Bissau and reinstated the legitimate president. ECOWAS intervention was as a result of procedural request by the besieged Guinea–Bissau president in this intervention.

The forth conflict management by ECOWAS happened with Côte d'Ivoire Civil War that began in 2002, which was deeply rooted to bad governance. Tom Ogwang (2011) indicated that the political class tapped into socio-political differences surrounding religion, nationality and ethnicity to consolidate power, in the process driving the country into civil war, which grew to catastrophic levels leading to interruption of socio-economic development.[119]

The war began as a mutiny, but an attempted coup against President Laurent Gbagbo was later witnessed.[120] Several rebel groups were involved in the conflict. It is worth noting that veterans of the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone fought as mercenaries in the Ivory Coast civil war.[121] In 2003, as the war intensified, ECOWAS and its former colony, France intervened, which resulted in the signing of Linas–Marcoussis Peace Accord (LMA). Through invocation of Chapter 7 Mandate, UN also sent its peacekeeping mission to Ivory Coast to restore peace. ECOWAS deployed a cease-fire

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[118] Adekeye Adebayo (2002). ECOMOG, Nigeria and Regional Security in West Africa. *Lynne Rienner/International Peace Academy.*
[119] Adebayo, A. (2005). "Pax West Africa? Regional Security Mechanism". P. 299
[120] Ibid, p. 300
[121] Gberie; Lansana, 2005.

Monitoring Operation-ECOMOG, to help quell the violence that destabilized Ivory Coast.

ECOWAS made an extra commitment in Côte d'Ivoire by sending another cease-fire Monitoring Mission called ECOWAS Forces in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI), constituted by mainly West African counties colonized by French (Francophone countries). Through the UN Security Council Resolution 1479, ECOWAS and French peacekeeping missions got a major boost from the UN in maintaining peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire.[122]

With two decades of experiences in managing conflicts, and with a progressive framework, ECOWAS has remarkably progressed in responding to conflicts and has turned out be an effective and reliable sub-regional organization in strengthening peace and stability in West Africa.

4.5 Chapter Summary

It has been observed that violent conflicts and insecurity around the African continent is largely connected to ethnic balkanization. Only a few instances of inter-state conflicts has been experienced. Widespread occurrences of civil wars and insecurity in Africa have ethnic dimensions. The Eastern and Western Africa regions, together with the Horn of Africa are viewed as regions that are immensely vulnerable to violent conflicts and insecurity, which are often triggered by poor resource management, bad governance and competition for political power, among other factors. Some regions in the Eastern and Western Africa, and the Horn of Africa, top the list of areas exposed to protracted conflicts and instability in the African continent. Several decades of conflicts have characterized these regions. Since independence, no single period of a year has

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[122] Uppsala Conflict Data Program. Conflict Encyclopedia, Côte d'Ivoire.

ever been witnessed in these regions without conflicts and insecurity being reported. Similar to several parts of the continent, conflicts and insecurity in most parts of these regions are multifaceted and deeply entrenched.**[123]**

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[123] Such as in the Great Lake Region (DR-Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda), and the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Sudan).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to assess cross-border natural resource-based conflicts and regional insecurity, with a comparison of the Eastern and Western Africa experiences. The first objective of the study aimed to provide an overview of natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa border regions: the triggers and the dynamics; The second objective aimed to critically analyze the linkages between the natural resources and the conflicts and insecurity; and the final objective aimed to critically examine the roles of the East African Community (EAC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development(IGAD), and the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) in the management of conflicts as the three sub-regional organizations has been the main mediators of peace and security processes in the Eastern and Western Africa regions.

5.2 Summary

Chapter two assessed a general overview of the natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in Africa. It also analyzed natural resource-based conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa regions, alongside the triggers and the dynamics of these conflicts. It was observed at the end of the chapter that the Eastern and the Western Africa regions experience the highest magnitude of conflicts and insecurity that is a deeply connected to the natural resources. It was noted that the increased competition for the scarce natural resources is the main trigger of most conflicts and insecurity in the African continent. Out of the various conflicts and insecurity in the Eastern and Western Africa regions, only a few cases of inter-state conflicts have been experienced. The rest of the many conflicts and insecurity are intra-state: at the national

level-between the central government and the local community; and at the local level-between different ethnic groups.

Chapter three critically examined the linkages between the natural resources and conflicts and insecurity, together with the effects of cross-border conflict spillover across the Eastern and Western Africa border regions. The chapter further explained the elements contributing to the spillover of conflicts across the borders of these regions. It was found that following the spillover conflicts, most parts of these regions has greatly suffered in terms of economic meltdown and social order, which has negatively impacted on the living standard of the communities in this region. As a result of the spillover conflicts, security situations of the people living in the Eastern and Western Africa regions has been threatened, with higher percentages of displacements of the population from their homes because of the insecurity challenges.

Chapter four discussed the management of conflicts by three main Regional Economic Communities (REC) covering the Eastern and the Western Africa countries. In this regard, the chapter critically analyzed the effort of the East African Community (EAC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the management of conflicts as the three sub-regional economic organizations has been the main mediators of peace and security processes in the Eastern and Western Africa regions, together with the Horn of Africa. The three bodies have negotiated various peace processes among their member states, and have helped restore stability in many countries through various frameworks. It was observed at the end of the chapter that these regions are immensely vulnerable to violent conflicts and insecurity, which are habitually triggered by poor resource management, bad governance and competition for political power. These regions also top the list of areas exposed to protracted conflicts and instability in the African

continent. Also noted is that, several decades of conflicts and instability have characterized these regions since independence, similar to many other regions of Africa, with varied and deeply entrenched conflicts.

5.3 Conclusion

Natural resources are the intrinsic endowment of the society as both the community and the government attach their dependence on them for their livelihoods and economic growth respectively, due to its high profit value. However, the consistent increase in demand placed on the natural resources, together with mushrooming intricacy of conflicts and insecurity that comes with these demands makes the resolution and management of natural resource-based conflicts more challenging.

Various forms of conflicts and insecurity that are triggered as a result of the competition for natural resources in Africa are protractible in nature, making the affected countries become unstable, and thus, unable to thrive economically, socially and even politically. The underlying concerns of these conflicts are lack of accessibility, control and distribution of the natural resources. Such a country with the persistent conflicts and insecurity, and which also tops the list of Least Developed Countries (LDC) in Africa is South Sudan, despite its rich oil resource endowment.

In the continent, South Sudan is also the second country that is experiencing resource-related conflicts.[124] Somalia too is experiencing simmering protracted conflicts that is directly attached to the natural resources, mostly attributed to the access and control of water and land resources by clan-based militias, who are aimed at plundering what remains of Somalia's resources. The two countries represent those countries in the

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[124] Abiodun Alao (2000). "Between Economic Fragility and Political Fluidity": Natural Resource Conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, v0l. 7, N0. 4.

Eastern and Western Africa regions, and the Horn of Africa that is experiencing high profile level of conflicts and insecurity as a result of the natural resource battles, which has incapacitated the countries' stability and growth. The countries also represent the categories of failed states in these regions as a result of these conflicts.

Although weak governance is considered to be one of the contributing factors, among others, that leads to natural resource-based conflicts across the borders, some countries in the Eastern and Western Africa regions are trying their best to control and manage their state's resource endowment, though not efficiently. Particularly, porous borders which are prone to conflicts and insecurity are virtually unmanageable due to the persistent insecurity. For instance, the mining regions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, with deposits of diamond is highly insecure. In other instances, there are some borderlands rich in natural resources but have geographical challenges, with difficult nature of terrains, like in the swampy Niger Delta in Nigeria, which is very challenging to access. As Prof. Alao[125] puts it, "There is a genuine lack of institutional capacity to effectively monitor the vast swaths of territories where natural resources are deposited".

In the Eastern and Western Africa regions, armed conflicts and insecurity are often concentrated along the border regions, creating a potential risk of spillover of conflicts, which is a major actor of conflict drivers across the borders. This is due to the fact that, most of the resources are found along the borders, which attracts claim of ownership from across the borders, leading to conflicts and insecurity. A good example of such resources is land, which is at the center of conflicts in Africa as it carries many natural resources like solid minerals, water, timber, pastures and territories, among others. In terms of territorial claims, two neighboring regions may claim a given region of land

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[125] Abiodun Alao (2000). 'Between Economic Fragility and Political Fluidity": Natural Resource Conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, vol. 7, No. 4.

across the border, leading to territorial disputes, which if not managed on time, may lead to territorial conflicts, hence, creating inter-state conflicts. Examples of such border conflicts are the 2008 border conflicts between Djibouti and Eritrea, and 2011-2012 cross-border conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan. Therefore, natural resources, if not managed well, can be a curse, rather than a blessing to a country, since it becomes a precursor of conflicts and insecurity, which leads to state's instability.

5.4 Recommendations

This study highlights a few recommendations to the local governments, states, civil society groups, regional organizations together with donor communities, in order to address cross-border natural resource conflicts and regional security effectively.

Countries should adopt litigation measures as a step in resolving territorial disputes across the borders. In this regard, more international courts of justice should be created as an alternative mechanism of resolving disputes that comes with border regions, such as the one adopted by the East African Communities-The International Court of Justice (ICJ) in Arusha, Tanzania, which is Hague-based. In addition, the traditional justice systems should be enhanced, which gives the communities around a disputed region powers to manage natural resource conflicts. Through litigations, the courts give compliance measures to the rival entities, which as well have consequences if not respected, and its ruling is binding.

Effective governance structures should be put in place to manage natural resources before conflicts erupt. Conflict preventive measures should be adopted in managing natural resources, such as equal distribution of resources to all parties, curbing destructive environmental hazards that occur during extractions of resources and instead adopt environmental-friendly techniques in extraction of natural resources, limit

and control influence of foreign multinational corporations to avoid resource exploitations, the local claim and the national interest should also be properly defined with a balance through fairness, and property rights should be clearly defined too and be entrenched in the countries' constitutions across the regions.

Measures in mitigating corruption and related activities should be established. The political elites, government agencies and some non-local actors are the major hindrance to the management of natural resources. Political elites try as much as they could to amass wealth, such that they grab any available opportunity to loot and exploit resources using their political power muscles. On the other hand, government workers and non-local actors like the civil society groups are involved in the mismanagement of natural resources entrusted with them through corruption. Such loopholes should be sealed by the authorities to prevent corruption and looting of natural resources. This can be achieved by setting up efficient independent bodies that deals with such offenders.

In some instances, creating efficient institutions takes a long duration, especially when a country is involved in conflicts. In such situations, alternative measures of curbing corruption and related menace should be sought. Such alternatives can be donor institutions who can chip in and rectify the challenges of poor administration and help control exploitation of resources through corruption and other bad ways. Such donor institutions can chip in directly. For instance, a country like Liberia benefited through such initiatives. In 2005, when the transitional government of Liberia was faced with fraud cases, corruption and poor administration, a body called Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) was created to help curb corruption and related issues. Through this initiative, the activities of the donors were sought and external manpower were then brought in to take up such roles like managing

different government ministries like lands, mining and finance, and management of customs departments.**126**

Trans-boundary cooperation measures should also be adopted by the neighbouring countries through harmonization of natural resource conflict resolution and management legislation in order to address trans-boundary issues. Trans-boundary cooperation is fundamental since it will help the neighbouring states to help avert future disasters. Trans-boundary issues are such as control of proliferation of small arms and light weapons, combating cattle raids and banditry menace, dealing with cross-border crimes and controlling the spillover of conflicts. Through such harmonious cooperation, cross-border disputes and conflicts can be easily resolved and managed.

The countries should adopt and strengthen the regional conflict prevention and resolution mechanism. The sub-regional bodies like IGAD, EAC and ECOWAS should work closely with governments, civil society groups and the international community, to focus largely on conflict prevention strategies and looking for long lasting solutions to disputes and conflicts.

Another important aspect is that the neighbouring countries should foster fiscal and administrative trade and investments across the borders, while strengthening capacity building mechanism of the local stakeholders and provide guidelines on border management.

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126 Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (2005). World Bank. Retrieved November 5th 2008,
And Accessed on 10th November 2018.

Finally, the important aspect of delimitation and demarcation of the borders should be addressed through collaborative efforts of the neighbouring countries, with support of civil society groups and sub-regional organizations. This will greatly reduce disputes that arise with land and territorial claims, hence, help avert future conflicts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Letter of Transmittal

Dear respondent,

I am a student of University of Nairobi, pursuing degree in Master of Arts in International Conflict Management. I am conducting a research study on: Cross-border natural resource-based conflicts and regional security in Eastern and Western Africa Regions.

The feedback will be available to the Heads of States and Governments, and other interested groups at request. Your answers to the questionnaires will be highly confidential.

Thanking you in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Alio Wako Keyate,

Student University of Nairobi.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

<u>**Section A: Demographic information of the respondents**</u>

1. Designation/Occupation: …………………………………………………..

2. Organization/Company: …………………………………………………..

3. How long have you worked in your capacity?

4. Gender: Tick where appropriate

    Male [ ]

    Female [ ]

5. Age: (Tick where appropriate)

    18-24 years [ ]   25-34 years [ ]   35-44 years [ ]   45-54 years [ ]

    Over 55 years [ ]

6. Education : (Tick where appropriate)

    Formal [ ]   Informal [ ]

7. How many years have you worked in this region? (Tick where appropriate)

    1-10 years [ ]   10-20 years [ ]   Over 20 years

Section B: Information on Spillover Conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions.

8. What are the causes of spillover conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions?

    Explain…………………………………………………………...…………

    ……………………………………………………………………………..…

    …………………………………………………………………………………

9. How has the states and governments in the region responded to the spillover conflicts?...

....

....

10. What actions have been taken by the sub-regional organizations to alleviate spillover conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions?..

....

11. To what extent has the interventions of the governments and sub-regional bodies helped?...

....

12. How does the sub-regional organizations coordinate peace and security strategies between states and communities in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions?..

....

13. To what extent does the sub-regional organizations collaborate with states in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions in trying to promote peace and security between the communities and governments in the region?..

....

14. Who is responsible for the supervision of peace processes within the Eastern and Western Africa Regions?..

....

15. What are the challenges faced by the sub- regional organizations in the implementation of peace and security processes between states and communities involved in violent conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa

Regions?..

....

16. What are the key drivers of cross-border conflicts across the Eastern and Western African regions …………………………………………………………….

....

17. Are there challenges associated with the ongoing cross-border reconciliation and peacemaking strategies? Explain ………………………………………….

....

....

18. Do you have trust in the ability of the states and governments to provide security and access to justice? Who do you trust most to initiate peace processes?...

....

..

19. Why is it that despite many peace building strategies, there has never been durable peace? What are the main concerns?..

....

20. In summary, what can be done to create a sustainable peace among the warring factions?...

....

Appendix 3

Chronology of Conflicts in the Eastern and Western Africa Regions[127]

| Year	Country	Name of Conflict	Type of Conflict
1955-1972	Sudan	First Civil War	Internal
1960-1964	Rwanda	Ethnic Strife	Internal/Ethnic
1962-1974	Guinea Bissau	Independence War	Independence
1966-1969	Nigeria	Biafra Civil War	Internal
1966-1996	Chad	Civil War	Internal
1970-1974	Burundi	Ethnic Strife	Internal/Ethnic
1974-1991	Eritrea	War for Independence	Independence
1974-1978	Ethiopia	Revolution	Internal
1976-1983	Ethiopia	Ogaden War	Internal
1977-1978	Ethiopia/Somalia	Somali War	Inter State
1978-1991	Ethiopia	Civil War	Internal
1977-1978	Uganda/Tanzania	Amin Invasion	Inter-State
1978	Ghana	Rawlings Coup	Internal
1980-1984	Uganda	Obote Overthrow/Civil War	Internal
1983-	Sudan	2nd Civil War	Internal
1984-1989	Somalia	North West Secession	Internal
1989-1997	Liberia	Civil War	Internal
1990-1994	Rwanda	Civil War and Genocide	Internal/Ethnic
1990-	Sierra Leone	War with RUF	Internal/Regional
1991-	Somalia	Civil War	Internal/Factional
1993-	Burundi	Civil War	Internal/Ethnic
1998-	Ethiopia-Eritrea	Border Conflict	Inter-State

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[127] Based on University of Michigan Database (2000). Federation of American Scientists-Military Analysis Network and "The World Guide.

Appendix 4
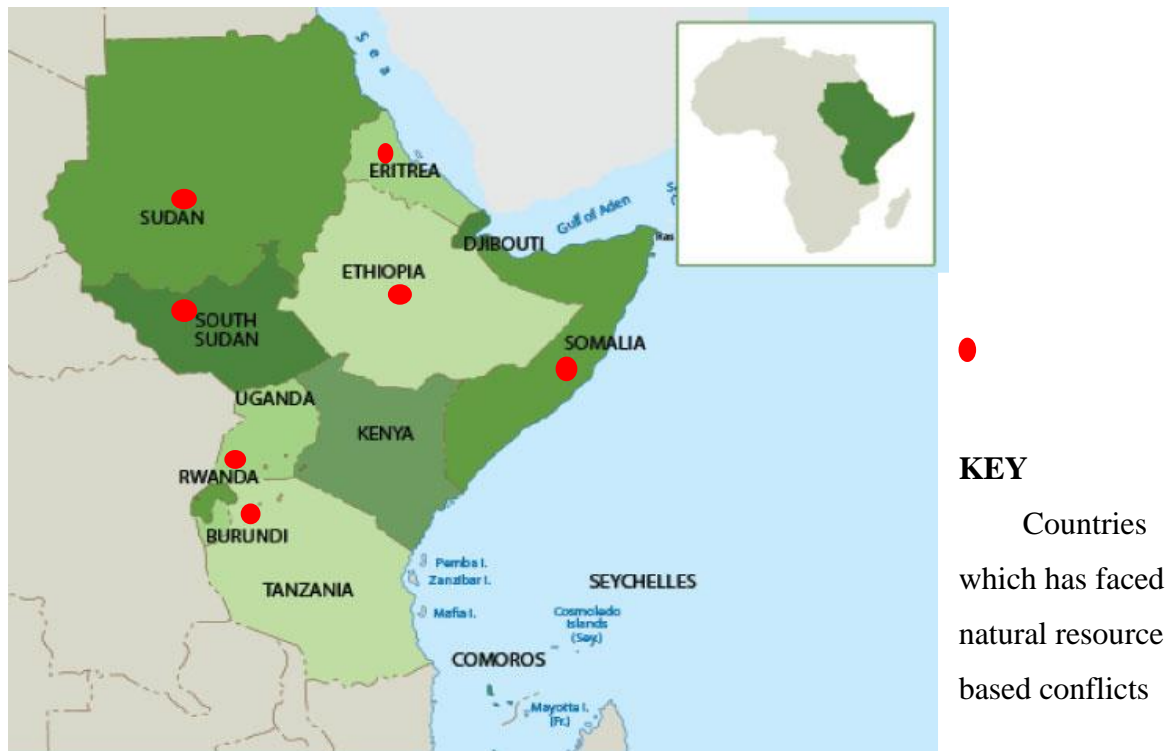
Source Author: Christian Tryon (2015) Azania Archaeological Research in Africa.

Appendix 5
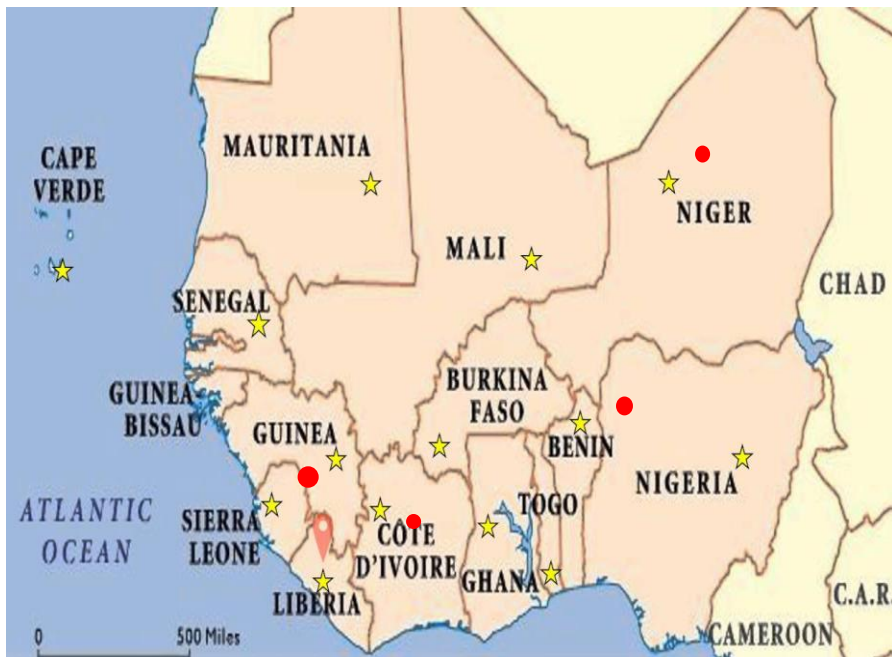
Source Author: Christian Tryon (2015) Azania Archaeological Research in Africa.

THANK   YOU !