

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF KENYAN MILITARY ON REGIONAL SECURITY: CASE**  
**STUDY OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES OPERATION IN SOMALIA**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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## **DEDICATION**

I kindly dedicate this work to my wife, Esther C Pyaban, and our four lovely children Damaris, Givens, Anderson and Winnyrose for their constant encouragement and moral support which they accorded me during the long duration that they endured my absence from home as I undertook this course. God bless them profusely.

## ABSTRACT

This study is designed to analyze the roles of Africa military on the regional security, with reference to KDF operation in Somalia. specific objectives were: to analyse the causes and drives of Somalia conflict and threats it posed to HoA region security; to establish the effects and threats of Somalia conflict on national and HoA regional security; to analyze the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats and; to establish the general roles of Kenya Defence Forces in promoting regional security through its operation in Somalia. The researcher reviewed the concept and dimensions of security, theories of international relations, conflict and security issues in HoA, Somalia conflicts and its threats to regional security (specifically threat to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya). The researcher employed a qualitative research design with both simple random and purposive sampling technique and a sample size of 60 respondents. Structured questionnaire was used to gather primary data and analyzed using descriptive statistical method. The study found that the main cause of Somalia conflict is the social context of human development. i.e. clannism and sub-clans, Said Barre dictatorship rule and leadership, scrambled for scarce resources, rise of warlords, and reluctant for the super powers to act. With reference to role of KDF; KDF have protected the national/regional to a large extent (85%), combated lawlessness and restoring order within the region to a large extent (90%), enhancing regional economic stability and combating terrorism a very large extent (80%). The study concludes that African military have been instrumental toward protection and enhancement of regional security. It recommends that they should be engaged in restoring amity in conflict stricken states within the continent, be equipped with modern state-of-art of skills and hardware for combating terrorism and piracy.<sup>1</sup> Finally, regional leaders to work on a progressive plan aimed at restoring peace, security and stability by involving the warring parties to a conclusive amicable agreement.

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, Mohamed. "Somali Sea Gangs Lure Investors at Pirate Lair." *Reuters - Business & Financial News, Breaking US & International News*. 01 Dec. 2009. Web. 14 Apr. 2011.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS**

AIAI	-	Al-Ittihad al-islamiyyaa
AU	-	African Union
DSC	-	Defence Staff College
HOA	-	Horn of Africa
IGAD	-	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
KDF	-	Kenya Defence Forces
NEP	-	North Eastern Province of Kenya
PE	-	Peace Enforcement
PKO	-	Peacekeeping Operations
PSO	-	Peace Support Operations
SNA	-	Somali National Alliance
SNM	-	Somalia National Movement
SRC	-	Supreme Revolutionary Council
SRSP	-	Revolutionary Socialist Party
SRSP	-	Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party
TG	-	Transitional Government
UN	-	United Nations
UNOSOM	-	United Nations Operations in Somalia
UNSG	-	United Nations Secretary General
USA	-	United States of America
WMD	-	Weapon of Mass Destruction
WSLF	-	Western Somali Liberation Front

## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

**Al-Shabaab** (the name means “The Youth” in Arabic) is an al-Qaeda affiliated organization that evolved from an Islamist movement that ruled Mogadishu and responsible for terrorist attacks and piracy along the coast of Somalia.

**Conflict:** This refers to the underlying issues that result into tension, crisis and violence among parties, states or communities.

**Clanism:** Is defined as a bidding bond between members of the bigger family through patrilineal kinship. This influences the being of the people in the society whether political or social allegiances, which are determined by descent in the male line and can change depending on one’s prevailing interest in the community.

**Consent:** Is an agreement obtained from the parties to a conflict for setting up of a peacekeeping mission as per an agreed mandate.

**Peacekeeping:** Operations aimed at preserving peace between two consenting belligerent parties as defined in chapter (CAP) 6 of the UN charter.

**Peace Enforcement:** Forceful intervention to prevent gross human rights abuse or genocide as defined in CAP 7 of the UN charter. CAP 6 ½: Common military Jargon referring to half way between CAP 6 and 7 of UN meaning limited use of force by a peacekeeping force for self-defense or to solve an immediate breach of peace by the warring parties.

**Security:** means the general meanings including safety of individuals from violence or crimes, religious peace of mind, and financial measures to sustain a certain standard of living.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the roles of Kenya military on the regional security and gives an overview of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict. The chapter discusses the background to the study, statement of the research problem and justification of the study. The research objectives and research questions that guided the study are also discussed here. It also covers the literature review on the role of Kenyan military on regional security and highlights the literature gaps that justified this research. Finally it looks at the theoretical framework and research methodology that was used to carry out this study.

#### 1.1 Background of the study

The concept of security has evolved considerably over the years. Traditionally, security was defined primarily at the nation-state level and almost exclusively through the military prism<sup>2</sup>. “Security” in the political sense is not an old term. In the discipline of international relations, the term means “national security” or the protection of the state from external threats. This particular meaning emerged from practices of international politics after the First World War.<sup>3</sup> The term itself may convey more general meaning including safety of individuals from violence or crimes, religious peace of mind, and financial measures to sustain a certain standard of living. Literally, “national security” points to the security of the state at least to the

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<sup>2</sup>European Commission, Transnational, Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law: *Notion of Security – Shifting Concepts and Perspective*, (Institute of Safety, Security and Crisis Management), 2007, p7

<sup>3</sup>Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, The end of security?: Politics of fear and safety,” *International Relations*, vol. 117, 1998, p. 2

extent we identify the state as “national.” This is what is referred to as the “traditional” concept of security in the discipline of international relations.

The political implication of the term national security is not purely confined to the “national” level, as shown by the use of the term at regional and international levels as ‘United Nation Security Council’, “Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe” or “Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.”. States are interdependent and shares most of security concerns. Instability in a member state tends to spill over to other states, posing security threat not only to immediate neighbour, but also to the region at large.

The sources of insecurity in Africa has changed significantly over the past two decades, with most notorious sources of insecurity during the statist era being the interstate boundaries conflicts. Border disputes have since declined as many states come to terms with the liberal option of subordinating classical state interests - accumulation of power - to the desire for socio-economic prosperity and political stability.<sup>4</sup> New conflicts have risen in regard to shared natural resources like water and pasture, contest over the internal political organization of the post-independence state (resulting in secessionism, irredentism, coups d’état, and civil war). However, this source of conflict has declined considerably since the end of the Cold War due to the struggle to establish democracy and respect for human rights leading to the

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<sup>4</sup>Chweya L., *Emerging Dimensions of Security in the IGAD Region*, in M. Mwangi (*ed*), *African Regional Security Issues in the Age of Globalization*, Kenya: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004, pp 33-48:37



legitimization of political regimes and extension of citizenship rights to all ethno-regional groups in a country.<sup>5</sup>

In Africa, regional and sub-regional organizations have developed mandates and structures to realize effective and efficient peace and security architectures<sup>6</sup>. Taking the Horn of Africa (HoA) as case, insecurity exists at societal, state, and regional levels. The HoA is made up of Kenya, Somalia, Uganda, Djibouti, Eritrea and Ethiopia. A number of conflicts and tensions have been witnessed within the HoA. Conflicts such as civil war in Sudan, prolonged state collapse in Somalia, uneasy peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea, boarder disputes between Eritrea and Djibouti, insurgencies in Ogaden region of Ethiopia, and Northern Uganda and volatile inter-ethnic relations in Kenya.<sup>7</sup> The situation has been compounded by an increased climate change such as drought, which has led to famine affecting an estimated 13 million, and the growth of radical militant islamist terrorism and maritime piracy.<sup>8</sup>

In East and Central Africa region, the sub-regional organization mandated with maintenance of peace and security within the HoA is the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). For years, the HoA has not only been defined by its geographic location but also by its conflict which have historically intensified by a continuous struggle for regional hegemony among its constituent states.<sup>9</sup> There are five states that are often referred to as constituting the Horn namely, Ethiopia, Sudan,

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<sup>5</sup> Feldman R., Problems Plaguening The African Union Peacekeeping Force, Defense & security analysis, Vol. 24, No.3, (2008) pp 267-279:268

<sup>6</sup> Mwaniki N., Challenges In The Implementation of IGAD's Peace and Security Architecture (PSA), Contemporary Security in Africa, *Journal of Defence College in Kenya*, Vol.1 No.1 (2012), pp23-43:1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p42

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p24

<sup>9</sup> Ofuho C. H., Security Concerns in the Horn of Africa. in M. Mwangi (*ed*), African Regional Security Issues in the Age of Globalisation, Kenya: Heinrich Boll Foundation, (2004), pp 51-65:57

Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea. However, due to the spillover of conflicts in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, the Horn of Africa (HoA) has extended to include Kenya and Uganda.<sup>10</sup> Kenya is in the unpleasant position of sharing borders with five nations which have all, with the exception of Tanzania, experienced armed conflict. It indeed shares borders with Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, and Tanzania. However, the Somalia conflicts have precipitated a profound regional insecurity dilemma and immense sources of political destabilization for many of the neighbouring states.

Somalia's history of conflict reveals an intriguing paradox - namely, many of the factors that have driven armed conflict have also played a role in managing, ending, or preventing war.<sup>11</sup> For instance, clannism and clan cleavages are a source of conflict - used to divide Somalis, fuel endemic clashes over resources and power, used to mobilize militia, and make broad-based reconciliation very difficult to achieve. Most of Somalia's armed clashes since 1991 have been fought in the name of clan, often as a result of political leaders manipulating clannism for their own purposes. Besides, clannism, economic interests, too, have had an ambiguous relationship with conflict in Somalia. In some places, war economies have emerged that perpetuate violence and lawlessness, while in other instances business interests have been a driving force for peace, stability, and rule of law.<sup>12</sup> Since then, Somalia has continued to experience armed conflicts which coincided with the height of Cold War competition in the Horn of Africa.

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<sup>10</sup> Kumssa, F. Jones, and H. Williams, Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North eastern Kenya, *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 36 No. 10, 2009 pp. 1008-1020

<sup>11</sup>World Bank Report, Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamic, New York: World Bank Publication, 2005, p 9.

<sup>12</sup>World Bank Report, Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamic , New York: World Bank Publication, 2005, p11

Cold war allowed the Said Barre regime to attract large quantities of military and economic aid, of which, when the cold war ended, the level of expenditure, especially to maintain the bloated bureaucracy, was not sustainable and precipitated the fall of the regime.<sup>13</sup> As the Cold War waned in the late 1980s, Somalia's strategic importance to the West diminished, enabling donors to place human rights conditions on aid to Somalia. Western donors froze aid to Somalia in response to the war with the Somalia National Movement (SNM) in the north. Stripped of its principal source of revenue, the Somali state shrank and eventually collapsed. An initiative by a group of eminent Somalis known as the "Manifesto Group" to broker reconciliation and establish a provisional post-Barre government was met with arrests by the Barre regime in April 1990.<sup>14</sup>

Somalia is a failed state that has provided condition for terrorist groups to become active and powerful. Somalia has been a refugee of the al-Qaeda group, responsible for several terrorist attacks in the region.<sup>15</sup> The bombing of US embassy in both Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998, bombing of Kenyan resort in 2002 and attempt to bring down an Israel aircraft have been linked to Somalia conflict. Addition too, several grenade attacks in the city and Garris town and other border towns, and the recent attack on Westgate shopping mall in Kenya were linked to the al-Qaeda affiliated terror group called al-shabaab. Other terror groups housed in Somalia are Al-Ittihad al-islamiyyaa (AIAI), and a jihadist organization.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Samatar A, *Socialist Somalia: Rhetoric and Reality*, London: Zed Press, 1998, p.137

<sup>14</sup> World Bank Report, *Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamic*, New York: World Bank Publication, 2005, p10

<sup>15</sup> Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, *Kenya Military Intervention in Somalia*, 15 February 2012, p1

<sup>16</sup> *Somalia: Countering Terrorism in a Failed State*, ICG Africa Report No. 45, May 23, 2002

Besides terrorism threats, Somalia failed state has also been linked piracy to threat<sup>17</sup> - a tactic of hijacking ships and other sea vessels – which has threatened business and general voyage particularly in the Indian ocean and the region at large. Other security threats includes, proliferation of small and light weapons in the region, rampart kidnapping, drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and other illicit trades, which have threatened the regional economy.<sup>18</sup>

Several attempts have been made to restore Somalia back to rule of law. The first U.N. intervention in Somalia was initially prompted by a desire on the part of the international community to protect food relief and end the famine ravaging southern Somalia. It was initially a U.S.-led, U.N.-sanctioned multilateral intervention involving nearly 30,000 troops. In May 1993, the operation was formally handed over to the United Nations, with a mandate to assist Somalis in promoting national reconciliation, rebuilding the central government, and reviving the economy.<sup>19</sup>

The intervention initially succeeded in freezing armed conflicts in the country. U.S. commanders decided not to embark on a campaign of disarmament, for fear of arousing armed resistance leading to U.S. casualties. But the ambitious United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM) mandate of rebuilding a Somali government via locally-selected district councils directly threatened the interests of a number of militia leaders and their clans, who controlled valuable riverine and urban real estate through conquest, and who viewed UNOSOM's program as a move to disenfranchise them.

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<sup>17</sup> Ahmed, Mohamed. "Somali Sea Gangs Lure Investors at Pirate Lair." *Reuters - Business & Financial News, Breaking US & International News*. 01 Dec. 2009. Web. 14 Apr. 2011.

<sup>18</sup> Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, *Kenya Military Intervention in Somalia*, 15 February 2012, p3

<sup>19</sup>World Bank Report, *Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamic* , New York: World Bank Publication, 2005 , p 11

A confrontation was inevitable. In June 1993, only one month after the United Nations assumed control of the operation, the militia of General Aideed (representing the Haber Gedir/Hawiye clan) attacked U.N. forces, killing 24 peacekeepers and precipitating a four month battle between the United Nations and Aideed's militia. The subsequent failure of U.S. and U.N. forces to capture Aideed, the paralysis that the fighting imposed on U.N. nation-building efforts, and the disastrous losses sustained in the October 3 "Black Hawk Down" incident sealed the fate of the U.N. operation, which departed in March 1995, leaving Somalia still in a state of violence and anarchy.<sup>20</sup>

The latest attempt to broker peace and revive a central government in Somalia began in October 2002 and was undertaken by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), with the Kenyan government hosting the effort and external partners such as the EU providing support<sup>21</sup>. The framers of this round of talks came up with several innovations, including an initial phase, which pledged parties to a cessation of hostilities, and a second phase devoted to reconciliation, which required the participants to address key conflict issues. The second phase was to provide a blueprint for whatever government emerged from the talks. Over the ensuing two years, the peace process encountered numerous obstacles and lengthy delays. Long-standing disputes over the size and composition of representation in the talks, and disagreement over who controlled the selection of members of parliament, created crises that prompted walkouts and boycotts by some key political leaders.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Menkhaus K., *Protracted State Collapse: A Rediagnosis*, *Review of African Political Economy*, 2003, pp 215-236, p256

<sup>21</sup> Conflict Analysis Regional Report – Somaliland, Center for Creative Solutions (CCS) 2004, p5

<sup>22</sup> Somaliland, Center for Creative Solutions (CCS) 2005, p10

While this peace negotiation was on going, Somalia militia groups have continued to exert more security threat to the region. Through sea piracy, frequent grenade attacks, rampant kidnapping of foreign or international aid workers and tourists are just some of the threats to national security which prompted the Kenya government to intervene. In October 2011, the government deployed thousands of troops in Somalia's Juba Valley to wage war on Al-Shabaab militia group. Operation Linda Nchi (Protect the Country) was given the go-ahead with inadequate political, diplomatic and military preparation<sup>23</sup>. However to date, KDF have achieved enormously in terms of national and regional security. This study intends to establish the roles of KDF toward these achievements.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The instability which periodically plagues the Kenya-Somalia border area is part of a broader, complex pattern of state failure and communal violence afflicting much of the Horn of Africa. The Islamist insurgency in Somalia has had a spillover effect on security in the northeast of neighbouring Kenya, affecting livelihoods and the delivery of services. The crimes that have been experience in the recent passed in the region include killings, carjacking and abductions. Insecurity in the borderlands has led thousands of livestock herders to abandon their traditional grazing land. This has resulted in some Somali rebels entering into Kenyan territory and causing insecurity. These have direct effect on security threats across political, economic, social and cultural dimensions, which defined the scope of national security.

The Kenya national security, and indeed regional security, has been threatened by the prolonged state collapse in Somalia which have provided ground for

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<sup>23</sup>Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, p2

growth of radical militant islamist terrorism, proliferation of small arms, rampant kidnapping, refugees menace and maritime piracy among other insecurity issues. These have resulted to massive loss, not only to the nation, but also to the region in terms of citizens being killed by suicide bombers, property destructions, travel advisories hurting tourism industry, massive investment in security by states, destruction of infrastructures among others. Several attempts that have been made to restore Somalia lawlessness have proved fruitless because of lack of a legitimate government due to government collapse. Although a number of Al-shabaab attacks have been thwarted, the police have failed to compellingly engage the militia due to the guerilla warfare they deploy. This necessitated the Kenya Defense Force to invade Somalia through military invasion dubbed *Operation Linda Nchi*.

The deployment of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) into Somalia has been widely praised as one of the most successful operation ever undertaken in a contemporary warfare. Much can be seen to have been achieved through this operation, as the Kenya military roles have shifted from the constitutional mandate of defence against external aggression to restoration of rule of law in Somalia. Despite this claim of achievement, no studies have been done to support and provide an evidence of the massive roles of Kenya military in Somalia conflict and regional security.

### **1.3 Justification of the study**

This study was tailored to analyze the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats. The research was designed to establish how military operation enhance regional economic stability through military operation. This will lead to the establishment of various conflict handling strategies including initiation of regional integration and economic blocks, mediation, continental peacekeeping machinery as well as military intervention in extreme situation. A study that analyses the role of such intervention is of great importance, as it will not only help in achieving national security but also regional one. This study is therefore significance that it will provide facts on how military intervention has played roles towards regional security.

The findings are of great importance to policy makers both national government and regional states in designing and redesigning military operation policies towards regional securities. The field of academia may use this information for further research on the enhancement of regional security.

### **1.4 Objective of the Study**

The general objective of the study is to establish the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) on Somalia conflict and regional security.

#### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives**

- i. To analyse the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats.
- ii. To establish the role of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in enhancing regional economic stability through its military operation in Somalia.



- iii. To establish the role of Kenya Defence Forces in combating terrorism and piracy in the East African region through its military operation in Somalia.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

- i. What roles has Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) played towards the protection of national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats?
- ii. What is the role of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in enhancing regional economic stability through its military operation in Somalia?
- iii. What is the role of Kenya Defence Forces in combating terrorism and piracy in the East African region through its military operation in Somalia?

### **1.6 Literature Reviews**

Recent terrorist attacks and threats to human life and their economic wellbeing give us good reason to reassess the meaning of the concept of security. Security has long been by and large a matter of the state, executed in the formulation of foreign and defence policies. However, of late many security issues have become increasingly transnational. For instance, the subject of transnational terrorism is commonly perceived as one of these new challenges that cannot be countered effectively at the level of the nation-state alone, as its roots, causes and effects are cross-bordering.<sup>24</sup>

#### **1.6.1 Armed Conflict and the Traditional Role of Military Power**

##### **Conflict Resolution Measures**

The international community is a place where the national interests of sovereign states come into conflict. International law has evolved as a set of rules to reconcile these

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<sup>24</sup> Elmi Afyare A. "Understanding the Sources of Somali Conflict." *Third World Resurgence* (2011): 15-20.

differences in advance, but in the event that an international conflict emerges, conflict resolution measures have been developed to deal with such a conflict. Namely, conflicts can be settled through peaceful measures. When a conflict cannot be resolved through peaceful measures, it is instead resolved through the use of force.

The international community lacks an effective coercive system for reacting to violations of the international order.<sup>25</sup> This means that conflicts between states must ultimately be resolved by one state imposing its will upon another state through its own measures. Military power has played a critical role as an important means in this process. Various countries have possessed military power primarily because they recognize the importance of this traditional role of military power.

### **Expanded Role of Military Power**

Following the League of Nations, the United Nations was established in the mid-20th century. The UN adopted a collective security system as a method superior to an individual security system. The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and in the event of a breach of the peace or threat to the peace, recognizes that the military forces of member states acting collectively can take punitive measures. This represents “peace enforcement” by the UN.

In these instances, military power has assumed the role of ensuring and maintaining the peace and security of the international community. In other words, even without a direct military threat to oneself, military power can be expected to

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<sup>25</sup> Turok B., *Africa, What Can Be Done?* London and New Jersey, Zed Books Ltd, (1987)

contribute to peace enforcement activities in accordance with a Security Council resolution.

However, it is widely known that this system is not workable and that the new role for the use of military power has not been fully utilized. When member states have used armed force based on the right of self-defense, military power has still assumed its traditional role.<sup>26</sup>

### **1.6.2 Regional Security in Africa**

Regional security is referred to as an approach that grasps security, which has come to imply such diverse meanings, from the perspective of a region consisting of multiple states, rather than that of a state. In today's international community, Africa is one of the regions where regional security as described above is most actively debated and challenged.

Flotz attributes high risks of personal insecurity, lawlessness, and armed conflicts to state failure, and hence the eventual collapse. He denotes that under these circumstances, citizens develop a tendency to support virtually any group that can retain order. Accordingly, the inability of a state to assert its inherent monopoly of legitimate force “opens the door for extremists to build their bases of political power.” This argument puts an insight into the emergence and the initial positive reception that ICU (Islamic Courts Union) of Somalia received, even as its militant arm (*Al-Shabaab*) carried out terrorist related activities against the population. The power void created by the Somali state failure and collapse has consequently been filled by *Al-Shabaab*, an Islamist extremist group which has been thriving on the platform of ‘standing in for the government,’ which essentially means rendering ‘services’ to the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid

people. Civil war is a key component of state failure and eventual collapse as it emerges side by side of the state disintegration<sup>27</sup>.

Weak groups engage in terrorism because it is cost-effective in terms of fewer actors, finances and other resources. Heinzen sums it up by postulating that the choice of terrorism as an instrument for achieving political objectives is necessitated by the depletion of any other political coercion avenues. *Al-Shabaab's* resort to the use of terrorist activities as a means of widening its influence would be fundamental in this analysis. Particularly, it portrays the groups as a 'weak' entity that cannot engage in a conventional warfare with its adversaries in an attempt to seek military redress to its grievances, assuming that peaceful mechanisms have been extensively exhausted. The advent of the *Al-Shabaab* in the Somalia conflict and its religious connotation shigh lights the sacralisation dimension of the conflict.<sup>28</sup> According to Lorenzo Vildino: Sacralisation of a conflict is a process through which religion, or; in most cases, a militant interpretation of it evolves from being an irrelevant or secondary factor at the onset of a conflict to shaping the views, actions, and aims of one or more of the conflict's key actors. The infusion of militant religious undertones into a conflict is fundamental to the process of radicalisation, a concept which this author will explore in detail.

The fundamental component of radicalisation is the existence of an ideology. An individual bearing this conviction therefore justly perceive violence as an avenue

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<sup>27</sup> Zachary Devlin-Flotz, (2010) "Africa's Fragile States: Empowering Extremists, Exporting Terrorism", Africa Security Brief, No6, August p. 110

<sup>28</sup> Karl Heinzen, "Murder" in Walter Laqueur (ed.) *The Terrorism Reader: A Historical Anthology*, (London: Wildwood House, 1979) pp. 53-64 (p.55)

for achieving the objectives of the very conviction<sup>29</sup>. As Picarelli aptly puts it, “radicalisation occurs when recruits align their existing worldview with the ideology of a group and commit themselves to using violence to achieve the group’s goals.” According to Evans and Neumann, the success of this process can be based on four core pillars, otherwise known as ingredients for the radicalization process and includes; grievance, ideology, mobilisation, and tipping points.<sup>30</sup> Grievance creates a sense of alienation or disenfranchisement that in turn gives rise to a cognitive opening, or the realisation to seek other options for redress. One of those options could be extremism.

Modern technology, especially the internet has remained a vital propaganda tool for extremists and terrorist groups. The groups use it as an avenue for radicalisation, fund raising, and recruitment.<sup>31</sup> Cronin argues that the rapid information transmission to a significantly larger audience and that which has characteristically rendered terrorism “repugantly voyeuristic” has been attributed to the existing technological advancements. Coll and Glasser concurs that, the internet has “emerged as the critical new dimension of twenty-first century global terrorism with websites and electronic bulletin boards spreading ideological messages perpetuating terrorist networks providing links between operatives in cyber space and sharing violent images to demonstrate ruthlessness and incite followers to action”

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<sup>29</sup> Lorenzo Vidino , Raffaello Pantuccib, Evan Kohlmann, “Bringing Global Jihad to the Horn of Africa: al Shabaab, Western Fighters, and the Sacralization of the Somali Conflict”, African Security, Volume 3, Issue 4, 2010 pp. 216-238

<sup>30</sup> Turok B., Africa, What Can Be Done? London and New Jersey, Zed Books Ltd, (1987)

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

Whereas passive support includes mild activities such as being uncooperative with the security institutions, active support is, on the other hand, very vivid and includes activities such as: raising revenues, creating a safe haven, and even hiding the group from the authorities. Peter Chalk and Glen Robinson posit that transnational terrorist attacks are expedited by the existence of “franchise cells” of one or two people in the targeted country. The May 2003 Casablanca, Morocco bombing that claimed 45 lives is a typical example. Robinson further highlight that such bombings are carried out by local terrorist operatives in the diaspora communities. On another front, Chalk argues that terrorists are always keen on taking advantage of unmanned borders. Many “borders in the East African corridor are porous and subject to little if any control.” In supporting the argument, he cites the 2004 Al-Qaeda’s successful penetration into the Jebel Kurush mountain range northeast of Sudan that runs parallel to the Red Sea and managing to set up training camps due to lack of border control.<sup>32</sup>

Menkhaus argues that contrary to the conventional wisdom that collapsed states are safe havens for international terrorists, the converse is true. He instead postulates that it is the quasi states that yield a working environment for terrorists due to the thriving corruption. Such countries include: Pakistan, Yemen, Kenya, Indonesia, Philippines and Guinea, among others.<sup>33</sup> According to A. Phillips, foreign fighters in a terrorist group are essential for a strike beyond its regular boundaries, and the principal role played by foreign Jihadists in the Province of Anbar, Iraq in the year 2006 gives credence to this argument. Foreign fighters not only conducted martyrdom operations against the US and allied forces, but also worked as volunteers and

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<sup>32</sup> Kimberly Kagan, “The Anbar Awakening: Displacing Al-Qaeda from its Stronghold in Western Iraq,” *The Institution for the Study of War and Weekly Standard*, (March 2007), pp 2–536 Phillips, “How AQI Lost Iraq,” p 65

<sup>33</sup> Ken Menkhaus, “Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism”, p 7131 Ibid, p 7432 Ibid, p 7

guaranteed maximum control over the population. Foreign Jihadists remained critical for the agenda of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) as they became the contact nodes for the newly arrived terrorist groups from Jordan and Syria. Philips denotes that it was not only the diminishing support of the Anbar Sunni Muslims that contributed to the 2007 loss of the Province from the grips of the AQI, but also the decline of the inflow of foreignfighters.<sup>36</sup>In this thesis, the author will argue that *Al-Shabaab's* stability and profile have over the years been boosted by the strategic incorporation of foreign fighters within its ranks.<sup>34</sup>

Globalization of the world economy has not only had positive effects on nation-states, but it is also enhanced, unintentionally, the capacity of individuals to organize themselves to conduct crimes across borders - that is transnational crime.<sup>35</sup> Global crime covers several areas, of which drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and internet-based crimes are the most infamous. In addition, money laundering, and particularly its connection to transnational terrorism has received widespread interest from policymakers in recent years. Therefore, the transformation of security notion from state oriented to global perspective has posed a challenge to the theories of international relation as well as security players.

Concerning dimension of security concept, two distinct but inter-related key dimensions can be posed i.e. the 'broadening' of security and the 'deepening' of security. The 'broadening' dimension concerns the extension of security to other issues or sectors than the military one, while the 'deepening' dimension questions whether entities other than the state should be able to claim security threats, moving either

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<sup>34</sup> Frederick W. Kagan, "Al-Qaeda in Iraq- How to Understand it: How to Defeat it," *The Weekly Standard* 012, no. 48(September 10, 2007): p 3

<sup>35</sup> Keck, M. E., K. Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithica: Cornell University Press. (1998), p 19

down to the level of individual or human security or up to the level of international or global security, with regional and societal security as possible intermediate points.<sup>36</sup> Although the two dimensions are logically intertwined, they focus on different questions. The broadening debate is essentially concerned with the question of the source of threat to security while the deepening dimension, on the other hand, deals principally with the question of the referent object of security (security for whom?)

One of the most prominent attempts to widen the security agenda has been provided by Barry Buzan,<sup>37</sup> who stressed that the “security of human” collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors: military, political, economic, societal and environmental. Generally speaking, military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy.

Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, religious, national identity and custom. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. These five sectors do not operate in isolation from one another. Each one defines a focal point within the security problem, but all are woven together in a web of linkages. Their common denominator is the threats to and defense by the state.

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<sup>36</sup> Studies', in K. Krause and M.C. Williams (eds.) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: UCL Press, (1997) pp. 299-327

<sup>37</sup> Buzan, B., O. Waever and J. de Wilde (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner. BVD (2001) pp. 5-9



### 1.6.3 Summary of Literature Gaps

From the going literature, it is evident that the role of protecting the national against external aggression rest with KDF. It is also clear that, the role of enhancing regional economic stability rest with KDF through its military operation in Somalia. It is also the responsibility of KDF to combat terrorism and piracy in the East African region through its military operation in Somalia. All these would require some policy that provides the procedures.

### 1.7 Theoretical Framework

The main concern of this study is to analyse the role of Kenya Defence Forces in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats. This study will be guided by the theory of realism. Realism is a school of thought that explains international relations in terms of power. Among its founding fathers are Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes. Realism theory are centered upon four propositions:

**The international system is anarchic.** Realists, consider the absence of government, literally *anarchy*, to be the primary determinant of international political outcomes. The lack of a common rule-making and enforcing authority means, they argue, that the international arena is essentially a self-help system. Each state is responsible for its own survival and is free to define its own interests and to pursue power. Anarchy thus leads to a situation in which power has the overriding role in shaping interstate relations. They further argue that, since such an authority above states does not exist, the lawless condition of international anarchy, the only right is the right of the stronger to dominate the weaker. They explicitly equate right with might, and exclude considerations of justice from foreign affairs.

**States are the most important actors.** States represent the key unit of analysis. The study of international relations is the study of relations among these units. Realists use the concept of system defined in terms of interrelate parts usually refer to an international system of state.

**States pursue self interest.** Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power.

**The primary concern of all states is survival.** Realists' envision the world of states as anarchic; they likewise view security as a central issue. To attain security, states try to increase their power and engage in power-balancing for the purpose of deterring potential aggressors. Wars are fought to prevent competing nations from becoming militarily stronger.

The realist's worldview depicts international relations as a struggle for power among strategic, self-interested states. They argue that international society is best described as a condition of international anarchy, since there is no central authority to protect states from one another. As a result, states act as independent, sovereign political units that focus on their own survival (or expansion). For that reason, the objective of national security is survival of the nation-state rather than the guarantee of international security.<sup>38</sup>

Realists are not prepared to engage in long-term accommodation or cooperation. In this view, world politics is a 'jungle' characterized by a 'state of war', not a single continuous war or constant wars but the constant possibility of war among

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<sup>38</sup> Haftendorn, H., The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and in International Security', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.35, 1991, no. 1, pp. 3-17,8

all states. Consequently, the realist perceives a period of peace as a state of non-war. The 'possibility of war requires that states follow "Real politics", be self-interested, prepare for war and calculate relative balances of power.<sup>39</sup>

As a product of presumed uncertainty, a central issue in nearly all realist theory is the 'security dilemma'. Due to their continuous efforts to guarantee their own security and survival, states are driven to acquire more and more power in order to escape the impact of the power of others. The implication for this theory is that, in turn, it constitutes a threat to the security of other states as evident in nuclear strategies and deterrence thought. Hence, striving to attain maximum security from attack inevitably produces new insecurities both within and between states leading to regional conflicts.

When armed conflicts erupts, suffering and hardship invariably follows, in form of violation of human right and other insecurities including unlawful killing (Genocide/mass killings), torture, forced displacement (IDPs and Refugees), starvation (Humanitarian needs), kidnapping, economic destructions (Infrastructures) among others. Vast majority of armed conflicts today are internal, with tendency to spill over, and often characterized by extreme violence, social disruption and economic destruction as shown in Figure 2.1

These pose threats to the national and regional security values, and thus form the independent variable of the study. When such violations are carried out by government or when the state is overwhelmed by non-state actors, then it becomes a regional issue and calls for intervention. The common forms of intervention in armed conflicts are military interventions. These interventions can be in form of

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<sup>39</sup> Doyle, M. (1997) *Ways of War and Peace*, New York p18

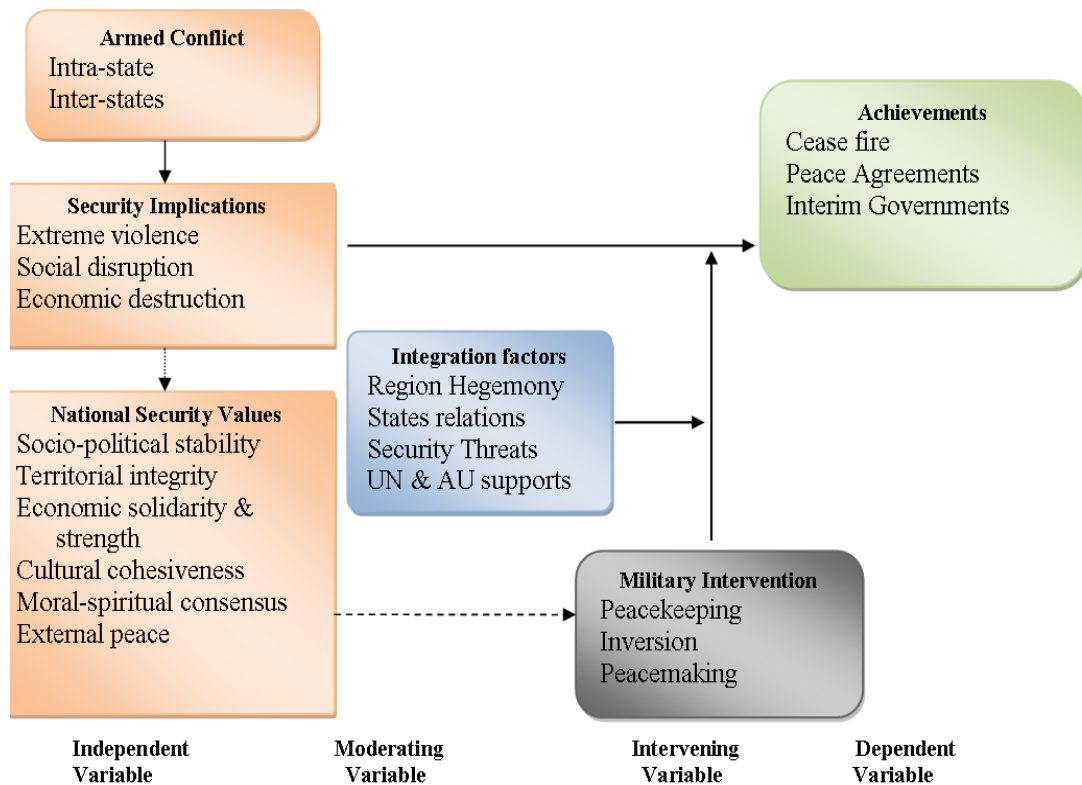
peacekeeping, peacemaking and in extreme inversion. These represent the intervening variable of the study. However, the choice and success of intervention is moderated by the regional factors. These regional factors become the moderating variable.

The ultimate achievements of military interventions e.g. cease fires, signing of peace agreements and formation of interim national unity governments amongst others become the dependent variables of the study. These achievements are the actual roles of military in regional security.

The above theory is relevant as it will inform and shape this study as it helps researcher to explain the rationale behind KDF intervention in Somalia conflict. It also helps researcher to explain the most appropriate policy options that the Republic of Kenya and regional government may adopt to address insecurity in the region.

**Figure 1.1: The Theoretical Framework**

The concept in the figure 1.1 below was derived from the theory of realism discussed above. This theory was used to describe the variables in the research and their relation



**Source: Researcher (2014)**

### 1.8 Methodology of the Study

The study used both qualitative and quantitative method of research design. This was influenced by the perceived varying degrees of opinions, views and perception of divergent respondents the study sampled. Creswell argues that qualitative research design is suitable in natural settings, thus ideal for capturing respondent’s opinion and ideas<sup>40</sup>. Within the context of the study, population comprised KDF military officers

<sup>40</sup> Creswell, N. W. (2009); Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (3<sup>rd</sup> edition). London: Sage.

who took part in Somalia operations, political analyst and conflict/security analyst. Due to the sensitivity and confidentiality of military reports, the exact population of military officers was not ascertained. However, the researcher draws the sample size from the three services of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF).

The study also took note of the validity and reliability of the study. To a large extent the validity of the findings depends upon the quality of the raw data, which depends on the research instruments used. If the instruments are valid and reliable, the findings should be valid and reliable too.<sup>41</sup> To enhance reliability, the researcher employ different data collection instruments, design with simple, unambiguous, logical and comprehensive questions. The study supervisor also crosschecked and scrutinized information on the research instruments for accuracy, relevance, completeness, consistency and uniformity, before they were adopted.

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The instruments used for primary data collection was questionnaires.<sup>42</sup> Questionnaire (Appendix I) was used to solicit opinions and views from senior military officers. On the other hand, secondary data included textual and multimedia data forms obtained from both published and unpublished materials such as books, journals, thesis, academic papers, live coverage and video footages of KDF actions in Somalia.

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. Specifically, content data analysis for secondary material was done for their relevance, strength and weakness with regard to the study questions. A critical qualitative analysis of nature of military interventions and their motives, in addition to

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<sup>41</sup> Mugenda, O. M, and Mugenda, A., *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Nairobi: Acts Press. (1999).

<sup>42</sup> Interview guides and questionnaires are useful for getting in-depth understanding of the issues under investigation rather than measuring those issues: Rasmussen, S. and Erik S., (2006). *Essentials of Social Research Methodology*. Odense University Press of Southern Denmark.

an evaluation of their roles towards regional security was done too. Primary data was analyzed using descriptive statistics in order to determine frequencies and percentages. These results are presented in tables and graphs with a brief explanation following thereafter. The summary, conclusion and recommendations are in chapter five.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE ROLE OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES (KDF) IN PROTECTING THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGAINST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION FROM SOMALIA CONFLICT THREATS**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter present and discusses the role of Kenya Defence Forces in protecting national security. The chapter also analyses the reasons that made Kenya to intervene in Somalia conflict. It later discusses the impact of Somalia conflict to Kenya.

#### **2.2 Background**

Kenya shares historical factors with Somalia in regards to ethnic and geographical aspects. The northeastern province of Kenya is predominantly inhabited by a Somali ethnic population; Kenya had no interstate wars with Somalia. However, tensions between the two countries over the Somali inhabited region occurred right after the independence of Somalia. The first Somali independent state declared its intention to unify the Somalia inhabited regions in the horn of Africa under one state in which northeastern province of Kenya includes. Northern Frontier Liberation Army (NFLA), an ethnic Somalia secessionist movement, was established in the early 1960s to fight against Kenyan rule in this region.

The Somali government at the time backed up this movement and provided them moral and material support (Moller, 2009: 4). In spite of history, Kenya has always been friendly with the Somali people since the war broke out in Somalia in 1991. Kenya accommodated the largest number of Somali refugees who fled the war in Somalia. According to UNHCR Kenya hosts about a half a million Somali refugees



as per this year, while the conflict in Somalia still continues (UNHCR, 2014). The fact that all conflicts affect regional countries in several ways, the scale of Somali refugees in Kenya could hugely affect this country in variable aspects. This exemplifies Brown's concept on regional dimensions in internal conflict. He explains that refugee is a result of internal conflict and it mostly affects the neighboring countries. In an interview with a senior UN official working with security concurred in Kenya the study established that insecurity in Somalia has worsened the situation in northeast Kenya. There is no government on the other side. Therefore nobody knows how many weapons go back and forth across the border.

### **2.3 Role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in Protecting National Security**

Kenya Defence Forces role prior to the promulgation of the new Constitution was twofold - the primary role was to defend the sovereignty of the Republic and the secondary one was to assist the civil authority when called upon. This process entails a decision that the breach in law and order is such that the police services can no longer contain the situation. In the case of general breaches, the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces of the Republic of Kenya may directly invoke the Preservation of Public Security Act Cap 57. For large but isolated breaches, the Minister for Provincial Administration and Internal Security may invite the Defence Forces, through an order issued under the Preservation of Public Security Act Cap 57; Subsidiary Regulations, Public Security (Armed Forces) Order section 2(1) and confer them the full powers, protection and privileges of police officers in the designated area.

The Defence Forces employ the appropriate means (minimum necessary forces), to bring the situation back to a condition where police can once again operate

effectively. The invite is formalized by a gazette notice that is issued after but not more than 21 days; or prior to the employment. Calling upon requires Parliamentary sanction. Therefore both the President and the Minister may seek parliamentary authorization post facto before twenty one days expire, or abinitio. Kenyans have cried on the Defence Forces when they become victims of external aggression; such as the Todenyang in Turkana and the Migingo Island (Nyanza) cases.

The new Constitution has now defined the roles of the Kenya Defence to be the defence and protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic, assist and cooperate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster, and the restoration of peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability, when approved to do so by the National Assembly.

The forces so committed shall perform these roles under the supervision and control of the Defence Council but being directly answerable to the National Assembly. This subordinates the Defence Forces to civil authority, or put more clearly, the people of Kenya.

Protection of National security findings are illustrated in Table 2.1, and revealed that KDF have fairly promptly protected national territory (mean=2.54), fairly ready to combat any external aggression that threatened territorial jurisdiction (mean=2.15) and fairly swiftly responds to multilateral disputed between states within the region (mean=2.49). In addition, KDF have not regarded use of excessive force as a means of restoring tranquility in troubled states within the region (mean=3.45). However, KDF have restored regional territorial and security integrity through its operation in Somalia (mean=2.08). In general, protection of National security

summed to mean=2.54, Std dev=1.144, skewness=0.607 and kurtosis= 0.365. These finding shows that KDF have fairly protected the regional security.

**Table 2.1: Protection of National and Regional Security**

<b>Factors of Concerns</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>Skewness</b>	<b>Kurtosis</b>
Prompt protection of national territory at all time.	2.54	1.144	0.568	-0.634
Readiness to combat any external aggression that threatened her territorial jurisdictions	2.15	1.189	1.046	0.133
Swift response to multilateral disputes between states within the regional	2.49	1.189	0.428	-0.761
Use of excessive force to restore tranquility in troubled states	3.45	1.176	-0.671	-0.12
Restoration of region territorial and security integrity	2.08	1.023	1.662	3.209
<b>Protection of National/Regional security</b>	<b>2.54</b>	<b>1.144</b>	<b>0.607</b>	<b>0.365</b>

**Source: Research findings (2014)**

Respondents also agreed that KDF have protected national security against external aggression to a large extent (25%), large extent (60%), small extent (7.5%) and very small extent (7.5%). These reveal that KDF have protected national/regional security to a large extent (85%).

#### **2.4 Kenya's intervention in Somalia**

At the onset of the entry into Somalia, Kenya advanced the argument of the country's right to self-defence as embodied in Article 51 of the UN Charter, which clearly recognises the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence in the

wake of an armed attack against a member of the UN.<sup>43</sup> The use of this particular article as the legal justification for Kenya's invasion raised a lot of questions regarding what constituted an armed attack against the state and whether such actions necessitated an invasion of this magnitude.<sup>44</sup>

Furthermore, some have argued that Kenya did not follow the right procedure required in pursuit of the right to self-defence as the country did not report its intended actions to the UN Security Council (UNSC).<sup>45</sup> However, even after news of the invasion surfaced, the UNSC remained silent, despite the fact that it was not informed of Kenya's intentions to intervene in Somalia. Utterances by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon came nearly two months into the invasion; he commended Kenya on its role and efforts in stabilising Somalia. Many analysts have drawn comparisons between the intervention in Somalia and the 2003 invasion of Iraq by the US. Kenya's intervention was launched 'to protect its territorial integrity from foreign aggression' as explained by the country's late minister for internal security a day before the launch of the intervention in 2011. This statement implied that the KDF would move in and advance as far into Somalia as possible in pursuit of al-Shabaab militia. The move marked Kenya's largest military operation since its independence in 1963. At the onset, around 2,400 KDF personnel were deployed. The intervention was done in haste and more importantly, reports indicate that it was launched in the

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<sup>43</sup> Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, *Kenya Military Intervention in Somalia*, 15 February 2012, p1

<sup>44</sup> Conflict Analysis Regional Report – *Somaliland*, Center for Creative Solutions (CCS) 2004, p. 54-56

<sup>45</sup> *Global Post*. "Kenya troops aim to carve 'buffer zone' out of Somalia", McConnell, Tristan, 15-11-2011, located at <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/africa/111115/kenyaJubbaland> (accessed 20-02-2014)

absence of consultations with the then TFG of Somalia.<sup>46</sup>

## **2.5 What Prompted The Invasion?**

The study established various reasons as to why Kenya Defence Forces had to intervene in Somalia conflict.

### **2.5.1 The Terrorist Threat**

Since the mid-1990s, a number of loosely affiliated extremist groups operating from Somalia have carried out or facilitated terrorist attacks in the region.<sup>47</sup> The first was alltihaad al-Islami (AIAD), a Somali Islamist and nationalist political grouping with some longstanding links to al Qaeda that aimed to establish an Islamic emirate in the Somali-inhabited territories of the Horn of Africa.<sup>48</sup> Its strategy relied upon regional and wider international networks linked to the Somali Diaspora. Members travelled freely between Kenya and Somalia and elsewhere in the region and built considerable infrastructure for recruitment, fundraising and communication among the Somali populations in Nairobi, Mombasa and North Eastern Province.<sup>49</sup> In an interview, one of the respondent pointed out that there is no real border, there is no fence. There are known Al-Shabab elements in control on the other side of the border, hence, it was impossible to say how much of the criminality in the region could be attributed to Somalis.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid

<sup>47</sup> Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation”, Policy Briefing, *International Crisis Group*, Africa Briefing N°85, Nairobi/Brussels, 25 January 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Conflict Analysis Regional Report – *Somaliland*, Center for Creative Solutions (CCS) 2004, p. 54-56

<sup>49</sup> Chweya L., Emerging Dimensions of Security in the IGAD Region, in M. Mwangi (ed), *African Regional Security Issues in the Age of Globalization*, Kenya: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004, pp 33-48:37

In the mid-1990s, it claimed several terrorist attacks in Ethiopia. Following Ethiopian retaliatory raids on its Somali bases in early 1997, however, AIAI's military and political command structure was dismantled, and the movement formally disbanded. Some leaders remained active and may have played a supporting role in the 1998 bombing of the U.S. Nairobi embassy. That 7 August 1998 attack, as well as one the same day against the U.S. Dar es Salaam embassy, were carried out by al-Qaeda in East Africa and also based in Somalia. Its Somali connections were instrumental in planning and executing the twin attacks, which together killed 225 and wounded over 4,000.<sup>50</sup> Twelve of the dead were U.S. citizens; the vast majority was Kenyans or Tanzanians. Increased international attention led to the capture or killing of a number of the group's leaders, but it remained a serious threat, and on 28 December 2002, it attacked the Paradise Hotel, a beachfront lodge in Kikambala, Kenya, owned by Israelis and frequented by Israeli tourists, killing fifteen and injuring about 80.<sup>51</sup>

The latest mass attack – the 11 July 2010 bombings in Kampala that killed 85 civilians and injured dozens more – was attributed to Al-Shabaab, a successor to AIAI (although most participants were East Africans). It confirmed longstanding fears that the group could become a regional threat and came after several explicit warnings that it would “bring war to Uganda and Burundi” in revenge for their troop contributions to AMISOM in support of Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and for civilian casualties caused by AMISOM shelling.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid

<sup>51</sup> Elmi Afyare A. "Understanding the Sources of Somali Conflict." *Third World Resurgence* (2011): 15-20.

### 2.5.2 The Refugee Crisis

Kenya is now officially home to almost 500,000 refugees from Somalia. This has exacted an enormous toll on locals and the government. Nairobi is deeply alarmed at the fast-growing refugee population. The Dadaab refugee camps are the third largest settlement in Kenya. But the problem is not simply the crisis in the camps.<sup>52</sup> The government is uneasy about the growth of the native ethnic Somali population (nearly 2.4 million according to the 2009 census) and the increasing economic clout of Somalis. It is also aware of growing anti-Somali sentiments in the major urban centres. Documentation is a big problem.<sup>53</sup> A large but unknown number have obtained Kenyan papers illegally, largely due to corruption, but also because it is often difficult to distinguish between Kenyan and other Somalis.

Another concern is the movement of Somali refugees into Nairobi and Mombasa. The Somali population of Eastleigh, originally an Asian neighbourhood of the capital, is now estimated at over 100,000. Demographic changes are closely watched, because they have direct political implications, a point brought home recently when an ethnic Somali, Yusuf Hassan, won the parliamentary seat in Eastleigh. Kenya is a signatory to the UN refugee convention, which bars forced return of refugees.<sup>54</sup> Instead it is hoping to establish a “safe zone” to which the Somalis among them could return, but its justification for this – that they are fleeing famine rather than political instability – glosses over the root causes of the problem.

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<sup>52</sup> Aukot, E. “It is better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya,” *Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights*. Vol IXX, 2003.

<sup>53</sup> Aukot, E. “It is better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya,” *Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights*. Vol IXX, 2003.

<sup>54</sup> Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, *Kenya Military Intervention in Somalia*, 15 February 2012, p1

Sending refugees back would be no solution to the difficulties that plague Somalia and created the refugee situation in the first place.

### **2.5.3 The Kidnappings in Lamu and Dadaab**

Although a military intervention was in the works, the timeline was accelerated by a string of cross-border kidnapping attacks targeting Western tourists on the Kenyan coast and aid workers from the refugee camp in Dadaab. Tourism is a key industry, and Kenya, particularly Nairobi, is host to a large UN presence, including many international and local NGOs involved in humanitarian relief and other activities. When several Europeans were seized in the Lamu area in September and October 2011, the key tourism industry was hit hard. The last straw appeared to be when two Spanish aid workers with Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) were kidnapped in a Dadaab refugee camp, near the Kenya-Somalia border, on 13 October (the third incident in less than a month). Several days later, Kenyan troops moved into Somalia.<sup>55</sup>

### **2.5.4 Piracy Threat along Somalia Coastline**

The other security threat troubling HoA and international trade particularly is piracy threat along the coastline of Somalia.<sup>56</sup> This new tactic of hijacking ships and other sea vessels is threatening business and general voyage particularly in the Indian Ocean. Since the early 1990s, rampant piracy off the coast of Somalia has become a major issue for global trade and security, prompting strong responses from the international community. In 2011 alone, the collective cost of ransom money, military protection and cargo insurance as a result of piracy was estimated to have been

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid

<sup>56</sup> Ahmed, Mohamed. "Somali Sea Gangs Lure Investors at Pirate Lair." *Reuters - Business & Financial News, Breaking US & International News*. 01 Dec. 2009. Web. 14 Apr. 2011.



between 7 and 12 billion dollars.<sup>57</sup> This number did not include the collective loss of trade revenue from nearby countries such as Egypt, Kenya, Yemen and Nigeria, estimated to be at least \$1.25 billion annually.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the attempted military intervention of the United Nations, EU and NATO, piracy in Somalia has continued to grow due to the country's lack of a central government and no internal authority that stands in its way. In fact, piracy along Somalia's large coastline has gained support from local authorities, most notably Al-Shabaab, an Islamist insurgent group with ties to Al-Qaeda that continues to wage civil war with the internationally recognized Transitional Federal Government for control of Somalia.<sup>59</sup> The profit of piracy estimated at just under \$300 million in 2011,<sup>60</sup> sustained its growth and internal support. Ports and towns along the Gulf of Aden have benefited enormously from pirate activity, making it a significant part of Somalia's informal economy. For instance, Haradheere, a small port town on Somalia's East coast has a twenty-four hour stock exchange where members of the community contribute weapons, funding and soldiers, and receive a portion of the ransom money in return.<sup>61</sup>

It's also essential for the study traces the root causes of piracy phenomenon. To pinpoint the cause of piracy in Somalia, it must first be understood that it is only one of the many negative consequences of the country's history. Indeed, Somalia's history is filled with political instability. The 1884 Berlin Conference granted the

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<sup>57</sup> Gill, Sharon. "Maritime Piracy Costs Global Community up to \$12 Billion a Year." *Eyefortransport / News, Analysis & Events*. 20 Jan. 2011. Web. 14 Apr. 2011.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*

<sup>59</sup> Ahmed, Mohamed. "Somali Sea Gangs Lure Investors at Pirate Lair." *Reuters - Business & Financial News, Breaking US & International News*. 01 Dec. 2009. Web. 14 Apr. 2011.

<sup>60</sup> Gill, Sharon. "Maritime Piracy Costs Global Community up to \$12 Billion a Year." *Eyefortransport / News, Analysis & Events*. 20 Jan. 2011. Web. 14 Apr. 2011

<sup>61</sup> *ibid*

Southern portion of modern-day Somali to Italy, and the Northern region, also known as the Puntalnd region, was granted to Great Britain. But in 1960, due to political pressure and instability, both countries gained independence and were conjoined – albeit with borders drawn by England and Italy, a major contributing factor to Somalia’s current lack of political unity.<sup>62</sup>

In 1969, after two presidential administrations with strong ties to European interests, Major General Mohamed Siad Barre led a military *coup d’etat*, plunging Somalia into communist rule until his overthrow in 1991. Since then, a lack of a central government for more than two decades has allowed for the development of piracy. In addition, displaced Somali refugees as a result of civil war, including over 260,000 registered in Kenya alone have provided ample opportunity for pirate’s recruitment.<sup>63</sup> But the origins of piracy are not solely a product of domestic instability. Somali pirates portray themselves as the nation’s unofficial coast guard, fighting against illegal fishing and waste dumping by foreign corporations.<sup>64</sup> While claims of illegal fishing and waste dumping are legitimate, they do not provide complete explanation for piracy - such fishing and disposal is unfortunately prevalent among many African countries.

The Somali piracy problem has, in fact, inspired a rare cooperation among nations with otherwise testy relationships. Although the United Nations, European Union, African Union, Arab League of Nations and NATO have organized numerous efforts to combat piracy, only three main operations were active: Combined Task Force 150, Combined Task Force 151 and Operation Atalanta. In addition, a number

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<sup>62</sup> U.S. DOS. "Somalia - Profile." *U.S. Department of State*. 13 Feb. 2011. Web. 16 Apr. 2011.

<sup>63</sup> Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Somali Pirates Tell Their Side - They Want Only Money." *The New York*

<sup>64</sup> *ibid*

of independent countries, such as Australia and China, have coordinated anti-pirate military efforts.<sup>65</sup>

On April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2011, a UN forum on Somalia proposed the creation of regional Somali courts to try convicted pirates.<sup>66</sup> In addition, there was agreement on the need to extend support for the Transitional Federal Government, and to encourage peace negotiations between the country's warring factions. Unfortunately, the political situation in Somalia is as unstable as ever, with war between Al Shabaab and the Transitional Federal Government spilling over into neighbouring Kenya. This has made the effort to thwart piracy a nightmare forcing many states to provide security to their vessels by escorting commercial ships.

### **2.5.5 Proliferation of Small Arms and Cattle Rustling**

The end of the shifta war did not improve the security or living conditions in NFD as fast as expected due to the hostilities between the various Somalia clans found astride the common border.<sup>67</sup> The immediate impact of shifta war was the flooding of the region with small arms which led to their proliferation in all parts of Kenya. Indeed, at a conference on the proliferation of small arms hosted by Kenya in March 2000, former president Moi, noted that the unchecked flow of the arms was destroying peace in the region.<sup>68</sup> This conference puts Somalia as a distinguished source of arms since early 1990s, with an estimate of about 5,000 automatic rifles being smuggled

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<sup>65</sup> *ibid*

<sup>66</sup> Harding, Andrew. "Postcard from Somali Pirate Capital." *BBC News*. 16 June 2009.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, p45

<sup>68</sup> Hashi, A. N., *Weapons and Clan Politics in Somalia*, National University Lafole. (2003), p32

into Kenya in a month,<sup>69</sup> which made Kenya a major transit point of Somalia weapons in the region.<sup>70</sup>

Later on, proliferation of small arms have also been compounded by Somali refugees, as the fleeing fighters bring in all manner of arms to the host country. Kenya is heaven to refugees especially from Somalia.<sup>71</sup> Dadaab Refugee Camp main inhabits refugees from Somalia. The presence of these refugees led to increased availability of weapons vis-à-vis rising insecurity in, not only in NFD, but also in Nairobi and other major towns where guns are used for violent robberies.<sup>72</sup> In the former North Eastern Province (NEP) the presence of firearms is strongly felt especially along the Kenya-Somalia border where guns were and still are carried openly.

The proliferation of small arms from Somalia especially among ordinary citizens, posed a dangerous threat to public safety, human security, and development. For instance, the Somalia conflict is exacerbating cross-border crime and banditry.<sup>73</sup> In the NFD, fire arms were used in acts of banditry, cattle rustling, and armed highway attacks. It is estimated that cattle raids in latter half of 1990's accounted for more than 1,200 deaths and theft of over 300,000 livestock.<sup>74</sup> The scope, magnitude and lethality of the attacks by armed cattle rustlers has forced communities to arm

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p 35

<sup>70</sup> Chweya L., *Emerging Dimensions of Security in the IGAD Region*, in M. Mwangi (ed), *African Regional Security Issues in the Age of Globalization*, Kenya: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004, pp 33-48:37

<sup>71</sup> Aukot, E. "It is better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya," *Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights*. Vol IXX, 2003.

<sup>72</sup> Biwott H., *Post-Independence Low Intensity Conflict in Kenya*, (1992) [http:// www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/BHK.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/BHK.htm).

<sup>73</sup> Kumssa, A., Jones, F., and H. Williams, *Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North eastern Kenya*, *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 36 No. 10, 2009 pp. 1008-1020

<sup>74</sup> *Small Arms Proliferation and Africa*. [www.iss.co.za/ PUBS/Newsletter/ OAU/ OAUiss3. html](http://www.iss.co.za/PUBS/Newsletter/OAU/OAUiss3.html)

themselves leading to spiral of violence in the process. Coupled with the influx of refugees, the proliferation of arms and drugs has created instability in the Kenya and region at large.

Proliferation of firearms has been phenomenon in the region. Majorly from Somalia, smuggling of firearms and contraband (illegal imports) has been claimed to be responsible for the deteriorating regional security. Respondent opinions were sought, and the finding reveals that 50% of respondents strongly agreed to that effect, 45% agreed and 5% indifferent. This shows that smuggling of firearms and contrabands, mainly from Somalia, is the major threat to regional security (95%). These results are supported by Fukui and Markais who found that flooding of the region with small arms mainly from Somalia led to their proliferation in all parts of Kenya. Likewise, similar sentiments were also echoed by former president Moi at a conference on the proliferation of small arms hosted by Kenya in March 2000 when he noted that the unchecked flow of the arms was destroying peace in the region. Hill also noted that proliferation of small arms in the region especially from Somalia conflict posed a dangerous threat to public safety, human security, and development in the region. Smuggling of Firearms and Contrabands are findings are illustrated in table 2.2

**Table 2.2: Smuggling of Firearms and Contrabands**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 SA	20	50.0	50.0	50.0
2 A	18	45.0	45.0	95.0
3 N	2	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Study Findings (2014)**

According to research findings Somalia armed conflict is threat to social-political stability value; territorial integrity and regional economic solidarity and strength. It is also a threat to national cultural cohesiveness and moral-spiritual consensus values for national security. The research observed that armed conflict have also threatened external peace and relations amongst states within the region.

Proliferation of firearms majorly from Somalia and smuggling contraband (illegal imports) has been claimed to be responsible for the deteriorating regional security. This was supported by Fukui and Markais who found that flooding of the region with small arms mainly from Somalia led to their proliferation in all parts of Kenya. Similar sentiments were also echoed by former president Moi at a conference on the proliferation of small arms hosted by Kenya in March 2000 when he noted that the unchecked flow of the arms was destroying peace in the region.

The research findings with regards to role of KDF in combating terrorism showed that lack of legitimate government in Somalia have precipitate the rise of terrorism in the region. KDF operation in Somalia have managed to create a buffer zone in Juba, south of Somalia, and thus mitigated security risks from al-shabaab

militias as well as capturing and liberation of al-Shabaab strongholds, by KDF with the help of TGF. These have weakened al-shaabab leading to reduced terrorist activities in the region and fairly-drastic decline in proliferation of small arms and weapons of mass destruction.

## **2.6 Chapter Summary**

From the above findings, it is evident that KDF had a role in intervening in Somalia conflict as Kenya's sovereignty had been threaten through a number of loosely affiliated extremist groups operating from Somalia and carrying out terrorist attacks in the region. It is also evident that KDF have fairly protected the national and regional security values. Likewise, KDF have actively played a role towards enhancing regional economic stability to a large extent by combating terrorism and piracy within the region to a very large extent and combating lawlessness as well as restoring order in conflict stricken states within the region to a large extent

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**THE ROLE OF KDF IN ENHANCING REGIONAL ECONOMIC STABILITY**  
**IN THE HORN OF AFRICA.**

**3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter the study examines the nature of the conflict in the Horn of Africa with the view of determining the causes. The chapter discusses the conflict situation in the Horn of Africa region and the steps taken by member states. It gives an account of Somalia conflict and analyse how major powers have played part in the conflict. The chapter examines the impact of KDF intervention in the region. Finally the chapter examines the KDF engagement with AMISOM and the involvement of key stakeholders.

**3.2 The Nature of Conflict in Horn of Africa**

The Horn of Africa is known for decades as one of the hottest geographical spaces of internal dissidence and interstate conflicts. Africa's longest civil wars have occurred in this region.<sup>75</sup> This was the case of the Eritrean war of liberation against Ethiopian regimes and the civil war in Sudan associated in one way or the other with the region, leading to disintegration of states in the region. The emergence of Eritrea and the prolonged absence of a recognized government in Somalia constitute the basis of anxiety in the community of states in region as states affected by conflicts tend to bolster their own security and try to weaken other states believed to be undermining their sovereignty.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Assefa, H.. "A Lack of Visionary Statesmanship and Democratic Leadership" in *Searching for Peace in Africa* Utrecht: European Platform on Conflict Prevention and Transformation. (1999)

<sup>76</sup> *ibid*



Inability of states to dialogue with each other or with their internal, dissidents results in armed violence and the involvement of civilians in civil wars. Perception, attitudes and actions of parties to the various conflicts have shaped the process of militarization in the region.<sup>77</sup> Also states have refused to admit that there are real internal problems in the region leaving victims of injustice with no other option but to fight for their survival. When a conflict flares into armed violence its cause is linked to a neighbouring state or another external power.<sup>78</sup> Then conflict escalates beyond the control of the initial actors as dissident groups launch recruitment campaigns among disenchanting civilian groups while governments go for forced mobilization, of which in both ways, civilians must get involved voluntarily or by force.<sup>79</sup>

The situation makes the size of national armies and rebel formations to bulge with units of irregular forces such as militias and self-defense groups as experience from Sudan, Uganda and Somalia. This has shown a rise in cattle rustlers and armed bandits take the advantage of civil wars or interstate wars to acquire modern assault rifles for their criminal motives.<sup>80</sup> These are some of the issues describing the HoA conflict.

In an attempt to revisit the drives of conflict in HoA, it is paramount that we assess that root issues surrounding these conflicts. The concepts of governance, economic development and social welfare are instrumental in explaining human interactions in the situation of protracted conflicts in the region. Relational analysis

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<sup>77</sup> Chweya L., *Emerging Dimensions of Security in the IGAD Region*, in M. Mwangi (ed), *African Regional Security Issues in the Age of Globalization*, Kenya: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004, pp 33-48:37

<sup>78</sup> Beurden, J. van. "Ethiopia Vs Eritrea: A Devastating War Between Former Friends" in *Searching for Peace in Africa*. Utrecht: European Platform on Conflict Prevention and Transformation (1999)

<sup>79</sup> *ibid*

<sup>80</sup> *ibid*

provides the significance of relationships in social and political interactions between communities themselves and between them and states in a specific geopolitical context.<sup>81</sup> Well-being of individuals, communities, and states can be defined in terms of the factors that determine relationships. The basis of understanding conflict, security and collective well-being of people includes relationships that dominate interactions of two or more entities in contact with one another.<sup>82</sup> Hence, conflict and security situations in the Horn of Africa can be explained in terms of factors such as poor economic performance, uncertainties in governance, breakdown of law and order and recurrent violence.

The study by Jinad<sup>83</sup> provides more insights concerning psycho-cultural, economic and socio-political dimensions peace and security. These studies explore fundamental social and national questions that reflect developmental disparities and the rise of ethnic nationalism in different parts of Africa. The issues raised include, but not limited to, governance, economic development, social control and the use of legitimate force to subjugate fellow citizens as the common factors of insecurity in Africa. It is true that these facts are very relevant to the case of the Horn of Africa.

In examining conflict and security situation in this region, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that governance is monopolized by ethnic or ideological oligarchies,<sup>84</sup> at the expense of the majority of ordinary citizens. The monopoly of power, scarce resources and denial of rights of others has resulted in civil wars that threaten the very existence of states in the region. For instance, the regime of

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<sup>81</sup> Schluter, M. and Lee, D. 1993. *The R Factor*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid*

<sup>83</sup> Jinadu, L. A. *The Political Economy of Peace and Security in Africa (Ethnocultural and Economic Perspectives)* Harare: AAPS Books., (ed.) 2000.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid*

Mohamed Siad Barre is another relevant example to support this statement. Study on the disintegration of Somalia by Adibe,<sup>85</sup> shows that Siad Barre's totalitarian governance was responsible for the civil war that has deprived the country from a recognized political authority. Siad Barre introduced a clan system of governance that dominated economic and political life during his regime. He appointed loyalists into positions of leadership and power. This led to emergence of Somali National Movement in 1981 to resist authoritarianism and brutality against the deprived people. The failure of the opposition to fill the power vacuum left behind by Siad Barre after his flight into exile in 1991 marked the beginning of disintegration of Somalia. Therefore, observers of political development in the region will realize that armed resistance movements always threaten state security.

Consequently, conflicts in the Horn of Africa are geared towards adjustment of chronic injustices and in extreme cases armed movements tend to privilege the creation of new states in which they believe justice would be made to prevail.<sup>86</sup> Extreme considerations emanate from the behaviour of governing oligarchies that would like to perpetuate the privileged status of their respective members. It must be noted that conflicts arising from this situation tend to escalate leading to bloody civil wars as parties maintain their respective positions on issues that divide them while drawing support from interested civilian groups. These are just but some root issues surrounding the conflict in the HoA.

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<sup>85</sup> Adibe, C., *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Somalia* New York: United Nations, 1995.

<sup>86</sup> Chege, M. "Conflict in the Horn of Africa" in E. Hansen ed. *Africa: Perspectives on Peace and Development*. London: Zed Books. (1987)

### 3.3 The Conflict Situation in the Horn of Africa Region

The Horn of Africa is an expanding region that includes Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda, through belonging to Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Originally, the Horn was composed of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia.<sup>87</sup> The latter shared severe droughts and desertification in 1980s with their neighbours in Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Shared effects of environmental degradation caused by climatic changes led the six countries to sign the agreement that established Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Desertification (IGADD) in 1986. At the time of signing the agreement, Ethiopia and Sudan had civil wars, the Lord's Resistance Army, in Uganda, was about to emerge and Somalia was heading towards disintegration.

Conflicts in the region provide common characteristics, as most of them have their roots in economic underdevelopment, environmental hazards, repressive political systems, and competition over natural resources and external linkages.<sup>88</sup> Patterns of conflict dynamics differ in nature with intra-state conflicts being the most prevalent. The numerous opposition movements that have armed wings in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan justify this, while Somalia is well known for the proliferation of clan allied armed groups.<sup>89</sup>

Types of governments in the Horn of Africa and the end of the superpower rivalry in the region are the starting points to explain the proliferation of opposition political movements. Most governments in the region had attempted to impose national unity without making provisions for cultural diversities. This was the case of

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<sup>87</sup> Conflict Analysis Regional Report – *Somaliland*, Center for Creative Solutions (CCS) 2004, p. 54-56

<sup>88</sup> *ibid*

<sup>89</sup> *ibid*

Ethiopia before the Zenawi regime and of Sudan before it incorporated a provision on self-determination into her constitution. Others such as Somalia opted for irredentism which latter gave rise to the emergence of Somali nationalist movements in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya.<sup>90</sup> For this reason, many opposition movements chose the path of armed resistance to end of the superpower rivalry. Additionally, as the regional powers wanted to step in to enlarge their cultural influence beyond their national boundaries, this necessitated that they encourage the creation of dissident movements across the border.

Another factor is cross-border ethnic composition of countries of the HoA. Ethnic relationships play an important role in internationalizing conflicts in the region. Present state boundaries cut across several ethnic groups. For example, the Beja group is citizens of Eritrea and Sudan, Anuaks and Nuers are on both sides of the Ethiopian-Sudanese border; the Acholi, Madi, Kakwa and Kaliko are separated by the international boundary between Sudan and Uganda. Certainly, the Somali ethnic groups living in the Ogaden were the cause of the Ethiopian-Somali war in 1970s. This ethnic group is the constant source of tension between Ethiopia and Somalia. Conflicts in these countries involving one ethnic group generate sympathy in the other.<sup>91</sup> This situation provides internal-external linkages drawing ethnic mercenaries in civil wars.

### **3.4 Somalia Conflict**

Somalia is a Republic in Eastern Africa, bordered on the North by the Gulf of Eden, on the East and South by Indian Ocean, Southwest by Kenya, West by Ethiopia

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<sup>90</sup> *ibid*

<sup>91</sup> Chege, M.. "Conflict in the Horn of Africa" in E. Hansen ed. *Africa: Perspectives on Peace and Development*. London: Zed Books. (1987)

and on the Northwest by Djibouti. The country has been in a state of civil war and anarchy since 1991, when the central government was overthrown. Before the coupe, Somalia state was ruled under a constitution adopted in 1979 in which president Siad Barre held executive powers and the leadership of the only legal political party, the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP).<sup>92</sup>

The history of Somalia as a people can be traced back to 10th century when each clan found its way independently in the region. According to Arab historical sources, the Somali ancestors migrated south from the shores of Red sea to the Cushite speaking Oromo regions around the 10th Century, displacing the Oromos who then displaced the Bantus further south. The mode of settlements shown that each clan came and settled on its own.<sup>93</sup> However, the arrivals of new clans caused internal wars among the incoming group and the existing communities which led to bloody wars and annihilation of the weak groups in the process.<sup>94</sup> The pre-colonial fights were due to scramble for scarce resources in the harsh climate which influenced the thinking, security and the mode of relationships among the Somalia people. This what Fukui referred to as ‘situational perspectives’ i.e. factors which accelerate conflict in a given situation.

The Somalia conflict can be traced along the three categories of modern wars in Africa as stated in Young’s article “War in Africa since Independence.” The first type is a common identity or value system despite having generally only one tribal grouping. Somalia state is purely Somali ethnic group composed of clans and sub-

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<sup>92</sup> Fukui K. and Markakis J., *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London, Villiers Publications, 1994.

<sup>93</sup> Conflict Analysis Regional Report – *Somaliland*, Center for Creative Solutions (CCS) 2004, p. 54-56

<sup>94</sup> Fukui K. and Markakis J. (1994). *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London, Villiers Publications.

clans. Due to lack of language diversity, clannism have been used to cause and fuel conflict in Somalia. Clan elders, warlords and armed groups have struggled to gain access to state power and resources through takeovers, while others have fought for regional autonomy or even independent mini-states in Somalia. This has resulted to bloody struggle for power equated to the realist view of international system of dominance through balance of power. The struggle for power between clans and sub-clans has degenerated into violent conflicts.

The second type of post-colonial war in Africa embodied in Somalia arose from competition for regional influence and sharing of resources between clans. For example, in mid-1977, the Somalis in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia initiated open warfare aimed at ending Ethiopian control over the area. Meanwhile, non-African governments concerned with preserving political influence or access to valuable resources worsened internal and cross-border conflicts by supporting one side or the other. For example, Cuba and USSR supported Ethiopia during the Ogaden wars in which close to two million Somalis were left homeless.<sup>95</sup>

The third type of modern African conflict concerns disputed international borders, most of which were drawn by European colonial powers with little regard to pre-existing community occupied areas.<sup>96</sup> For instance, the 1884 Berlin Treaty unmilitary divided Africa according to the European whims into small meaningless states without any qualities or cohesion of Nation States. These colonial boundaries have resulted to border disputed among states. The conflicts that took place between Ethiopia and Somalia, Kenya and Somalia were a direct result of this anomaly. The interstates border disputes have also been compounded by the doctrine of the former

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<sup>95</sup> Ayittey, George B.N, *Africa Betrayed*, New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc, 1991

<sup>96</sup> Ayittey, George B.N, *Africa Betrayed*, New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc, 1991

Organization of African Unity (OAU) on non-interference in the internal affairs which prevented the redrawing of borders. Apart from the categories of conflict discussed above, Somalia conflict is also complex in nature due in that it has been going on for hundreds of years when we explore the role of ethnicity in its initial formation.

### **3.5 Kenya Defense Forces interventions on the Horn of Africa**

The crisis in Somalia has received significant regional and international attention over the years, with a variety of actors intervening in a bid to help restore stability. Amongst the most notable interventions are the various United Nations (UN) operations which were launched periodically from 1992 to 1995. The first United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I), launched in August 1992, was comprised of 500 Pakistani peacekeepers. Its main mandate was to monitor a ceasefire between belligerent warlords in the capital, Mogadishu and protect relief workers operating within Somalia following a humanitarian crisis caused by famine in the country. This UN operation, however, failed to meet its mandate. This failure necessitated the formation of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), the result of collaboration between UNOSOM I and the United

States (US), in December 1992. UNITAF was mandated to establish a safe environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to civilians and to protect food deliveries from warlord attacks. This operation, which ran until 1993, was also referred to as 'Operation Restore Hope'.

The operation formed the basis for Somali resentment of the US as the country was viewed as having sided with one faction of the warring parties over the other



during the operation. In 1993, UNITAF was replaced by UNOSOM II, which operated until 1995 when it was withdrawn from Somalia.

In 2006, neighbouring Ethiopia invaded Somalia, sending in its troops at the behest of then president of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, who called upon his eastern neighbours to help fight the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) that was considered a challenge to the government's operations in the capital. This intervention was widely viewed as one aimed at achieving regime change and the imposition of a Somali government which would be friendly to Ethiopia.

### **3.5.1 Develop a Post-Kismayo Plan**

The general impression conveyed by the KDF is that al-Shabaab has been defeated as a result of the capture of Kismayo and the mounting military pressure by the joint intervention between KDF, AMISOM and SNA troops. Nevertheless, al-Shabaab militia has proved to be resilient in the past and might recruit more members and re-group. Therefore, the Government of Kenya needs to develop a post-Kismayo scenario where ideally they have the go-ahead from the Somali government to support a new administration that will take control of the region as part of the government in Mogadishu. This new administration should be one that political actors from the Juba and Gedo regions have endorsed. This will ensure that the KDF hands over Kismayo quickly to the Somali people and that Kenya avoids further conflict in the country. Additionally, Al-Shabaab has less chances of regaining control of the southern regions in Somalia if a proper administrative structure is in place.

### **3.5.2 Endorse clear terms of engagement within AMISOM's mandate:**

Since the KDF has been incorporated into AMISOM and the wait is on for the mandate of AMISOM to be revised, for now the Government of Kenya should encourage its forces to work well within AMISOM as it seeks to broaden its mandate to ensure that the terms of engagement are clear in the joint pursuit of Al-Shabaab. This will help avoid situations whereby the two groups are seen as separate and pursuing different goals. In coordinating their efforts, the KDF, AMISOM and SNA will be able to contribute to efforts to stabilize Somalia and eliminate Al-Shabaab and other militia groups from all parts of the country.

### **3.5.3 Develop effective policies to combat transnational terrorism:**

Whilst it has been made clear that the protection of the border region is at the heart of the Government of Kenya's decision to invade Somalia, more consideration needs to be placed on security efforts within Kenya.<sup>97</sup> The government needs to refine current policies and explore alternative ways and means to combat transnational terrorism, especially given that Al-Shabaab has resorted to launching counter-attacks on Kenyan soil. Kenya cannot ignore the retaliatory terrorist attacks that are now more prevalent within the country while fighting the enemy outside.

It is important for the government to implement long-term measures to guard against threats to the country, rather than only focusing on the battlefield. A good example is the passing of the anti-terror bill on 27 September 2012. Further building the capacity of security personnel in strategic approaches to transnational terrorism at Kenya's National Counter-Terrorism Centre will provide a larger pool of

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<sup>97</sup> Chweya L., *Emerging Dimensions of Security in the IGAD Region*, in M. Mwangi (ed), *African Regional Security Issues in the Age of Globalization*, Kenya: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004, pp 33-48:37

professionals in the area of counter-terrorism. At the same time, more concerted efforts must be made to avoid collateral damage and deaths of civilians as a result of pursuing al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups.

#### **3.5.4 Involve key stakeholders, especially the new Somali administration, in decision-making**

Somalia has undergone a national peace and reconciliation process, which culminated in the seating of a new post-transition administration and election of Hassan Sheikh Mohamud as president of the country by members of parliament on 10 August 2012. The post-transition period, however, is a critical time for Somalia as the new president and his government step up efforts to stabilize the country. The progress in Somalia has important implications on what Kenya's next move will be. In response to the changing dynamics within Somalia, the Government of Kenya should note that this new government needs to be consulted prior to any military action being taken within its territory. It is imperative for Kenya to offer its support to the new government in dealing with Al-Shabaab while Somalia is in the process of reconstructing its social fabric and physical infrastructure and resettling thousands of Somali refugees and IDPs. The involvement of the Somali government in the intervention is necessary if Kenya is to claim complete victory over Al-Shabaab.

According to research findings multinational territorial boundary disputes affect the regional security. In an interview a respondent agreed this. This finding concurred with the finding of Okoth, who examined the factors that led Somalia to attack Ethiopia and supporting rebellion in surrounding nations. He found the main drive of Somali conflict to be 'unlimited imperialism' i.e. where one state seeks to

destroy the independence of another state due to a combination of ideological, security and commercial considerations,<sup>98</sup>

It also emerged KDF have mitigated piracy off Somalia coastline and beefed up regional security leading to reduction in western states travel bans – which had hart tourism business in the region particularly Kenya.

### **3.6 Chapter Summery**

In this chapter the research examined the role of KDF in enhancing regional economic stability in the Horn of Africa in order to address the appropriate strategy. The study discusses the nature of conflict in the Horn of Africa and noted how the conflict resulted in armed violence with involvement of civilians. The paper highlights the conflict situation in the region with the view of identifying factors to conflict. The study examines the impact of KDF intervention on Somalia crisis and the available options for stabilizing the region.

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<sup>98</sup> Okoth G. P. Africa At The Beginning of The 21st Century. University of Nairobi press, 2000. P 12.

**CHAPTER FOUR:**  
**THE ROLE OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES IN COMBATING TERRORISM**  
**AND PIRACY**

**4.1 Introduction**

This section examines how KDF combating terrorism and piracy in the region with the view of enhancing security. The research first presents an overview on how terrorists have been operating. The study then examines KDF response to transnational terrorism by crossing the border into Somalia. The chapter discusses the lead up into incursion of Somalia. The research also discusses Somalia as safe haven for terrorists groups. The study examines the necessity of creating a buffer zone in Somalia. Finally highlight the effect of refugees in Kenya.

**4.2 Background**

Terrorists had been operating freely in Kenya, setting up various businesses, such as commercial fishing, clothing, and gem companies, while developing contacts for their deadly missions. To cover their intentions, most married Kenyan women. The networks resulting from marriages, common religion, culture, and finances have made recruiting Kenyans along the coast into their terrorist group a success. For example, nine Kenyans were implicated in the bombings of the US Embassy and the Israeli-owned resort hotel.

Kenyans have facilitated intelligence and logistical support in the form of forged documents, marriages, and business contacts for the foreign terrorists. For example, a Kenyan helped deliver the truck loaded with explosives that detonated outside the US Embassy in Nairobi. Some terrorists were also associated with

Kenyan-based nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) ostensibly created for the purposes of humanitarian relief and aid work. A chapter of Help African People, allegedly founded in Germany, was established in Nairobi by Wadi-El-Hage (US Department of Justice 1998).<sup>99</sup> At one time, Help African People employed Harun Odeh, one of the masterminds of the 1998 US Embassy bombing.

### **4.3 Kenya Defense Forces Response to Transnational Terrorism**

Although the 1998 US Embassy bombing in Nairobi demonstrated the presence of terrorist groups in Kenya, there was not much of an effort by the government to counter the threat. The ease with which Al Qaeda members had operated in the country highlighted the weaknesses in the government's employment of instruments of power to effectively combat transnational terrorism. This chapter analyzes the GoK's counterterrorism measures before and after the US Embassy bombing, based on the case study. The traditional and nontraditional instruments of power: diplomacy, information, military, and economics (DIME) along with law-enforcement, legislation, and financial controls are used to analyze the GoK's response to the transnational terrorism threat.

Further, the effectiveness of the counterterrorism measures are assessed relative to the threat factors covered in chapter 1. Finally, the sociopolitical implications of the GoK's response regarding counterterrorism measures and the international community's response to help the GoK fight the threat are assessed.

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<sup>99</sup> Ayittey, George B. N., *Africa Betrayed*. New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc, 1991.

### 4.3.1 Operation Linda Nchi

Operation Linda Nchi ("Protect the country; Swahili: *Linda Nchi*) is the codename for a coordinated military operation between the Somalian military, the Kenyan military that began on 16 October 2011, when troops from Kenya crossed the border into the conflict zones of southern Somalia.<sup>100</sup> The soldiers were in pursuit of Al-Shabaab militants that are alleged to have kidnapped several foreign tourists and aid workers inside Kenya.<sup>101</sup>

It is against this background that the Kenya Defence Forces launched an incursion into Somalia in October, 2011. The campaign, code-named Operation Linda Nchi, had as its primary objective the annihilation of the grave threat posed to Kenya's territorial integrity and particularly its tourist industry by the Somali Islamist militia known as Al Shabaab. It was the first armed campaign that Kenya had launched outside its borders since independence in 1963. In keeping with the principles, values and objectives laid out in the constitution, the Kenya Defence Forces transformed the mission from one of purely national self-defense.

The pretext for the start of the operation was a series of kidnappings in northern Kenya: on September 11, a British man was killed and his wife kidnapped from a resort in Lamu; on October 1, a French woman was taken from her Kenyan home; and on October 13, two Spanish aid workers were kidnapped from Dadaab refugee camp. The scale of the operation indicates that plans for such an offensive had been underway for some time. Al Shabaab's presence in southern Somalia has hurt

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<sup>100</sup> Kumssa, A., Jones, F., and H. Williams, Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North eastern Kenya, *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 36 No. 10, 2009 pp. 1008-1020

<sup>101</sup> Ahmed, Mohamed. "Somali Sea Gangs Lure Investors at Pirate Lair." *Reuters - Business & Financial News, Breaking US & International News*. 01 Dec. 2009. Web. 14 Apr. 2011.

Kenya's tourism industry and an increase in pirate attacks have proven costly for Kenya's shipping industry. Kenya has complemented this operation with increased security inside of the country, including operations in Nairobi's Eastleigh neighborhood, which has earned the moniker "Little Mogadishu.

But its earlier policy of non-intervention – with the exception of the political track pursued as part of the Mbagathi peace talks on Somalia held in Kenya in 2002-04 – saw it responding slowly, even complacently. The idea of a military intervention in Somalia was born in about 2008, but failed to garner international support.<sup>102</sup> In 2009-10 Kenya lobbied heavily to gain support for a "Jubbaland/Azania initiative" to establish a buffer zone in a proposed Jubbaland (comprising Middle Jubba, Lower Jubba and Gedo in Somalia) through military proxies and a friendly administration, but with little success. By 2011 Kenya had changed track and decided to send its own troops to Somalia, fighting alongside local allies. The latter comprised the Ras Kamboni Brigade led by former al-Shabaab member Sheikh Ahmed Mohamed Islam Madobe, the Isiolo militia and the Somali military. The Ras Kamboni Brigade and the Isiolo militia were trained, supported and armed by the KDF.<sup>103</sup>

Operation Linda Nchi (Kiswahili for "Protect the Nation") was launched in mid-October 2011, driven by a group of prominent Ogadeni Somali Kenyans – the majority Kenyan Somali clan – in self-defence of Kenya's interests. The intervention is broadly considered to have been both strategically prudent and inevitable: neighbouring Uganda, Burundi and Ethiopia were all involved in Somalia militarily; there was a growing perception of heightened insecurity; Somali piracy was on the

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<sup>102</sup> Gabe Joselow, "Kenya to stay in Somalia until safe from AlShabab menace", Voice of America, 29 October 2011.

<sup>103</sup> Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, *Kenya Military Intervention in Somalia*, 15 February 2012, p3



increase; the LAPSSSET project needed protection; and Kenya had for several years been trying unsuccessfully to create a buffer zone between itself and Somalia.<sup>104</sup> Kenya also wants to be seen as a responsible member of the UN that is engaging in Somalia in the interests of the entire international community. In addition, following the surprise discovery in the 2010 census that there are some 2.4 million ethnic Somalis in the country, Kenya – concerned about its demographics – is keen to get rid of its more than 500,000 Somali refugees; it hopes to achieve this by stabilising Jubbaland, from where many of them originate.

Following embarrassingly unsupportive statements from the then-Somali president, Sheikh Sharif Ahmed, by October 31st the operation was fully endorsed: a joint Somali-Kenyan statement agreed that Kenya's right to self-defence was legitimate and stated that the mission was being led by Somali forces "with the support of the KDF" in pursuit of legitimate al-Shabaab targets, all "in the spirit of good neighbourliness"<sup>105</sup> In the meantime, on October 21st IGAD endorsed the intervention, thereby giving it legitimacy, although the UN Monitoring Group (2012: 21) has since stated that between October 2011, when the KDF officially entered Somalia, and June 2nd 2012, when it signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the AU, it violated the UN arms embargo on Somalia. From June the KDF officially became part of AMISOM, with the exception of Kenyan maritime assets and aircraft. Its mandate is to take all necessary measures to "to reduce the threat posed by the al Shabaab terror group, and to create conditions for effective and legitimate governance across the country" (AU, 2013) in conjunction with the Somali

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid

<sup>105</sup> Crisis Group interview, army spokesperson, Nairobi, November, 2013.

government. As of April 2013 Kenya has 4,402 troops on the ground, which it is committed to removing once Somalia has been “stabilized”.<sup>106</sup> The operation represents a radical departure for Kenya because of its binary nature. Parallel to the military effort, Kenya is now central to a high-risk and complex, multifaceted, regional and global diplomatic effort at stabilizing Somalia.

#### **4.3.2 Lead up and Planning**

Kenya's incursion into southern Somalia started after the kidnapping of two Spanish women, who were working for Médecins Sans Frontières at the Dadaab refugee camp. The abductions were allegedly carried out by Al Shabaab militants. The Kenyan government claimed its troop deployment had received approval from the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG). Kenya's Foreign Affairs Minister, Moses Wetangula, stated that the deployment of Kenyan troops was at the request of the TFG.<sup>1</sup> The Kenyan military said that there was no set exit date for the operation, but the indicator of the mission's success would be a crippling of Al-Shabaab's capacity.

According to *The Guardian*, "several sources agree[...] that the Kenyan intervention plan was discussed and decided in 2010, then finalised with input from western partners, including the US and to a lesser extent France", with Nairobi using the kidnappings "as an excuse to launch an operation ready and waiting." On 27 October Kenyan government spokesman Alfred Mutua said Linda Nchi was planned months in advance and had been "going on for quite some time", as well as denied any participation by western forces. The operation reportedly had a high approval rating from the Kenyan population.

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<sup>106</sup> Crisis Group Africa Reports N°184, *Kenya Military Intervention in Somalia*, 15 February 2012, p 7

On 16 October, Reuters reported that Somali and Kenyan military officials had met over the weekend for talks in the town of Dhobley, situated in Somalia near the Kenya border. According to an unidentified security source, "the meeting was to prepare a joint operation between the two forces ...to launch an offensive against Al-Shabaab rebels who are scattered in different parts of southern Somalia".

#### **4.3.3 October 16<sup>th</sup> Incursion**

On 16 October, an unnamed Somali military commander said that Kenyan troops had crossed the border and, in a joint operation with Somalian forces, pushed Al Shabaab out of two bases near the Kenya border. Abdi Yusuf, a senior Somali military commander, confirmed that two warplanes had attacked Al Shabaab bases, but did not confirm their origin. He noted: "I can't identify the military aircraft, but our neighbour Kenya is fully supporting us militarily and our mission is to drive Al-Shabaab out of the region". Somalia's ambassador to Kenya, Mohamed Ali Nur, responded "We cannot condone any country crossing our border." TFG spokesman Abdirahman Omar Yarisow later contradicted Nur, asserting that "the governments of Somalia and Kenya are now cooperating in the fight against Al-Shabaab."

#### **4.4 Responses to Security Issues in the Horn**

Given the typology of the major security concerns in the Horn of Africa, various efforts have been exerted by both governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in an attempt to address their impact on society.<sup>107</sup> Both regional and international efforts have been made towards dealing with security matters in the region. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU), have made several efforts with the aim of resolving conflict situations in the region.

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<sup>107</sup> Ayittey, George B. N., *Africa Betrayed*. New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc, 1991.

However, the performance of the then OAU in the management and general responses to conflicts in the region were largely inadequate. It had limited success in ending civil wars that have created poverty, mass displacements and deaths not only in the Horn of Africa but also in the continent as a whole.<sup>108</sup>

Even though the OAU managed to establish the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration specifically for the purpose of helping resolve conflicts between OAU member states, they failed to end the continental issues that often fuelled conflicts. This is because most of the mediations by heads of state produced positive results by achieving a truce mainly due to the fact that conflicting parties were worn out and were ready for mediation but not to eradicate the problems.<sup>109</sup> To this effect, study by Ohlson concluded that the OAU failed to design responsive mechanisms to key security issues in the region that would have solved the problems facing countries such as Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Another regional mechanism that has been used to address conflict in Africa is the African Union (AU), a former Organization of African Union (OAU). Since its inception, the union putted much effort in its quest to address regional challenges in term if conflict. As outlined in its mandated objectives, the union is charged to harmonize the economic and political policies of African states in order to improve pan–African welfare, and provide Africans with a solid voice in international

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<sup>108</sup> Wade, R. H., *The Disturbing Rise in Poverty and Inequality: Is It All a Big Lie?* In D. Held, M. Koenig-Archibugi, *Taming Globalization: Frontiers of Governance*, Cambridge UK: Polity Press, Oxford: Polity Press,(2007), p45

<sup>109</sup> Ohlson, T.. "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in a Southern African Context" I. Mandanza (ed.) *Peace and Security in Southern Africa*. Harare: SAPEs., (1996)

affairs.<sup>110</sup> Supporters of the African Union believe it has a stronger Charter than the OAU, will be better funded, and will have the "teeth" that the OAU lacked, including the power to create a common African parliament, a central bank, a common currency and a continental Court of Justice.

Prominent among the objectives is the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.<sup>111</sup> The objectives of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union will be to promote peace, security and stability in Africa in order to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property, the well being of the African people and an environment conducive to sustainable development. Secondly, the Security Council is aimed at anticipating and preventing conflicts. In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, it shall be responsible for peace-making and peace-building. Thirdly, the Security Council is also charged with the promotion and implementation of peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence.<sup>112</sup>

Last but not least, the other regional body charged with security issues is the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). As a sub-regional body, IGAD has also exerted efforts to address instability in the Horn of Africa region. IGAD is composed of the seven states that form the greater Horn of Africa Region. Apart from being formed with the aim of combating drought and desertification in the 1980s, IGAD widened its scope and mandate to include ensuring peace, stability and security which form the central prerequisites for progress and integration and general

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<sup>110</sup> AU Charter, 2002

<sup>111</sup> *ibid*

<sup>112</sup> *ibid*

development in the sub-region.<sup>113</sup> Thus, IGAD has in the past two or three years taken several serious steps forward in addressing the major security concerns in the region namely the Sudan conflict, the Somalia conflict, the insurgencies in Uganda, the Ethiopia–Eritrea conflict, cross border crime and banditry, terrorism, and poverty.

Apart from such regional efforts, the international community has drawn attention to the security predicament in the Horn of Africa. The United States, for example, has been a major financier of both AU and IGAD responses to insecurity in the Horn of Africa region. More recently, the US has been active in ensuring that African states can have the capacity to tackle conflict situations and combat international terrorism. In the mid-1990s the US was instrumental in funding the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) which has since changed to African contingency operations training assistance. This training programme is designed to enhance the ability of African forces to conduct peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations, not only in Africa but elsewhere in the world if called upon to do so. Since 1996, troops from Kenya and Uganda have been trained through the programme.<sup>114</sup>

#### **4.5 Kenya Defense Forces Incursion to Somalia**

At the onset of the entry into Somalia, Kenya advanced the argument of the country's right to self-defense as embodied in Article 51 of the UN Charter, which clearly recognizes the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence in the wake of an armed attack against a member of the UN. The use of this particular article as the legal justification for Kenya's invasion raised a lot of questions regarding what

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<sup>113</sup> IGAD charter

<sup>114</sup> Mwanzia C.M, "Military Intervention and Conflict Management in Africa" (Unpublished MA thesis–USIU Africa 2003) pp. 232.

constituted an armed attack against the state and whether such actions necessitated an invasion of this magnitude.

Furthermore, some have argued that Kenya did not follow the right procedure required in pursuit of the right to self-defence as the country did not report its intended actions to the UN Security Council (UNSC). However, even after news of the invasion surfaced, the UNSC remained silent, despite the fact that it was not informed of Kenya's intentions to intervene in Somalia. Utterances by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon came nearly two months into the invasion; he commended Kenya on its role and efforts in stabilizing Somalia. Many analysts have drawn comparisons between the intervention in Somalia and the 2003 invasion of Iraq by the US.

Kenya's intervention was launched 'to protect its territorial integrity from foreign aggression'<sup>16</sup> as explained by the country's late minister for internal security a day before the launch of the intervention in 2011. This statement implied that the KDF would move in and advance as far into Somalia as possible in pursuit of al-Shabaab militia. The move marked Kenya's largest military operation since its independence in 1963. At the onset, around 2,400 KDF personnel were deployed. The intervention was done in haste and more importantly, reports indicate that it was launched in the absence of consultations with the then TFG of Somalia.

There are some indications that Kenya's assertion, that frequent kidnappings and killings by al-Shabaab were the main reason for its intervention in Somalia, might have provided a convenient excuse to explore deeper national interests. Kenya's professed reasons aside, there are other key issues that arise from an analysis of Kenya's potential gains from launching the intervention.

#### **4.5.1 Paving the Way for Oil Exploration**

Oil is emerging as a key resource of interest in East Africa.<sup>115</sup> Kenya is one of a number of countries in the region that have discovered oil deposits in their territory. Oil explorations are on-going along the country's coast. Reportedly, some of the areas where exploration is continuing lie in Somalia's waters, implying that the advance into Somalia might have been aimed at securing these sites to ensure Kenya's smooth and uninterrupted exploration.

#### **4.5.2 Counter-Terrorism through Military Intervention**

The lack of stability in Somalia has made it a safe haven for terrorist groups to operate their networks both regionally and internationally. Al-Shabaab are blamed by the Ethiopian, TFG and AMISOM forces for the deterioration of security, the spillover of conflict to neighbouring countries, including Kenya, and the grave humanitarian situation which persists in large parts of Somalia.<sup>116</sup> Kenya, however, had emerged as a target for terrorist attacks well before the emergence of al-Shabaab. The 7 August 1998 bombing of the American Embassy in Kenya, which killed 213 people and left 4,000 others wounded, played a major role in raising the government's and citizens' awareness on the issue of terrorism as a clear threat to the country. Since then, Kenya has been making renewed strides to curtail terrorism and its networks in the country, including the recent publishing of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill. It is against this backdrop that Kenya was convinced that the spread of al-Shabaab militias

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<sup>115</sup> Ayittey, George B. N., *Africa Betrayed*. New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc, 1991.

<sup>116</sup> Kumssa, A., Jones, F., and H. Williams, Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North eastern Kenya, *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 36 No. 10, 2009 pp. 1008-1020



into Kenya necessitated a strong response, due to fears of repeat major terrorist attacks like the al-Qaeda-claimed bombing of 1998.

#### **4.5.3 Necessity of Creating a Buffer Zone**

Reportedly, Kenya, with international support, had planned to move into the Somalia conflict years prior to October 2011.<sup>117</sup> This planned intervention was aimed at creating a buffer zone in the Juba area in southern Somalia, which is close to the border with Kenya. What is now widely believed to be the core aim of Kenya's intervention is the creation of this buffer zone. The border between Kenya and Somalia stretches approximately 682km, with the Juba and Gedo regions in southern Somalia being closest to Kenya. Kenya's early plans, however, were never pushed through due to external influences and concerns that influential Somali political actors from the Juba and Gedo regions had not been properly briefed and included in discussions to take over the interim administration of the region once it was out of al-Shabaab control. Through the stabilization of the Juba region, the Government of Kenya hopes to be able to counter the direct threat of al-Shabaab militias who have long controlled this area and derived financial profit from the collection of customs revenue from charcoal exports and commercial imports through the port of Kismayo.

On 28 September 2012, KDF spokesman Colonel Cyrus Oguna claimed that after a combined offensive involving air, ground and naval operations, the KDF had achieved a major victory in its capture of Kismayo from al-Shabaab militias.

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<sup>117</sup> Kumssa, A., Jones, F., and H. Williams, Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North eastern Kenya, *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 36 No. 10, 2009 pp. 1008-1020

#### 4.5.4 The Refugee Question

Kenya hosts 500,000 Somali refugees, the largest number of Somali refugees on the continent, in Dadaab refugee camp in North Eastern Province. Although the large influx of refugees in itself poses a great social and economic crisis for Kenya, the bigger issue has been the reported infiltration of al-Shabaab militias, disguised as refugees, into the camps. Al-Shabaab members have allegedly been entering Kenya as refugees, using the camps as bases to plan and launch attacks on Kenyan territory.

There are further claims that they also use the camps as recruiting grounds for new members.

As the conflict in Somalia continues, it has become increasingly difficult for Kenya's government to control the flow of refugees and to adequately screen them so as to separate members of al-Shabaab from bona fide refugees.<sup>118</sup> Further, by helping to stabilize Somalia, Kenya would be able to support the resettlement of refugees from the camps to Somalia, thus relieving the government of the social, political and economic costs of hosting the refugees.

The study established that Terrorists had been operating freely in Kenya, setting up various businesses and covering their intentions by marrying Kenyan women. Such networks resulting from marriages, common religion, culture, and finances have made recruiting Kenyans into their terrorist group a success. The case in hand is the nine Kenyans who were implicated in the bombings of the US Embassy and the Israeli-owned resort hotel.

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<sup>118</sup> Kumssa, A., Jones, F., and H. Williams, Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North eastern Kenya, *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 36 No. 10, 2009 pp. 1008-1020

Respondents' view was sought concerning illegal migration and movement of foreign terrorist - mainly Al-Qaeda terror group affiliates, and regional security. Respondents agreed that illegal migration and movement of foreign terrorist posed threat to regional security. This finding collaborates with Crisis Group Africa report that illegal migration and movement of foreign terrorist have led to rampart kidnapping, drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and other illicit trades, all which have threatened the regional economy. In addition, weapons inflows and the impact on regional security report also affirms the finding, that the collapse of Somalia proved a fertile ground for the terrorist's organization due to its lack of central government. It has been a breeding ground for radical Islamic fundamentalist movements, linked to the late Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda linked Al-Ittihad Al-Islami group and al-shabaab who have threatened the regional security.

The research findings with regards to role of KDF in combating terrorism are illustrated in Table 4.1, and showed that lack of legitimate government in Somalia have precipitate the rise of terrorism in the region (mean=1.45). However, KDF operation in Somalia have managed to create a buffer zone in Juba, south of Somalia, and thus mitigated security risks from al-shabaab militias (mean=2.08) as well as capturing and liberation of al-Shabaab strongholds, by KDF with the help of TGF. These have weaken al-shaabaab leading to reduced terrorist activities in the region (mean=1.83) and fairly-drastic decline in proliferation of small arms and weapons of mass destruction (mean=2.33). In general, KDF role in combating terrorism and piracy summed up to mean=1.92, standard deviation 0.885, skewness 1.1 and kurtosis 1.361, revealing that KDF operation in Somalia have helped combating terrorism and piracy within the region.

**Table 4.1: Combating Terrorism and Piracy**

<b>Factors of concerns</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>Skewness</b>	<b>Kurtosis</b>
Lack of legitimate government in Somalia and the rise of terrorism in the region	1.45	0.749	2.103	4.981
Creation of a buffer zone in Juba and threats from al-shabaab militias	2.08	0.944	0.806	0.00
Capturing and liberation of al-Shabaab strongholds	1.83	0.903	1.244	1.208
Drastic decline in proliferation of small arms and weapons of mass destruction	2.33	0.944	0.248	-0.745
<b>Combating Terrorism and Piracy</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>0.885</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>1.361</b>

**Source: Research Findings (2014)**

The study has too found that KDF have managed to combat terrorism and piracy within the region. In addition, the extent of agreement to this affects showed that it have been achieved to a very large extent (32.5%), large extent (57.5%), indifferent (5%) and small extent (5%). These indicate that KDF, combating terrorist activities and piracy, have enhanced regional economic stability mostly (90%)

#### **4.6 Chapter Summary**

Based on the above findings, it is that terrorists have been operating freely with

In the region and their operation has been reduced by KDF. The research established that terrorists were transnational terrorism operating in the country with government doing very little. The research also established that KDF incursion was as a result Al-

shabaab who had territorial integrity through kidnapping of foreign tourists. The research further established that Kenya incursion was to create a buffer zone in Juba area south of Somali.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter covers the summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations. It analyses the role of KDF in protecting national security against external aggression. It highlights the role KDF in enhancing regional economic stability in the Horn of Africa. The research also analyses the role of KDF in combating terrorism and piracy in the region. The chapter looks at the summary of findings on possible policy options and recommendations to address regional security. Finally the chapter highlights the recommendations, conclusion and suggested areas for further research.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

1. Based on objective one of the study which was to analyse the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats, this study has established that to uphold Kenya's legitimacy, it is vitally important for this country to undertake a preemptive and preventive war against Al-Shabaab. A right of self-defense that encompasses both actions done in response to an armed attack, and actions done in anticipation of an armed attack, are provided by international law. Therefore KDF had a role in intervening in Somalia conflict as Kenya's sovereignty had been threaten by affiliated extremist groups who operated freely within the region and carrying out terrorist attacks in the region. KDF has therefore achieved its objectives in protecting the national and regional security values.

2. Based on objective two of the study which was to establish the role of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in enhancing regional economic stability through its military operation in Somalia. This study has established that KDF has reduced Somalia conflict that was threats to economic sabotage and undermines of the markets operation; mitigated piracy off Somalia coastline and; beefed up regional security leading to reduction in western states travel bans.

3. Based on objective three of the study which was to establish the role of Kenya Defence Forces in combating terrorism and piracy in the East African region through its military operation in Somalia. The study has established that lack of legitimate government in Somalia has precipitated the rise of terrorism in the region. However, KDF operation in Somalia have managed to create a buffer zone in Juba, south of Somalia, and thus mitigated security risks from al-shabaab militias as well as capturing and liberating of al-Shabaab strongholds. These have weaken al-shaabaab leading to reduced terrorist activities in the region and fairly-drastic decline in proliferation of small arms and weapons of mass destruction.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

1. Based on objective one of the study which was to analyse the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats. This study observed that KDF has roles of defending and protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic, assist and cooperate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster, and the restoration of peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability as defined in the Constitution. Therefore Somalia being a failed state has made it a safe haven for

terrorist groups to operate their networks both regionally and internationally. Kenya had the rights to curtail terrorism and its networks in the country.

2. Based on objective two of the study which was to establish the role of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in enhancing regional economic stability through its military operation in Somalia. The study observed that the capture of Kismayo by KDF and the mounting military pressure by the joint intervention between KDF, AMISOM and SNA troops has establish a safe environment and the reduction of Al-shabaab's activities within the region.

3. Based on objective three of the study which was to establish the role of Kenya Defence Forces in combating terrorism and piracy in the East African region through its military operation in Somalia. The research observed that for combating lawlessness and restoring order in states experiencing conflict within the region, it needs joint efforts among member states of the region and the international community.

#### **5.4. Recommendations**

1. Based on objective one of the study which was to analyse the role of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in protecting the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats. This study recommends that the Kenya government to provide clearly articulated, measurable goals and an exit strategy for its intervention in Somalia and ensure that any major offensives, either individually or as part of AMISOM, are accompanied by a political.

2. Based on objective two of the study which was to establish the role of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in enhancing regional economic stability through its military



operation in Somalia. The study recommends that Kenya government to develop a plan with regional and other international partners, as well as genuine representatives of local clans and social groups, for administering Kismayo; and consider requiring an international partnership with the local government for transparent management and oversight of the port and airport, much as was done in Liberia.

3. Based on objective three of the study which was to establish the role of Kenya Defence Forces in combating terrorism and piracy in the East African region through its military operation in Somalia. The study recommends that AMISOM to resist the temptation to seek spectacular gains; target Kismayo port both to deny Al-Shabaab critical funds with which to pay and resupply its forces and to force the clans of Kismayo to reassess their interests; but do so only with deliberation, avoiding costly urban conflict whose civilian casualties would damage the goals of countering terrorism and radicalization.

### **5.5 Suggested Areas for Further Research**

This research focused on the role of Kenyan military on regional Security, protections of national security against external aggression and combating terrorism and piracy in the region. In the course of research other issues that need further research emerged, such as:

- a. Whether Kenya military intervention in Somalia has been a failure.
- b. Whose bidding is Kenya Defence Forces doing in Somalia now?
- c. The Psychological effects on Kenyan troops participating in operation in Somalia.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Questionnaire

#### SECTION A: Researcher's Details

I am a graduate student at University of Nairobi, undertaking Masters of Arts degree in International Studies. I am conducting a research, titled "Role of African Military on Regional Security: A Case Study of Kenya Defence Forces Operation in Somalia" in partial fulfilment of the award of Masters Degree.

I would like to solicit your kind assistance by preparing yourself to provide responses to the questions posed below. Information is required for academic purposes in addition to contributing to literature bank and its significance to policy makers. The data collected will be treated in strict confidentiality. Your cooperation is highly appreciated. Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Researcher Name:

Registration Number:

#### SECTION B: Respondent's Details

Instructions: Please tick [√] or mark [x] your answer where applicable.

1. What is your gender?

Male  Female

2. How old are you?

18-35 yrs  45-55 yrs

36-45 yrs  Above 55

3. What is your Marital Status?

Yes  No

4. Service

Kenya Army

Kenya Air Force

Kenya Navy

4. Profession Specialization: (Specify)

.....

5. Appointment: (specify)

.....

6. Have you ever participated on military peace operation in Africa?

Yes  No

7. Which military operation did you participate on in Somalia?

Operation '*Linda Inchi*'

AMISON II

Both

8. Any other military operation(s) you have taken part in Africa. (Specify)

.....

.....

.....

.....

**SECTION C: National/Regional Threats to Somalia Conflict**

1. Provided in the table below are some of the national security values that are normally threatened by armed conflicts. On a likert scale of 1 to 5, as provided on the key, rate the extent to which you agreed with regards to conflict in Somalia.

**Key:**

**SA** – Strongly agree, **A** – Agree, **N** – Neutral, **DA** – Disagree, **SDA** – Strongly Disagree.

S/No.	National/Regional Security Values	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	D A	SDA
1.	Socio-political stability					
2.	Territorial integrity					
3.	Economic solidarity & strength					
4.	Cultural cohesiveness					
5.	Moral-spiritual consensus					
6.	External peace					

2. Provided in the table below are specific factors of concerns that have threatened the National/Regional security. To what extent do you agree or disagree with them with reference to Somalia conflict?

S/No	Factor of Concern	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	D A	SDA
1.	The multilateral dispute over the territorial boundary by Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea has threatened regional security.					
2.	Encroachment into other states territory has been a source of intermittent regional tension and conflict.					
3.	The smuggling of firearms and contraband (illegal imports) from Somalia has soared crime in the region					
4.	Somalia conflict has encouraged illegal migration and the occasional movement of foreign terrorists.					
5.	The overlaps of Somalia ethnic/clans to her neighbour's states have resulted to ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts that have become a regional security concern.					
6.	The Somalia conflict has proliferation the rise of small arms and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the region used for terrorist and piracy activities.					
7	Conflict in Somalia have encouraged drug trafficking, terrorism, smuggling of illegal aliens and arms into the region posing more security threats.					

**SECTION D: Roles of Operation *Linda nchi***

1. Provided in the tables below are some of the roles or/and achievements of KDF operation in Somalia perceived to might have enhanced national/regional security. Rates the specific factors of concerns on a likert scale of 1 to 5, as provided on the key, to the extent you agree or disagree with them.

**a. Protection of National Security**

S/No	Factor of Concern	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	D A	SD A
1.	KDF have ensured a permanent inviolability of the national territory at all time.					
2.	KDF has ever been ready to deploy it troops to combat any external aggression that threatened her territorial jurisdictions.					
3.	KDF have responded swiftly to multilateral disputes between her territory and neighbours or amongst its neighbours in a bid to enhance regional security					
4.	KDF has resorted to use of excessive force to restore tranquillity in troubled states.					
5.	KDF invasion in Somalia has restored the regional territorial and security integrity					

### b. Enhancing Regional Economic Stability

S/No	Factor of Concern	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	D A	SD A
1.	Somalia conflict is to be blamed for the constant attacks of economic hubs and investments within the region.					
2.	KDF has managed to reduce threats to economic sabotage and undermines of the market economy by al-shabaab					
3.	The operation <i>Linda Inchi</i> has managed to mitigates the piracy off the Somali coast.					
4.	Somalia operation has beefed up regional security leading to reduction in travel bans imposed to westerns citizens, especially US and UK.					

### c. Combating Terrorism and Piracy

S/No	Factor of Concern	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	D A	SD A
1.	Lack of legitimate government in Somalia has precipitate the rise of terrorism in the region					
2.	KDF operation with support of TFG has managed to create a buffer zone of Juba in southern Somalia to mitigate security risks from al-shabaab militias.					

3.	KDF capture and liberation of larger lower region formerly mainly dominated by al-Shabaab has weakened them leading to reduced terrorist activities in the region.					
4.	Somalia operation has drastically declined proliferation of small arms and and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the region.					

#### d. Combating Lawlessness and Restoring Order

S/No	Factor of Concern	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	D A	SD A
1.	The KDF operation in Somalis helped to restore legitimate rule of law by strengthening the TFG					
2.	KDF operations weakened the Al-Shabaab ruthless rules by destroying their military powers.					

#### e. Factors that might have encouraged Kenya to attack Somalia

S/No.	Integration factors	Scale/Rate				
		SA	A	N	DA	SDA
1.	Region hegemony					
2.	Inter-states relations					
3.	National security threats					

4.	Regional security threats					
5.	Political showdown					
6.	UN Supports					
7.	AU supports					

**SECTION E:**

1. To what extent do you think Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) have protection the national security against external aggression from Somalia conflict threats?

Very large extent

Large extent

I don't know

Small extent

Very small extent

2. To what extent do you agree that Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) played a role in combating lawlessness and restoring order in the country of Somalia?

Strongly disagree

Disagree

Neither agree nor disagree

Agree

Strongly agree



