

A decorative border of pencils surrounds the text on the cover. The pencils are arranged in a rectangular frame, with some at the top and bottom edges and others along the left and right sides, all pointing towards the center.

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

**Impact of Cross-Border Pastoral Conflicts
On Ethio-Kenyan Relations Since 1990**

By: Abdissa Bekele Bulto

April, 2007
Addis Ababa



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**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of
Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the
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Relations**

Advisor: Prof. K. Mathews

**Addis Ababa University
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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDENTS

**ETHIO- KENYAN RELATIONS SINCE 1990 WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO CROSS-BORDER PASTORAL CONFLICT**

BY

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III. Acronyms

AAU- Addis Ababa University

ALF- Afar Liberation Front

ECA- Economic Commission for Africa

GHA- Greater Horn of Africa

HIV/AIDS-Human Immune Virus /Acquired Immune Deficiency
Syndrome

IES- Institute of Ethiopian Studies

IGOs- Inter- Governmental Organizations

IIPD- International Institute for Peace and Development

MNCs- Multi-National Corporations

NFD-Northern Frontier District (of Kenya)

NGOs- Non- Governmental Organizations

OALF- Oromo *Abboo* Liberation Front

OLF- Oromo Liberation Front

ONLF-*Ogaden* National Liberation Front

OSSREA-Organization of Social Science Research for Eastern Africa

TGE- Transitional Government of Ethiopia

TLDP- Third Livestock Development Programme

UNHCR-United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees

RCHE- Research Center for Civic and Human Rights Education

WSLF- Western Somali Liberation Front

IV. Definitions of Key Local Words

Abbaa Gadaa- Heads of the traditional government system, who is elected in eight years term in *Gadaa* system, which is indigenous culture to the *Oromo*.

Borana- in this paper can have two meanings: first, it means, Oromo of the southern Ethiopia and secondly it can represent the *Borana* zone where the *Borana* people live.

Derg- Military Regime which was in power in Ethiopia for the years 1974-1991.

Dhibayyuu- rite, sacrifices made to *Waqaa* (God) expecting good production from livestock and water sources and human beings too.

Eela- water wells, its entrances dug in slide or inclined plane till it reaches the vertical dug wells.

Gadaa- an indigenous socio-economic system of Oromo which is also democratic government based on age- grading.

Gosa- the term which have equivalent meaning to clan or ethnic group.

Maddaa- source, of water or water wells in this case.

Zelan- *Ahmaric* Word which implies being uncultured, aimless wonderer, law less and vulgar. Negative connotation given to the pastoralists by the governing elites and have been used by the highlanders.

Note: names like: ***Borana/Boran, Garri, Gabbra, Degido, Burji, Merehan, Guji, Oromo, Amhara and Tigrea*** represent names of clans or nations, and,

:names like: ***Moyale, Marsabit, Liiban, Melka Ree, Ramu, EelWaaqa, Takaba, Banissa, Qadaduma, Dirree, Golboo, Wachilee Gofaa***, etc...represent names of places in the study area. Some of the areas are indicated in the map.

V. Abstract

This study is about the impact of cross-border pastoral conflicts on the bilateral relations between Ethiopia and Kenya. It focuses on the conflicts between or among the pastoralists (*Borana, Garri, Degido* and the *Gabbara*) who live in *Moyale* and *Marsabit* border districts of Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. The environmental condition of the case study area is arid and semi- arid. The study is also limited to the period 1990- 2006. By employing qualitative research methodology and selected theories of political science and international relations, using both primary and secondary source materials, the research proved that the impact of cross border pastoral conflicts in the study area in altering the nature of the bi-lateral relations of the two countries has been insignificant, although, there have been an increase in intensity and scope of the cross-border pastoral conflicts. The conflicts have tested their relations in these years. The study also proved that marginalization of the pastoralists emanated from the nature of the origin of the states and the nature of state- society relations. This has existed since their creations. The nature of the governments of both states that have been characterized by domination, inequality, non- democratic or autocratic nature is the main cause for the insignificance of the impacts.

There are various sources of the cross-border pastoral conflict that made the area conflict prone. They include; the natural resource degradation, population increase especially due to refugee concentration, governance problems, continuation of the marginalization and others. Overall, this study is important because it relates two contradictory issues (cross- border pastoral conflict and peaceful diplomatic relations). The marginalization of the pastoralists negatively affected the lives of the pastoral society in all aspects. Moreover, it also proved that the impact of cross border pastoral conflicts on the bi-lateral relations has been insignificant.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Cross-border conflict is not a new phenomenon to the Horn; particularly to the pastoral groups of the Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenyan border districts-namely *Moyale* and *Marsabit*. This area is also one of the most ethnically diverse and politically volatile areas where the population has long tradition of almost continuous local and inter-state conflicts and frequent forced migrations. Conflicts among pastoralists in the study area, recently has taken new dimensions. A shrinking resource base has provoked desperate struggle for survival, in which the very existence of these groups is threatened. Raiding and counter raiding for livestock has given way for commercial raiding. In the area, different combatants have engaged in the conflicts for different reasons at different time. In the Southern Ethiopia, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) has engaged in armed conflict with the Ethiopian government and escalation of the pastoral conflicts, especially, since early 1990s. Moreover, conflict over pasture, water points, permanent land ownership attempts have been a common sources of conflicts in the area (Amutabi in ArudoYieke, 2005:117).

When we come to the diplomatic relations of the two countries, except the cross-border conflicts usually observed between and among different pastoralists in the border areas, the nature of the relations of the two countries has never changed for a long period of time. Ethiopia and Kenya have had historical and long lasting peaceful relations. But, for the matter of simplicity, the back-ground of this paper focuses on an overview of the two countries relations since the independence of Kenya from British colonialism in 1963. Before Kenya's independence, Ethiopia and the then

colonizer of Kenya, Britain signed border Peace Agreement in 1907. After the independence of Kenya, Ethiopia and Kenya again made a border agreement in 1970 in Mombassa by President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Emperor Haile Silassie of Ethiopia when Ethiopian leader paid a three-day visit to Kenya (Kenyan Newsletter, 1970:2). Since Kenya's independence in 1963, Ethio-Kenyan relations have never changed its nature. One of the main reasons is they have had a common enemy Somalia (expansionist policy). When Somalia invaded *Ogaden*, the Somali inhabiting areas of Ethiopia, Kenya signed mutual defense agreement with Ethiopia (Okumu in Aluko, 1977: 144). Even when Ethiopia became socialist country, during the Derg period, their relations further strengthened; even though, they were in opposing blocks of the West and the East. The implication of this is the border treaty signed regarding Kenya's permanent northern boundary (Ibid.). Recently, the two countries are making efforts to strengthen their relations. For example, there was a big highway project underway to link the main economic centers of the two countries (Ethiopian Year Book, 2004:30).

Furthermore, this type of bi-lateral relations has got long life, because: both are aware of the necessity of a good-neighborhood foreign policy in the Eastern African region (Okumu in Aluko, 1977:143). The other reason why the cross-border conflict has not challenged the peaceful co-existence of the two countries is that the governments of both countries traditionally, politically and economically marginalized the pastoralists (the nature of state-society relations of the two countries) (Amutabi in Arudo Yieke, 2005: 117).

The bi-lateral relations which is based on the principles of good neighborhood, peaceful co-existence, non- interference in to the internal affairs of one another has been strengthened by the already established Border Administration Commission's meetings held frequently. For instance, the 21st meeting of the Higher Commissioners Cross-Border

Administration Commission held in Mombassa on August 22-23, 2002 (Ethiopia, year book, 2002:21). In July 2004, the Commission's meeting held to discuss on issues like: establishing radio communication network between Addis Ababa and Nairobi that can help control and settle conflicts along the border easily, construct health services facilities, and control livestock diseases (Ibid.)

The study focuses on the challenges and impacts the cross-border conflicts between and among the pastoralist groups have on the peaceful co-existence of the two neighboring countries. In this regard, it analyzes why the impact of cross-border pastoral conflicts have remained insignificant to alter the nature of the relations

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Cross-border conflicts are not new phenomenon to the Horn of African pastoralist groups. The root causes of cross border conflicts in pastoralist areas of Greater Horn of Africa (GHA) are principally competition for shrinking resources. Besides, the role of opposition groups in escalating the conflicts is not easily considered. The other cause of conflict is the struggle to establish rights over pasture lands and water where sharing rights have broken down due to misunderstandings and scarcity of resources. Lack of good governance, overpopulation and poverty are also among the causes.

Usually, cross-border conflicts result in hostile relations of countries. But, in the case of Ethiopia and Kenya, a lot of cross-border conflicts have observed for along period of time has got little significance on changing the nature of the bi-lateral relations. The conflicts are usually between and among the pastoralists who have lived along the border areas (districts) for along periods of time. The main problem here is that, the cross border conflicts which have involved different actors, especially in the Post Cold War Era might have challenged the nature of diplomatic relations of the two

2. to contribute a little to the field of international relations in general and the cross-border conflict study and its impacts on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations in particular.
3. to address the reason why the impact of the cross-border pastoral conflicts in the study area on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries is less significant:
4. Moreover, to suggest constructive ideas on how such kinds of conflicts should be managed, settled, transformed, and the nature of the relations of the two countries continued to be peaceful and cooperative.
5. Finally, to point out how the study helps policy makers, to formulate good policies that have good implications for peace building and development.

1.5. Hypothesis

The impact that the cross-border pastoral conflicts in the case study area have on the bilateral relations of Ethiopia and Kenya since 1990 is insignificance.

1.6. Methodology

In doing this study (research), the researcher employed qualitative research methodology. The data collected from the secondary and primary sources depending on various techniques (interview, personal observation, etc...) of data collections be described, explained and analyzed.

1.7. Methods of Data Collection

In conducting this study, both primary and secondary sources are used for the data collection. The primary sources include; interviewing informants both from the government officials and the local people, District Administrators and coordinators of non-governmental organizations working in the area. The secondary sources include both published and unpublished

materials used to enrich the study and the findings. Among them, Books, Journals, Articles, News Papers, Government Policies and internet sources are some.

1.8. Relevance of the Study

This study has great significance to the field of Political Science and International Relations in general, and the Cross-Border Pastoralists conflict study in particular because it deals with the conflicting relations of the pastoralists along the border area and its impacts on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries (Ethiopia and Kenya).

It also has importance to the two countries policy makers, IGOs and NGOs, because it addresses: the causes of the cross-border conflicts, its impacts on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries and the local people and addresses the possible ways of transforming the conflicts and the bi-lateral relations to positive peace.

1.9. Scope of the Study

This MA Thesis is limited to the impact that cross-border pastoral conflicts have had on the peaceful co-existence type of the bi-lateral relations of Ethiopia and Kenya. The study is also limited to the Northern District of Kenya, particularly to the *Marsabit* District and the Southern Border of Ethiopia, the District of *Moyale* since 1990. And it focuses mainly on the conflicts between and among the *Borana*, *Garri*, *Degido* and *Gabbara* pastoralists.

1.10. Limitations of the Study

In conducting the study, the researcher is constrained with the following challenges and limitations, among others: financial problem and time constraints are the main.

1.11. Organization of the Study

The paper is divided into five main parts. The first chapter of the Thesis is the introduction and includes; general background, statement of the problem, the hypothesis, methodology, methods of the data collection, objectives of the study, relevance of the study, the main research questions, scope of the study, the limitations and finally, the organization of the paper is put.

Chapter two is the part that includes; the theoretical and conceptual frameworks and review of the literature.

The third chapter is about the general background of the study area, the causes of the cross border pastoral conflicts and the general overview of the Ethio-Kenyan bilateral diplomatic relations since 1990.

The fourth chapter is the analysis which focuses on the impact (challenges) that the cross- border pastoral conflicts have had on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries from the political, economic and social aspects since 1990.

And, the last (fifth) chapter comprises the concluding remarks.

The bibliography, Definition of key local words, the acronyms and the Annex are also part of the paper.



CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the previous chapter, we have seen the general introduction or overview of the paper which comprises statement of the problem, major research questions, methods of data collection, the methodology, scope of the study, objectives of the study, limitations that encountered the researcher while conducting the study and organization of the paper.

In this second chapter, theoretical and conceptual framework, definitions of conceptual words, and review of the related literature are included.

2.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Definitions of Concepts

A. Pastoralists: The evolution of pastoralism dates back to the history of human beings (Ikeya&Fratikn, 2005:2). Although the pastoralists in the study area begin to live there (in the study area) since the 17th century, they became part of the Ethiopian Empire in the 20th century during MinilikII's expansion with the meaning given to them by the highlanders and ruling elites which is equivalent to being uncultured, lawless and vulgar, aimless and wonderer. The Amharic term "*Zelan*" has been used which instead of pastoralist, have the above negative connotation. This perception is shared by almost all the people who live in the highland who have controlled the central state power, marginalizing the pastoralists for more than a century from the central power and developmental advantages (Yacob, 2001: 7).

In spite of their economic potential, the areas in which the pastoralists live have been underdeveloped, and the people have been affected almost all the times by drought and famine (Yacob, 2001: 7).

When we come to the definitions of other scholars: (Ikeya & Fratkin, 2005:2) defines it as:

People whose livelihood depends mainly on the raising of domestic animals including cattle, camels, sheep, goats, yaks, horses and donkeys which are used for milk, meat, wool, hides, transport and trade: in addition many pastoralists cultivate crops or have long standing trading relations with agricultural neighbors.

Moreover, Swift (1988) defines pastoralists as populations deriving at least 50% of their livelihood from domestic livestock. Besides, pastoralists occupy savannas, arid-deserts, high plateaus or sub-arctic forests and tundra where rain-fed agriculture is difficult or impossible.

From the above definitions, it is possible to define pastoralists as people who derive their living at least 50% from animal that graze mainly naturally occurring vegetation or pasture. And, people whose animals contribute less than 50% to household income and who have a permanent and substantial interest in cropping are referred to as agro-pastoralists.

Pastoralists in the study area, *Moyale and Marsabit* Districts, common border districts of Ethiopia and Kenya respectively live in arid areas (regions) which lay below 1500m. above the sea level. The rainfall is also low with an annual precipitation of less than 250-800 mm. (Fratkin, 2005: 19). The pastoralist groups live by raising cattle, goats, sheep and camels. The region is one of the areas that usually affected by famine and drought as a result of desertification, environmental degradation. Of the serious droughts, the 1991-1992 and 1999-2000 were the biggest ones. During these years a lot of people and livestock were died.

B. Border: In English language the word border (or boundary) refers to delimited political territory and living space used to divide the sovereign limits of adjacent independent states.

Border (boundary) the researcher uses have existed not only between independent nations but also between other forms of political units.

There are two major types of border. These are natural border and artificial border.

A. Natural Borders: are boundaries delimited based upon the naturally created mountains, rivers, lakes, sea, bay or straits.

B. Artificial Borders: are the borders created by human beings by force or in agreement. Artificial borders include: artificial barrier, geometrical border, and cultural border (Guo, 2004: 60).

C. Cross-Border Resource: is the natural wealth and environmental quality under two or more geographically adjacent regimes.

The question is how this common resource for two or more nations should be utilized?

There are early doctrines on which international relations are based to utilize and manage the cross-border resource. These doctrines include:

A. The Doctrine of Absolute territorial sovereignty: This doctrine claims the absolute freedom of a country to exploit and utilize its own natural and environmental resources regardless of the effect of its actions on other riparian states: (The typical example is for an upper most riparian state to over exploit the waters following through its territory, which could affect neighboring countries (Guo, 2004:60).

B. The Doctrine of Absolute territorial Integrity: This Doctrine stipulates that a country may not alter the natural state (condition) of natural and environmental resources passing through its territory in any manner that will affect the resources in the other country or countries (Guo, 2004:60).

- C. The Doctrine of Limited Territorial Sovereignty. This intermediate approach has been taken in resolving the majority of international resource disputes. It goes by the name of equitable utilization of the shared resources.
- D. The Doctrine of communality of International Resources: It assumes a community or cross border communalism of interest between or among countries concerned, and treats total stock of resources as shared by these countries; and
- E. The Doctrine of correlative Rights: In this doctrine, the emphasis is on the most efficient exploitation and utilization of joint resources, rather than on Ownership rights (Guo, 2004: 60).

According to international treaties and law, states can utilize the joint resources based upon one of the above doctrines. The practices of international joint resource utilization depend on the following principles of international law and treaties.

- i. Stopping short of formal allocation (*inter alias*);
- ii. Allocating resources between countries;
- iii. Joint management of Internationally shared resources;
- iv. Joint exploitation of cross-border resources; and
- v. Integrated cross-border area planning-(Ibid.).

Although the above doctrines and international law treaties help and are very important for the joint utilization and management of cross-border natural resources and environmental quality, the majority of states and societies who live along the boarder areas have seen when they come to serious conflicts over the utilization of the cross-border resources. The case of pastoralists along the Ethio-Kenyan border (*Moyale*) district where the interest of *Garri*, *Borana* and *Gabbara* lies is the good example. Why? This question is answered under the following sub-topics.

In an informal or social sense, diplomacy is the employment of art to gain strategic advantage, one set of tools being the phrasing of statements in a non confrontational or social manner.

There are various principles and practices which diplomacy comprises and known as the contents of diplomacy. These are: Diplomats and diplomatic missions, History, Diplomatic immunity, Diplomats as a guarantee, Diplomacy and espionage, Diplomatic recognition, Informal diplomacy, References, and External links.

So, diplomatic relations between countries can be established by friendly contacts of any form between their governments: but permanent diplomatic relations are considered to exist only with the establishment of diplomatic missions, or preferably with the exchange of diplomatic missions.

It is usually established by mutual consent and on the basis of mutual understanding of the functions that will be undertaken by the mission (Feltham, 1988: 2).

In general, as we have seen, the very important concepts of this paper are tried to be defined in short and explanatory way. So, from the above concepts and definitions, it is possible to understand the main issues on which the paper focuses.

2.1.2. Theoretical Framework

In order to survive and overcome both natural and man-made problems, people make interactions. The interactions may be cooperative or conflicting. The causes of that can determine the nature of the interactions. And the causes are various and many. If we take conflict; conflict between or among different parties arise usually when the two parties have opposite (incompatible) goals and if there is competition over scarce natural resources having unlimited interests.

In this study, we deal with two opposite issues as the core of the paper. The first is the pastoralists' cross-border conflict and its impacts on the peaceful bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Ethiopia and Kenya. The second is the peaceful bilateral diplomatic relations of the two countries.

Besides, the theoretical framework tries to answer the question "Why the Ethio-Kenya relations continued to be peaceful while the cross-border pastoral conflicts become intense and wider in scope?" Here, there is a paradox of ideas. Although this issue is interesting to conduct research to solve the dilemma; there is no single theory that can sufficiently explain the issue. As a result, the researcher has preferred to use more than one theory for the rationalization of the concepts or issues.

For the cross border pastoral conflict along the Ethio-Kenyan border resource scarcity theory versus unlimited needs is preferred, to explain the domestic political realities of the countries; force theory and the divine right theory are employed to explain the nature of the bi-lateral Ethio-Kenyan diplomatic relations realism and idealism are employed.

A. Resource Scarcity and Cross-Border Pastoral Conflict

The view that resource scarcity enhances prospect for cross-border pastoral conflict is not a new phenomenon in the literature of international relations and conflict studies. Historically, this can be traced back to early theorists, such as Choucri and North (1975; 1989) who contend that internal demand on resources push states or societies toward outward expansion, increasing the possibility for conflict to arise through hostile lateral pressure.

Moreover, resource poor regions will create environments that are highly competitive where the creation of institutions to manage conflict will be lacking and/or ineffective and where historical hostility exists.

When compared with resource scarce regions, areas; resource rich regions on the other hand will be faced with fewer potential conflict situations overall, which will enhance the prospect for the creation of institutions to manage conflict that do arise (Hensel, et.al, 2004).

Gleditch (2001: 253) provides a nice summary figure summarizing these Malthusian type arguments. Population growth and high resource consumption per-capita (demand-induced scarcity) lead to deteriorated environmental conditions (supply-induced scarcity) which increases resource scarcity further and creates harsher resource competition, this process, when combined with inequality with respect to resource access (structural scarcity) increases the chances for violence or conflict.

Linked to environmental issues and cross-border conflict; the scarcity of cross-border resource in the case of the study area, pastoral resources involve real treats to public health, agricultural and industrial productivity.

Clearly as one can easily observe; as population increases the demand for the resources increases. As well, control over the scarce resources by one group (Party) indicates a decrease in the amount of the resources for the other group (party).

In addition, in support of the above ideas, Critchley and Terrif (1993: 332) argue that resources directly result in conflict when:

- A. They are becoming increasingly scarce in a region,
- B. They are very essential for human survival, and
- C. The resource can be physically seized to exist or controlled by another party.

They assert that direct conflict over renewable resources will be rare, but competition over scarce resources will have a strong indirect effect on the propensity for conflict.

Limited availability of resources puts stress on society which makes the society less stable and more conflict. Like Critchely and Terrif (1993) Homer Dixon (1999) believes that the probability of conflict rises due to decreased agricultural production, economic decline, population displacement, and disruption of legitimate institutions and social relations.

The conflict by itself has impact on the resource management and destruction and the escalation of other conflicts by further increasing the scarcity of resources. Conflicts by: damaging the environment, enforcing the people to over-exploitation of natural resources, creating institutional threats can escalate the conflicts by reducing the natural resource amounts.

When we come to the Ethio-Kenyan cross-border area, the scarcities of natural resources remain the main cause of cross border pastoral conflict. The conflict among *Borana Vs Garri, Borana vs Digdo, Gabbra vs Digdo* and *Borana Vs Gabbra* in *Moyale* and *Marsabit* districts is over scarce pastoral resources, although the conflicts are aggravated by over population, adverse climatic changes,(drought), development problems, lack of good governance, involvement of opposition political parties and traditional perceptions that the societies have towards conflict.

B. Realism and Idealism

The evolution of modern international relations dates back to the time when sovereign nation states in Western Europe evolved. The evolution of modern nation states is the outcome of the Treaty of Westphalia signed among Western European countries after the 30 years of religious war in 1648 (Jackson, 1998:16).

The Westphalia Treaty recognized states as sovereign, free and independent from many external powers in pursuing their domestic and foreign affairs. Although the western European states made bi-lateral and multi-lateral

agreements based on the basic principles of treaty of Westphalia their conflicting interests and ambitions led them to engage in two destructive World Wars (Ibid:17).

The nation states systems initially founded in Western Europe expanded to the other parts of the world through colonialism and trade (Banks, 1985:8).

In addition to the above historical facts; diverse institutions and theories have attempted to rationalize and explain the behavior of states in the international system in various ways. Nevertheless, none of them were able to come up with explicit explanations as to why states behave the way they do in the process of their interactions of various types and characteristics. Hence, taking their very essential elements from the existing dominant theories and blending them is essential for better explaining and understanding the conduct and behaviors of states at the national and international levels. Among the many theories of international relations, the realist schools of thought and the idealists or liberal theories are taken as the two main contending theories of international relations.

So, the researcher preferred to rationalize and explain the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Kenya and Ethiopia since 1990 by employing these major theories of international relations.

Realism

According to Jackson and Lake (1998, 1993) realism is state-centric theory. Thus, the basic argument of realism is that states are dominant actors in international relations. They also perceive the international system anarchic.

They add power is unevenly distributed among nation states. They also argue, the international system do not have the world government which can enforce international law and can control the behavior of its member

states. Just like how the governments of nation-states control their citizens. For the realists, nation-states are independent and powerful international actors that design their foreign policy on the basis of their national interest and security in the anarchic international system that enables them ensures their security and survival (Jackson, 1998:26; Lake, 1993:771).

This realist's argument can best explain the Ethio-Kenyan bi-lateral relations, especially since the 1960s. This is because, even though the Ethio-Kenyan bi-lateral relations have been peaceful and cooperative; it is an alliance formation against the Somali expansion (irredentism). The Somalis attempt to unify all Somali residing territories in Eastern part of Africa. And the 1977-78 war with Ethiopia and claim for the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya forced the two countries to cooperate against the same problem that emanates from Somali-expansionist policy.

Waltz, explains the above reality as "At minimum, states seek their own preservation and, at maximum drive for universal domination. Only after survival is assured...can they afford to seek other goals. As a result, states act first and foremost to maximize security", (Quoted in Lake 1993:772).

According to Levy also (1995:70), "The primary means by which states increase their military capabilities and economic foundations of military potential is (by joining balance of power alliances)".

So, the struggle for maximization of national interest and competition to be the regional power in the Horn of Africa by building Military power and reversing that by alliance formation is what has seen or observed practically in the Ethio-Kenyan bi-lateral relations.

Idealism

Conversely, liberalists (idealists) reject the notion of state centrism in the international system. According to them, contemporary global issues like:

development problems, modernization, HIV/AIDS, "terrorism", environmental problems, international trade, emergence of MNCs, NGOs, IGOs, inter-dependence, and other common values and issues influence and determine the behavior as well as the foreign policies of states. Further, they argue, the issue of security has no relevance due to international free trade, environmental problems, drug trafficking, HIV/AIDs, etc, which are beyond the capacity of states to control there by requiring the common efforts of all nation-states. They also favor the idea of interdependence between states since this would eventually lead to more cooperation than conflict.

When we come to the case study area, as already discussed the Ethio-Kenyan relations are peaceful and cooperative. This peaceful and cooperative nature as well as their interdependence is explained by the idealists view. Because, the principles such as: good neighborhood, peaceful co-existence and cooperation have been well understood by the two countries in their foreign-policies. However, their alliance formation against the Somali expansionist policy is under critics of idealists view; states would not procure arms and seek military alliances leading to arms race and security dilemma. This is because; interdependence would weaken all these motives thereby promoting cooperation.

D. Contending Theories of the Origins of State

The origin of state is linked with the development of human society. Society of our world attained today's level of development passing through various stages of development since ancient to this modern period. However, the stages of development have not been the same for different societies in the world. Different scholars have the common consensus on linking the origins of states to the ancient societies and places which are considered as the origins of civilization. Those (Eastern societies) lived as far back as 5000 B.C. when large scale political organizations and state systems, for which there are

recorded history, develop particularly in the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile- valleys and later in the Valleys of the greater rivers of China.

Western historical records and civilizations also indicate the embryonic foundations and modern state and the principles of politics is Greek where City- States or *polis* developed and operated on narrowly based democratic principles.

As there are many places where state emerged there are also many contending theories that try to explain the origins and purposes of the state. These theories include: The Social Contract Theory, The Divine Right Theory, The Marxist Theory, The Natural or Evolutionary Theory, and The Force Theory. Among these theories, the Force Theory and The Divine Right Theory can better explain the state origins and purposes in Kenya and Ethiopia, because the force theory explains the state origin and state –society relations that have been existed both in Ethiopia and Kenya and the divine right theory on the other hand can explain the state –society relations in Ethiopia till 1974. For this purpose the study is going to focus on the short description of the two theories among the above contending theories of the origins of state in the following sub-sections.

I. Force Theory

This theory associates the emergence of state to wars and conflicts that have been endemic in the history of human beings. Accordingly, wars and conquest resulted in to the occupation of more and more lands or territories which led to the formation of state (Machiavelli, 1532:39).

According to this theory, a state is primarily seen as an entity created by the use of physical force. In another words, state is created through the processes of conquest and coercion of the weak by the strong society. As a result, military might and physical strength of a society is considered to be paramount importance for the creation and consolidation of the state (Ibid.).

To conclude based on the above theory, it is possible to say the origins and internal state- society relations of both countries which have marginalized the pastoralists of the case study area in Ethiopia and Kenya can well explained by the above theory.

II. The Divine Right Theory

This theory claims state as the Divine creation. In this sense, state is seen as an institution created by God, and rulers were regarded as God's own representatives or agents on earth. That is it is of God's will that in human society some are born to rule while others are born to be ruled. Furthermore, the social order or hierarchy in the society is God given. It is an already determined hierarchy on the basis of birth. And, this theory is important here because it can well explain the nature of state society relations in Ethiopia since its creation to 1974 (Williams, 22, 2, 2007- From Internet).

Since Kenya and the majority of African states were created by the forceful invasion by the European Colonizers and Ethiopia had been created by the forceful expansion of Emperor Minilik-II of Shawa, both states were created by physical force or military power. And, this helps to prove the origin of marginalization of the pastoralists of the case study area by the colonizers, their successors (followers), and the *Amharas'* and *Tigrean* domination in the case of Ethiopia. And, its legacy (continuous) negative effect on the development of the marginalized pastoralists of the case study area).

All in all, all theories, resource scarcity, idealists, force theory, the divine right theory and realists have their own merits and demerits or weakness and strength in explaining the external and internal behaviors of states in the courses of conducting their foreign policies and in speculating about the future of the international system and relations.

When one assesses the Ethio-Kenyan relations in the light of these theories, the relations of the two countries have been mainly marked peaceful and

cooperative, even though the cross-border pastoral conflicts are common along the border areas. Even when the degree and scope of the cross-border pastoral conflicts have increased from time to time with the further degradation of cross-border pastoral resources, the nature of the bi-lateral relations continued to be peaceful and cooperative.

Many reasons have been mentioned as the causes by different scholars, however the researcher attempt to prove that the main cause for the non-significance of the cross-border pastoral conflicts impact on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Ethiopia and Kenya is the marginalization of the pastoralists from the national political, economic and social issues of both states (the nature of state-society relations).

Thus, for examining these complex issues, realism, idealism, theory of scarcity of resources and force theory will be employed as the tools of analysis.

2.2 Literature Review

The literature on pastoralists in the Horn of Africa, fails to effectively analyse the conflicts with similar and different ethnic groups and the impacts the cross-border pastoral conflicts have on the bi-lateral or multi-lateral diplomatic relations of states and other actors.

The literature on conflict in the Horn has focused mainly on the analysis of the causes of inter and intra-state conflicts, secessionist ethnic conflicts, conflict resolution mechanisms and little is known about the nature of these conflicts. Recently, several researchers have attempted to understand the dynamics of these conflicts, as well as the actual situations on the ground in cases of conflict.

Many authors claim, the pastoral conflict in the Horn of Africa is increasing in scope and intensity. As a result, they add, the adverse outcomes of conflict are now much worse than before. This is largely due to the shrinking of scarce pastoral resources resulted from environmental degradation, drought, population increase, lack of good- governance, development problems, widespread availability of small arms, commercialization of raiding, etc.

Concerning the impact of cross-border pastoral conflict on the inter-state relations, few studies have existed. Out of these, the majority focuses on the economic impacts. For example, Abdurahman (2006), tried to analyze the impact the small arms easy availability has on livestock cross-border trade in southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. He argues, the easy availability of small arms in the case study area aggravated the pastoral conflict in this region. Conflict in turn highly (negatively) affected the cross-border livestock trade which starts from *Borana*, passes through Nairobi and further to the Gulf.

There are also some literature which argue, drought conditions can trigger and escalate conflicts over scarce resources. According to Dejene and Abdurhaman (2001a) when there is shortage of rainfall in pastoral areas, the people who reside in drought affected areas spread over more lands, especially where rainfall is available. While at the same time, neighboring pastoralists also expand their territory to search for pasture and water. At this moment, clash over the pastoral land may occur. A good example for and this is the impact of the drought years 1999-2000. During these drought years, conflict over scarce pastoral resources escalated between *Borana* and *Degodi* and *Garri*. And this conflict caused the death of 140 people and the displacement of thousands (Dejene and Abdurhaman, 2001a).

Most literature on pastoral areas of the Horn positively relates drought and conflict as tried to be explained above. Besides, Tulmin (1988) asserts, movement of pastoralists in search of pastures increase in drought years than the normal years. As a result, different pastoral groups may move to the same grazing area or where water wells found. Because of scarcity of grass for grazing and water for animals' drinking, the pastoralists might come to conflict.

Analysis of incidences of conflicts indicated that most observed conflicts occurred during drought years with the exception of 1997 incident indicating the probability of occurrence of conflicts is high during long and short dry seasons. This means, according to this analysis, the more the scarce the resources, the more escalated the pastoral conflicts. And this reality also overlaps with the explanation of theory of scarcity of resources.

Another important pattern of these conflicts among pastoral communities in the Horn of Africa according to some literature is that the conflicts are repeatedly interwoven with other conflicts especially those of armed opposing groups fighting the governments and ethnic conflict.

They also assert, some times, conflicts over pastoral resources amongst pastoral people develop into armed opposition groups fighting against a state army. The case of Afar and Somali in Ethiopia and the case of *Darfur* in Sudan are the best examples.

The pastoralist conflicts with other ethnic groups over pastoral land in Awash Valley caused by the resettlement of highlanders resulted in the emergence of Afar Liberation Front. The Somalis suffered repression and human right abuses under the Ethiopian regimes, including the area bombardment during the *Derg* regime stimulated the formation and strength of opposition groups, including the Western Somali Liberation Front and the *Ogaden* National Liberation Front.

In Sudan the conflicts between *Baggara* of South *Kordofan* and *Darfur* over-dry season grazing resources and the support of government one group against the other, resulted in the further escalation of conflicts in the area.

Some authors also tried to prove in the countries of East Africa, large ethnic groups live in similar environments and sharing similar livelihood systems, trans-clan and trans-boundary migratory patterns. This is the case with the *Borana* Oromo who lives in Ethiopia and Kenya, the *Afars* in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia, and the Somalis in Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti and Kenya. As a result of this, the prevalence of conflict on one side of the border has often had spill over effects on neighboring countries resulting in large-scale displacement and large numbers of refugees. And this can create security problems in countries and might lead to inter-state conflict or cooperation.

There are much literature that argues conflict in pastoral areas become usual, because of marginalization of the pastoralists from the central economic, political and social benefits (rights) and responsibilities. Pastoral areas of the East Africa poorly developed; they have no roads, schools, health facilities, telecommunication services, etc. In support of this, Salih (2001) relates increased levels of poverty among pastoralists in Eastern Africa with highly centralized political and economic governance in the hands of politically powerful elites. Similarly, wide spread pastoral conflicts have usually resulted from changes in land policies often contradicting customary laws of the pastoral society and has been reflected in confiscation of large tracts of pastureland for farming or ranching in Uganda (Muheresa 2001), Kenya (Bujra 2000) and Ethiopia (Abdurahman, 2003).

Concerning the Ethio-Kenyan diplomatic relations, few authors argue the Ethio-Kenyan relations become peaceful and cooperative, because of the friendly relations of Haile Sellasie and Jomo Kenyatta, and the Somali expansionist policy also strengthened their alliance (Woodward, 1996).

To conclude, there are literature gaps on different issues of conflict studies in the Horn of Africa. And the absence of systematic cross-border pastoral conflict phenomenon study is one serious problem. Even the few studies that exist focused on the dynamics of pastoral conflict only specific case study area within particular period of time.

As the pastoral and agro-pastoral areas of East Africa are too large and diverse in terms of geography, culture, history and political outlook diversified and critical studies at the local and international level should be conducted. But if the scholarly marginalization continued with the economic, social and political centralization, the conflict pattern and degree can increase and bring unexpected crisis in the region. So what should be done?

The literature review above reveals (establishes) the need for governments, international community and citizens to change their policies and strategies towards the pastoralists. For example, they should:

- a) facilitate better access to both internal and external markets;
- b) adopt better strategy of development in these pastoralist areas, which have been marginalized for a long period of time from political, economic and social developmental benefits of their countries concerned.
- c) motivate the studies conducted on the sector, especially on cross-border issues,
- d) control the flow of small arms,
- e) harmonize the indigenous customary law's with national land policies and strategies;
- f) strengthen indigenous environmental protection mechanisms, and
- g) Develop culture of peace.

In order that the reader understand the general context or facts of the case study area and identify the conflict situations, the causes and the general overview of the Ethio-Kenyan bilateral diplomatic relations the following chapter, chapter three, deals with the general overview of the case study area and the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Ethiopia and Kenya.



CHAPTER THREE

CROSS-BORDER PASTORAL CONFLICTS AND ETHIO-KENYAN RELATIONS

3.1. Pastoralism and Conflict in *Moyale* and *Marsabit* Districts, Ethio-Kenyan Border Areas

Moyale is the border district to Ethiopia, Kenya and the Somali regional state. It is situated in the Southern tip of Ethiopia. The *Moyale* town, the capital of the district is located at 771 KMs South of Addis Ababa and crossed by the Ethio-Kenyan highway. It has common boundaries with Kenya to the south, *Dirree* district to the West, Somali regional state to the east and the north.

The ecological classification of the district is 10% midland and 90% lowland. Concerning drainage, there is no river that crosses the district. The average annual temperature and rainfall is 22°C and 584 respectively.

It has total area of 1130KM² with 20 basic local government units (*Kebeles*) administrative divisions, of which 26 are peasant association (P.A) and the rest two are urban basic local government Units (*Kebeles*). In this border town, *Borana*, *Garri*, and *Gabbra* live unevenly distributed.

And *Marsabit* district is one of the districts in Kenya found at the northern tip of the country that shares border resources and territory with *Moyale* of Ethiopia. This region shares the same environmental conditions and people, life condition, etc... with *Moyale* of Ethiopia.

The Claim and Counter claim of *Moyale* town and permanent pastoral land ownership, pastoral resource scarcity, administration problems, drought, demographic changes, etc....results in conflict among/between these clans. This some times invites the involvement of local administrative and local ethnic based elites. In addition, some times, the police officers, state-army and opposition groups were directly or indirectly involved into the conflict. In the region different ethnic groups live the major ones are *Borana*, *Garri*, *Digodi*, *Burji* and *Gabbara*.

According to some sources, the *Borana* are the eldest Oromo clan. They live on cattle pastoralism. They live in Ethiopia and Kenya. The *Borana* are one of the various Oromo clans who practice and preserved the indigenous Oromo Culture and religion. Moreover, they expanded to the area in the 17th century (Bassi in Hoogg, 1997:25).

Later, the *Borana* expanded from the southern part of Ethiopia to the Northern Kenya. Interactions with their neighbors, the *Garri*, *Gabbara* and other people began in the 19th century. By this time, they established alliance with the *Gabbara* and *Garri*. However, the *Borana* began to be attacked repeatedly by the Somalis from the eastern region and forced to retreat to their eastern territories in Kenya (Ibid.).

When we come to the *Garri*, according to Bottego's map of 1982:93, which based on his expedition in these years shows, the *Borana* occupied almost all the *Liiban* area, which is one of the Zones of Somali Regional State in Federal Ethiopia. The *Borana* claim, they temporarily forced to leave this area due to intensive raiding by the Somalis after the death of Ethiopian-Emperor Menelik II (1913).

In addition, during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1937-1941), various Somali groups got the chance to settle permanently on the large part of

eastern *Borana* pastoral land. The secret behind this is, most Muslim pastoral groups, especially Somali, and some Oromo supported the Italian troops by joining the so-called *Banda* (the military units' formed by indigenous troops of Ethiopia).

Degodi are also (a Somali clan) occupied the areas like *Liiban*, the area that *Borana* occupied before as late as /1895, time of Bo'ttego's expedition (Dardano 1939 and Bottego 1895: Map II).

The *Garri* are genealogically related to *Hawiya*-clan family of the Somali who speak both Somali and Oromo languages. They are Muslim. Their economy is primarily dependent on camel and small stock pastoralism, but they also keep cattle wherever the environment allows. They also engaged in trade as one of the important economic activity (Getachew 1983:11-14). They usually suffered attacks from other clans of Somali and the *Borana*. This forced them to establish relations of culture, sociology and trade with *Borana* and other Somali clans (Ibid: 17-21), the relations being sometimes peaceful and some times confliction.

They are divided into territorial sections, which are found in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. The first territorial section is found in Somalia, in *Audigle* district (Barile 1935:32-33; Lewis 1955:27). This group speaks only the Somali Language. They are known as *Garri Kofar* in Ethiopia. The second territorial section is *Garri Gallan*. This group has their territory in Kenya, roughly in the area between *Melka Ree* and *Ramu* to the north and *Eel Waaqa* to the south. The *Garri Liiban* are to the Western region of the *Garri Gallan*. They live in Kenya and Ethiopia. In Kenya, they live in an area including *Takaba* and *Banissa* and along the border up to *Qadaduma*. In Ethiopia, they live in eastern *Dirree* (Bassi in Hogg, 1997:28).

When we see the language, as already noted, the *Garri kofar* speak only the Somali language. *Garri Gallana* and *Liiban* can speak both Oromo and Somali languages. However, while the *Garri Gallan* prefers to use Somali as their first language; *Garri Liiban* tends to speak Oromo language (Zaphiro 1909:71, Heber land 1963:147).

The third group (clan) the study focuses on is the *Gabbra* who speak Oromo language. They depend on camel and small stock pastoralism. They also keep cattle. The majority of them live in Kenya low lands traditionally known as *Golboo*. This area is located between Lake *Turkana* to the West and the *Garri* area to the east, with *Marsabit* Mountain to the South. The *Gabbras* also live in Ethiopia in a large number in the *Borana* highlands.

Habreland classified them in to two, the western *Gabbra*, *Malbe* and the eastern *Gabbra Migo*. He further identified, while the *Gabbra Migo* maintained good relations with the *Garri*, the *Gabbra Malbe* supports and has good interactions with the *Borana* when conflicts arise with the *Garri* (Habreland, 1963:170).

In general, the above description and facts shows us the picture the settlement, clan type and their alliance during conflict arises, the pastoralists' competition over water points, grazing land, permanent ownership of pastoral lands along the borders. Their settlement is uneven. For example, *Borana* live in Ethiopia and Kenya. *Gabbra* also live in Kenya and Ethiopia and the *Garri* live in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somali. Therefore, the probability that the local conflict between two of the three has a spillover effect to the neighboring countries is too high. The next part focuses on the pastoral conflict among/between the above pastoralists since 1990.

3.1.1 The Inter- Clan Pastoral conflict of these three pastoral Groups (Borana, Garri and Gabbra since 1990)

According to literature and Informants, the conflict between the *Borana and Garri* account more than a century. The disputed area between/among the pastoralists covers vast tract of land along the border of *Oromia* and Somali regional states. And the Ethio - Kenyan border as well.

In this sub-topic, we are going to deal with the pattern and causes of the conflicts since 1990; in the case study area. But, before that, discussing the historical overview of the conflicts in brief is very important.

According to Bassi in Hogg (1997:29) " the attempts by *Garri* to gain access to new pastoral resource in *Borana*-Controlled territories and the attempt by the *Gabbra* to strengthen their rights to the resources they jointly exploit with the *Borana* have been the main-motives of their historical relations over the centuries." And cleric (1908:21) described the early relations of these pastoralists as the "frontier between British East Africa and Ethiopia". Soon by diplomacy, the British East Africa and Ethiopia took the measure of dividing the pastoralists to the two states. *Borana* assigned to the Ethiopian rule. The *Garri* and the *Gabbra* on the other hand assigned to the British East Africa. The separation of the two pastoralist groups to different states was to block their access to jointly consumed cross-border grazing lands (this was an attempt to limit another ethnic group to the side of its border). Here, although, the attempt of separating the people was to reduce the level of the conflict, this attempt could not have protected the people from interacting.

For example, during the first half of the 20th century, the *Garri* managed to expand their presence in Ethiopia. Haberland indicates that starting from

1924 a great number of *Garri* settled in Ethiopia (1963:338). According to Getachew, the movement of many *Garri* from Kenya to Ethiopia was led by *Gababa Mohammed Guracha* (1983:39). As a result, the *Garri* got the opportunity to settle in *Borana* lands like *Wachile* and other areas.

Beginning from the 1960s, the relations between the *Borana* and *Garri* pastoralists moved to armed conflict. Immediately after the independence of Somalia, the political relations she has had with both Kenya and Ethiopia became hostile. The newly born independent Somali state began to support guerrilla activities both in South-Eastern Ethiopia and North-Eastern part of Kenya.

In *Borana*, guerrilla activities began in the year 1963. The *Garri* fought both in Kenya and Ethiopia. In the 1969 clashes, the *Borana* won playing a decisive military role in defeating the *Garri* guerrillas. In the next phase of the conflict, the Guerrilla movement became more and more organized under the leadership of WSLF (Western Somali Liberation Front) supported by the Mogadishu government with the aim of establishing the greater Somali State. When Somali invaded Ethiopia in 1977-1978, the guerrillas got supremacy over the *Borana* (Bassi in Hogg, 1997:33). When the Ethiopian regular army defeated the Somali regular army with the support of Cuba and USSR in 1978, *Borana* played an important military role, especially in flanking the Ethiopian troops against the guerrillas (Ibid).

Why the *Borana* did this is the question that should be raised in this regard. The secret behind this is that if the Muslim Somalis won the war, the non-Christian and non-Muslim *Borana* Oromo afraid to loss their pastoral land to the Muslim Somali (*Garri*) and *Gabbara Migo* (Ibid).

Immediately, after the war was completed, a number of *Garri* and *Gabbara Migo* pastoralists were forced to seek refugee in Kenya and Somalia. By

1981, according to UNRISD (1993:3) there were up to 600,000 refugees in Somalia). The rest preferred to stay in Ethiopia, *Borana Zone*.

Until the late 1980s and the relations of the pastoralists of the area was peaceful. Due to different clan conflicts and civil war in Somalia within the refugee camps in Somalia, life becomes insecure for many refugees. With assistance of UNHCR and other governmental and non-governmental organizations, a large number of refugees returned to *Borana* within the years of 1986-1993. The flow of returnees greatly increased in 1990 and 1991, especially after the fall of Mogadishu government, the flow to Ethiopia increased in great number (UNRISD, 1993:3). Together with other factors, this demographic change resulted in catastrophic violent conflicts. For instance, according to Bassi 1992:

The great increase in the flow of returnees combined with the destabilizing effects of local drought and the collapse of the Derg regime in 1991 which had flooded the area with cheap automatic guns eventually resulted in armed conflict described as 'the biggest humanitarian catastrophe in the region's history (Bassi in Hogg, 1997:35).

The 1991-1992 war, dispute over pastoral resources between the competing ethnic groups; the massive refugees return or promoted by UNHCR on the basis of less attention and study had renewed the confrontation and passed causing great loss of life and economic damage. The war overlapped with a serious drought in 1991 and 1992, death of *Jaatani Ali*, a prestigious *Borana* member of the fallen *Derg* administration and the *Yabelo's Borana-Gabbara* clash in November 1991, which extended itself to the *Borana* and *Gujji-Oromo* conflict of 1991. Under the assistance of UNHCR, pastoralists from Kenya and Somalia, guerrillas and Ethiopian refugees/returnees settled in *Borana* lands. As already noted, the serious Somali crisis, the 1991-92 drought and occasional clashes in Kenya further increased the number of Somali and Kenyan Citizens to seek refugee in Ethiopia.

In the crisis, the hidden old political goals on ethnic lines of transferring many *Garri* and *Gabbra* to *the Borana* land for permanent settlement may in fact be achieved. However, the regional borders of *Oromia* and Somali are under the claim and reclaim of one group against another because according to informants the border delimitation by the government officials is unclear.

Again as in the 1960s and 1970s, the Somali objective of territorial expansion overlaps with the specific *Garri-Gabbra Migo* desire to get a larger share of *Borana* pastoral resources.

In post-federal Ethiopia, the majority of pastoral conflicts in *Moyale* area placed within an inter-regional rather than international arena. This means the nature and the history of the conflict changed. This does not necessarily mean there is no cross-border conflict because local conflicts in the area have spillover effects. So, the next sub-section deals with the pastoralists conflict in the post-federal Ethiopia and Kenya and its spillover effect.

3.1.2. Cross-Boarder Pastoral-Conflict in Post-Federal Ethiopia

Many authors tried to argue, the nature and history of the conflict changed overtime in southern pastoral areas of Ethiopia and Northern border of Kenya. According to those scholars, earlier conflicts usually caused because of competition over scarce pastoral resources; which later (in post-federal Ethiopia) changed to conflict over permanent land ownership. These claims for permanent land ownership were found to have started with the rationalization of drawing boundaries along ethnic lines after the formation of the new states. However, ethnicity is not the cause of the conflicts along the pastoral areas of southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya, rather it is the way how the conflict over scarce natural pastoral resources caused both by

ecological and social marginalization from the central political and economic powers manifests itself. In support of this, Suliman (1999) argued: "ecological borders are, in most cases, also ethnic and cultural borders. Different eco-zones demand different social production systems. In Africa, this means different land-use systems. In semi-arid zones, the pastoral mode of production is viable and can survive." He added, over the years, pastoralists acquire distinctive cultural and ethnic traits, compared with their neighboring sedentary peasants. Ecological borders become ethnic and cultural lines of demarcation, where people meet to cooperate or to fight.

Conflicts over economic and renewable natural resources are thus some times incorrectly seen as ethnic/cultural, simply because the warring factions come from diverse ethnic/cultural backgrounds.

An additional fuel complicating the conflicts is the spread of huge number of modern automatic modern weapons. It has transformed African warfare from the mere demonstration of power to large-scale killing in pastoral areas.

Furthermore, according to one potential informant, the border area (*Moyale*) of Ethiopia and *Marsabit* area of Kenya Situation is always like the bomb ready to exploding. Because, he said, it is the area were various international and local interests, factors, ambitions fatigue since along period. For example, he added, besides conflict over scarce natural pastoral resources, religious competition, political problems, human trafficking, refugee concentration and the idea that opposes the huge number of refuge concentration to the extent of demographical change, displacement is common. Further, it is the area where clash between the government forces and OLF Militias is frequented.

To sum up, Ethio- Kenyan pastoral border area is where the interest of Arabic world, Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea (at this moment), the Western world conflict. Religiously, it is the area where Islam and Christian Conflict for expansion. And these two conflict with the indigenous *Borana* Oromo religion and Culture. So, it is difficult to talk about the area as if it was simple and conflicts in the border area are only pastoral conflict.

The same informant continued to explain: The *Borana* have strong stand, interest and aim to gain back their land on which the Somalis settled since the beginning of the 20th century. And the *Garri* (Somalis) have an interest equivalently to further expand their territory to the *Borana* lands. And, the conflicts cross the border some times to the *Garri- Borana* conflicts in Kenya.

I have asked, as to why these cross-border pastoral conflicts have not invited the two governments to conflict. He said, what I have told you the politics is this. The two governments do not give attentions to conflicts that arise in the area, unless and otherwise it can have pressure on their political interest of their governments. Even if huge number of people killed and economy destroyed. He added, in short, this is marginalizing (ignoring) the interests of the people.

Another informant whom I have interviewed is *Ato Sudi Alemu*, the coordinator of *Moyale* Area Red- Cross society of Ethiopia. He told me that conflict along the cross-border in *Moyale* area is common. Usually, it is because of raiding and counter-raiding of livestock from Ethiopia to Kenya and from Kenya to Ethiopia. Moreover, drought, unclear border delimitation between the Somali regional state and that of *Oromia* and seldom clashes between the Ethiopian government forces and the OLF Militias are some of the fuels that intensify the cross-border conflict in this area since 1990s. He added the main cause of cross-border pastoral conflict in this area is water

scarcity. Pastoralists usually fight over water Wells. Because of environmental degradation and drought added to social services development problems, non-existence of other economic sector as an alternative to depend on and other development problems, the pastoralists confront each other. This confrontation usually crosses-the boundary to Kenya. This is because; the same people in border areas that live in Ethiopia also live in Kenya along the border. However, the clashes are not serious. They are usually resolved by indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms.

For the question I have asked him, "Is there any challenge that it has had on the bi-lateral relations of the two countries with in these years?" He responded, the conflicts observed along the border in this area are some times serious and the other time not this much serious. Usually, what forces the two governments and the Ethio-Kenya Border Administration Commission to discuss and take measures is the confusion that the OLF Militias make than the cross-border and local pastoral conflicts. However, in the future, unless the development activities are activated and the general and real life conditions of the people changed, the cross-border pastoral conflicts might have negative impact on the bi-lateral relations of the two countries.

Moreover, *Ato Birhanu Gona Ume, Moyale* town Special district administrator is also one of the key informants who gave me valuable information. According to Mr. *Birhanu*, although the cross-border pastoral conflict along the *Moyale* District of Ethiopia and *Marsabit* District of Kenya are not serious, they need serious management for the betterment of the life of our people and continuity of peaceful bi-lateral relations of Ethiopia and Kenya. On Ethiopian side, *Garri- Borana* and *Gabbara- Borana* conflicts had been very serious in the years 1990-1993. The conflicts have had the nature of crossing the border. Because, he added, the same people like along the border of the two countries.

The unique information this informant gave me is that in 1992 when political parties in Ethiopia met in Khartoum, OALF said I am the representative of the *Garri*. But, OLF opposed this idea; by saying we are the only representative of the Oromo people. This party conflict has gone to the people. As already raised, together with other causes, like drought, permanent land ownership questions/interests this problem created contributed for the 1991-1992 catastrophic war in the area.

According to this informant, the Somali Regional state makes its efforts to destroy the peaceful bi-lateral relations of the two countries. This he said is, by doing illegal activities. He added, they are active in incorporating lands of *Borana* to their territory (region). But, they are usually observed when act against the principles of the constitution.

For example, when referendum to delimit the border between the Somali and *Oromia* regional states conducted, the Somalis cheated by transporting huge number of people from other regions of Somalia. For this reason, the result of the referendum becomes suspended and illegitimate.

Concerning Kenya, according to Inspector *Ararssa Tolassa* of *Moyale area* Police Chief Officer and *Doyo Galo*, *Golboo* area police Officer in Kenyan. They said, on Kenyan side along this border area, the two competent political parties knowingly encouraged the *Borana* and *Gabbara* to Come to conflict for the purpose of political gain in the 2005 presidential election in Kenya. Besides this, they added, raiding and counter-raiding of livestock is the usual cause of cross border pastoral conflict in the region.

In general, according to the secondary and primary sources, cross-border pastoral conflict is common in this area. Sometimes they become serious

and invite the two governments to be involved. But, usually have solved by the involvement of local administration units of the two governments. Moreover, the common Border Administration Commission and the *Abbaa Gadaa*. Most of the informants Suggested, this can be the final solution to minimize the conflicts. The solution they suggested when summed up gives the result development. They added development which is all aspect (political, social and economic).

3.2. Major Causes of the Cross-Border Pastoral Conflicts in the Study Area

According to literature, as shown in chapter two, natural resource (pasture and water) scarcities which are the outcomes of environmental degradation can result in violent conflict or war.

In support of this, Baechler in Suliman(1999) indicates:

While environmentalists among peace and conflict researchers argue that eco-conflicts will be the wars of the foreseeable in the near future. However, traditionalists refuse to accept that the phenomenon really exists. Others argue that throughout human history there have been conflicts over natural resources; thus environmental conflicts or wars are hardly new. 'Green Wars' do not exist in isolation: Wars seldom have a single cause; most have a complex and multilayered background. What is striking however is the regular appearance of transformation in the genesis of violent conflicts (Baechler in Suliman, 1999:76).

The above quotation explains environmental degradation as one of the causes of violent conflicts. There is also the idea that supports resource scarcity theory as a source of violent conflicts. Conflicts Over resources are historical in the case study area. It also explains us the presence of other causes of violent-conflict besides resource scarcity or degradation in different parts of the world and conflict over natural resources is not anew issue.

The idea that environmental degradation is the cause of violent conflict in the study area has no doubt. Why? The following sub-topic answers this question.

3.2.1. Natural Resource Degradation as a Cause of Conflicts in the Study Area

Literature on environmental degradation and security linkage in the Horn of Africa proves that a degraded environment has frequently led to war and competition over scarce resources. However, there is problem in resolving the complex problems of the region by linking the stress, that clash with economic interests and other political problems that can invite violent conflicts or Wars.

John Markakis for example indicates:

the environment itself is among the causalities of war. Nevertheless, it is generally recognized as contributing cause of conflict, because it generates insecurity. War itself is very wasteful of resources and destroys the environment that produces them, thereby increasing scarcity and insecurity and aggravating conflict (Markakis, 1990).

In chapter two, we have seen scarcity of border resources and competition for basic resources causes violet conflicts. Here in the study area too pastoral land degradation, shrinking of water resources for livestock's drinking remain the main causes of cross-Border pastoral conflicts besides other causes like raiding and country raiding of animals, easy access to small armies, lack of good governance, over population because of huge number of refugee settlement, drought and others (Political, social and economic) factors. For easy understanding, let's see the major ones one after the other.

A. Pastoral Land Degradation

Natural resource degradation is one of the major contemporary global problems. Any global problem needs the effort of global society to be solved. Pastoral land degradation at the study area is not only the concern of the people who live along the border areas. Because, the issue is one of the global issues that needs the efforts of global community to be resolved.

In southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya, pastoral lands lost their fertility, productivity because of global environmental change (desertification), over population caused especially because of the Somali expansion to the *Borana* lands and the People have not developed the family planning program awareness to control the population explosion. Livestock production is not based on productivity (quality) rather quantity. There is competition to raise a number of cattle, camels, goats and sheep than producing few and good quality cattle, camels, goats and sheep.

Although cross-border pastoral land productivity has been degraded from time to time, the indigenous people the (*Borana*) who live both in Southern Ethiopia (*Moyale*) area and Northern Kenya (*Marsabit*) District have very good natural resource management system and institutions.

For example, according to *Doyo Harbora*, *Moyale* district pastoralists' coordinator, the *Borana* have a sophisticated system for the management of water wells, but to the extent that there are restrictions or limitations on access to pasture, these grow out of the need to reserve fodder for their animals based in villages which are semi-permanent. The people who live around the water hole, *Maddaa* (*Borana Eela*) come together as a unit is in the annual *Dhibayyuu*, rite, which is celebrated to ensure continued good yield from the wells and the fertility of people and animals. The assembly of *maddaa* comes together to discuss how to manage the resources (Pasture

and water) yearly. However, they cannot deny access to the pastures to any *Borana* reserve resources for later use.

He added, concerning the institutions for popular participation in the management of natural resources, the indigenous ones are linked to the political system of the society if management decisions are to carry any authority. The political structure of the *Borana* is based on the structure of clans, Known as *gosa*. No *gosa* can claim exclusive rights to any resource or any part of *Borana*. The political system is not based on territorial units but on social units, which are capable of coordinating large groups of people to operate complex structures, the good evidence of this is found both in the *gadaa* cycle and in the operation of the water wells. The *Borana* have a judicial system, which functions well, maintaining a remarkable internal peace. They are so, in the regional context, comparatively rich and are quite capable of mobilizing resources for various specific purposes, both public and private. The question is why the land productivity degraded, despite the capability of the *Borana* indigenous institutions capability to mobilize the society.

The Problem is as already raised environmental problems are contemporary global issues. The second is pastoral area of the Greater Horn of Africa in general and the pastoralists of the case study area in particular have been marginalized from their respective central government developmental activities by policies.

The pastoral land productivity degradation, especial during drought years, enforce the borderless pastoralists to move far from their previous residence areas. The other group also moves with their live stocks in search of pasture and water. In the movement, crossing the border is common. According to *Doyo*, potential informant, land size is permanent, population size is always increasing in terms of livestock and human population and land fertility is

decreasing. As a result, resource scarcity (Pasture and water) for animals become scarce and scarce. When there is scarcity of resources which can not satisfy the needs of the people, conflict over scarce resources is must, even between homogenous societies.

So, it is possible to conclude degradation of land resources (loss of fertility) can result in violent conflict where the interest of the growing population is not satisfied by its productivity.

B. Shrinking of Water Sources for their Animals

Scarcity of water and pasture are the two major sources of conflict in pastoral areas of the world in general and in the case study area in particular. As already discussed, the *Borana* are well equipped with social structures, which enable them to manage and conserve their natural resources (pasture and water wells). But, at present because of the global environmental degradation, deforestation, which resulted in drought and the decrease in the amount of rainfall. This has resulted in turn in decrease in the amount of underground water. Underground water for the people of the case study area is from where they prepare the *Maddaa*.

The traditional sources of water (wells) in the study area, some dried and the amount of some shrinking from time to time.

In addition, because of over population, the water wells utilized by the *Borana* previously have been shared or overtaken by the *Garri*, the *Gabbara* or by *Degodi* both in Kenya and in Ethiopia (*Doyo, Sudi and Biranu* (Informants)).

According to those informants, conflict over water wells is the major cause of cross-Border as well as local clan conflicts. In the region, conflict over water wells becomes serious and serious during drought years.

As already discussed, the 1991-92 and the 1999-2000 serious conflicts in the area have been escalated by the harsh droughts the region faced in its history.

So, from the above short explanation, it is possible to say shrinking water sources are the major causes (sources) of cross-border pastoral conflicts in the case study area. To minimize the problem, the two governments, non-governmental organizations (both local and international) should make the necessary efforts to change the life of the society by supplying them with clean water services for human need and animals. Moreover, all aspect of development should speedup to change the life of the people in order to reduce conflict, and build peace.

3.2.2. Conflicts Over Permanent Land Ownership

As discussed above, a shift of nature and the intensity of conflicts over pasture, water points and other sources of conflict in the case study area made the life of cross-border pastoralists' very difficult unsecured and complex. According to different authors, there has been a change in the nature of conflict from competition over the use of resources (Pasture and water) to the question of permanent land ownership. But, raising the question why the *Garri* and *Gabbra* enforced to develop this interest? That is, claiming the *Borana* lands for permanent ownership. Why the large number of *Garri* (Somalis) and *Gabbra* settled on the *Borana* lands migrating from Somalia and Kenya in early 1990s? These questions will be answered as follows.

First, as we have seen it is overpopulation and environmental degradation that forces people to move to the more fertile areas to encounter scarcity.

Second, it is the policy problems with UNHCR and other involved bodies used to settle *Garri* (Somalis) and the *Gabbra* in the years of 1986- 1993 on the *Borana* lands.

Thirdly, some people argue it is ethnic based federalism established in Ethiopia since the fall of the *Derg*, what brought the land ownership questions. But, unless it is managed ineffectively interpreted wrongly, federalism as a principle has no problem and can not be a source of conflict. Anyway, whether the people come to conflict enforced by environmental degradation, policy problems, lack of good governance, ethnic based federalism, the permanent land ownership claim and counter-claim remains one of the major causes of *Borana- Garri*, *Borana- Gabbra* and *Degodi- Borana* Conflicts in this area since the 1990s.

According to respondents, the land ownership conflict between *Borana* and *Garri* and *Gabbra* is not limited to grazing land. The claim and counter-Claim include: pastoral land for grazing, water for drinking their animals and traditional gold mining areas. It also include: the right to administer *Moyale* town. In the early 1990s, mass distraction and killing occurred due to the misunderstanding of the principles and concept of ethnic federalism. The regional administrative structure, especially the Zonal and District administrators were directly or indirectly involved in the conflicts. Each region or administration supported its respective clan rather than searching for common and lasting solutions to the conflicts.

This reflects, the conflict has not been property addressed over the last 16 or more years. Because, some local-elites of the case study area have aggravated the conflicts by acting irresponsibly than searching for the way to lasting peace. The other problem with the local elites was, they think that the regional boundaries are permanent and cannot be changed. But, in actual fact, boundaries in a state should be flexible and the interaction of

the people between neighboring regional states should be free in a single political community and a single economic space as in Ethiopia.

In this regard, one may raise the question: why discussing local conflict in Ethiopia and Kenya is necessary for the cross-border pastoral conflict, which is an international issue?" The reason is as already discussed, since the same people live in both countries along the border areas, the conflicts which arise between *Borana* and *Garri* in Ethiopia immediately cross the border to *Borana* and *Garri* who live in Kenya. The same applies to conflicts that might arise between the *Borana* and *Gabbra* in the border areas. In addition, the issue becomes the issue of two states than being that of only two regional states.

For example, according to one respondent, the major land ownership conflicts between *Borana* and *Garri* in *Moyale* and *Marsabit* areas are summarized as follows although the study includes other pastoralists groups in the areas:

- A) 1940, Conflict over land ownership and boundary,
- B) 1950 and 54 conflict over land ownership,
- C) 1977/78 conflict over land ownership and boundary, and
- D) The 1990s and 2000 conflict over permanent land ownership claim and counter-claim, especially during drought years.

Furthermore, to make the issue complex, according to officials from *Moyale* District of *Oromia*, the Somali regional state officials transport Somalis from Somalia, Kenya and other districts of the Somali regional state to strengthen their permanent land ownership (holding) in the area.

In general, permanent land ownership interest is one of the causes of conflicts that cross the border to Kenya. This is especially since 1990 or since the demographic change in *Moyale* town because of the concentration

of huge number of refugees or returnees in *Moyale*. Here, it does not mean that permanent land ownership interest from *the Garri* and *Gabbra* did not arise and conflict on the issue did not exist before the 1990s. One point should not be forgotten in this respect is the permanent land ownership claim and counter claim is the factor developed because of ecological change (environmental-degradation) which resulted in resource scarcity, marginalization of the pastoralists from development priorities and demographic change.

So, the above causes are the major factors which are sources of the cross-border pastoral conflict in the case study area. In addition to the above sources, there are other variables (political, economic and social) which are also sources of violent conflicts in the border area or the already volatile situation to explode. In the next sub-section we will see these causes in brief.

3.2.3. Other Causes of Cross-Border Pastoral Conflict in the Case Study Area

Here, many factors, which are the causes of cross-Border pastoral conflict in the case study area, are summarized briefly.

According to literature and Respondents: the easy accessibility of small automatic weapons, lack of good-governance, competition to expand religion (Islam and Christianity), over population, the frequent clash between the OLF militias and Ethiopian military are also factors that enhance or cause the cross-border pastoral conflict. Moreover, the clashes between OLF Militias and the Kenyan police, raiding and counter raiding livestock across the border, development problems (economic, political and social) marginalization, the nature of pastoral life by itself, etc... are also the sources of cross-border pastoral conflict in the case study area, besides the above causes (Abdurhman, 2006; Yacob, 2001 and Respondents).

We have seen in detail the skeleton of Cross-Border pastoral conflict along the southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenyan common borders, and the causes of the conflicts. In order that one can easily examine the impact the cross-Border Pastoral conflict in the case study area has had on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries, it is very important to deal with the nature of the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries in respect of the Cross-Border pastoral conflict since 1990 in summarized form. So, the next sub-section deals with the nature of the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries.

3.3. An overview of Ethio-Kenyan Bi-lateral Diplomatic Relations in Respect to the Cross-Border Pastoral conflict since 1990

In chapter one and two, the researcher tried to discuss the bi-lateral relations of the two countries in brief. Ethio-Kenyan bi-lateral diplomatic relations have had the peaceful co-existence nature and long history. Even in the cold war era when the two countries pursued opposing ideologies, their relations remained peaceful and co-operative. Since the end of the cold war, except some confusions created by armed opposition political parties (OLF Militias), according to the governments) and cross-border pastoral conflicts, the two neighboring countries still have peaceful and co-operative bi-lateral diplomatic relations.

At the early 1990s, since there was political crisis in Ethiopia until the establishment of Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) in 1992, there was no formal diplomatic relations. As a result, in these years, the Ethio-Kenyan border area has experienced the biggest war and human catastrophe. Here for the problems, in addition to administration gap, other factors discussed above also had their own contribution.

To strengthen the bi-lateral relations which are based on the principles of good neighborhood, peaceful-co-existence, non-interference in to the internal affairs of one another, the Ethio-Kenyan Border Administration Commission established in the 1960s has begun to re-function and meetings held frequently to discuss on the situation in the border areas.

To summarize the above argument, discussing about the 21st, the August 22-2002 and the July 2004 meetings of the Border Administration commission are important. The 21st meeting of the Higher Commissioners Cross-Border Administration Committee held in Mombassa on August 22, 23, 2002, in the reference material, the agenda on which discussions held was not expressed. In July 2004, the committee's meeting held to discuss on various issues. The issues include: how to control livestock diseases, how to establish radio communication network between Addis Ababa and Nairobi that help to control and settle conflicts along the border easily and on how to establish (construct) social services facilities (health, education, etc...) along the common border areas (Ethiopian year Book, 2002:21).

In addition to the above efforts, the two countries governments are making efforts to strengthen further their bi-lateral relations. In this regard, they are to construct a big highway project already started that can link the main economic centers of the two countries. This might help the fulfillment of Ethiopian interest to use the port of Mombassa (Ethiopian year Book, 2004:30).

Recently, Kenya assisted and supported Ethiopian measure against the UIC of Somalia, especially after the war finalized in controlling the UIC leaders and other groups opposing the government of Ethiopia.

Although the nature of the bi-lateral relations has not changed, this does not means that the two countries never, ever come to hostility in the last 16

years (1990-2006). Because there have been times when the cross-Border pastoral conflicts and security issues created problems. For this, looking at the following points is very important.

In 2000 the Defense and International Relations committee of the Kenya parliament for instance has called two senior officials of the Kenyan Government to explain what the latter intends to do in response to increased tension along the Ethio-Kenyan border following the alleged incursion of Ethiopian "Militia" in to Kenya. In his speaking to journalists in Nairobi, David Musila, the committee chairperson has accused Ethiopia of the (continued invasion of Kenya's territory in total disregard for our territorial sovereignty) (Ethiopian Herald, December 10, 2000).

At this moment, the Northern and North Eastern part of Kenya, the border on Ethiopian side have witnessed instability, particularly since the reported killing of ten Kenyans (eight of them security personnel) on 12th of January that year (The Daily Monitor, December 10, 2000).

Concerning the situation, the Kenyan Ambassador to Ethiopia Mr. George N.O. Agoi gave totally different information to the above facts in an interview that appeared on the December 10, 2000, of Ethiopian Herald. The Ambassador expressed the past peaceful and harmonious co-existence of Ethiopia and Kenya emphasizing on the case when the leadership in the two countries pursued opposing ideologies in the 1970s and 1980s should continue.

When reactions from Kenyan and Ethiopian local authorities observed; the Kenyan local authorities hold Ethiopian authorities responsible for the instability in the border region. The accusations have become virulent particularly since the killing of the eight Kenyan policemen.

According to the Daily Nation, the *Moyale* District Commissioner has said that the Killing was committed by “the Ethiopian Militia”. The commissioner has in fact accused the Ethiopian Government of “heavily influencing” the livestock raids.

But, the allegations by Kenyan local authorities have yet to be verified, because it is hard to imagine why Ethiopia would want instability in that region. This also becomes very hard when seen in the light of Ethiopia’s decision to use the port of Mombassa. Ethiopia has made it clear that it intends to use all the ports in neighboring countries, and one of the best options is obviously Mombassa. In order that Ethiopia could use the Kenyan port, security should be maintained on the only highway connecting the two countries. Because, this single Ethio-Kenyan highway cuts (passes) through the area where the Cross-Border pastoral conflicts and instability is usual.

The Ethiopian Embassy in Kenya on another hand maintains that a third party, the OLF was behind the incursions and the Killings. The Embassy spokesman, Mengistu Ayalew, said the disturbances, were instigated by the OLF, which is (bent on destroying the strong relationship between the two nations).

In general, whoever the problem creator may be, Ethio-Kenyan relations are being put to test by these developments. As neighbors who have for more important agenda to pursue, it is only natural that they have agreed to resolve the dispute peacefully (through the diplomatic) means.

There were also various similar incidents which have been tested the peaceful bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries. For instance, according to the Daily Monitor Vol. XIII, No 205 Printed on Tuesday August 29, 2006, the Ethiopian-bandits attacked a small village in Kenya’s *Marsabit* district, shooting dead one villager and wounding four others after stealing

thousands of animals. The question here is why the rebels are able to operate freely in this region? This is because, Kenya's north has long been neglected by the central government and it is notorious for banditry and tribal clashes. The number of police is usually insufficient to control this vast and lawless pastoral area (Ibid.).

In addition, according to the respondents there have been a lot of clashes and challenges that can put the diplomatic relations of the two countries in risk. However, still the challenges and impacts that these conflicts of different causes have to change the nature of the bi-lateral relations is not significant. Why?

In this respect, there are different factors that shaped the bi-lateral relations to be the best. Ethiopia has its best relations with Kenya, but its worst relations with Somalia and Eritrea in the Horn. A key element in Ethio-Kenyan best relations is Somali's territorial claim on both Ethiopia and Kenya. This common agenda motivated them:

- A. to sign an agreement of Cooperation and mutual defense assistance in 1964 in order to contain the Somali-expansionist policy.
- B. to establish the Ethio-Kenya Border Administration Commission, which meets annually,
- C. Kenya to oppose any U.S. and Western Military assistance to Somalia during and after the 1977-78 Ethio-Somali War; and
- D. helped, there peaceful, cooperative and harmonious bi-lateral relations to continue. The other reason is the pastoral areas of the Northern Kenyan districts and that of the Southern Ethiopia have been marginalized from the central governments' political, economic and social agendas and development activities already discussed. As discussed in chapter two of this paper, the marginalization is historical (long lasting) problem. The governments as a result do not

consider the conflicts that arise in the region as core national agenda and foreign policy. The third reason is that the two countries learnt the advantage of peaceful-Co-existence, Cooperation, and good-neighborhood foreign policy Priority.

In general, the Ethio-Kenyan bi-lateral diplomatic relations have continued to be peaceful and cooperative in spite of the challenges from the cross-border pastoral conflicts. With an aim to clarify this, the next chapter focuses on the impact of the cross-Border Pastoral conflicts in the case study area on the bi-lateral relations of Ethiopia and Kenya from the political, economic and social angles.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Impact of Cross- Border Pastoral Conflicts in the Study Area to the Bi-lateral Relations

4.1. Introduction

Our natural and human- made environment is full of actions and reactions. The forces of action and reaction however might not have the same influence on the body applied. However, action forces are always equal to re-action forces.

Although the above concept is natural science concept, it can explain well the state and pastoralists' relations in the Greater Horn of Africa, Specifically, the state and pastoralists' relations, state- society relations in the case study area.

The above concept is needed to make clear to what extent marginalization affected (harmed) the lives of pastoralists in the Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia in various ways. Where as, the cross-border Pastoral conflicts has remained powerless to change the nature of the bi-lateral relations.

This reality is going to be explained and proved in the following sub-sections of this chapter from the political, economic and social aspects.

4.2. Political Impact

Ethio-Kenyan Bi-lateral relations as discussed in chapter three has been peaceful and cooperative since the independence of Kenya, although it has been negative peace (peaceful relations challenged by various cross border pastoral conflicts). As already raised, Ethiopia has the best

relations with Kenya and the Worst with Somalia and Eritrea among her neighbors (emphasis added) (Woodward, 1996). The peaceful bi-lateral political relations as explained above; strengthened more by:

- the friendly relations established between Emperor Haile Sellasie of Ethiopia and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.
- Somalia's territorial Claims on both countries (expansionist policy).
- establishment of Ethio-Kenyan Border Administration Commission in 1964 and its activities. However, the commission does not include the local community leaders (*Abbaa Gadaa*) or other community elders from both sides.
- Kenya's contribution to block the West from supplying weapons for Somalia during Somali-Ethiopian war and later(1977-1978)(Ibid.);
- The cooperative and peaceful-co-existence foreign policy the two countries have had against one another and the main reason is,
- Until recently, the two governments systematically marginalized the pastoralists and pastoralism as a sector from all aspects of developmental activities (political, economic and social). If we take conflict, when conflicts in the case study area have risen, the governments of both countries prefer to be silent unless huge number of people killed, economy destroyed and social crisis challenge their power bases. For this, looking at the land policies of the governments is very important. The land policies formulated against the advantages of the pastoralists (land alienation and mass displacement of pastoral populations).

In relation to this, Salih (2001) associates increased levels of poverty among pastoral people in the East African Countries with highly Centralized political and economic governance in the hands of politically powerful elites.

Moreover, Melakou (2001), indicated:

As elsewhere in the case of marginalization of indigenous people, Ethiopian pastoralists are also marginalized, mainly due to the prevailing political structure which in turn is a reflection of the modalities of state-society relationship in Ethiopia. The state society relationship continuum that prevailed in the series of regimes of the so called "modern state" has its historical roots dating back to the period of colonization and the scramble for Africa. That was when the Ethiopian state established its autocratic hegemony over the territories it acquired through negotiations and agreements with the expanding colonial powers. This resulted in the hegemonic role of the dominant ethnic groups, mainly the *Amharas* and *Tigreans*, and the subjugation of the rest (Melakou, 2001:79).

Furthermore, he argues; the change in state system in Ethiopia in 1991 exacerbated the political marginalization of pastoralists, because, the civil-society had no role in electing its own leaders, as elections in Africa are symbolic or forgone conclusions; and the regionalization brought uneven distributions of human power (educated) as far as the various regions are concerned (Ibid.).

So, because of the above major reasons, the nature of the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries has never changed.

However, as discussed in chapter three, this does not mean that there were no political impacts that challenged the bi-lateral political relations of the two countries emanated from the cross-border pastoral conflicts in the study area since 1990. For example, the 1991-1992 war, the 1997 and the 1999-2000 violent conflicts, *Borana versus Garri*, *Borana versus Gabbras*, *Borana versus Degodi*, *Merehan versus Degodi*, etc... can be listed as incidents tested the bi-lateral relations (*Dejene and Abdurahman, 2001b; Bassi 1997*).

Moreover, the confusions that have created by the opposing Militias in the border area are a good example. During all these periods there have been blaming one another for the instabilities in the border region between the two countries. Kenyan government blames Ethiopia's security personnel,

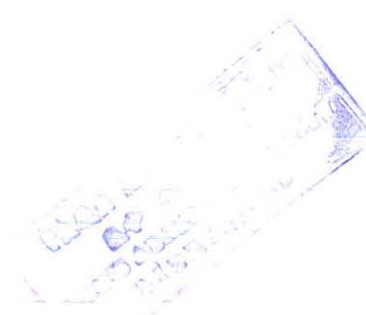
crossing the border and for the aggravation of the conflicts by the name of searching for OLF Militias (The Daily Monitor, December 10, 2000).

In general, although there have been challenges which have tested the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries, it is impossible to say the cross-Border pastoral conflicts altered the nature of the political relations since 1990.

4.3. Economic Impact

The cross-Border pastoral conflict in Southern Ethiopia (*Moyale* area) and Northern Kenya (*Marsabit* District) has extremely challenged and negatively affected the economic sector and life of the people in the study area. It has often expanded and overlapped with extreme food insecurity in the sub-region. In addition to other problems it has created, the violent conflict in this region highly aggravated poverty. How? As already discussed, the case study areas are closely interlined with national and international markets that involve the international exchange of manufactured goods and raw materials. As a result, the area serves the domestic and foreign markets. It even links the region to Gulf States economically through trade. Camels, cattle and small ruminants are taken across the border to Kenya and the Gulf States. Ethiopians buy manufactured goods and food commodities. This means, cross-Border livestock trade is common. Animals are sold to Kenyan merchants (*Borana, Burji, Gabra* and *Garri*) who cross Ethiopian borders to buy and drive cattle to Northern Kenya. The majority of the above Northern Kenyan people and some Ethiopians have engaged in livestock trade as their major economic activity.

The point is insecurity is one of the major risks that livestock traders face. Insecurity in this regard can manifest itself in several forms. For example, highway robbery, business rivalry, localized insecurity, ethnic conflicts and



the cross-border pastoral conflicts. Of the above sources of insecurity, cross-border violent conflicts have extreme impacts on the local and cross-order livestock trade. This is because; it can interrupt (cut) the livestock trade line and stop the activity until the conflict resolved since it covers large area and has more intensity (*Doyo and Husein* (informants)).

The other point should be raised concerning the impact insecurity has in relation to this is, during violent conflict, in fear of raiding, herders prefer to sell their livestock in lower prices, this means, in disadvantageous prices.

In general, cross-border pastoral conflicts and local conflicts can affect pastoral livelihood in the following ways:

- Disruption of livestock trade (local, international);
- Limitations in mobility and access to water and pasture (grazing land) which can result in the death of animals and people;
- Livestock rustling;
- Decrease in livestock prices;
- Conflict in the markets;
- Environmental degradation, and
- An increase in cattle raiding and counter-raiding is some of the economic impacts that the cross-border pastoral conflicts have on the life of pastoralists of the case study area.

Concerning the economic impacts that the cross-border pastoral conflicts have on the bi-lateral economic relations of the two countries, as both secondary and primary sources indicate, the highway that connects the two economic centers of the two countries passes through the area where cross-border pastoral conflicts frequented. According to different sources, Ethiopia even has the interest to use Mombassa Port extensively in the future. This

implies: it is going to be one of the major trade routes Ethiopia will have with its neighbors.

From the above facts, it is easy to conclude what can happen to the economic relations which might highly depend on the only highway (trade line) and the route when conflict is frequented along the trade line (it may be stopped and result in economic crisis until the conflict is resolved).

Nevertheless, Ethiopia has not started extensive use of the port. However, she has already expressed her interest to use the port in the future

Generally, although the cross-border pastoral conflicts in the case study area affected the economic life of the people in the region seriously, according to sources, the direct impact that this cross-border pastoral conflict has had on the bi-lateral economic relations of governments of the two countries is almost nil. Again, the question 'why the impact of the cross-border pastoral conflict on the bi-lateral economic relations of the two countries become insignificant, while it has extremely deteriorated the economic life of pastoralists in the region?' may be raised again. The answer is the same; it is because of the historical and systematic marginalization of the pastoralists from the central economic development activities.

In support of the above idea, the Daily Monitor Vol.XIII, No.205 printed on Tuesday August 29, 2006 mentioned Kenya's northern district has long been neglected by the central government and it is well known for opposition and tribal conflicts (clashes).

Moreover, another author MelaKou (2001) indicates:

In multi-ethnic setting such as Ethiopia, where the domination of one or more ethnic groups prevails within the traditional and modern polity, the political, economic and social marginalization of ethnic groups themselves, ours, as a result of pursuing a policy of ethnic domination or national operation, if you like. In such cases, pastoralists are faced with a double-edged marginalization: first as members of the dominated ethnic groups, and second, as pastoralists.

Nevertheless, the impact marginalization has on the all aspects of the life of pastoralists is much more sever (harsher) than the national (ethnic) operation until the recent past. Since economy is the base of life, it can result in (be the cause for) loss of the other kinds of liberty, political and social.

4.4. Social Impact

The cross-border Pastoral conflicts in the area have had variety of social impact on the social life, services and cultures of the local people, even though little on the bi-lateral social relations of the two countries.

Violent conflict usually destroys; economic institutions, social services giving institutions, human life, culture, the environment and political institutions at local, national and international level, etc.

According to informants, (*Husein, Doyo and Asfaw*), besides the economic, political and other problems it creates; conflict among/between the pastoralists in this area usually results in social crisis. The social problems include: displacement (becoming refugee), few educational institutions and health institutions found in this area stop giving services, parents may be separated from their children, food insecurity becomes extreme, the displaced people face water problems, human rights violation, life becomes in secured, social relations face problems, etc....

Therefore, they added, the cross-border pastoral conflict in the area has serious impact on the social services and life of the people. Of all problems, displacement (becoming refugee) is the worst. For further understanding, looking at the consequences of refugee concentration in *Moyale* town and other regions of Borana zone settled by the UNHCR and other governmental and non-governmental organizations in the years 1986-1993 as a result of civil war in Somalia and the 1991-1992 drought and occasional clashes in Kenya. The concentration of huge number of refugees, returnees in the border areas (*Moyale*) area has become one of the causes of 1991-1992 war and the 1999-2000 violent conflicts. *Borana* have opposed the settlement, because according to them, it broke the traditional (indigenous) law and procedure that should be followed by non-*Borana* while they settle in the area. In addition, the over increase in population number complicated the life of the people by: aggravating the scarcity of pasture and water both for animals and the people. In turn, these problems invited further conflicts between the returnees and the *Borana*. Moreover, these conflicts resulted in another displacement, destruction of social services, economic institutions, expansion of illegality, Killing, livestock raiding and counter-raiding, etc...

When a number of returnees increased more and more, and federal structure of governance based on ethnicity designed and implemented on the Ethiopian side, the returnees began to raise the question of permanent land ownership (territorial claim). This shifted the conflict to regional conflict (conflict between Somali and *Oromia* regional states) in which the local government officials were involved. This implies, the scope and intensity of conflict increased, even crossing the border to Kenya than before. And the social crisis, economic destruction, political crisis also increased following the increase in scope and intensity of the cross-border pastoral conflicts.

In support of the above idea, Getachew (2001) argues: the resettlement programs and operations implemented in the years 1986-1993 by government organizations, International NGOs, UNHCR, Missionary organizations and financial agencies:

Totally ignoring a range of factors such as the indigenous pastoral land tenure and resource use patterns, socio-cultural set-up, economic and political organizations, the environmental and climatic constraints as well as inter and intra- ethnic and inter- regional, inter-state relations and regional and international situations. Moreover, no attentions seem to have been given to the long- term sustainability of these interventions (Getachew, 2001:65).

He added, the settlement programs were mainly focused on fulfilling the political and administrative control of the pastoralists (*Borana, Garri, Gabbra, Degodi, etc.*) by the Ethiopian governments. They also targeted at solving the most incidental, immediate, and easily visible problems of the people in the area. In addition, less attention to the long term and planned implication of the interventions on the social, economic, political, the environment and customary resource and land management systems and inter and intra-group and state relations have given(Ibid.).

According to *Fufa Bayissa*, One of the informants, *Moyale* area CARE Ethiopia field work coordinator, because of huge number of refugee concentration and the pressure to expand Christianity and Islam by the highlanders and the refugees respectively, there has been serious tension among religions, Islam, Christianity and the indigenous *Borana (Oromo)* religion (*Waaqeffanna*). *Borana* resist the expansion of Islam and Christianity.

When we come to the bi-lateral social- relations of the two countries since the Kenyan independence, the Ethio-Kenyan Social relations dates back to 1960s, when Haile Sellasie gave to Kenyan Students scholarship (named

Haile Sellasie scholarship). Since then, the social relations of the two countries, especially, concerning the educational services and food supply by Kenya to Ethiopia when Ethiopia harshly affected by famine in 1970s (Kenyan Newsletter, 1969).

In the future, with the objective Ethiopia will have to use Mombassa port, to export the hydro-electric power, developmental policy the two countries have in the pastoral areas in general and the case study area in particular expected strengthen the social relations between the two countries and change the peaceful relations to positive peace.

The impact that the cross-border pastoral conflicts have had on the bi-lateral government-to- government relations remained less significant. The reason for this is also the social-marginalization of the pastoral people by the central governments of both countries. As already discussed, ignoring, marginalizing the pastoralists from the political, economic and social development affairs of the center, makes the impact that cross-border conflicts have on the political, economic and social relations of Ethiopia and Kenya in-significant.

To conclude, since the political, economic and social policies governments of East Africa have been designed and implemented were against the advantages of the pastoral people, the governments have not used to give attentions to conflicts (both local and cross border). The systematic marginalization from the central power and developmental advantages was common in the case study area. This means, when further explained, the issues raised and conflicts caused because of different factors have not considered as core national issues until recently. However, conflicts of different degree, Scope, and between various pastoral groups have passed seriously affecting the political, economic and social life of the pastoral people in the region.

Inline with this, Abdurhaman (2006) argues:

Widespread conflict in the arid and semi-arid zones of East Africa has often overlapped with the extreme food insecurity and pastoral areas remain among the least developed part of the sub-region. Infrastructure in these areas is poorly developed, with vast tracts having no roads, schools, health facilities and telecommunication services. Levels of absolute poverty are high and most pastoralists are forced to survive on external food aid for several months every year.

The above reality explained reflects, the characteristics and nature of governments, unfair distribution of social services in the countries, where power concentrates, policy problems, in- equal and unfair treatment of citizen's before the laws, the level of impact that marginalization has on the life of the marginalized, and domination of one group by another.

In this respect, Salih (2001) matches (associates), extremely increased levels of poverty among the pastoralists in Eastern Africa with highly centralized political, economic and social governance in the hands of politically powerful elites who have been marginalized the pastoralists.

In general, it is possible to say the governments in power both in Ethiopia and Kenya has been non-democratic. If they had been democratic, the voice of all citizens would have been heard and the issues, problems, agendas raised by citizens would have been equally included in the policy-making processes. Among policies states have, foreign policy is one. Commonly, foreign policies emanate from the nations internal realities. As a result, the foreign policies of Ethiopia and Kenya neglected the cross-border pastoral conflicts and its impacts. So, the impacts of cross-border pastoral conflicts along the Southern Ethiopia (*Moyale*) area and Northern Kenya (*Marsabit*) region remained and considered in-significant to alter the nature of the bi-lateral diplomatic relations.

Note: In practice it is difficult to separate issues in to political, social and economic. Because, the issues are inter-related and there is the time when an issue is categorized as political and social, etc... So, the aim of the above categorization is only to simplify the study.



CHAPTER FIVE

Concluding Remarks

5.1. Concluding Remarks

This study attempted to prove- how and why the frequent and some times intensive cross-border pastoral conflicts in the case study area have had little (in-significant) impact on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries particularly since the year 1990.

The study is supported by and explained with selected theories like realists' concepts i.e., alliance formation against the other power (Ethio-Kenyan alliance against the Somali expansionist policy) and resource scarcity (scarcity of pastoral resources which is the outcome of environmental degradation results in conflicts), force theory, etc... to explain the way how the two states emerged and its legacy on the today's challenges that the pastoralists are facing in order to prove the hypothesis. Moreover, it depended on and supported by both secondary sources (books, journals, etc...) and primary sources (interview, informal discussions and personal observations, etc...). In the study, the case study area (*Moyale* and *Marsabit* districts) of Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya respectively are proved conflict prone regions.

In addition, in the study area, various ethnic groups live unevenly distributed. The majority of the people who live in these arid and Semi-arid regions are: the *Borana*, *Garri*, *Gabbra*, *Burji*, *Ajurana* and *Degodi*. Among them, the study mainly focused on the impact that the cross-border pastoral conflicts between/among the relatively large groups (*Borana*, *Garri*, *Degodi* and *Gabbra*) have had on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Ethiopia and Kenya.

According to the findings: the hypothesis i.e., (the impact of cross border pastoral conflicts in the case study area on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Ethiopia and Kenya is in-significant) proved by using the primary and secondary data, qualitative research methodology, selected and appropriate theories and the research design.

The study, answered the research questions like: why the nature of the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of Ethiopia and Kenya has never changed, to what extent it challenged the relations, what are the causes of the conflicts, how much the cross-border pastoral conflicts and marginalization affected the lives of the pastoralists in the case study area based on the already sated research design, methods and the methodology.

The study also identified the major causes of the cross-border pastoral conflicts as scarcity of pastoral resources (pasture and Water), permanent land ownership claim and counter-claim, population increase, lack of good governance, easy availability of automatic Weapons and raiding and counter raiding. Furthermore, drought, local politics, opposition militias, poverty and food insecurity, discrimination of the people in the case study area from the central developmental activities until recently are some of the causes. Moreover, it identified identity (ethnic and religious) and armed opposition political parties who escalate the cross- border pastoral conflicts in the region as **inter-related sources** of the conflict.

In general, it is possible to conclude the cross-border pastoral conflicts nature, the causes' and their inter-relations as follows: In Third World countries environmental degradation results in the scarcity of natural resources, scarcity of natural resources in turn results in conflicts. Conflicts on the other hand results in migration of people. The migrated people become refugees. During migration they might clash with the indigenous people who live where they going to settle. Moreover, they might clash with

security forces and police if they cross border/s of other state/s during the movement. Furthermore, after the settlement they might come to conflict with the people who are indigenous to that area or because of identity differences created and deprivation of resources and other advantages. This concept explained by Thomas Homer-Dixon (1991b, 1994) paraphrased by Baechler in Suliman (1999: 88-89). The above concept explained by general theories well established in Social Science and psychology- such as, economy dealing with scarcity of commodities, group-identity theory, and relative deprivation theory (Baechler in Suliman: 1999:88-89).

According to the research the conflicts especially of 1991-1992, 1997 and 1999-2000 unsecured the political, economic and social life of the pastoralists of the Southern Ethiopia (*Moyale* area) and Northern Kenya (*Marsabit*) District. However, the impact that the cross-border pastoral conflicts have had on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations in all aspects continued to be the same in these all 16 years in which the case study has limited. Moreover, in the bi-lateral diplomatic relations the two countries had had before the years 1990. The above paradoxical empirical facts i.e., intensive cross-border pastoral conflicts and the in -significance of its impacts on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries have happened because of economic, political and social marginalization (the nature of state -society relations) and non-democratic nature of governments of the two countries until recently.

Moreover, the study implied the discriminatory policies towards the pastoralist society have been changed in both countries since recent past. This change is with the objective to make the pastoral people part of the developmental activities and programs in both countries. However, what should be noticed is that the practical development (change) on the ground remains with a lot of problems. For example, during field work the researcher observed only few changes on the ground in *Borana* Zone. The

main evidence is, only a single hospital built and exists in this very wide Zone. This also implies how much the nature of state society relations or marginalization has affected the real life of the people while the impact of cross-border pastoral conflict on the bi-lateral diplomatic relations remained insignificant.

Further, this means, the study proved that, states can have peaceful relations even by ignoring the interests of the people and the countries internal situations.

To add some points, the core objective of the study of international relations is to minimize conflict's intensity and scope in international relations or search for means towards the peaceful, cooperative and harmonious relations which can create favorable conditions to the development of countries. Since relations of states are guided by their foreign policies and the foreign policies depend on and determined by the domestic political, economic and social situations or realities of the states; countries should develop their internal political, social and economic affairs. They should respect democratic principles to realize peace and development internally and in their external relations, search for means and design economic policies which can result in economic changes (growth) which can go inline with the actual realities of the life of the citizens, and change positively the social sector of the countries based on the principle of equity of distribution of resources and social services. However, the state systems in Ethiopia and Kenya have tended to marginalize pastoralists. Marginalization negatively affected pastoralists' life in the case study area.

Because of scarcity of pastoral resources, lack of good- governance, nature of state-society relations which have existed in the two countries and other factors, conflicts become usual in the border areas. As a result, the people in this area were forced to live unsecured life. Although, the cross-border pastoral conflict less affected the bi- lateral relations of the two countries, it

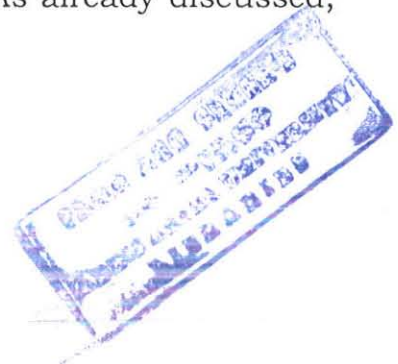


is proved the conflicts seriously affected and challenged the life of the people in the case study area in all aspects.

So, to solve these problems, realize development and peace in the case study area and change the nature of the bi-lateral relations of Ethiopia and Kenya to positive peace; based on the findings of the study, the researcher remarks the following to the governments of both countries, Inter-Governmental Organizations, NGOs, the local people, opposition political parties and those who work and operate in this area; to:

- Conserve and protect the natural resources and the environment (afforestation, saving water, land protection, saving both renewable and non-renewable minerals of the area and pasture, etc...). Here, strengthening and modernizing the already existing indigenous environmental conservation or protection institutions and mechanisms of the case study areas' people is very important and can easily be effective; because the knowledge is already there.
- Give special consideration to the economic development supported by fair/genuine economic policies to the people in the case study area; concerning this, in the near past there are policies formulated which gives special considerations for the relatively less- developed regions in Ethiopia and in Kenya for the Northern district too. The researcher recommends such activities should continue supported by practices. The policies should not remain on the paper. To change the economic life of the people in the case study area; cross-border investment, pastoralists access to the national and international markets, expansion of agro-industry which can use the raw materials available in this area, quality based livestock production and expanding agro-pastoralism are what should be focused on.

- Concerning security issues: promotion of coordinated trans-boundary control actions on weapons; improving coordination and information sharing between the security personnel of the two countries on conflict in the study area; improve Police/civil authority capacity to respond to violent conflicts appropriately. Moreover, the Ethio-Kenyan Border Administration Commission should include the local leaders, *Abbaa Gadaa* as members, strengthen the indigenous democratic system (*gadaa*) and conflict resolution mechanisms and the role of elders in justice and peace making efforts, regional boundary delimitation between the *Oromia* and Somali regional states should be settled on the Ethiopian side; the political problems between opposition political parties who operate in the region and the ruling party should be solved peacefully, in a civilized way, through discussions; develop culture of peace, tolerance and respect and demotivating culture of violence; in addition, local administrators in the case study area should develop sense of responsibility;
- Invest on the social issues like: motivating research conducted on pastoral issues; because it searches the means to peace and development to the pastoralists in general and the pastoralists of the case study area in particular. Moreover, expanding education, health, water, family-planning, etc... services; improving harmful traditional practices and developing transportation and communication services: and
- Furthermore, in the area, among the main issues and sources of conflict, the issue of returnees carelessly settled on the *Borana* lands by international organizations, especially UNHCR and governmental institutions in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As already discussed,



the settlement guided with no prior political, economic and social study or research. However, empirical facts show it has created problems and become one of the main issues in the study area, especially in *Moyale* area. So, with special attention supported by further studies, the concerned parties should take appropriate measures to solve the issue.

In general, to solve the problems in the study area and bring the nature of bi-lateral diplomatic relations to positive peace, all concerned bodies should invest on natural resource conservation, realizing peace and all aspects of development.

Annexes

Interview Questions

Background of the informants

Name.....

Sex.....

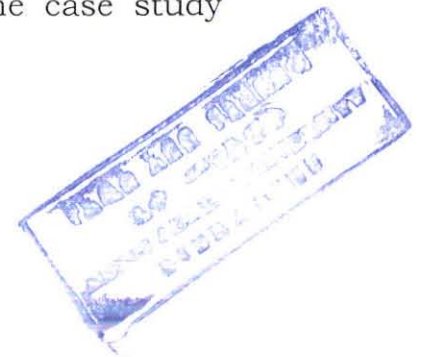
Age.....

Responsibility (Official or Social).....

Residence and Nationality.....

Questions

1. Is it true that conflicts are usual in this area since 1990?
2. Who are the conflicting parties?
3. What are the major causes of the cross- border pastoral conflicts?
4. Among the major causes which one you think is the serious factor for the further continuity of the cross- border and local conflicts?
5. How the conflicts are settled in this area?
6. What are the impacts of the cross- border pastoral conflicts on the life of the pastoral society in this region?
7. What about on the relations of the two countries?
8. How you relate the cross- border pastoral conflicts in this area with the bi-lateral diplomatic relations of the two countries?
9. Would you like to give me some information concerning the role of opposition political parties in aggravating or reducing the degree and scope of the conflicts?
10. what kind of responses do the government bodies of the two states give when conflicts arise in the border areas?
11. What you think should be done to reduce the degree of conflicts in this border region?
12. Would you like to give me general suggestions on the way how to reduce conflicts, realize peace and development in the case study area?



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