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The Role of External Actors in the Somali Conflict

A Post 2000 Study of Kenya and Ethiopia's Involvement

In the Conflict of Somalia

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Abstract

This study aims to critically understand the involvement of external actors, most notably Kenya and Ethiopia in the Somali conflict. It also aims to discuss peace prospect for Somalia in consideration with regional interest. Adopting Mary Kaldor's "New War" theory that explains the changing context and transnational character of wars in the new era, and Michael E. Brown's concept of causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict in combination with applied peace and conflict research method, the study finds that the involvement of neighbouring states, particularly Kenya and Ethiopia, in the Somali conflict is necessitated by the "spill-over" effect of the internal conflict coupled with transnational threats posed to their national security by various local and international actors. Furthermore, the study reveals that Somalia's conflict hosts a variety of politically, religiously and militarily motivated external actors, who also openly vowed to internationalize their activities. As a result, the connections between local actors in Somalia and terrorist groups operating elsewhere, but cooperating with them, have become a source of continuous instability to Somalia, the eastern African region and beyond. This situation makes an international action imperative as the prospect for peace in Somalia is still in place. Thus, in order to to end wars and create a durable peace in Somalia, this study suggests Michael E. Brown's 'co-optation' and 'neutralization' strategies along with an extensive international efforts including humanitarian assistance and local institutions building, which may help to restore peace, rule of law and ensure long term stability in Somalia.

Key Words: Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Al-shabaab, Terrorism, Intervention, Conflict, Spill Over, International Community

Abbreviations

AU	African Union
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ARS	Alliance for Re-liberation of Somalia
DIIS	Danish Institute for International Studies
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defense Forces
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IEDs	Improvised Explosive Devises
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
JL	Jubaland
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NFLA	Northern Frontier Liberation Army
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
SCS	South Central Somalia

SNM	Somali National Movement
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PL	Puntland
SSDF	Somali Salvation and Democratic Front
SL	Somaliland
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
TFI	Transitional Federal Institutions
USC	United Somalia Congress
U.S	United State
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WFP	World Food Program

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1. Introduction

1.1 Area of Interest

Somalia has been lacking a functioning state since the overthrow of the military government, led by General Siyad Bare, in 1991 by a clan based rebel factions, spearheaded by warlords and politicians. However, personal interests, power and economic ambitions of warlords caused the rebel factions to fail in the formation of inclusive government to heal the country from what was perceived by them as social, economical and political injustices committed by the military regime. Consequently, the country's decades of protracted civil war started. The war in Somalia went through different phases and caused the death of thousands of Somalis while many others left the country to get peace and life in other countries (Elmi and Barise, 2006: 33-35).

Throughout the lawlessness of the country, warlords and clan militias fought for the control of power and resources. This war for resources and power never remained between only the armed groups but it also continued within every group and clan (Elmi and Barise, 2006: 33).

The International Community has made efforts to bring peace and stability back to Somalia in different approaches. For example, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) approved a unilateral UN military intervention to Somalia in 1992 (Harper, 2012: 60).

Similarly, the African Union (AU) has, with help of international community, made fifteen peace initiatives to create a functioning government in Somalia. Moreover, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) along with the AU made efforts to bring the Somali conflict to an end through peaceful process (Mulugetta, 2009: 10). Somalia's neighbour states have also made individual efforts to end Somalia's conflict. However, these efforts have been challenged by a number of obstacles such as external actors with variable positions, internal spoilers and financial challenges (Harper, 2012: 60).

In order to provide a brief understanding about the background of Somalia's conflict and its relationship with the regional states, especially the neighbouring countries which this study will focus on the analysis chapter and the international world in general, the following sub-chapter explains the background of the conflict.

1.2 Conflict Background

After the downfall of the military government of General Siyad Bare in 1991 by rebellion clan based factions led by warlords and politicians, Somalia has been in a failed situation. The groups that overthrew the military government started fighting between them for resources and power. Consequently, the country and the people of Somalia entered decades of protracted conflict civil war (Elmi and Barise, 2006: 33-35).

Three major factors have been explained by most scholars as the root causes of Somalia's conflict and the followed breakdown and statelessness of the country. These are the A) colonial legacy, B) economic factors and C) politicized clan system. Similar to many other conflicts in Africa.

Somalia's conflict is related to the colonial eras. The colonial powers of Somalia (Britain, France and Italy) divided the Somali inhabited territories into five segments. Britain took two regions, (the British Somaliland, and Northern territory of Kenya) while Italy colonized one part (The Italian Somaliland) whereas France took one part (The Northern coast, currently the republic of Djibouti) and the rest was occupied by Ethiopia (The Ogaden region) (Mulugetta, 2009: 9).

Successive attempts to unite the Somali-inhabited territories under one state produced the republic of Somalia which of consisted only two parts of the five (The British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland) in 1960. After the emergence of Somalia, efforts to gain the other three Somali-inhabited territories continued, this time spear-headed by the Somalia state which went to inter-state wars and disputes with the neighboring states (Ethiopia and Kenya) (Mulugeta, 2009: 9).

However, these wars are regarded to have partially caused the downfall of the Somalian state. Devastation caused by the war with Ethiopia and severe droughts in 1978 weakened the military government. Consequently, sections of the military forces who got disappointed with their ruler attempted an abortive coup against Siyad Bare in 1978. This led the state to oppress clans and regions where leaders of the coup hailed from, which in turn led the armed opposition against the regime to increase. Armed rebel groups had been established (Harper, 2012: 55).

Amongst the most popular armed factions that also ousted the military government in 1991 were Somali National Movement (SNM) Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), United Somali Congress (USC) and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM). Despite agreements about strategies between some of these rebellion movements in Ethiopia in 1990 concerning the fighting against the military government and subsequent establishment of a Somali democratic and inclusive government, the groups failed to create any system when they ousted the regime (Harper, 2012: 56).

However, availability of arms, youth unemployment and extensive foreign interferences are regarded as factors behind the disintegration of the Somali state (Elmi and Barise, 2006:33). The then Ethiopian government, which had a hostile relationship with the Somali government, is also regarded as the biggest military, moral and material supporter for the Somali rebel groups in ousting the Somali government (Elmi and Barise, 2006: 33). The Cold war superpowers paradigm shift in the horn of Africa, especially towards Somalia and Ethiopia, also had a role in the downfall of Somalia's government. The USSR which was an ally of both Ethiopia and Somalia threw its support behind Ethiopia in the war with Somalia in 1977. In reprisal to USSRs move the USA created a relationship with Somalia, a former USSR ally. However, Somalia lost an irreplaceable state support from USSR in this change (Moller: 2009:9).The Somali clans also granted a meaningful support to the rebel factions, consequently, the government retaliated this with punishment against civilians in regions where rebel groups enjoyed strong support. Consequently, the rebel factions intensified the war against the military government as clans increased their support to the rebel groups. As this escalated, the government delimited the state powers and resources to certain Somali clans that enjoyed good relationship with the regime. All

rebellion groups had their bases in Ethiopia where they got protection from the Ethiopian government whenever the Somali government tried to fight them. The rebel movements realized the overthrow of Bare's military rule in January 1991. However, no post-Bare government was established and the country went to a total breakdown of law and order and subsequent civil wars between different clans in the country (Mulugetta: 2009: 11).

Consequently, a huge humanitarian calamity broke out in the country causing thousands of civilian deaths, displacements and other atrocities against humanity. The international community reacted to the suffering of the civilian population by organizing quick humanitarian aid followed by extensive UN (United Nations) humanitarian intervention (Moller, 209: 12).

Subsequently, the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) have approved a UN mission of Somalia (UNOSOM I) consisting of troops and UN personnel in resolution 751 of April, 24 1992 to assure and safeguard the humanitarian shipments to reach the suffering civilians (Mulugetta, 2009:16).

However, due to the complexity of the clan situation as well as the presence of greedy and materialistic warlords in the country, UNOSOM I failed to achieve its assigned mandate forcing the UNSC approval of a larger military mission, US led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) whose mandate was to assist the UNOSOM in the same mission. These missions ended up with no mission accomplished after a clan militia led by warlords attacked the US forces leading the death of eighteen American soldiers in Mogadishu. As result of this the US forces pulled out, Somali followed by the other international troops in the mission in 1995. The withdrawal of the American troops and UN from Somalia was explained as a huge setback for Somalia's hope in getting back law and order. Since then, there has been no one international front towards the resolution of Somali's conflict. This left the country in the hands of warlords with different agendas, different clans competing for power and resources, terrorism organization and unlimited foreign and other local actors that made almost all attempts to resolve the conflict in Somalia impossible (Mulugetta, 2009:17 and Afyare and Barise, 2006: 39).

In parallel to the international intervention, states in the region and specially the neighbouring states have always had a hand in the Somali conflict. Kenya and Ethiopia have substantial roles in both the war and peace in Somalia (Eriksson, 2013: 5). Other countries in the region also have roles in the Somali conflict. Eritrea is involved in this conflict, this is mainly to counterbalance what Ethiopia does in Somalia. The two counties have unresolved geographical disputes (Eriksson, 2013: 20). However, it is not only national interest or proxy issues that triggers the vast regional interference in Somalia, but also competition between states over military and political power dominance in the region. Uganda has a great influence in the region and wants to maintain this, but faces challenges from Kenya and Ethiopia in the case of Somalia. All the three countries have great influence in the Somalia conflict which makes resolution to the conflict impossible without their common consent (Eriksson, 2013: 31).

Despite failure to establish a Somali central state in over two decades, parts of the country made significant progress in terms of security, reconciliation and peace building. The northern Somali regions, British Somaliland, have made substantial progress towards peace and governance. Locals in those regions formed the "Somaliland", administration, a secessionist self-declared state. Likewise, the North-eastern regions of the country made a successive reconciliation in those regions and formed the "Puntland" regional autonomy of Somalia (Mulugetta, 2009: 7).

However, after over two decades of war and more than fifteen peace conferences to resolve this conflict, Somalia has a weak federal government based in Mogadishu with little control and influence in the other parts of the country. There are also over 22000 African troops in the country mandated by the UNSC and African Union (AU) to support Somalia's government fighting Al-shabaab (A terrorist Al-Qaeda affiliated organization). These troops also help the Somali government to build the Somali security forces to take over the security in the country (AMISOM, 2014).

A UN assistance mission in the country (UNSOM) is also operating to facilitate and organize humanitarian and other strategic policy advice to the Somali government in peace and reconciliation process (UNSOM). Despite the presence of AU troops, mainly from the

neighboring countries (Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti) and other African countries, Somalia's people still suffer insecurity, terrorism, humanitarian problems and atrocities against humanity.

1.3 Problem Formulation

Somalia has been without functioning state for over two decades. The country has not experienced any government that has the capacity to maintain the rule of law in its entirety after the overthrow of the military government in 1991 by clan based militia factions. Over two decades of anarchy, violence and widespread humanitarian problems followed the downfall of the military government. Consequently, the country has fallen into the hands of warlords, clan-militia and other interest driven actors.

However, the northern and north-eastern regions of the country have enjoyed a relative stability and formation of autonomous administrations (Somaliland and Puntland) after successful negotiations and reconciliation processes led by traditional leaders and politicians in those regions (Afyare and Barise, 2006: 33). Efforts and engagements of different forms have been made by the international community to bring peace back in the whole country. For example, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has approved unilateral UN humanitarian intervention in resolution 751 of 1992 (Harper, 2012: 60).

Similarly, the African Union (AU) has with the help of international community made fifteen peace initiatives to create a functioning state in Somalia. Moreover, Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) along with the AU has made efforts to settle Somalia (Mulugetta: 2009: 15). IGAD member states have made a number of peace initiatives to reconcile actors in Somalia. However, these efforts have been challenged by a number of internal and external factors, mainly external interferences from neighboring states (Harper, 2012: 60).

Somalia's geographical location and political disagreements between different internal and external actors made the country a proxy field where regional, non-regional states and

organizations of different agendas compete for securing their interests and eventually form up a Somali state of their favorite style. Despite varied positions regarding the resolution of the Somali conflict; most of the countries in the region have currently military forces in Somalia. As a result of this and other divergences between the foreign actors, it became complicated to find a common resolution approach for the conflict in Somalia (Harper, 2012: 60).

Previous research and reports regarding the role of foreign actors, especially, the neighboring states, made different conclusions regarding why regional states failed to produce a common regional resolution approach in resolving Somalia's conflict. Authors like Kidist Mulugeta (2009) explained this as a result of the regions' conflicting interests in Somalia and other unresolved intra and interstate conflicts between and within countries in the region. Some of the scholars argue that Somalia lacks a great power friend to strive for its settlement while some others like, Moller (2009) explained that multiple hands of neighbouring states in this conflict have serious consequences in prolongation of this conflict and obstacles facing resolution efforts (Moller, 2009).

As a result of the state vacuum, terrorist organizations and Jihadist from around the globe found a safe haven in the country. This increased the regional spill over, involvement of external actors especially Somalia's neighbours, Kenya and Ethiopia, have become embedded in the conflict. These two countries and others in the region and elsewhere are involved in this conflict and collaborate with different internal actors in order secure their interest which has got an impact on the overall situation in Somalia (Eriksson, 2013: 6).

1.4 Aim of the Research and Research Questions

Internal and external actors in Somalia's conflict have interacted throughout the conflict period while their multiplicity and diverse behavior based on their interests challenged many resolution efforts to this conflict. In this case, the study uses applied social science, adopting Paul Wehr's conflict model and attempts to observe how the actors behave and why it is so as we need to understand the origin and dynamics of this particular conflict as well as the issues and interests

of the actors in the conflict adopting Mary Kaldor's "New War" theory and Michael E. Brown's concept on causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict. Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyze the most influential external actors, namely Ethiopia and Kenya and how their extensive intervention in the conflict and peace process affected the overall situation in Somalia in post 2000. The research questions are thus:

1. What are the issues and interests of Kenya and Ethiopia in the Somali conflict?
2. How does the behavior of these actors affect the overall situation in Somalia?
3. What is the prospect for sustainable peace in Somalia, considering the regional interest?

1.5 Relevance to Peace and Conflict Studies

Micheal E. Brown explains that internal conflicts have different categories based on their causes and dimensions. These categories include conflicts triggered by "bad domestic problems" (Brown, 1996: 579). These are conflicts caused by issues such as socio-economic and political grievances. They also include conflicts based on ethnicity and geographical disputes. According to Brown there is another category of conflicts, this is categorized as "mass-level", with external actors at stake. This type of conflict is characterized of problematic spillover such as insecurity, and refugee overflow which regionalizes the problem (Brown, 1996: 579).

Somalia's conflict is characterized by both typologies of conflicts that are explained above since this conflict broke out because of "bad domestic problems" it is also a "mass-Level" conflict because of the multiplicity of actors in it including regional states that involve in this conflict because of the problems flooding over borders to neighbor states (Brown, 1996: 580).

Somalia's case is a classical example of regionalized conflict since almost all states in the region have suffered "spillover" problems from Somalia. However, almost all states in the region have military and political involvement in this conflict. Kenya and Ethiopia have both explained their

concerns about willingness to create security "Buffer Zones" inside Somalia to protect their national security (Eriksson, 2013: 4).

1.6 Delimitations

The involvement of external actors in internal conflicts has been widely discussed in most post-cold war conflicts in the record. The external actors in the Somali conflict since the collapse of the country's central government are innumerable; therefore, this study will not cover all external actors and their issues throughout the conflict period. The thesis will neither cover the whole conflict period. Instead, this study will focus on the period between 2000 and 2014. The study will mainly focus on two of Somali's neighboring states (Ethiopia and Kenya) and their roles in this conflict in collaboration with the internal actors in the post mid 2000 period. Involvement and supportive role of other external actors in the conflict will also be discussed to compliment the study, but they are not the main focus of this study.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: The introduction chapter presents information about the area of interest in this thesis by providing a concise history of the conflict and current situation. It also contains the research problem, aim and research questions of this study. Moreover, this chapter presents the relevance of this study to the area of peace and conflict and delimitation of the study which explains the specific target of this study.

Chapter 2: This chapter will discuss the method of the study by presenting information about the chosen method of this study and why it is relevant to apply it. Moreover, this chapter will reflect the design that this study depends on. The chapter also presents a discussion about the sources in this and how they are chosen.

Chapter 3: This chapter will disclose the theoretical framework to be used in this study. It will explain its relevance to the study and how it can be applied in the analysis. Furthermore, it

provides a literature review about the contemporary conflict and its characters as well as the regional dimension of the conflict. It relates this study with previous researches and points out the research gap in which it will try to cover.

Chapter 4: This chapter starts with explanting the actors in this conflict through mapping. The conflict map, it will include all internal and external actors in the conflict and point out their interrelations with each other. However, the chapter will latter analyze only two of the external actors in the conflict in relation with internal actors. This chapter will finally analyze peace prospect for Somalia with consideration to regional interests.

Chapter 5: This chapter contains findings and a summary of the study. It also shows the interrelations between research questions analyzes in this study. In concludes with closing discussion and proposal for further research on this topic.

2. Design and Method

2.1 Applied Peace and Conflict Research

In order to systematically analyze Somalia's conflict and the actors involved in it, conflict mapping design is found to be the appropriate method design to this study. Conflict mapping design is relevant for this study because it creates a broader view of the dynamics, actors, issues and the structure of the conflict. Therefore, this design helps to increase knowledge about this conflict and simplifies the interveners' to opt decisions for an appropriate conflict resolution scheme for this conflict. Therefore, this design is relevant for this study as it is important to get a clear chart of the conflict in order to grasp the actors involved, their needs and issues within the conflict in the explicit time spectrum.

2.2 Conflict Mapping

In order to explore and find answers to the posed questions in this study, this thesis will apply Paul Wehr's model of conflict mapping method (see Ramsbothom, et al 2012: 89). According to Wehr, "conflict mapping is a first step in intervening to manage a particular conflict. It gives both the intervener and the conflict parties a clearer understanding of the origins, nature, dynamic and possibilities for resolution of the conflict".

Furthermore, conflict mapping gives possibility for practitioners and interveners to designate a relevant resolution scheme for the conflict in question. The method responds to overwhelming questions that arise as conflict resolution techniques are initiated. In other words, the conflict map specifies and answers questions pertaining to the identity of the actors in the conflict, the nature of their role and why it is so. All these facts are relevant for the intervener in order to approach the conflicting parties with a suitable resolution design, which is specific to the nature of the conflict. Therefore, in order to specify and prevail the needs and issues of the different

actors who interact in a certain conflict, using conflict mapping method is a viable approach used by many peace and conflict researchers (Wehr, 2005).

Moreover, the fact that actors and issues in conflicts are complex in nature, the tool is relevant for prolonged and multi dimensional conflicts that de-escalates repeatedly. Conflict mapping provides knowledge and a platform for more precise interventions that target genuine conflict resolution by navigating them to the right corridor for sustainable resolution. Since some conflicts might have roots in undisclosed causes, this method helps us to magnify and bring them on the negotiation platform in order to resolve the conflict holistically (Wehr, 2005).

Based on the above understanding, this study opted to apply conflict mapping method to study and analyse the Somali conflict. The fact that the Somali conflict possesses and multiplicity of actors, dimensions and issues in this conflict means that, this mapping method is found relevant in enabling us to cultivate and attain broad understanding of the conflict. In other words, the conflict mapping method gives us the possibility to scrutinise the history, causes and actors as well as issues and interests of different actors in the Somali conflict. As Wehr (Ramsbothom, et al, 2012: 89) suggests, the mapping method will facilitate us to figure out a relevant resolution method for the conflict in question. Thus so, the method is an essential tool for intervening conflicts in which interventions and peace processes fail due to incorrect conflict mapping. Therefore, Somalia's conflict includes in this category since interventions and peace processes have so far not produced a holistic resolution to the conflict (Ramsbothom, et al: 2012: 89).

In order to utilize the conflict mapping method in the case of the Somalia, this study will start by identifying all actors in the Somali conflict and make a map, which shows all the actors involved directly and indirectly in this conflict. By doing so, the study will explain the issues and interests of the core actors within the conflict. It will as well describe how the actors in the conflict interact within the conflict and in which context. However, as the study has a limited scope, it will specifically analyze the two most influential external actors in this conflict (Kenya and Ethiopia) in relation with the internal actors. In order to do so the study will find facts and

information which help it to examine and explain the nature of the two external actors in question, internal actors and their needs as well as possibilities of collaborations and contradictions to achieve their goals within the conflict. Therefore, the method will provide a road map for this study to achieve its aim about how Kenya and Ethiopia behave in this conflict and why followed by what issues and interests do they have in this conflict.

2.3 Source Criticism

Knowing and understanding the materials used helps the research to determine its intention and purpose. In this case, source criticism matters, because the source of the information has a great deal to do with how it will be understood by the user. Source criticism is a tool used in the process of evaluating and critically analyze different types of sources of information in order to obtain knowledge in a given task (Høgskolen i østfold, 2009).

Historiographers have devised a specific technique, which refer to as *source criticism*: a hermeneutic, setting up a number of criteria for the evaluation and interpretation of all form of data. Since source criticism deals with questions of distortion of information, it grants the researcher to indirectly observe reality using some kind of tripartite medium i.e. reality-source-researcher (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2010, 108).

Having said this, the relationship between this researcher and the source that provide data for this study is nothing except intending to evaluate and gain relevant information and achieve better interpretation that enables to answer the questions in this particular research. The materials used in this study, particularly the official documents and resolutions from UNSC, IGAD, AU and other similar entities, are less contradictory in the fact that such documents are produced by international bodies, which consist of multiple actors. Of course, there are powerful actors that may influence the deliberation of these legal documents and there is always a possibility of omitting important facts and data; but again this does not alter much of the facts; thus the authenticity of the documents are not questionable to depend on in terms of legality.

Furthermore, the other materials, including the scholarly articles, journals and books heavily used in this study are considered as less ambiguous and contradictory as they are not literary fiction in their point of departure. Not only that, but also they are entirely contemporary with the subject in question. Although these literatures could possibly be exposed to subjectivity due to methodological weaknesses and other reasons (e.g. partiality), this research acknowledges these materials present scientific insights, hence they are used for the main narratives in the analysis.

Moreover, the fact that political actors may have ideological affiliations and interest and say something with self-centered intentions, video speeches of conflicting actors, policy documents and media reports used in this study are naturally expected to be highly vulnerable to bias and subjectivity, but cannot be excluded from this research. However, although these kinds of sources are not dominant in this study, attempts are made to compliment them by multiple sources and insights (wherever they are used) as suggested by Alvesson and Sköldberg (see above, pp. 19). Not only that but also in order to avoid any misrepresentation or characterization, these type of sources are put in context to support arguments and empirical findings of other previous researches which are used in this study. Therefore, in order to increase the credibility of this research, the literature materials used here are carefully scrutinized in the selection process; hence its usefulness in obtaining knowledge about this topic is unquestionable.

3. Theory

Taking the complex nature of the conflict in Somalia into account, this study will apply Mary Kaldor's concept of the "new wars", which explains dimensions and contexts of conflicts in the new era (Kaldor, 2012); and Michael E. Brown's concept of "The causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict" in which he discusses how internal wars begin, how neighboring states are involved, and what the distant international actors can do about it in resolving it (Brown: 1996, 571-601). Based on the above mentioned concepts, this chapter presents a detailed discussion of the theoretical frameworks.

3.1 Concepts of "New Wars"

Mary Kaldor in her book ''New and Old Wars'' (2012) explains that the contexts of wars in the new era have changed and that conflicts and wars involve a myriad of transnational connections of global and local actors who fight for particular political goals at times using terror tactics and destabilization as well as criminalized economy. In such a situation it is difficult to sustain the distinction between the local repressors and aggressors or between local and global (Kador, 2012: 2). According to Kaldor, although it is difficult to trace the evolution of the new wars, this type of war started in the 20th century and is characterized by its different nature from the old wars as the former involved elements of pre-modernity and modernity; blurring of public and private, state or non-state, formal and informal. And the scholar believes these "new wars'' are less understood by the international community and are wrongly treated in the same way as the "old wars'' (Kador, 2012).

Kaldor argues that these conflicts (new wars) are influenced by the globalization process; therefore, the contemporary wars are characterized by the global modernity since new war materials and techniques are applied in it. The new techniques and modern war materials, such as drones, robots and computers as well as modern communication instruments allow actors to

minimize their own casualties. However, although the new wars are characterized by modern war characters, intervention using these modern technologies turns out to be clumsy in bringing the anticipated effects on the ground. For example, using drones as one of the most sophisticated war equipment became counterproductive in some conflicts. Kaldor explained that the technology might in some cases bring a positive impact in the warfare but not in most cases (Kaldor, 2012: 4).

As part of the new war character, conflicts magnetize international actors in many contexts; for example, Jihadists, nationalist and faith embedded actors participate in conflicts occurring in many parts of the world. Moreover, reporters, Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), mercenary troops and military advisors are also actors of new war characteristics (Kaldor: 2012: 5). And in today's conflict interventions do not necessarily represents the only actors that engage in the war activities in a way or another. New wars are also characterized by regional states and organizations; these can include aid organizations and peace keeping forces (Kaldor, 2012: 5).

In contrary to the old wars in which states mostly organized the war and confronted another state or groups formally, the new wars in the most present conflicts are involved by irregular groups such as warlords, clan militia and other organized elements with different goals. Moreover, in these wars actors apply more easily applicable war techniques. The conflicts of Somalia and Afghanistan are empirical examples of conflicts where improvised explosive devises (IED) that are controlled from elsewhere and causes massive deaths. This is not equipment and techniques that old wars applied (Kaldor, 2012: 10).

As conflicts in general jeopardize local productions and human development in their localities, the new warfare is mostly driven with illegal economy such as plunders, hostage-taking and black market or through external assistance comes through remittances from Diasporas, taxation of humanitarian assistance, support from neighbor states or illicit trade with armies and drugs. Actors in such conflicts widely depend on external assistance from ally states and organizations of a similar agenda in order to spread their activities around the globe. This could be terrorist

organizations such as Al-qaeda which strives to spread their ideologies in existing conflicts (Kaldor, 2012: 10).

In most conflicts in stateless countries, war lords and other identity groups (Islamists, clan groups, political groups) that are involved in the conflicts take over humanitarian assistances and use it for maintenance of their war. Likewise, human trafficking and illicit natural resources exportation are utilized to sustain conflicts and wars in lawless countries (Kaldor, 2012:10).

The new wars look like each other and operate in similar ways. Almost all conflict actors in the new era exercise identical approaches to achieve their goals. For instance, the Taliban in Afghanistan have carried out attacks and assassinations against liberal politicians and international interveners whose intention, as they claim, is to bring peace in Afghanistan. Their activities include bombs in hotels, institutional centers and communal facilities as well as carrying out terror activities in neighboring countries. Examples of conflicts with identical problems include Afghanistan, Somalia and Iraq. All these conflicts are characterized by Kaldor's explanation of new wars (Kaldor, 2012: 162).

With regards to the recruitment of fighters, the new war actors often target young men who might easily be indoctrinated to back the new wars. This might be through religious concepts, political motivation, group agenda or clan related objectives. Some of these tactics are used by the Taliban in Afghanistan, insurgent groups in Iraq and Islamists in Somalia as a pretext to gain acceptance in their communities. In situations where there are foreign interventions in the conflict, the nationalism machinery invoked to mobilize fighting forces against the enemy as it happened during the US invention in Iraq in 2003, the coalition intervention in Afghanistan in 2001 and the Ethiopian invention to Somalia in 2006 (Kaldor, 2012: 164).

Here, while external forces can commit collateral damages to the civilians, the local identity groups recruit people specially the minors forcefully. Many young men are used in the modern conflicts by groups of religious, political or clan identity for terror activities and other violence

using explosive devises and suicide bombings which indiscriminately kill civilians and combatants (Kaldor, 2012: 171).

However, in order to scrutinize and figure out which conflicts suit the "new war" category, we need to look into characteristics of the conflict. Based on the complex nature the conflict in question, Somalia's conflict fits Kaldor's explanation of 'new wars'. The Somalia conflict involves a variety of local (religious groups, political elite) and international actors (regional states, al-Qaeda and other international actors). In their interaction among the contesting local actors and between them and the international actors, the local actors use religious identity and nationalism as instrument to secure power and mobilize both material and human resources that feed the conflicts. Not only that but also these local actors operate by connecting themselves to international actors whom share their objectives, such as Al-shabab of Somalia with Al-qaeda. In this case, the international actors are threatened by the internal conflict that spread over the international borders affecting regional and international security, hence external actors find it imperative to act against the posed threats using diverse national and international instruments. For wars of such context and characters, Kaldor's analysis offers a basis for a cosmopolitan type of response (Kador, 2012) a response, which will not be endorsed for the Somali conflict. Instead, this study suggests Michael Brown's concept of ''regional dimensions of internal conflicts and ideas of interventions, which will be discuss below.

3.2 Concepts of Regional Dimensions of Internal conflicts

As indicated earlier, Michael E. Brown (1996: 571-601) discusses how a) internal conflicts begin, their regional dimensions, and what international actions or efforts look like. In this case, there are proximate and permissive factors that cause internal conflict. Bad economic and political condition and elite-level contradictions are the most important factors in creating conflicts. With regard to the regional dimension of internal conflict, Brown examines its effect on neighboring states and beyond.

b) Although Brown suggests that "regional dimensions of internal conflicts also need to be examined more closely on a case by case basis" (Brown, 1996: 601), internal conflicts often have regional impacts in several aspects. Internal wars may pose serious threats against other neighboring states provoking them to be involved in the internal conflicts of others. These types of threats include security threats, refugee problems, economic problems, military problems and others that can provoke neighboring states to involve in local conflicts (Brown, 1996: 591).

To start with the refugee problems, Brown explains that refugees are the result of internal conflicts. Conflict parties do not consider civilian casualties often and thus people get displaced from their homes, often to neighboring countries where they can get security (Brown, 1996: 592). Almost all post-Cold War conflicts have displaced a minimum of one million people each. Therefore, refugees pose security, economic and social consequences in the hosting countries. With the status of refugee, identity groups such as terror organizations operating in neighbor countries create insecurity in hosting countries in many ways. They recruit refugees who lived in host countries in order to carry out terrorist activities which in turn forces neighbor states to intervene in an internal conflicts of other states (Brown, 1996: 592).

Similarly, it is obvious that local conflicts have a "spill over" potential in creating military problems for neighboring states. In this case arms can be shipped to rebel groups in neighboring states. Moreover, rebel groups can use territories of neighboring states for operation or sanctuary and use this opportunity to strike their adversaries or else use it to attract international attentions to their cause. This is a clear indication of how an internal conflict can generate instability in another state further creating political instability in the conflict region. However, Brown also states that "although neighboring states can be innocent victims of turmoil in their regions; they are often active contributors to violence, escalation and regional instability" (Brown, 1996: 599, 600). In such situations the threatened state launches attacks in pursuit of defending its national security.

c) The third important issue that Brown (1996: 590, 603) discusses is the international efforts to address problems posed by internal conflicts. The fact that almost all internal conflicts involve neighboring states in one way or the other, and that internal conflicts have implications for regional stability means that, there needs to be an international response to prevent, manage and resolve the problems a through variety of policy instruments.

On intervention, Brown (1996) gives four types of examples of interventions of neighboring states in others' internal conflicts. First, *humanitarian intervention:* this is when neighboring states are motivated only by humanitarian situations in internal conflicts. The other is *defensive intervention*; an intervention, which is borne out of insecurity of cross border infiltrations of refugee and other problems. The motive of this type of intervention is therefore not to end the conflict holistically but to stop it from spreading to own borders by intervening in an internal conflict of others in the pretext of defending national security. For instance, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 to eliminate Palestinian elements operating in Lebanon's territory (Brown, 1996: 579).

Third, protective *intervention*: this is an intervention of states in an internal conflict with objectives of backing up of different identity groups to secure a certain agenda. This action is often justified by national security concerns. The fourth type of intervention is *opportunistic intervention*. This type intervention takes place when neighboring states take advantage of internal weaknesses and turmoil. Such internal weaknesses have the potential to create windows of opportunities for other states which have strategist interest and make them vulnerable for invasion and manipulation. Neighboring states usually support friendly rebel groups as well as engage in proxy wars with other rival states while trying to mask their actions with innocence. This type of intervention includes the sending of formal forces in others' conflicts in the context of peace intervention (Brown, 1996: 5898ff).

When conflicts break out in countries, the international community has a responsibility to intervene and help the people in that country to overcome the problems posed by the conflict.

One important way of helping them to overcome those problems is to help them resolve the conflict. Brown (1996: 620) suggests that the international community needs to take strong decision in resolving the conflicts. He argues that conflicts may not be ready for resolution at times, but the willingness of international community to help should be in place when conflicting parts need to resolve the conflict. Since peace processes and conflict resolution methods need large resources, Brown suggests the international community to accumulate their efforts and resources in resolution approaches when conflicts are ripened for resolution. In this way, there is a lot that the international community can do to resolve the conflict and bring peace. Here, Brown suggests steps such humanitarian assistance for needy people, a fact finding and mediation mission and traditional peacekeeping forces. Furthermore, during conflict resolutions, Brown underlines multifunctional peacekeeping operation. This operation helps with the reconstruction, economic and political systems building (Brown, 1996: 2).

However, all conflicts are not either ready or not ready for resolution, there are conflicts where the majority of the actors wish to resolve their conflicts peacefully but need help from the outside world, while some militants and radical elements in the conflict are unwilling to compromise and settle for anything less than securing their goals. Examples of such conflicts happened in Sri-lanka, Israel and Palestine and Northern Ireland. According to Brown, there is no simple solution for this, but if the majority of the people and top leaders in the relevant communities want peace and accept the provisions of peace processes, then the international community can help and support them to deal with the militants even forcefully if so is needed (Brown, 1996: 622).

While doing so, Brown argues that a two track strategy is important. The first one is co-optation: In this strategy popular support for militants should be undercut through implementation of political and economic reforms to address broad-based societal problem and marginalizing the militants by bringing more of them in the mainstream process through offering their leaders political and economic instruments. The second strategy that Brown suggests is an aggressive campaign of neutralization. In this strategy it includes the cutting off of arms and logistical sources from the militants and search-and-capture or search-and-destroy missions. This is mainly

the responsibility of national leaders, but there are roles that international actors can play here as well with the blessing of the local actors (Brown, 1996: 622).

In this case, both Kaldor's notion of 'new wars' and Brown's approach of international intervention in an internal conflict are relevant for the Somali conflict. Because of the multiplicity of internal and external actors in the conflict and the fact that these conflicting actors are also using transnational connections, it can be described as 'new wars'. And as Brown (1996, 571-601) described it, political and elite-level contradictions are the most important factors in creating and sustaining conflict. In this perspective, internal conflicts have regional dimensions posing serious threats to neighboring states further provoking them to involve in the local conflict in the context of insecurity. This is what exactly happened in the Somali conflict and attracted great deal of attention from the international community. Accordingly, the international community, mainly, the neighboring states, IGAD, AU and UNSC have for many years involved in resolving the conflict by engaging different actors within the conflict. Therefore, it is appropriate to examine the Somali conflict from these two perspectives in order to gain better insights.

3.2. Literature Review

This section presents a literature review on the topic in questions, which is the role of external actors in an internal conflict in general and in the Somali conflict in particular. Many scholars agree that there are conditions under which third parties choose to intervene in an internal conflict. Pearson et al (see in Regan, 1998: 2) identified geography, geopolitical motives and the level of conflict are the most important factors directly associated with military interventions of third parties in an intrastate conflict. According to Pearson, states are most likely to intervene when the level of the conflict is high, or have cross-boundary or ethnic affinity with the targeted state, or else when the intervener have 'transactional' interest, i.e. economic, military, educational and political linkage with the target country (Regan: 1998: 3).

In a similar issue, Hans Morgenthau notes that interventions take place when national interests are at stake (Regan, 1998: 3). In other words, internal conflicts negatively affect international security in general and neighbouring states in particular and this triggers external interventions. A good example of this realist view is that the United Nations intervened several internal conflicts after perceiving them as threats against international peace and security as well as humanitarian crises.

Similarly, individual states intervene in conflicts in other regions or in an intrastate conflict often with concerns of national interest even if they are geographically far away from them (Geib, 2009: 129). For example, the piracy problem in Somalia's coast affected negatively most countries in the world as the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden are important passages of most transnational vessels transporting goods. It threatens the global transaction of goods and transport system for it directly and indirectly affects the global economy. For this reason, many Western countries sent naval forces to the coast of Somalia to fight piracy (Harper, 2012: 145)

Moreover, researchers like Gleditsch et al (2008, 5, 8) have argued that civil wars and internal conflicts have strong ties with interstate disputes elsewhere in the world. States interfere in internal conflicts of other countries to counteract other external states as proxy. And when more external actors of different behaviour and interest involve in an internal conflict of others, the 'spill over' increases and conflict grows to an international level. States often collaborate with friendly local actors in order to advance their own interest. They are also involved in the conflict resolution process and strive to produce a solution of their favour while the counterpart states also act in the same manner (Gleditsch et al, 2008: 5, 8.)

Although conflicts can affect countries and states that have no geographical relation with it, it is obvious that conflicts have negative impacts on the socio-economic, security and development aspects in their regions in producing refugee spill over, decreased trade and investment as well as communal confrontations since arms may fall in the hands of civilians (Oxford Anlytica, 26 Jan. 2011). Some researchers have proven that stability in nearby countries is a key factor for

development and economic growth while instability in one country affects neighbouring states negatively. In other words, both peace and conflicts in one country has an impact on other countries in that region. Conflicts, instability and violence are not geographically sealed (The World Economy, V.34: 9).

As internal conflicts spill over impacts in their region is obvious, the regional involvement in the conflict is also obvious. The dimensions and issues of the conflict might as well change due to increased actors. Regional states cannot stand with nearby conflicts where transnational criminal units and conflicting elements operate. Therefore, states get involved into conflicts in other countries because of their national and regional security (Geib, 2009: 131).

In Somalia's conflict almost all scholarly research has similarly proven insecurity spill over as the most significant reason for regional interferences in the internal conflict of Somalia. The vacuum created by the downfall of the Somali state generated a large scale of criminal and terrorist activities in Somalia and the region. The spill over effect of this conflict has further become an international problem. However, it has tremendously affected peace, security and development in the east African region. Al-Shabaab, as Al-Qaeda's wing in the region, operates in Somalia where they recruit even nationals of other regional states to spread violence in the region while the regional counties are engaged in tackling the problem of spill over into their territories (Mulugetta, 2009:13).

While the above issues have become a serious concern of the international, regional and sub-regional states, the situation is more problematic to some of Somalia's close neighbour states. Ethiopia for instance has always been following the Somali conflict since 1977. This is not only because it is affected by the present situation in Somalia, but also its uncertainty of its future relations with regard to the Somali inhabited Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia. Therefore, Ethiopia's role in Somalia was active in both politics and military approaches since the civil war broke out in Somalia. This is followed by Eritrea's involvement in this conflict by supporting the Islamist movements in Somalia to counterbalance Ethiopia's supportive role in establishment of

a friendly Somalia state. Eritrea and Ethiopia, both IGAD member states, have unresolved border conflicts (Moller, 2009: 20).

Having all those problems with the Somalia conflict, Ethiopia is also large Somali refugee recipient. The prolongation of the conflict in Somalia means more influx of people for Ethiopia. The large numbers of refugees create both in security and ethnic imbalances for this country. Subsequently, the Ethiopian law enforcement units face challenges to tackle all this issues which cost more resources for them (Moller, 2009: 20).

Similar to Ethiopia, Somalia's conflict has "spilled over" to Kenya and affected her in several ways. Kenya hosts the largest amount of Somalia refugees who fled from the conflict in Somalia. According to UNHCR, over a half million Somali refugees have resettled in Kenya since the war broke out in Somalia (UNHCR, 2012).

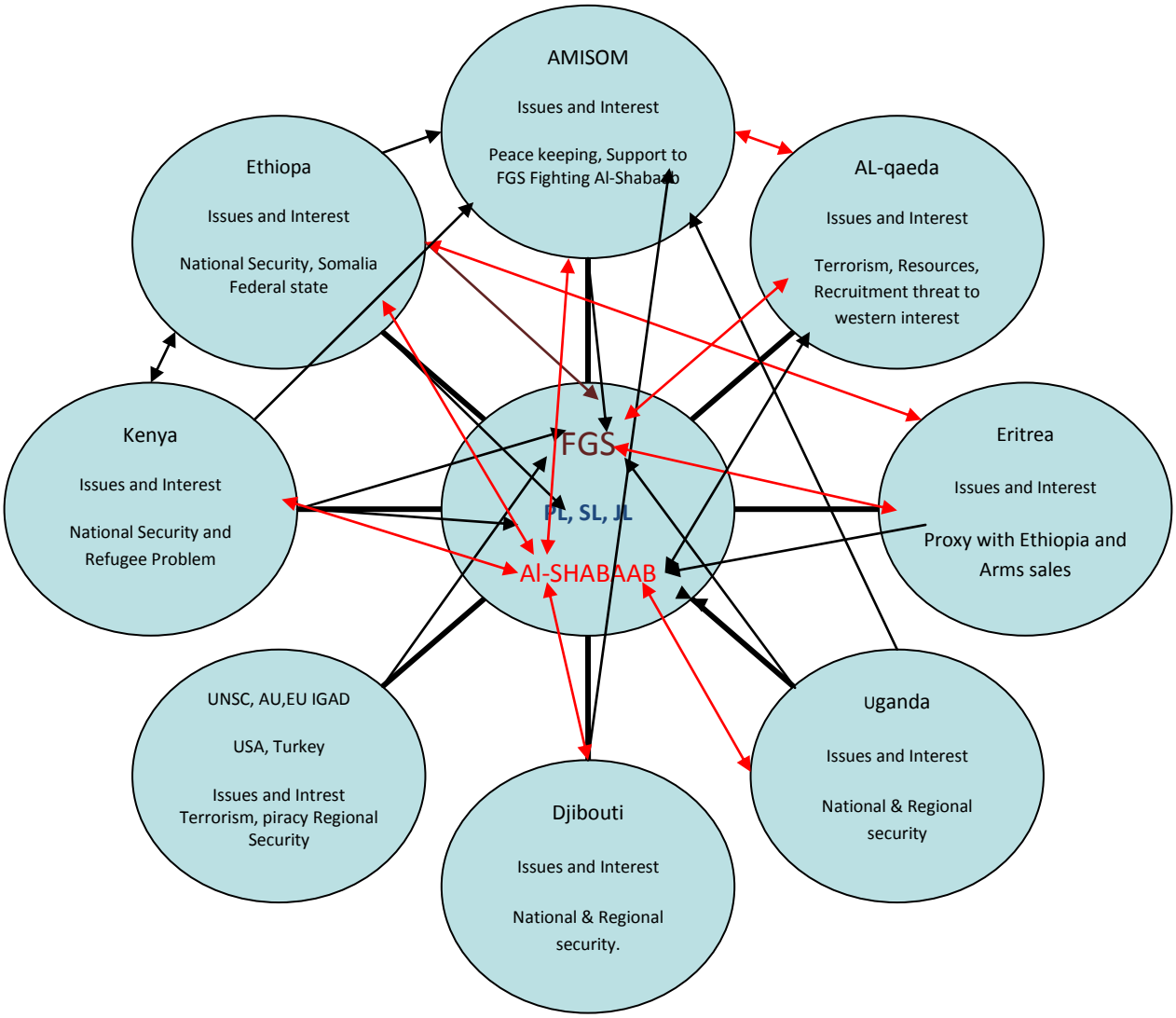
Kenya is facing challenges from hosting large number of Somali refugee in the country. Due to the changing dimensions of the conflict in Somalia, the problems created by the refugees increased in this country. Many young Somalis in Kenya are recruited by Islamists in Somalia to advance their agendas in Somalia and the region. This became a big security blow for Kenya as this people can be used as "Home grown terrorists" (Harper, 2012: 181). Kenya's national security and stability as well as economy have been destabilized by waves of terror attacks which targeted some important sources in the country by Al-shabaab. Tourists and aid workers were also kidnapped from Kenya into Somalia by the group (Eriksson, 2013: 66). In response to the security threats, Kenya decided to interfere Somalia's conflict militarily, in order to protect its national security. The KDF entered Somalia in 2011 in and fought with Al-Shabaab, capturing many territories inside Somalia from the group. The Kenyan troops have initially entered Somalia without the consent of Somalia's government, but were later on contributed to the AMISOM peace keeping mission under the mandate of AU and UNC (AMISOM, 2012).

The action of these two countries, Ethiopia and Kenya, is in line with what Pearson and Morgenthau's explained as core point for state interventions of in an intrastate conflict. These states are both facing serious national security threats that come to them by proximate and underlying factors. Both countries have lived with crucial "spill over" problems for over two decades, but the fact that Somalia is trying reinstate itself with the help of the international community including regional states the groups changed the dimensions of the conflict into more regional by targeting states in the region specially the neighbouring ones.

4. Conflict Analysis

In order to explain the role and effect of external actors in Somalia's conflict, this chapter will map the conflict and the actors involving in it as well as their issues and interest. Although the study will include all the important actors in the map, not all of them will be discussed. As indicated in the aim of the thesis, the study focuses on two of the external actors in the conflict (Ethiopia and Kenya). This does not mean that the rest of the external actors in the conflict are not important. But, due to the limited scope of the study and the fact that these two countries are neighbors to Somalia and the extensiveness of their involvement in the conflict, compared to other external actors, this study focuses mainly on these two the courtiers. While doing so, all the other actors shown in the map will also be involved in the discussion in connection with the conflict as well as the actors involved. It means, the following conflict map reveals the contradiction and cooperation among these actors.

4.1 Map of the Conflict



Contradiction ——————— between actors in the map

Cooperation ——————— between actors in the map

4.2 The Ethiopian Involvement in the Somali Conflict

Ethiopia is regarded as an influential external actor in the Somali conflict. The country has a long undemarcated border with Somalia in the east. Ethiopia and Somalia have a long hostile history over the Somali inhabited Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia which has resulted in interstate wars between the two countries (Afyare and Barise, 2006: 8). While the hostility between the two countries is unresolved officially in an interstate process, the civil war broke out in Somalia 1991. This created a new security concern for Ethiopia. Groups of different identity in Somalia threatened and carried out attacks in Ethiopia (Abink, 2003: 8).

Ethiopia has been following and involved the Somalia conflict which continues over two decades. This study tries to understand what issues and interests Ethiopia has in the Somali conflict and how this affects the overall situation of Somalia. The hostile history between the two countries followed by the nature of conflicts to "spill over" in nearby countries and affect them in different ways motivated the Ethiopian involvement in the Somali conflict. As Brown explained, conflicts have important implications for regional stability in many aspects (Bown, 1996: 591). This is because; conflicts spread quickly and create instability in the neighboring states in a variety of ways including transfer of weapons and cross border attacks. In the case of Somalia, Al-Itihad, a popular and one of foremost Islamist groups in Somalia declared war against Ethiopia and waged terrorist attacks in that country (Mulugeta, 2009: 12).

Al-Itihad had their military bases in Gedo region of southern Somalia, but had strong popularity and supporters throughout Somalia. The group, whose political motive was to establish an Islamic state in Somalia, also, strived to spread Islamic radicalism in the horn of Africa (Mulugetta, 2009: 12). Moreover, the conflict in Somalia created a platform for Ethiopian rebel groups that create instability in Ethiopia. The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), rebel group that fights with Ethiopia in the Ogaden region has got sympathizers and hiding places in Somalia to wage wars against Ethiopia (Abink, 2003: 8). This kind of cooperations between different groups of interest in the region is in line with Kaldor's argument that most of new the era conflicts attract and provide haven for transitional groups that might have the same agendas

as the local ones in the conflict or else exploit the conflict context to achieve their motives (Kaldor, 2012: 5). This scenario in the Somali conflict created a serious concern to the neighboring states, mainly to Ethiopia.

Although this has existed since the downfall of Somalia's state, it increased when the ICU captured territories close to the TFG's (Transitional Federal Government) bases in Baidoa and threatened its existence. The Islamists, whose motive is to impose strict Sharia rule in Somalia, has also repeatedly threatened Ethiopia and vowed to impose their rule to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital city. This has aggravated the situation and Ethiopia consequently decided to intervene in Somalia militarily. The Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) invaded Somalia and ousted the ICU in SCS (Civins, 2009: 1). In accordance with Brown's (1996: 591) argument regarding the impact of internal conflict in neighboring states, the Ethiopian government explained its military action as a result of the threats posed against it.

The ENDF successfully dislodged the Islamists and helped the TFG to embark on its rule in larger territories in SCS, including the capital city, Mogadishu, but as the case might be in many conflicts where external forces intervene internal conflict, the Islamists started an insurgency fighting against Ethiopia and the TFG, they started to regroup their forces in the far southern regions of Jubaland where they created training and recruiting camps for their fighters. While doing so, they also gained strong support within the local populations who perceived the Ethiopian forces as invaders. This created a new dimension in the conflict. Many other groups, including jihadists from other parts of the world and Ethiopian rebel groups have also joined the insurgency against Ethiopian forces in Somalia (Moller, 2009: 16). This is in line with Kaldo's explanation of how internal conflicts can transform into transnational one (Kaldor, 2012:5).

While insurgency forces were developing new tactics such as modern explosive devises, roadside bombs, suicide attacks and other new era war techniques. The Eritrean government is also reported to have involved the conflict by providing support to the insurgent groups. United Nations officials reported Eritrea's involvement in the Somali conflict. The UN sources also

reported that over 2000 Eritrean soldiers were in Somalia. Eritrea and Ethiopia have an unresolved border conflict and went to an interstate war. In a speech to explain the ENDF invention to Somalia, the Ethiopian prime minister, Meles Zenawi, said "Ethiopian defense forces were forced to enter into war to protect the sovereignty of the nation" (New York Times, 2006, 12-25). This transformed the phenomenon of Somalia's conflict into a "new war" context suggested by Mary Kaldor. This is because of the multiplicity of the actors involving in it, changing dimensions and war techniques/materials used in the conflict. According to Kaldor (2012: 10) internal conflicts are venerable for regional and international actors with variable identities and objectives to involve.

This increased the threats that the conflict poses against neighboring states, the region and beyond. As a result, the US government has started to assist and collaborate with the TFG and Ethiopia in order to prevent the potential insecurity "spill over" against its interest and the region (Muligeta, 2009: 15). Several other friendly states and organizations also provided help to Ethiopia in the fighting against the Islamists. In contrary, other external actors, including Al-Qaeda provided support to the internal groups, mainly, the Islamists who fought against Ethiopia (Bradbury and Healy, 2010: 3). The involvement of such external actors in the Somalia conflict confirms Kaldor's idea that internal conflict is potentially attractive to external actors (Kaldor, 2012: 162).

Based on Ethiopia's proximate and underlying security concerns in the Somalia conflict, it applies multiple approaches to increase its national security and interest; those approaches include creation of bilateral collaborations with influential entities and individuals in the conflict. For example, Ethiopia supports and collaborates with the authorities in Puntland and Somaliland in the security and political aspects. Ethiopia has a border line with both entities and this decreases its security concern over the conflict in Somalia. It also allows its forces to deal with its national security threats in the areas controlled by those entities. Similarly, Ethiopia has a good relationship with some of the influential warlords in Somalia and provides them military support to fight against the Islamists (Afyare and Barise, 2006: 8). In this situation, Ethiopia's

strategies to increase its national security through bilateral relations with individual entities in the conflict could be perceived as negative impact towards a holistic resolution to Somalia's conflict. This could also be interpreted as Brown's explanation that neighboring states are often active contributors to violence, escalation and regional instability (Brown, 1996: 599,600).

In regards to reconciliation and conflict resolutions to Somalia's conflict, Ethiopia played roles in many peace initiatives. However, Ethiopia undermined some of the efforts in which its interest was at stake; for example, it challenged the Cairo peace process by recruiting and persuading two main Somalia faction leaders to boycott the process. General Aden Gabyow and Colonel Abdullahi Yussuf withdrew the process in Cario and flew to Addis Abba (Afyare and Barise, 2006: 9). The fact that Egypt has unstable relations and disputes at times with Ethiopia over the Nile River water sharing (BBC NEWS, Jun. 18-2013), Ethiopia was unhappy with the process, which was facilitated by Egypt, for the former thought it was unlikely to produce friendly Somali institutions to Ethiopia (Afyare and Barise, 2006: 9).

Ethiopia intervenes in Somalia's conflict not only to protect its national security from threats posed by actors in Somalia, but also wants to prevent other states, such as Eritrea that allegedly supported Somali factions as well as Ethiopian opposition in Somalia as proxy. Brown (1996: 598) calls such interventions "opportunistic intervention". States intervene in internal conflicts by taking advantage of internal weaknesses and turmoil. Such internal weaknesses have potential to create windows of opportunities for other states that usually support friendly internal actors as well as friendly rebel groups to engage in a proxy wars with their rival states. This type of intervention includes sending of the formal forces into internal conflicts in the context of peace intervention. This is what exactly Ethiopia did when it believed its security was at stake by rival Eritrea and Somali Islamists.

Moreover, the Ethiopian military invention and the war between ENDF and insurgent groups in Somalia in 2006-2009 created mass civilian displacement and humanitarian crises. Thousands of people have left their homes in fear of the war seeking for refuge in neighboring countries or

elsewhere in Somalia. This has contributed to an already deteriorating humanitarian situation in the country. Mogadishu and other cities in the country were already hosting large amounts of Internally Displaced people (IDPs). Close to one million people were displaced as allied forces of ENDF and TFG engaged war with the ICU and affiliated groups (Civins, 2009: 8). Due to the deteriorating security realities on the ground, aid agencies were facing difficulties to deliver humanitarian supplies to the needy people. The World Food Program (WFP) and the United States (US) for instance have suspended aid shipments to the country due to threats from Al-Shabaab and concerns about possibility of aid plundering (Mulugeta, 2009: 11). As explained by Mary Kaldor (2012: 10) actors in internal conflicts use humanitarian assistances to finance war activities. In relation to this, the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) and WFP were attacked while food aid and other humanitarian commodities were plundered (Moller, 2009:17).

Just like Kaldor's depiction of "new wars" (Kaldor, 2012), Somalia's conflict actors have often maintained wars with illegal economy. For example, the Islamists who predominantly controlled SCS prior and after the Ethiopian invention have largely depended on illicit charcoal export in the port of Kismayo. In efforts to block the economic lifeline for Al-shabbab, the Ethiopian forces engaged in extensive clashes with the group (Miyandazi, 2012: 3). In response to the clashes between ENDF and Al-Shabaab, the group banned aid organizations blaming them to be conspiring for Ethiopia (UNICEF, 2009). In efforts to ease the humanitarian deadlock created by the conflict, the then Ethiopian prime minister called for the creation of humanitarian corridor in order to deliver food aid to the civilians. According to the New York Times the prime minister asked for Al-Shabaab and other groups to allow aid shipments to reach the starving people. The call was welcomed by UN and other aid agencies involving in aid activities. Even though this is welcomed by the ordinary Somalis and the international community, his call could be interpreted as a pretext for more military invention in the name of humanitarian intervention in Somalia (New York Times, Sep. 09-2011). This action is in line with Brown's claim that humanitarian intervention is used by states as a pretexts for military invention in local conflict (1996, 579).

In accordance with Brown's concept, the Ethiopian military moved into SCS and took control of several cities from Alshabaab in the name of humanitarian intervention. While talking about the new invention, Ethiopian officials explained that they had no intention to withdraw from Somalia until alternative international forces were in place. According to New York Times, the Ethiopian Prime Minister explained that his troops would only leave Somalia when AMISOM troops were deployed in the areas that ENDF control to prevent reemergence of Al-Shabaab (New York Times, Jan. 27-2012).

Moreover, other efforts were also made to tackle Al-shabbab to spread in the region. This included peace dialogues between moderate Islamists and other insurgent groups and the TFG. Peace talks between the Alliance for Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS), a predominantly Islamist movement, based in Asmara, Eritrea, and the TFG was launched in Djibouti with the facilitation of IGAD, UN and other international community members. As a result of this process the TFG and ARS signed an agreement, including a peaceful withdrawal of ENDF from Somalia. In the process, the parts have also agreed on the formation of an inclusive Transitional Federal Institutions (TFI), comprising TFG and ARS (Moller, 2009: 15). Even though, this attempt was in line with Brown's concept of "Co-optation" in internal conflicts, this has not produced the anticipated results holistically. Al-Shabaab boycotted the process and declared war against the new TFG institutions formed in Djibouti and its ally forces (Bradbury and Healy, 2010: 5).

Al-shabaab's rejection to peace forced Ethiopia and the TFG to engage a new phase of war with the group in order to prevent them spread more violence in the country and beyond. Other countries like Uganda and the US have also contributed the fighting against Al-shabaab (Bradbury and Healy, 2010: 5). This is in line with Bown's second approach in dealing with internal conflicts which is "neutralization" (Brown, 1996: 622).

The current behavior of the international community in general and neighboring states in particular in Somalia's conflict exemplifies the second strategy of Browns two track suggestions for resolving internal conflicts. This is an aggressive campaign, which includes cutting of arms

and logistical sources from the militants and search-and-capture or search-and-destroy missions. The FGS security forces and AMISOM troops, mainly from the neighboring countries, including Ethiopia are fighting with Al-Shabaab in Somalia (AMISOM, 2014).

Even though AMISOM and the Somali national army are engaged in wars with Al-shabaab and dislodged them from many areas, the group is still active and poses eminent threats against neighboring states, regional and international security. This persist Ethiopian national security concern about possible attacks from groups in Somalia. In response to the increased support of international community for Somalia's government in fighting the militant groups, Al-Shabaab officially joined Al-Qaeda and intensified violence in Somalia and the region. Al-Qaeda welcomed the move and pledged assistance for the group (BBC, Feb. 10-2012). The collaboration between ALaqaeda and Al-shabaab is in line with Kaldo's explanation about foreign fighters joining conflicts in elsewhere in the pretext of religion, ideology or political motives (Kaldor, 2012: 162).

In efforts to pose the fight against the militant groups, the Ethiopian military in Somalia have officially joined the AMISOM peacekeeping mission, a mission that Ethiopia was not part of in its previous operations in Somalia. Since Ethiopia's national security is priority in its involvement in Somalia, the ENDF forces under AMISOM operate in the southwestern regions of Somali. Even though, ENDF operate under the mandate of AMISOM, their geographical operational area has not changed; they operate in regions close to Somalia-Ethiopia border to create a buffer zone for Ethiopia (AMISOM, 2014).

In additions to its military involvement in this conflict, Ethiopia also strives for the creation of local friendly Somali federal member states and provides support to the existing ones. As part of this exercise Ethiopia recently mediated the FGS and Jubbaland administration, a recently established entity controlling the port city of Kismayo. The Ethiopian government succeeded to end a long standing political deadlock between the two Somali authorities (Hiiraanonlne, 2013). The Jubbaland administration stands for the foundation of a federal state in Somalia consisting of

Lower Jubba, Middle Jubba and Gedo regions of southern Somalia. All those regions share a border line with Ethiopia. Ethiopia also pushes for a federal system in Somalia, a structure that the provisional Somali constitution indicates. However, the FGS is accused being reluctant in the implementation of federalism in the country. Puntland state of Somalia vowed to cut the relation for FGS in protest to FGS's behavior towards federalization of Somalia (Kisiangani and Noor, 2013).

In accordance with Brown's explanation of why neighboring states intervene in nearby conflicts, Ethiopia's actions in the conflict of Somalia in general and efforts to establish federal institutions is a mixture of "defensive and protective" interventions. Brown (1996: 596,597) explains that neighboring states often launch "defensive interventions" in order to tackle cross-border problems such insecurity and refugee flows. This is in line with Ethiopia's action in Somalia in terms of her military interventions. However, Ethiopia's meddling in the political issues of Somalia is merely "protective intervention". The Ogaden clan members who dominantly include in the Jubbaland state have also prominent members in the Ethiopian federal government and dominantly occupy huge parts of eastern Ethiopia where the country borders with Jubbaland (Eriksson, 2013: 57). Even though this study has realized that Ethiopia's issue and interest in the Somalia conflict is majorly own national security problem, the country's involvement in Jubbaland could also be perceived as "protective intervention". According to Brown, such an intervention is "designed to protect or assist ethnic brethren involved in hostilities elsewhere" (Brown, 1996, 597). In any case, these are clear indicators to how the involvement and political behavior of external actors in an internal conflict impacted Somalia.

4.3 The Kenyan involvement in the Somalia conflict

Similar to Ethiopia, Kenya shares historical factors with Somalia in regards to ethnic and geographical aspects. The northeastern province of Kenya is predominantly inhabited by a Somali ethnic population, but unlike Ethiopia, Kenya had no interstate wars with Somalia. However, tensions between the two countries over the Somali inhabited region occurred right

after the independence of Somalia. The first Somali independent state declared its intention to unify the Somalia inhabited regions in the horn of Africa under one state in which northeastern province of Kenya includes. Northern Frontier Liberation Army (NFLA), an ethnic Somalia secessionist movement, was established in the early 1960s to fight against Kenyan rule in this region. The Somali government at the time backed up this movement and provided them moral and material support (Moller, 2009: 4). In spite of history, Kenya has always been friendly with the Somali people since the war broke out in Somalia in 1991. Kenya accommodated the largest number of Somali refugees who fled the war in Somalia. According to UNHCR Kenya hosts about a half a million Somali refugees as per this year, while the conflict in Somalia still continues (UNHCR, 2014). The fact that all conflicts affect regional countries in several ways, the scale of Somali refugees in Kenya could hugely affect this country in variable aspects. This exemplifies Brown's concept on regional dimensions in internal conflict. He explains that refugee is a result of internal conflict and it mostly affects the neighboring countries (Brown, 1996: 592).

Even though Kenya hosts the largest number of Somali refugees in the world, Kenya's role in the Somali conflict remained quite neutral for many years. It has been involved in mediation processes between internal actors and hosted several peace processes meant to reconcile conflicting parts in Somalia. This included the one held 2002-2004 in under the auspices of IGAD member states and international community producing the TFG (Moller, 2009: 3). Regardless of its role in the conflict, Kenya always experienced insecurity incidents posed by this conflict since it broke out in 1991 (Miyandazi, 2012:2). This relates to Brown's explanation about provocative actions of internal conflicts against neighboring states arguing that problems of refugee and insecurity "spill over" are amongst factors that can lead regional states to involve in local conflicts (Brown, 1996:591).

Due to the changing dimensions of Somalia's conflict, the threats it poses against Kenya increased when Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda, who controlled larger areas in SCS threatened, to destabilize Kenya. The terrorist organization carried out several attacks inside Kenya targeting

tourism and other economic sources of the country. Moreover, the group started to recruit youngsters of Kenya, Somalis in Kenya and other Muslim nationals inside Kenya to join them. The Kenyan governments perceived this as serious security problem against its national security and interest. Recruitment of youngsters could provide the terrorist organization a capacity to destabilize Kenya through "home grown" elements. Consequently, the Kenyan government changed its behavior towards the Somali conflict by sending the Kenyan defense forces (KDF) into Somalia to fight Al-Shabbab and prevent their attacks against Kenya (ICG, 2012). In relation to its dimensions and the behavior of the actors in it, Somalia's conflict can be classified as what Kaldor explained to be "new wars". Recruitment of young men of different nationality by Al-Shabaab and involvement of Al-Qaeda, indicates a new war character in this conflict. According to Kaldor (2012: 164), actors in the new conflict era indoctrinate fighters through identity or ideology such as religion, political and clan identity. Therefore, Al-Shabaab's behavior in Kenya is an obvious characteristic of "new wars".

Furthermore, Brown (1996: 599, 600) explained that local conflicts have great potential to "spill over" and create military problems for neighboring states. He argues that internal conflict generates instability in neighboring states, creating political and economic instability. In the case of Somalia, Al-Shabaab abducted aid workers and tourists in Kenya creating security and economic instability in that country. The group kidnapped two Spanish aid workers in northern Kenya and wounded several others. This created a crisis for aid organizations to help refugees and other aid dependent people in Kenya (Mark Bowden, YouTube: May.21-2014).

In a separate incident, attackers from Somalia kidnapped a French national tourist woman in the coastal beach of Lamu (The guardian, 2011). As a result of terrorism and insecurity created by Al-Shabaab in Kenya, many western and other countries warned their nationals against travel to Kenya (BBC, 2011). Morover, Kenya experienced problems from the piracy in Somalia. This has contributed to the already poor security situation, affecting the country in both socially and economically. The Somalia pirates attacked cargo ships and tourist vessels heading to Kenyan in Indian ocean and the Gulf of Aden. This paralyzed the activities in the only seaport of Kenya,

Mombasa and threatened it to closure (Nation News, 2013). Abduction of aid workers and tourists in modern era conflicts are motivated by economic purposes to feed the war. According to Kaldor (2012, 10), the new warfare is mostly driven by illegal economy including hostage-taking and plunders.

In efforts to tackle piracy activities and protect the national interest, Kenyan security and law enforcement agencies spend large resources in anti-piracy operations, creating a further burden to the country (Daily Nation, 2013). However, Kenya also believes that this is an international problem created by the lawlessness in Somalia. Not only Kenya, but pirates are also imminent threats to international peace and security. The UNSC has in a resolution 1851 described piracy and armed robbery in the Somali and international waters an obstacle to peace and security in that region (Resolution, 1851-2008). However, the variable challenges created by this conflict against Kenya are in line with Brown's concept internal conflict consequences against regional and international peace. Bworn (1996: 601) explains internal conflicts spread and create problems in neighboring countries.

Even though the Kenyan troops intervened in Somalia and engaged in fighting with Al-Shabaab, the terrorist organization still remains an active and crucial threat to Kenyan internal security. The insecurity activities by Al-Shabaab frequently occur in Kenya (Eriksson, 2013: 66). The group carried out an attack in Westgate, a large and very popular shopping mall in Nairobi, the Kenyan capital, killing at least 72 innocents Kenyan and tourists in September 2013. Similar attacks were targeted with Mombasa, the coastal tourist and the port city of Kenya (Aljazeera, 2013).

In response to the challenges affecting the national security and interest, Kenya decided to increase the involvement in Somalia by integrating the Kenyan forces in Somalia with the AMISOM peacekeeping forces operating under the mandate of the AU and UNSC. The Kenyan forces operating in Somalia initially invaded Somalia with an individual self-defense decision by the Kenyan government. The AU and UNSC officially allowed KDF to join AMISOM

peacekeeping forces through in UNSC resolution 2036 of February 2012. The resolution provides legal framework, mandates and resources to the Kenyan forces to fight Al-Shabaab in Somalia (AMISOM, 2014).

In the context of security threats coming from fighting groups in Somalia, Kenya's interventionist action in Somalia indicates what Brown called a "Defensive intervention"; Brown points out that states take such interventions in internal conflicts when their national security and interest are threatened by actors in nearby conflicts (Brown, 1996: 596). However, the motive for this type of intervention is not to end the conflict in the first point, but to stop it from spreading into Kenyan borders. States do this in different approaches, but the core motive is defending own national security.

In this context, in order to protect its own national security, Kenya strives for peace and stability in Somalia, particularly in the nearby regions. Therefore, in order to get security in her territories, an active Somali regional state in the nearby regions is an option for Kenya. This creates a security buffer zone to protect Kenyan national security and interest. Moreover, Kenya argues that such an authority can create a safe and secure environment for Somali refugees living in Kenya to return and resettle in their country (Eriksson, 213: 36).

Creation of a local authority initiative is also part of a federal Somalia goal, a system that Kenya pushes for. In an effort to realize a regional authority in Jubbaland and federal Somalia in the long term, Kenya held a reconciliation process for local elders and politicians from Jubbaland regions in 2010 and supported them to form a regional state in that part of Somalia. Kenya also trained local militias recruited from communities of those regions to fight Al-Shabaab in Jubbaland, this provides Kenya a secure neighboring environment. However, the Somali government in Mogadishu is unhappy with Kenya's behavior in creating and dealing with local administrations in Somalia. The FGS views this more to be undermining its role as a central government in Somalia (BBC, Dec. 28-2011). The FGS posed concerns about its dissatisfaction regarding the Kenyan action to Kenya and IGAD and other IGAD member states, but Kenya

insists the process was relevant for its national security as well as the regional one. However, Somalia believes this would frustrate efforts to reestablish strong central Somali institutions that can handle security in the country's entirety. By choosing to prioritize its national security, the Kenyan government maintains to assist both FGS and Jubbaland which has now partially eased some of Kenya's security problems (Eriksson, 2013: 35).

As Brown explained, it is a universal character of states to act in favor of their national interest in others' conflicts. In this case Kenya prioritizes protection of her national security over trying to resolve Somalia's conflict holistically. Even though it is not easy to eliminate conflict spill over while neighboring with a country living with conflict for decades, Kenya is making efforts to create a secured nearby region in the conflict. This is what Brown categorizes as "protective intervention". In line with Kenya's approach to Jubbaland, Brown points out that states assist ethnic groups in nearby conflicts in the interest of their national security (Brown, 1996: 597).

Although the Kenyan forces now operate in Somalia under the mandate of the AU and UNSC, they are interested and critically involved in the settlement of Jubbaland. The Kenyan troops operate in the Jubbaland region and play a prominent role in the establishment of this regional autonomy. Kenya explains this as part of her efforts to assure her own national security. Thus so, it gives a hand to the Somali community living the nearby border regions to get an administration that guarantees them peace and security (Uhuru, Maj. 22-2014). However, Somalia's federal government in Mogadishu refused to recognize the outcome of the community negotiations to create the Kenya backed Jubbaland administration (Eriksson, 2013: 5).

As opposed to FGS, the Jubbaland administration was founded and a president was elected for Jubbaland leaving a serious concern on FGS. Ahmed Madobe, the elected leader argues that, the Somalia government needs to follow the provisional federal constitution of Somalia under which they are elected. In a demonstration to the FGSs rejection to accept with Madobe's administration, the newly founded Jubbaland authority based in Kismayo where they largely

depend on the Kenyan forces refused to negotiate with FGS to resolve the deadlock (You Tube, may. 22-2014).

Even though Somalia's conflict has prolonged and passed through different dimensions and multiple identities, the intervention by neighboring states such as Kenya and Ethiopia can lead the conflict to a new dimension with new identities based on regional states. The behavior of Kenya in this conflict is unlikely to produce a holistic solution for Somalia's conflict; it rather focuses on a partial solution in which its national interest is bounded. Even though, Kenya explained this as an action of defensive intervention which Brown explains to be when states intervene others' conflicts with the objectives of self-defense and target "to bring cross-border problems (such as refugee flows or military assaults) to an end, to keep wars from spreading or more ambitiously, to bring wars to an end" (Brown, 1996, 597). However, Kenya's action in backing up specific communities in a local conflict looks like what Brown explained as "protective intervention". Brown, explains such an intervention is "designed to protect or assist ethnic brethren involved in hostilities elsewhere" (Brown, 1996, 597). Even though Kenya's action in this conflict is necessitated by national security threats, its behavior to back up Jubbaland can be perceived as "protective intervention". In line with this, the FGS criticized the Kenyan government of aiding specific communities in Somalia; The Ogaden clan who predominantly occupies Jubbaland has also a strong influence in Kenya (Eriksson, 2013: 57).

4.4 Peace Prospect in Somalia with Regional Interest

Peace, security and stability in Somalia is necessary to the region in general and the neighboring states in particular. Conflicts and insecurity in one country spread and affect other countries in one way or another. As discussed throughout this thesis, this study characterizes the Somali conflict as "new wars" i.e. that conflicts and wars involve a myriad of transnational connections of global and local actors who fight for particular political goals at times using terror tactics and destabilization as well as criminalized economy (Kaldor, 2012). As a result of this, the US security agencies for instance raised concerns about American citizens travelling out to join Al-shabaab (US embassy, 21 March 2013). Similarly, several other western states have posed

concerns about citizens of their countries travelling to Somalia in order to fight for Al-Shabaab and other radical groups involving in that conflict (CNN, Oct. 23-2013).

And since this conflict hosts different external actors, such as transnational radical elements creating security concern in Somalia, the entire eastern African region and beyond, the Somali conflict can be considered as a conflict that has an international impact. Accordingly, this suggests that any resolution to this conflict needs multilateral efforts since it affects international peace and security. Without a unified international involvement, it is difficult to foresee a sustainable peace in Somalia. Moreover, any peace effort should include all Somali actors and the regional states, particularly those directly affected by the conflict in Somali.

The fact that Somalia's conflicts is complex and involve multiple actors, this study endorses Brown's recommendations regarding international action to internal problems. Brown (1996: 521-526), underlines several important recommendations for the international community to bring peace to conflicts like the one in Somalia, he believes that an accumulated international effort is important and likely to produce sustainable peace in internal conflicts. With the fact that the conflict in Somalia has international implications in peace and security, Brown's suggestion of concentrated international community action is suitable for the underlying problem.

In doing so, the international community can support the Somali institutions in state building and the fight against terrorist movements. Moreover, Brown underlines that it is also relevant to see local peoples' engagement and willingness for peace and openness for support from the international community (Brown, 1996: 622). These are two principle focal points in order to secure common approach towards final resolution to this conflict. According to Nicholas Kay, the head of the UN assistance mission in Somalia, the Somali government is making progress in the political and economic aspects. However, Kay underlined the need for international help to secure a peaceful and stable Somalia (Kay, May.22-2014). The statement by the UN envoy confirms the willingness of Somalia's leaders to bring peace in their country.

Having the two principle focal points in place, this study promotes the two track strategy that Brown suggests for international and local actors to resolve such conflicts. Because the strategies are designed for conflicts where the majority of the people want create peace in their country, while a minority militant groups want continue the conflict. This is relevant for Somalia, because Al-Shabaab is an international terrorist organization and has no support from the ordinary Somalis. The Somali government recognizes Al-Shabaab as the enemy of peace and security in Somalia and engages war with it. The Somali president, Hassan Sheikh, said "Al-Shabaab is an enemy of peace, they are not Somalis, they are international criminals and their relation with Somalia is only that they take advantage of lawlessness in Somalia'' (Omar,Mgidu, Kaburo, 2014). Moreover, the UNSC sanctioned and recognized the group as an obstacle to peace and security in Somalia and the international world under resolution 1853 (UNSC, 2008).

In this regard the two track strategies that Brown (1996: 622), suggested become the most relevant corridor for durable peace in Somalia. The first one is "co-optation" this strategy navigates measures in dealing with the militant group (Al-Shabaab) and neutralizes their power. This include " undercutting popular support for militants by implementing political and economic reforms that addresses broad-based societal problems, marginalizing militants by bringing more and more fringe elements into the political and economic mainstream". By offering political and economic opportunities to members of Al-shabaab will undermine and eventually bring more into the peace process.

The second strategy, which is more relevant in the current situation of Somalia is "Neutralization". Brown explains this as an aggressive campaign against militants, it deals with them through "cutting off arms and logistics from neighboring states and search-and-capture or search-and-destroy missions" (Bown, 1996: 622). Although, the strategy is mainly the responsibility of the Somali people and government, it is enormously important for Somalia to get help from international community in order to achieve a peaceful and stable Somalia. While those two approaches are focal point for resolution prospect to Somalia's conflict, the study also suggests four other important actions. The first one is humanitarian assistance to the needy people. In the case of Somalia humanitarian assistance is relevant in order to help the affected

civilian communities to get basic human needs in their livelihood. The second is a fact finding and mediation mission. The fact that Somalia's conflict has been going on for over two decades now involving various actors, having such a mission may help to facilitate in creating a platform for peace in Somalia. The third one is traditional peacekeeping forces; this mission is important for Somalia since the country is at war with militants and has no strong security institutions. This mission will help Somalia to build its own strong security forces to be able to defend as well as neutralize anti-peace forces. The fourth one is Multifunctional peacekeeping operation. This operation helps with the reconstruction of infrastructure, economic and political system building and law and judicial enforcement. By doing so, the prospect to achieve peace and security in Somalia and the region is possible.

6. Conclusion

This study analyzes the Somali conflict and the involvement of the most influential external actors, notably Ethiopia and Kenya, and how their intervention in the conflict and peace process

impacted the overall situation in Somalia in post 2000. Using Paul Wehr's conflict mapping model, which helps to understand the origin, nature and dynamics of a conflict, this study examined the Somali conflict with the help of Kaldor's theoretical framework of 'new wars' and Brown's concept of regional dimensions of internal conflict. Accordingly, the study found that the two countries in question have transnational security concern and their actions and behavior within this particular conflict is necessitated by their national security threats posed by the conflict in Somalia.

This is evident not only because Somalia's conflict gave sanctuary to rebel groups of neighboring states and international terrorist or radical groups involving proliferation of arms supplies and streaming of refugees, but also has become a regional one as it crosses the borders posing a clear and present danger on the national security of neighboring states and the entire eastern African region. Moreover, the "spill over" of the Somali conflict has created a clear threat to the international peace and security causing violence far beyond the region – i.e. piracy in the international waters. This confirms Brown's assertion that an internal conflict becomes international issue when it crosses its boarders and poses a threat to international peace and security (Brown, 1996).

However, although Ethiopia played important role in the peace process for Somalia, its behavior sometimes undermined some of the efforts in which her interest was at stake; the Cairo peace process (see pp.38) is a prime example of this. Moreover, the Ethiopian and Kenyan military intervention, particularly the war between ENDF and insurgent groups in Somalia in 2006-2009 has created a mass of internal displacement (IDPs) and refugees fleeing to neighboring countries, including Ethiopia and Kenya. As a result, the already deteriorating humanitarian situation in Somalia has become difficult for the international aid organizations. This is how the behavior of these external actors affected Somalia.

Based on Brown's assertion of the regional dimension of internal conflict (see section 3.2), this study sees a prospect for peace if a relevant resolution scheme is designated; thus it strongly

suggests an international commitment to restore peace, rule of law and ensure long term stability in Somalia. The international actors, including the regional and neighboring states should map out the Somali conflict and come up with a single approach targeting a holistic resolution to the conflict. Although bilateral approaches can complement the international effort, conflict of interest may arise in the process, which can possibly prolong the conflict lifetime. In this case, any attempt to resolve the crisis in Somalia should be regarded as part of the broader interest of the international community and such process should be inclusive of all relevant stakeholders, which are involved or mapped in the entire conflict. In sum, it should be understood that resolving the Somali conflict is equivalent to bringing peace in the threatened neighbors, the region and beyond.

Finally, the author of this thesis admits that the study does not cover and elucidate every issue and aspect of the Somali conflict; hence suggests further field research on this topic from a broader perspective which investigates the cooperation and contradistinctions among the many local and external actors and oversee the potential for peace within Somalia as well as in the region. More importantly, further study would help to understand how both the Somali conflict and the interventions of external actors, affect the livelihoods of the ordinary people on the ground.

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