

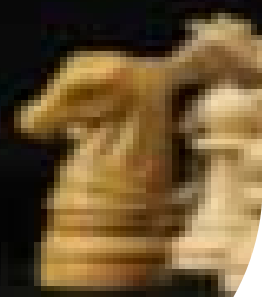
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ARTICLES

Review

Contribution of Indian leaders to Indian Nationalist Movement: An analytical discussion	200
Manzurul Karim	
India's Foreign Policy-Retrospect and prospect	212
Tajamul Rafi*, Usha Shrivastava and Nasreena Akhtar	
Egypt and "Democracy Dilemma"	217
Masoud Rezaei	
The geopolitics and human security of the Afar in the post-cold war period	225
Mu'uz Gidey Alemu	
In search of a framework for social discourse: The case of the state and labour formations in a post-colonial emergent Botswana	254
Emmanuel K.B. Ntummy	

Review

Contribution of Indian leaders to Indian Nationalist Movement: An analytical discussion

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At present, India is the most growing powerful nation state of the world. Although it came into being in 1947, it was a colony of the British Empire. The British had ruled this land for more than 200 years. To become independent it has to go through a long journey. In this long journey it was guided by its great leaders. These leaders gave Indians the tools to become independent that is Nationalist Movement. Hence, Indian leaders are called the soul of the Indian Nationalist Movement. In this paper to pay a tribute to these great leaders we would put an analytical light on the contribution of these leaders toward Indian Nationalist Movement. We will advance on the basis of chronological development of the British India history and evaluate how they keep this movement alive until the independence.

Key words: Indian Nationalist Movement, contribution, colonial rule, democracy.

INTRODUCTION

The Indian Nationalist Movement is considered as a great movement against colonial power in the world history. The imperialist policies of British led to the growth of Indian Nationalist Movement which was characterized by unity of diversified Indians irrespective of religion, caste, region etc. The Nationalist Movement in India was the outcome of a large number of factors and the most important among them was British Imperialism. It was during the British rule that the whole of India was conquered and brought under one sovereign authority. The domination by any country over the whole of India enabled the people of India to think and act as one nation. Before the coming of the British in India, the people of the South were usually separated from the rest of India except for short intervals. British Imperialism

helped the unification of the country. In the name of good government they exploited its economy. It was as a result of economic exploitation that the seeds of nationalist awakening were sown.

Moreover, the Nationalist Movement in India was a part of the worldwide upsurge of the concepts of democracy and nationalism. The educated class in India came under the influence of these ideas.

The contribution of Raja Ram Mohan Ray can be considered as noteworthy in this respect. The "Sepoy Mutiny" of 1857, though crushed ruthlessly, was the first assertion of the discontentment against British rule. The nationalist awakening took some concrete shape with the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

However, it was mostly dominated by the moderate

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leaders like S. N. Banerjee, G.K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naroji and Ferozshah Mehta who were not for the end of British Rule. It was during 1905- 20, under the influence of the extremist leaders like 'Lal-Bal-Pal' and Aurobindo Ghose, the Congress acquired the status of mass organization and nationalist awakening rose to a considerable height. In the later period it was dominated by M.K. Gandhi who occupied a crucially important position. Hence, many English scholars stated, that it was Gandhi and his non-violence movement that brought the Independence to India. In one word without any doubt we can say that the growth and success of the Indian Nationalist Movement is nothing but the gift of great Indian leaders.

Origin of nationalism

The rise of nationalism is reflected in the spirit of Renaissance in Europe when freedom from religious restrictions led to the enhancement of national identity. This expression of nationalism was furthered by the French Revolution. The political changes resulted in the passing of sovereignty from the hands of an absolute monarch to the French citizens, who had the power to constitute the nation and shape its destiny. The watch words of the French Revolution - *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* - inspired the whole world. Many other revolutions like the American Revolution of 1779, the Russian Revolution of 1917, etc. also strengthened the idea of nationalism. Here we will put light on the rise of nationalism in India which emerged in the 19th century after the revolt of 1857 and how the feeling of nationalism took India toward the Indian Nationalist Movement.

Rise of nationalism in India

For India, the making of national identity was a long process whose roots can be drawn from the ancient era. India as a whole had been ruled by emperors like Ashoka and Samudragupta in ancient times and Akbar to Aurangzeb in Medieval times. But, it was only in the 19th century that the concept of a national identity and national consciousness emerged. This growth was intimately connected to the anti-colonial movement. The social, economic and political factors had inspired the people to define and achieve their national identity. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle against colonialism.

The sense of being oppressed under colonial rule provided a shared bond that tied different groups together. Each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently. Their experiences were varied, and their notions of freedom were not always the same. Several other causes also contributed towards the rise

and growth of Nationalism. One set of laws of British Government across several regions led to political and administrative unity. This strengthened the concept of citizenship and one nation among Indians. As a result, the peasants and the tribes rebelled when their lands and their right to livelihood were taken away. Likewise, this economic exploitation by the British agitated other people to unite and react against British Government's control over their lives and resources. The social and religious reform movements of the 19th century also contributed to the feeling of Nationalism. In this regard Swami Vivekananda, Annie Besant, Henry Derozio and many others played a great role. They revived the glory of ancient India, created faith among the people in their religion and culture and thus gave the message of love for their motherland.

The intellectual and spiritual side of nationalism was voiced by persons like Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Aurobindo Ghosh. Bankim Chandra's hymn to the Motherland, '*Vande Matram*' became the rallying cry of patriotic nationalists. It inspired generations to supreme self-sacrifice. Simultaneously, it created a fear in the minds of the British. The impact was so strong that the British had to ban the song. Alike, Swami Vivekananda's message to the people, "Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached", appealed to the Indians. It acted as a potent force in the course of Indian Nationalism.

The rise of the Indian Nationalism chiefly attributed the expansion and advancement of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Besides this there are some other factors which are also responsible for the growth of Indian nationalist movement and eventually the Indian independence. Let us discuss these factors in the following:

Violent rule of British

British introduced different kinds of revenue, economic, political policies and socio –religious reforms in India to setup their domination in India. Almost all the policies and reforms of British were imperialistic in nature. These policies implemented by British entirely changed India's old peaceful conditions. They introduced many policies to drain the wealth of India to their home country. Finally, Indians recognized the object behind the British. So, different policies introduced by British resulted in the growth and development of Indian national movement.

Unwillingness of British to give India more to say in government

During the rule of the East India Company, the Indians were treated as slave. They governed the country only to fulfill their interest. They never asked anything to Indians

nor gave any chance to raise their voice. Even when the British Crown took over the power from the East India Company in 1857, they hardly gave any chance to the Indians to say anything in government. Although democracy began with the British, they did not allow the Indians to practice democracy in India.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF INDIA

The British economic policy in India led to impoverishment of the country. The main object of British policies was a systematic destruction of traditional Indian economy. The Indians' reaction to the discriminatory economic policy of the British government was the rise of economic nationalism in India. India became a supplier of raw materials to the British industries, a market for the sale of British goods and a place for investment of British capital. Indian economy was sacrificed for British economic interests. Economic exploitation by the British was increasing India's poverty.

The British Indian administration was extremely costly. Systematic attempts were made to destroy the indigenous industries of India to make room for manufactured goods from England. Gradually the people realized that it was drain of wealth from India which made India poor. As all classes suffered economically because of the British rule, they realized the necessity of uprooting the British rule from India. It gave a great impetus to the spirit of nationalism.

Unification by British

In the pre-colonial India the people were not socially and economically integrated in the absence of a unified national economy and efficient and extensive means of communication. Common subjection, common institutions, common laws began to unite India in a common bond.

In the words of Edwyn Bevan, "the British Raj was like a steel-frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibres and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity". Thus establishment of political unity, uniform system of administration, uniform reign of law and a uniform currency system generated the idea of India as a nation. British rule brought the entire geographical area of the country under a single administration. It unified the country by introducing a uniform system of law and government.

IMPROVEMENTS OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

The improvements in the means of transport and communication also quickened the pace of the nationalist

movement in the country. It is said that but for railways, motor buses and other modern means of communication, political and cultural life on a national scale would not have been possible. It can be said that if these became the means of consolidating and preserving British rule in India, they also played their part in organizing the political movement of the Indian people on a national scale against their rule

Practice of one (English) language by Indians

The English language played an important part in the growth of nationalism in the country. It acted as the lingua franca of the intelligentsia of India. Without the common medium of the English language it would have been impossible for the Bengalees, Madrasis and the Punjabis to sit at one table and discuss the common problems facing the country. The English language also made the Indians inheritors of a great literature which was full of great ideas and ideals.

Influence of Indian Press and Nationalist Literature

The Indian press, both English and vernacular also aroused national consciousness. Great was the influence of the news papers like the Amrit Bazar Patrika, the Hindu, the Kesari, the Bengalee, the Hurkura and a lot more. These became a powerful instrument of political education for the middle class and stimulated the growth of national feeling by making public the grievances of the people and also by exposing the failings and deficiencies of the foreign rule. B.B. Majumdar has mightily remarked, "Western education and the Indian press were the two of the most important agencies destined to infuse into the people of India the spirit of national unity and to inspire them to achieve independence without bloodshed."

Nationalist literature in the form of novels, essays and patriotic poetry played an important role in creating national consciousness. Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath Tagore, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, Subramanyam Bharati and Altaf Hussain Hali were some of the writers who infused the spirit of patriotism in the minds of the common people.

The growth of Indian Press was phenomenal and by 1875, there were no less than 478 newspapers in the country. The Indian press helped in mobilizing the public opinion, convening national and provincial conferences, organizing political movements, building up public institutions and fighting out public controversies. There was no issue of foreign policy or internal administration which escaped the notice of the news papers.

Establishment of Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was formed in December

1885 by a group of 72 politically conscious educated Indians. Mr. A.O. Hume a retired English Indian Civil Service officer played a significant role in its formation. Among its members were Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, WC Bonnerji, Surendranath Banerji, Anandamohan Bose and Romesh Chandra Dutt. This organization was by no means the first such association of the Indian people. The English educated class in India was slowly becoming politically conscious and several political associations were being formed between 1875 and 1885. But among those associations what made the Indian National Congress (INC) different from the other associations was its attempt to provide a common political platform for the people of India which enabled it to claim that it represented the country. Although the British administrators attempted to play down the significance of the INC, it did manage to reflect the aspirations of the people. Thus, the most important and the foremost objective of this organization were to create the consciousness among the people of belonging to a single nation. Eventually it guided the Indian toward the Indian Nationalist Movement.

Impact of Western Education

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the British rule to the growth of India nationalism was the introduction of western education in India. It brought about a profound intellectual transformation in India. Western education brought the Indians into touch with the works of great European thinkers and writers like Milton, Thomas Paine, Burke, J.S. Mill, Spencer, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and Mazzini and helped them imbibe the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy and national freedom. The pioneers of Indian nationalism were moved by the aspirations for self-government, for political power and representative institutions.

The study of English language not only helped build up a democratic and national outlook, it also did a great service to the cause of Indian nationalism by providing a medium of communication for the educated Indians throughout India to exchange views on a national scale. It cut across personal barriers and served as a lingua franca. Educated Indians began to meet and discuss common problems through the medium of English and to meet on a common platform to devise plans for independence of the country.

Religious and Social Reforms

The religious and social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda and

others inculcated a spirit of confidence, courage, self-respect and pride in the ancient heritage of India. It is contended that political awakening in India began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The socio-religious reform movements also known as the Indian Renaissance were the first expression of national awakening. They represented attempts to revise the old religion in the spirit of the new principles of nationalism and democracy. To quote or Zacharias; "The Indian national movement was a part of the Indian Renaissance of India which manifested in the form of a general reform movement and produced striking religious and social reforms long before it issued in a movement for political emancipation." The Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Theosophical Society in their own respective ways, revived the glory of ancient India, generated faith in Indian culture and religion and tried to strengthen them by removing the evils.

Similarly, revivalism among the Muslims was provided by the wahabi Movement on the one side and by the personality of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the other. These movements breathed a new life into the degenerated Hindu and Muslim communities. They created self-confidence and inculcated a sense of self-respect which in its turn brought dissatisfaction against the British rule. They preached love for India and everything Indian. It promoted pa-Indian feelings and spirit of nationalism.

If we go through the entire history of Indian Nationalist movement then we can divide it in some phases. Let's view these phases and understand the contribution of the Indian leaders in the Indian Nationalist Movement.

Era of Raja Ram Mohon Roy (Formative-1905):

Although the beginnings of the Indian Nationalist Movement were generally denoted from the inception of the Indian National Congress in 1885, now more attention is being given to the formative period of Indian nationalist movement, prior to 1885. This period is highlighted with the activities of some politico-religious reformers who raised their voice against the ancient Indian superstitions and forward toward modernization. Thus, this period is belongs to those great personas. Among them Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) is the pioneer leader who is often called not only "the father of Indian Nationalism" but also "the father of Modern India". He acquired a remarkable knowledge of both Western and Indian civilization. He was critical of such Indian practices or institutions as the caste system, child marriage, and widow-burning. He founded and edited newspapers in Bengali, English and Persian, and he established several secondary schools. In 1828, he organized the Brahmo Samaj (Society of God) which was to exercise a deep influence on the intellectual, social, and religious life of India, and which has been described as the pioneer of

the nationalist movement., . Many other liberal reformers founded various politico-religious organizations and influenced the growth of Indian nationalism, such as the British India Society (1843), the British Indian Association (1851), Arya Samaj (1853), and so on.

During that period India belonged to the English East India Company. In the one hundred year of the English East India Company, nationalistic feelings had begun growing within the Indian society. Such feelings received a major boost during the Revolt of 1857, which created in many Indians for the first time, a sense of nationhood. The growth of nationalism was an inevitable result after a century of oppression by a foreign power. The standard of living of the average Indian had deteriorated considerably, and the condition of the peasants was shocking. The Indian people began to realize that their country was being run solely for the interests of a foreign economy and the longer this continued the greater harm it would bring to the country. The economic backwardness of India would prove to be the backbone for the freedom struggle, for every Indian had been adversely affected economically because of the British rule. With this as a common base it became a simpler task for nationalistic leaders to raise popular support for their movement. The work of the social reformers had also managed to raise support for the national movement, for they had educated the people about India's former greatness and encouraged them to attempt to return India to it. The early nationalists were the educated class of India, for they had been exposed to the ideas of liberty, equality, democracy and free speech. They saw that the British had implemented such ideas in their own country but were denying it to India. This class would prove to be the major force behind the early years of the nationalistic movement in India. The press would also play an important role in spreading nationalistic ideas; in fact it was so effective that the British passed a law preventing the vernacular press from publishing material that was anti-British. What was now required was an organization where Indian nationalists could share a common platform and discuss their strategies. Many small organizations came up, but eventually a particular one would come up, which would be instrumental in organizing India's struggle for freedom; it was known as the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was founded ironically by an Englishman, A.O. Hume a retired civil servant. He got in touch with the prominent nationalists and organized the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December, 1885. W.C. Bonerjee became the president and it was attended by seventy two delegates. They pledged to promote the idea of nationalism amongst all sections of Indian society and unite Indian opinion on the above matter. The Indian National Congress represented the first small step in the organized struggle for freedom. The Indian National Congress quickly expanded, and the next year there were

four hundred and thirty six delegates. The Indian National Congress now met in the December of every year, in a different part of the country each time. The numbers of delegates increased rapidly, and soon were numbering several thousand. They came from a variety of professions like law, journalism, trade, industry and education. Even landlords joined the organization. One of the greatest presidents of the Indian National Congress was DadabhaiNaorji, also known as the grand old man of India. An extremely learned and educated man, he lived in England for many years and even got elected to the British parliament.

The Indian National Congress gave the freedom struggle direction, which so far had been missing. The Indian National Congress did not immediately begin efforts to free the country. They realized that they first had to create the environment before such efforts could be made. India was essentially a 'nation in making'. Hence the initial priorities were to increase awareness about the concept and to improve the lives of average Indians. They also realized that directly confronting the British at such an early stage would be futile and could in fact be detrimental. This period is dominated by a set of nationalists known as the moderates, who aimed to establish some form of democracy and autonomy within the framework of the British rule. They did not press for total independence and instead simply asked for more representation of Indians in the governing of their own country. Some moderates were not averse to the concept of British rule, they believed that if the British were made aware of the Indian point of view, they would modify their ways. Thus the moderates would send many petitions to the British authorities requesting for fulfillment of various demands. The British rarely agreed to most of their demands.

The British were initially un-perturbed by the Indian National Congress for they did not view it as a serious threat, but as the demands of the Indian National Congress grew, they began to grow suspicious of its motives. Realizing the potential, if the Indian National Congress was able to gather popular support, they began pursuing the policy of Divide and Rule and made efforts to encourage communal forces.

The nationalist movement began during this period but otherwise did not do anything particularly significant. The involvement of the masses of India had still not begun. The moderates perhaps failed to realize the true nature of the British rule in India, and instead falsely believed that if requested in a proper manner, the British would agree to their demands. To their credit it may be said that the the early nationalists did manage to bring in a few reforms, like persuading the British to hold the Indian civil service exams simultaneously in India and England. They were also able to get the Legislative councils expanded, and take the first steps to securing some Indian representation. More importantly; however, they started a

process which would eventually result in India's freedom.

Era of Lal-Bal-Pal (1905-1918)

The nationalist movement entered into a new phase during this period. In this period for the first time the Indian Nationalist Movement turned into an extremist mode. In this phase the Indians became aware of the concept of nationalism and approached toward some forceful political action.

This period was dominated by the leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) and many others. The early stage of the nationalism had been characterized by nationalists that believed that the British could be reformed from within. However, at this period people realized that there was little scope for progress under the imperialistic rule of the British. They knew that economically India had been adversely affected as a result of becoming a British colony, and the only way it could flourish again was if a government controlled and run by the Indian people was put in place. The desire to co-operate with the British grew less, for the Indians nationalists were treated with contempt and their demands rarely met. The British attitude disappointed many, for instead of reforming their policies they were instead in some cases making them even more oppressive. Even the initial good will that the British enjoyed because of the spread of education and new technology was now diminishing for these fields had stagnated over the years. Nationalists also were angry at the policy of the British to divide Indians on communal lines and realized the disastrous implications of continued British rule. These fears were not unfounded, for in the forty two years more it would take for India to achieve independence, the divide and rule policies of the British increased communal forces, which eventually led to the country failing to remain a single country at the time of independence, splitting into India and Pakistan.

This phase of nationalists saw a more confident set of leaders who had faith in their ideas and of Indians being able to run their own country. These set of leaders would extend the idea of nationalism to more sections of the Indian society realizing that the only way India could obtain independence was if it launched a massive movement supported by the masses of India. The myth of European superiority was meanwhile being shattered. Japan a backward Asian country had managed to transform itself in a few decades into a powerful economic and military power. The defeat it inflicted on the great European power of Russia only further substantiated such ideas. Even a small African nation of Ethiopia was able to defeat the Italian army. Revolutionary movements in countries like Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey and China convinced the Indian people that they could overthrow a

powerful despotic government.

This phase was thus dominated by a section of nationalists known as the extremist, who believed in more direct measures in order to achieve freedom. They are not to be confused with another smaller group called the militant nationalists, for unlike them the extremists did not advocate violent means. The methods of the extremists were extreme in relation to those of the moderates. The extremists believed in actions like public rallies, protest marches, the promotion of swadeshi (self reliance) and the boycott of foreign goods. Such measures were considered extreme, because their predecessors, the moderates had adopted a conciliatory co-operative policy with the British. This eventually led to a divide in the Indian National Congress which caused a split in 1906, and it was not until 1916, when the two factions were reunited. The British capitalized on this split, and attempted to undermine the nationalist movement. They would offer sops to the moderates and would be harsh on the extremists. While the split may have temporarily diluted the focus of the nationalist movement, it had now reached a stage where it was unstoppable. Organizations like the Home rule league, strongly pressed for self government after World War I, and were able to extract some sort of agreement on this issue, which the British reneged on after the war.

In the period of the 1905-08 revolutionary upsurge Tilak became the chief leader of the democratic wing of the national movement not only of Maharashtra but of the whole of India. Likewise covering ten years, 1898-1908, the third stage terminated in another trial of Tilak, his being sentenced to transportation, and a great revolutionary spurt of the masses of Mumbai who elevated the struggle for India's liberation to a new and higher plane.

Indian National Congress from 1879 to 1897 Tilak's patriotic activity proceeded mainly in his native Maharashtra and was, therefore, of a local character to some extent. This time period was marked by number of important developments. The British had turned India into a source to obtain raw materials for British industry. Then it was also made a field for the export of British capital. The peasantry, which praised the overwhelming majority of the population, grew increasingly dependent on merchants and moneylenders and sank into poverty. At the same time a process of Indian native capitalist development with the formation of a working class and indigenous bourgeoisie class emerged along with the growth of an intelligentsia. The young liberal bourgeoisie, considering India as a whole to be the Sphere of its trading, money-lending and enterprising activity crossed the national barriers dividing the peoples of India, overcame religious and caste prejudices, and, in 1885, founded the Indian National Congress, the first political organization claiming all-India leadership.

The British were now perturbed by the growing level of

nationalism in the country and began to take steps to curb it. They fell back on the reliable policy that had helped them conquer the country in the first place, divide and rule. The revolt of 1857 had met with its successes primarily because the participants had fought together for the same cause regardless of their religious background. The British hence took steps to ensure the growth of communalism, as this would divide the nationalist movement. The first major step they took in this regard was to partition the province of Bengal. While claiming it was done to simplify administration, it was very apparent what their real motives were. The division of Bengal, into East Bengal and West Bengal was done on communal lines, with the Eastern half dominated by Muslims and the Western half dominated by Hindus. This was resented by India and the people of Bengal, who despite different religions had shared a common culture and had lived harmoniously for centuries. The nationalist movement now gathered more support and soon massive protests were held against this decision. The leaders realized that they would have to take some stronger measures in order to have an effect. They attacked the very backbone of the British power in India, its economic interests. Swadeshi was encouraged and foreign goods were boycotted. In some cases extreme measures like the burning of foreign goods also took place. Instead of crushing the national movement, the partition of Bengal gave it even more strength (McLane, 1965). While the nationalists failed to revoke the partition, and to some extent the aim of the British, of increasing communalism was achieved, the nationalists were able to give the freedom struggle a new outlook. No longer was it perceived as a half hearted effort by a group of intellectuals but truly a struggle of the Indians. This set the environment for the final stage of nationalism, one that under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi would, through the efforts of millions of Indians, finally free the country from foreign rule.

Re-united, the British capitalized on this split, and attempted to undermine the nationalist movement. They would offer sops to the moderates and would be harsh on the extremists. Organizations like the Home rule league, strongly pressed for self government after World War I, and were able to extract some sort of agreement on this issue, which the British reneged on after the war.

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Entrance of Ghandi into National Movement (1918-1927)

In this phase of the nationalist movement turned into a more meaningful struggle which is only for the freedom rather than reforms or development. During this period a new era has been initiated in history of nationalist movement with the emergence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) in the Indian politics. He became the cardinal personality in the life of the Indian. Under his guidance the nationalist struggle turned into a mass struggles for freedom of all times. This finally forced the British to leave India.

In 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India after twenty years in South Africa. In South Africa, he developed a philosophy called "Satyagraha" which he often translated loosely as "Soul-force" or Non-violence. Arriving in India for some months he traveled throughout the country and observed the conditions of the country and countrymen. After that he took an active part in the independence movement people and at first of visited Represented

The stage for such developments had been set in the previous phase, as extremists dominated the movement. Moderates began to slowly change their views, for they too noticed that the British had no intention of co-operating with them. For instance during World War I, Britain had taken the aid of a number of its colonies, including India and had promised some form of self-government in return. After the war however, these promises were quickly forgotten and the Indian people thus felt betrayed. As a half hearted measure the British introduced the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which led to the Government of India act of 1919. These reforms gave the Indians some power, but these sorts of concessions

no longer satisfied the nationalists.

By now the two factions of the Indian National Congress had been re-united, and more or less had similar views on achieving freedom for India. In 1919, however the British introduced a terrible law, known as the Rowlatt Act. Under this act, the government had extraordinary powers and it was empowered to imprison any person without giving them a trial. This was a cruel blow, for the Indian people had been promised some form of democracy post-war, but now were slammed with an even more oppressive regime. In such a situation, a new leader, called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi) took control of the freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi had spent a number of years in South Africa, fighting racism there. He had learnt two valuable lessons, while fighting a mightier force. The most effective method was a non violent movement involving thousands of people. He realized that violence could easily be suppressed by the better equipped enemy, but a massive non violent struggle would be extremely difficult to stop. If the Indians launched a violent attack, the British could easily crush them with mightier force, and get away for it could be termed defense. In a non violent struggle however, it would be difficult for the British to justify firing on unarmed, peaceful demonstrators.

Mahatma Gandhi soon launched a series of movements amongst the peasants. Mahatma Gandhi sat with them in hunger strikes and took part in their marches. His efforts in most cases proved successful, for he was able to get the government to agree to some of their demands, and more importantly he was able to mobilize mass support. Soon this idea spread across the country, the Indian people no longer submitted passively to British rule and began opposing it. Meanwhile the government was keen to suppress this movement, for they were worried that if it gained mass support it would threaten their position in India. Hence protesters were routinely lathi charged (hit with a stick) and occasionally they even fired on unarmed protesters. On the sixth of April 1919, a terrible incident took place in a garden called JallianwalaBagh, in Amritsar, Punjab. Responding to a call by Mahatma Gandhi, a large group of peaceful unarmed people gathered in the garden to protest against the arrest of their leaders and speak out against the British rule. JallianwalaBagh while a large garden, had only one narrow exit. General Dyer, a British military commander of Amritsar entered with his troops into the garden.

The third phase of the nationalist movement would mark the beginning of one of the greatest mass struggles for freedom of all time. Millions of Indians, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi would embark on a non-violent struggle, which finally would force the British to leave India.

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only one narrow exit. General Dyer, a British military commander of Amritsar entered with his troops into the garden and ordered the troops to fire on the unarmed people. As a result more than thousand people were killed. The poet Rabindranath Tagore lettered to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, repudiating his Knighthood honor in protesting for Jalianwalahbag mass killing. (The letter was published in *The Statesman*, June 3, 1919)

Era of Ghandi and Independence (1927-1947)

The fourth and final stage of the nationalist movement was the final twenty years of British rule, and after almost a century of organized struggle, the British were finally made to quit India in 1947. By the year 1927, the ideas of socialism and revolution began to make an impact on the minds of many nationalists. They saw an example in Russia where an oppressed nation was able to overthrow the czar and set up a government which would work for the welfare of all its citizens. After spending years as inferior citizens and economically weakened, the idea of socialism was appealing to the Indian public. Hence many notably pro-socialist organizations came up with a number of noted nationalists joining their ranks. The socialist influence in India would continue even after India won independence, and the economic policy for the first forty years of independence was based on socialistic lines. Revolutionaries also began making an impact, attempting to overthrow the British power with radical though unsuccessful methods. Such movements re-ignited nationalist feelings and the country was once more engaged in active political struggle. Strikes and demonstrations once again dominated the scene with peasants and workers fighting against the oppressive policies of the British.

In November 1927, the Simon Commission was appointed to evaluate the possibility of constitutional reforms for the next government of India act. It was a committee made up solely of Englishmen, with no Indian representation. This was resented by the nationalists who had expected the British attitude to have been more consolatory. Hence the nationalists struck back and organized massive rallies and protests against the commission. In various parts of the country huge crowds gathered, waving signs with wordings like "Simon Go Back". The movements of the commission became difficult because wherever they went they were met with massive opposition. Some Indian nationalists like Motilal Nehru drafted an Indian constitution as an alternative to what the Simon commission was offering. This was formulated in 1928 but an All Parties conference did not pass it as communal elements from various parties objected to portions of it. Meanwhile, the leader of the national movement Mahatma Gandhi was contemplating the prospect of another country wide movement, he did not however have to wait long, for the mood amongst the

people for such a struggle was positive. Mahatma Gandhi returned to active politics in late 1928, and made some quick changes. Various factions were re-conciled, so as to have one universally accepted plan of action. Jawaharal Nehru was appointed as the president of the Congress; he would later go on to become the first Prime Minister of the country. This session was historic, for the Congress now propagated the new idea of Poorna Swaraj or complete Independence. No longer would the nationalists be satisfied with constitutional reforms offered by the British government, they wanted to have total independence. Mahatma Gandhi was now given the tasking of realizing this dream.

Mahatma Gandhi launched a Civil Disobedience Movement on the 12th of March 1930, with his famous Dandi march. The British government had for a long time had a law which forbade Indians to make their own salt. They had also levied a massive tax on salt, making it an expensive commodity. Salt was an essential commodity and hence these high prices caused much difficulty for Indians. The Dandi march symbolized the beginning of civil disobedience, the refusal of the Indian people to follow British made laws. Mahatma Gandhi walked three hundred and seventy five kilometres with his followers to the village of Dandi on the coast of Gujrat. Hundreds of people joined his march en-route. The gathering then made salt from the sea, symbolizing their refusal to abide by the law. Soon the movement spread across the country, the salt law was broken at several other places as well. Once again people joined in demonstrations, a campaign against foreign goods and the refusal to pay taxes. The movement involved all sections of the Indian people, with women playing an important role. The effects even spread to the Indian members of the British army, who now began violating orders to shoot at unarmed demonstrators. The government response to the struggle was typical, the top leaders of the Indian National Congress were arrested, the press was gagged and various other measures were taken.

Meanwhile the British had been organizing Round Table conferences in London, the first of which was held in 1930. Its aim was to reform the constitution taking into account the views of the princely states as well as the Indian people. The Indian National Congress boycotted the first such proceedings, which rendered the conference useless. The government realized that in order to make the conference count, they would have to involve the Indian National Congress. Under an agreement known as the Irwin-Gandhi pact of 1931, Mahatma Gandhi was released from prison. The government agreed to release many of the prisoners it had taken, it allowed Indians to make salt and even conceded to allowing Indians to peacefully picket shops selling foreign goods. In return Mahatma Gandhi went to England for the second round table conference. The pact was criticized by many Indian nationalists for it did not concede some of the major

demands. However, Mahatma Gandhi had agreed to it, for he followed the philosophy that the opponent should be given every opportunity to show a change of heart. He also realized that mass movements were not infinitely sustainable and were more effective when used for short durations. The round table conference however proved to be a disappointment with the British refusing to concede some of the basic nationalist demands. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India and resumed the civil disobedience movement. The new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon had also been an opponent of the Irwin-Gandhi pact, for he had not favored a truce with the Indian National Congress. The government hence once again attempted to crush the movement, arresting Congress leaders. The press was gagged and the police were given greater powers. The movement eventually died out, and was formally withdrawn in 1934. Although it had not been successful in achieving freedom, the civil disobedience movement had contributed substantially to the nationalist movement.

In 1935, the third round table conference in the absence of the Indian National Congress had formulated the new Government of India Act. This gave the legislative councils a little more power, and elections were held. The Indian National Congress participated and emerged the dominant political force in most states. Within the restricted framework that they had to work in, they were able to do some good work for the Indian people. More importantly it perhaps gave them the much needed experience in government. In 1939, World War II broke out. The British were anxious to obtain the support of India. The nationalists however remembering the experience of World War I, refused to provide any support unless their demands were conceded to. The British refused and as a sign of protest the Indian National Congress resigned its ministries. The British then attempted to pit the princes and communal forces against the Congress. The Indian nationalists were not sympathizers of the forces the British were fighting in the war, and hence they did not launch any major strikes in India which could embarrass the British. Meanwhile the axis powers had overrun large portions of Europe, and the British were now anxious to enlist Indian support in the war effort. The Indian nationalists however re-iterated their earlier stand of wanting a transfer of power to Indians in exchange for India's active co-operation in the war effort. The British sent a cabinet minister, Sir Stafford Cripps to negotiate a deal with the nationalists. Cripps was a good choice, for when he was a labour party member, he had been a supporter of the Indian national movement. However, even he was not able to negotiate any settlement, for the British government refused to accept the demand of the Indian National Congress for immediate transfer of effective power to Indians. Meanwhile the Japanese were slowly advancing on India, a development that worried the Indian nationalists as much as it did the British. The prospect of a Japanese

attack on India was disturbing, and the nationalists were keen to resolve the issue of independence. Hence the Indian National Congress decided on the 8th of August 1942, to launch the Quit India movement, which would drive the British out of the country through a non-violent movement once and for all. Unfortunately however the British struck early, arresting all the major leaders on the morning of the ninth and thus the movement was left leaderless. Chaos followed with people across the country attacking British posts and destroying government property. The British went all out to crush the movement, its repression knowing no bounds. The press was gagged, demonstrating crowds were either machine gunned or bombed from the air. People were arrested indiscriminately and prisoners were tortured. Rebellious villages were made to pay massive fines and their residents were flogged. Thus the British were able to crush the movement in its infancy, and political activity in India subsided till the end of the war in 1945. Meanwhile Subash Chandra Bose, a nationalist had gone out of India and sought help of the axis powers, the enemies of the allies in the World War II. He planned to liberate India with their support. He assembled the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) from Indian prisoners of war released by the Japanese. He invaded the country through the north east in 1944-45 but after some early successes was defeated. Subash Chandra Bose was apparently killed in an aeroplane accident on his way back to Tokyo, although till this date this has not been confirmed.

India after the end of the war was a country in revolt, with rebellions breaking out in all parts of the country. The war had also shattered the British economic and military power, and two countries, USA and USSR emerged as the new world leaders. Both these countries were against the imperialism and supported the cause of the Indian people. The British now realized that they could no longer hold onto India and hence began working out a proposal for a transfer of power. Another positive development was that the labour party had come to power, a party that was more sympathetic to the Indian cause. The situation was now more complicated, for communistic forces were now demanding that the country be partitioned, and a separate nation created for Muslims. Many nationalists however were against this proposal and urged the British government to maintain the unity of the country. In 1946 the British presented a plan, by which the unity of the country would be maintained, but would also give a fair degree of regional autonomy. India at that time consisted of a number of princely states as well as provinces directly under the British. In the proposed plan, the provinces would be a part of an all India federation. The centre would only have the powers of defence, foreign affairs and communications. The states and provinces could also form regional unions, in which they would surrender certain

powers to a regional government. This plan gave the spirit of a separate nation within the framework of a unified set up. Unfortunately however the two major political parties of the time, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League disagreed on their interpretations of the plan, and eventually they both rejected it. Meanwhile an interim government was being formed, which was under the leadership of the Jawaharlal Nehru and had members of the Indian National Congress in it (Jalal, 1994). The Muslim league also eventually joined it, but later left. An election to the constituent assembly was held, a body that would draft a constitution for the country. The Muslim League after participating in the elections boycotted the assembly and instead asked for a separate assembly to be set up, for Pakistan.

On the 20th of February, 1947, Clement Attlee, the British prime minister, declared that the British would quit India by 1948 and would hand over the country to one or more governments, an indication that partition was imminent. Lord Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy with the mission of working out an agreement for the transfer of power. After intense negotiation, a plan was announced whereby the British would transfer power in August. Two nations would be set up, India and Pakistan. Under the agreement certain parts of the North West and certain parts of the East and North east would form the Islamic state of Pakistan, with the remaining portion of British territory going to India. This resulted in Pakistan, separated into two halves, West Pakistan and East Pakistan which would be separated by thousands of kilometers of Indian territory. This was resented by the Muslim league, which viewed it as a moth eaten state, but eventually accepted the proposal. East Pakistan would eventually cede away from Pakistan in 1971 and form the nation of Bangladesh. The princely states were given the option of remaining independent or ceding to one of the two nations, an option they were advised take. The nationalists viewed the partition as an inevitable reality as a result of an almost seventy year buildup of communalism. Many nationalists were saddened by it, for although they had achieved their dream of freeing the country, they had failed to unite its people under one nation. The jubilation over independence was marred by the communal riots that followed partition, as communal forces unleashed a reign of terror on people migrating from India to Pakistan and vice versa. Thousands lost their lives and property, and the partition caused the displacement of millions of people.

Finally, independence arrived: Pakistan celebrated it on the 14th of August, 1947 and India, on the 15th of August, 1947. After two hundred years of foreign rule, the people of both countries were finally free.

POST IMPACTS OF INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The Indian Nationalist Movement not only brings the

independence to the Indian. Besides this it has many impacts on various issues and grounds. Let us discuss some of them:

1. The first and foremost impact of the Indian Nationalist Movement was the genesis of India and Pakistan as independent nation-state.
2. Due to Indian nationalist movement India has been divided into two countries as a result massive population exchange took place between these two newly-formed countries. Once the lines were established, about 14.5 million people crossed the borders to what they hoped was the relative safety of religious majority. Based on 1951 Census of displaced persons, 7,226,000 Muslims went to Pakistan from India while 7,249,000 Hindus and Sikhs moved to India from Pakistan immediately after partition. About 11.2 million or 78% of the population transfer took place in the west, with Punjab accounting for most of it; 5.3 million Muslims moved from India to West Punjab in Pakistan, 3.4 million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to East Punjab in India; elsewhere in the west 1.2 million moved in each direction to and from Sind.
3. It was also responsible for some communal riots which took place after the partition of India.
4. In addition, a war broke out in 1965 between India and Pakistan because of extreme feeling of nationalism in both countries.
5. Moreover, it influenced the Bengali people to become conscious about their rights, and raise their voice against the oppression of Pakistan government. Finally, to struggle for their rights and free themselves from the clutches of Pakistan in 1971.
6. Furthermore, Indian Nationalist movement encouraged the countries of Africa to fight for their rights and independence.
7. Indian Nationalist movement also assisted the Indian to become united which works for their state-building and nation-building.
8. In addition, the Indian nationalist movement influenced the progress of women movements which ensure the equal rights for women and universal adult suffrage in the constitution of independent India.
9. It has also enriched the Indian literature and culture. Most of the novelists, writers, poets and painters of that period were significantly influenced by the Indian nationalist movement which reflection we found in their creations.

In summing up, we can say that Indian Nationalist Movement has some drawbacks, but same way it is also true that it brought independence to India. To make this movement fruitful and successful the sacrifices of the Indian leaders are inevitable. Number of leaders laid down their lives and number of leaders passed their lives in exile and jails for India to become independent.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Review

India's Foreign Policy-Retrospect and prospectTajamul Rafi^{1*}, Usha Shrivastava² and Nasreena Akhtar³¹GDC Hadipora Baramulla, Jammu & Kashmir, India.²Madav science college Vikram University Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, India³Lecturer of Political Science. International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan.

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A country relation with other countries of the world is known as her external relations. The external relations of a country are based on certain principles and policies. They are collectively called foreign policy. Thus foreign policy is the totality of actions of a state in dealing with external environment consisting of national, international and regional actors. In other words, foreign policy is the sum total of a country's relationship with these actors; while pursuing its received goals and objectives through the process of foreign policy a state translates its goals and interests into specific courses of action. India's foreign policy is shaped by several factors including its history, culture, geography and economy. Our PM, Jawaharlal Nehru gave a definite shape to the country's foreign policy Indian ideology in the international affairs is based on the five principles of India's foreign Policy under leaders like Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. These are a belief in friendly relations with all countries of the world. The resolution of conflicts by peaceful means, the sovereign equality of all states, independent of through and action as manifested in the principles of non – alignment and equity in the conduct of international relations. Promotion of democratic values is high on India's international relations. Another bench mark of India's official ideology is secular nationalism. India is the home for peoples from various religions and cultures. India promotes secular values and freedom to follow any religion or culture. India's Foreign Policy after se became independent in 1947. It was in September 1946 that Jawaharlal Nehru formulated the independent policy which has been followed ever since. Successive Prime Ministers have endorsed that policy and parliament has approved it. The essence of the independent foreign policy is non-alignment i.e., India refused to join either the communist bloc or the Western bloc into which most of the nations were grouped during the days of the cold war. She preferred to remain outside the contest. Two other features of this policy have been (1) an emphasis on peaceful negotiation as a means to resolving conflicts, the temper of peace as Nehru put it and (2) a deliberate effort to seek the friendship of all nations including the nations of the communist bloc as well as the western bloc. In formulation of a foreign policy, both domestic and external factors are taken into account. If we look at the way the formulation of foreign policy in democratic and non-democratic countries, they mobilize national power, define their national interests, and peruse effective policies play military strategy in the light of balance of power – which is one of the basic principles of power politics game that acts to control interstate relations. However, the formulation of foreign policy is the result of its leaders' capacity which gains people's support in implementing that foreign policy

Key words: External relations, foreign policy, military strategy, pre-independence phase, panchsheel, peaceful co-existence, pious means, mutual respect, territorial integrity, sovereignty, mutual non – aggression

INTRODUCTION

Pre-Independence phase of India's Foreign Policy
Indian foreign policy is not a product of some specific

circumstances or conduct rather it has long historical past dated back to ancient time. Throughout ancient and

medieval times, we had cordial relationship with the people of the globe. With the establishment of British colonialism in India, its external relation particularly with neighbouring countries was mainly shaped by colonial motives. They started expansionist policy with regard to Burma Nepal, Afghanistan and Tibet, Nationalist leaders` of that time condemned such "Policy" and demanded independent foreign policy based upon respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful co-existence. In the first session in 1855 the Indian National congress denounced the annexation of Burma and objected to the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of defences of this country.

In a letter addressed to the president of the peace conference of 1919 Bal Gangadhar Tilak Wrote "India is self – contained harbours, no design upon the integrity of other states and has no ambition outside. In 1921 at meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Delhi the Indian National congress passed its first general resolution of foreign policy, and openly declared that the present (British) government of India in no way represents Indian opinion. In 1938 another significant pronouncement about the foreign policy of India was made at the Haripura session in 1938. This resolution said " India's foreign policy based on various factors including socio-political, economic and cultural during the British rule underwent drastic changes. It saw cross cultural and cross linguistic connections between colonial powers in India. It generated a penchant among the Indian elite to learn English and to emulate British political institutions. In fact, before, 1857 it was an era of Visualisation of India similar to the nation states of Europe. The mutiny of 1857 created profound impact on administrative, cultural, intellectual and psychological attitudes leading to a renaissance like situation a newly emerged middle class was seen in the form of linear continuity of attitudes which was expressed in ideologies and various movements". On the other hand, there was an assertive reaction to the arrogance of the Western rulers.

However educationally India and West came closer and increasing number of Indians going to England for higher studies brought better technical know-how back into the country this phase was therefore, market by increasing awareness. In the post-first World War era India's foreign policy got real fillip when British – Indian delegation was given separate representation in international conference and deliberation; this not only intensified India's global consciousness but also laid the foundation of Indian foreign policy orientation in the post independence era (Shrivastava, 2003).

Indians desire to live in peace and friendship with their

neighbours and with all other countries, and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them in order, therefore, to establish world peace on an enduring basis; imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end.

Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi was the pre-eminent political and ideological leader of India during the Indian independence movement. It encompasses a wide area of political organisation, philosophies and movements which had the common aim of ending first British East India company rule, and then British imperial authority, in parts of South Asia; the independence movement saw various national and regional campaigns agitations and efforts, same non-violent and others not so.

The first organised militant movement was in Bengal, but they later took to the political stage in the form of a mainstream movement in the then newly formed Indian National congress (INC) with prominent moderate leaders seeking only their basic right to appear for Indian civil rights, economic in nature, for the people of the soil. The early poet of the 20th century saw a more radical approach towards political independence proposed by Bal, Pal and Aubindo Gosh. The last stage of the freedom struggle from the 1920's on onwards saw congress adopt Mahandas Karamachand Gandhij's policy of non-violence and civil resistance (Chandra, 1989).

Foreign policy of Independent India: Immediately after independence India was in need of consolidating herself politically and territorially. In order to fight back the polarisation of the world between two super powers, the US and the USSR, India adopted a non-aligned stand. Further with a view to maintaining its politico – strategic entity India tried to develop cordial relations with Pakistan and China. It also tried to unite newly independent nations on matters of common concern in order to concern freedom of opinion (Shrivastava, 2003).

Therefore, after independence India evolved its foreign policy on the background of her colonial sufferings. Basically it was based on its inherited principal of peaceful- co- existence mutual adjustment and amicable solution of disputes. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India was the chief architect of Indians foreign policy. Fight from independence to the present time India's foreign policy has run more or less on the same line. Each and every government that came in succeeding years has adhered to these basic principles and objectives laid down during Nehruvian era; this shows continuity in our foreign policy (Chronicle, 2009).

Jawaharlal Nehru: "Foreign policies depend ultimately

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on internal conditions and developments. Internal progress for us, therefore, becomes essential if we are to play an effective part in world affairs. "Jawaharlal Nehru". India's international prestige had rapidly risen till nearly 1956. India had opted to stay off the cold war and follow the policy of non – alignment. This policy is even 50 years later still the foundation stone of India's foreign policy. Initially non – alignment was viewed with suspicion by both the power blocs; but gradually they came to realise its utility. India's role during Korean war was generally appreciated; and India played a vital role in enabling the disputants to reach an amicable settlement in respect of Indo – China in 1954. The Declaration of Panchsheel jointly made by India and China in 1954 was also warmly welcomed by several countries. India under Nehru was considered to be the pioneer of the policy of peaceful co – existence. Non – alignment and peaceful co – existence is two major contributions of India and its first Prime Minister.

In the initial years after independence Indo China relations were very cordial "Hindhi – Chini bhai, bhai" was the popular slogan of that time. India and China also signed 'Panchsheel' agreement in 1954. But from 1955 onwards Sino-Indian relationship deteriorated because of mutual differences over Tibet and other border issues. These tensions culminated with Sino-Indian war of 1962. India had very low level relationship with major powers of the world. USSR saw Nehru as an agent of capitalism led by America. On the other hand USA had suspicion regarding India's non – alignment policy.

During the period, three major conferences greatly influenced the Indian World View. These conferences were the Asian Relations Conference 1947, the Bandung conference, 1955 and the Belgrade Summit, 1961. All the three conferences had the same agenda i.e., commitment to the United Nations and the proposed steps to strengthen the commitment. Further, India intended to become a role model for Afro – Asian nations emerging from the colonial rule. Moreover, India also articulated her views on colonialism, apartheid racial discrimination, nuclear and general discrimination (Shrivastava, 1809).

Shastri period: Lal Bahadur Shastri in his first broadcast as prime Minister, on 11 June 1964, stated "these come a time in the life of every nation when it stands at the cross-roads of history and must choose which way to go. But for us there need be no difficulty or hesitation, no looking to right or left our way is straight and clear-the building up of a socialist democracy at home with freedom and prosperity for all, and the maintenance of world peace and friendship with all nations" (Wikipedia.com).

India's foreign policy, during Shastri's brief tenure of 18 months proved to be more realistic than before. In the post – Nehru period, India not only had to manage a hostile China, but had also to deal with the growing US

support to Pakistan and also the emergence of Peking, Jakarta Axis. This was a new anti – India combination of Pakistan, China and Indonesia. Shastri regime had to devise India's foreign and security policies in the background of US – Pak friendship, and the Axis. Shastri laid greater emphasis on India's neighbours, and friendly relations in South Asia (Jaipur, 1971).

Mrs. Indira Gandhi: Foreign Policy of India under Mrs. Indira Gandhi became more pragmatic than before, though the basic elements remained the same. India maintained cordial relations with countries like Nepal, Maldives, Afghanistan, Myanmar and Sri-Lanka in order to ensure a secure, safe and stable South Asia avoiding any threat of war from Pakistan. The change of guard at the helm of political affairs in India in 1977, much expectation was raised about a possible change in India's foreign Policy. In this India tried to revitalise Indo-US relations. In fact, for the first time equal partnership between India and the US was sought. This led to the foundation of bilateral relations with the United States instead of making it a donor-recipient relationship as was pursued earlier.

The creation of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967, to assist the development of its member states (Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam). It aimed to eliminate trade barriers, promote cultural exchanges, facilitate communications, and improve technology, commerce and industry and wanted India to be a full time member of this regional group (Shrivastav, 2003).

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi: Under Rajiv Gandhi, there were no changes in countries foreign Policy. He reiterated his faith in the principles enunciated by Nehru and Indira Gandhi. He professed faith in United Nations, non-aligned movement, opposition of colonialism, narrowing down of international disparities closer relations with immediate neighbours etc. He adhered to these basic principles of foreign policy during his tenure.

He wanted to maintain cordial relations with both USSR and the US; India also began pursuing the policy of non intervention and tried to maintain better relations with Pakistan and Sri Lanka through the South Asian Association for regional cooperation (SAARC) (Shrivastav, 2003).

Objectives

India's objective has been to maintain friendly relations with all, avoid military alliances. follow non-alignment as a moral principle, seek peaceful settlement of international disputes and promote universal brotherhood and humanism by following and advocating the five principles in panchsheel. India tried to faithfully observe the ideals

of non-interference and peaceful co-existence (Jawaharlal Nehru, n.d).

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

India wanted to act as a missionary of peace. These factors prompted India to adopt a policy of non-alignment. It was a positive decision to keep aloof from military pacts. By non-alignment to any power bloc, India reserved the right to judge every international issue on its merit and to express her view freely and frankly without any fear and favour. She condemned the naked Anglo – French aggression on Egypt, the Russian repression in Hungary, the apartheid in South Africa, the colonialism in Angola, the U.N. involvement in Vietnam and the Israeli aggression against U.A.R. While explaining India's interpretation of non – alignment Shri Nehru himself said, When freedom is menaced or justice threatened or aggression takes place, we cannot be or shall not be neutral (Palmer and Perkins, 2007).

Panchshed and Peaceful co-existence: Peaceful co-existence of nations of diverse ideologies and interests is an important principle of our foreign policy. In practice it means that nations inhabited by people belonging to different religious and having different social systems can co-exist, live together in peace, while each follows its own system. The basic Indian philosophy was formally recognised when in 1954 China signed the famous declaration of the five principles, or panchsheel as the bases of their mutual relationship; the five principles are:

- (a) mutual respect for each others' territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- (b) mutual non – aggression
- (c) mutual non – interference in each others' internal affairs.
- (d) equality and mutual benefit and
- (e) peaceful co-existence

Anti Colonialism and Anti-Imperialism: India knew the evils of economic exploitation under colonialism. Therefore she did not want the contribution of colonialism in any part of the world any from. Therefore, after independence India showed zero tolerance towards colonialism and imperialism. She was interested particularly in the de-colonisation of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. It supported liberation movements in Indonesia, Libya against neo- colonialism and demanded a new international economic order based on equity and fairness. It also initiated the idea of South-South cooperation to promote self-reliability among developing countries.

Anti-Racialism: India has consistently supported the establishment of an equalitarian human society in which

discrimination based on colour, race, class, etc, does not exist. India firmly believes that racialism is one of the sources of conflict in the world, and therefore a threat to international peace and security. India has supported the UN efforts leading adoption of covenants of human Rights and the observance of fundamental freedoms all over the world (Palmer and Perkins, 2007).

Promotion of World Peace: We believe that international disputes should be settled through negotiations and peaceful means and not by force India believes in the United Nations organisation's principle of peace and development; without peace there is no progress of mankind. As a member of the U.N.O India played an active role in reducing tension on several occasion e.g. Korean War (1950) Indo-China crisis (1954) Suez crisis (1956) and Congo Problem (1960). India sent her military forces to several UN peacekeeping missions in Congo, Angola, Gaza and Cyprus (Palmer and Perkins, 2007).

Faith in United Nations: India has great faith in United Nations. She stands for settlement of all disputes under the aegis of the UN through peaceful means.

Faith in Pious Means: India lays great emphasis on the good means. She has always insisted that the means for the attainment of the foreign policy objectives should be above – board and conform to the well known tradition of India (Chaudhary, 2007).

Conflict of Interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Review

Egypt and "Democracy Dilemma"

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The principal objective of this paper is to describe and analyze the failure process of democratization in the Egypt after Mubarak regime. The article continues to give an overview over the current situation inside Egypt after the revolution and collects some evidence for a changed relationship between democracy and stability inside the country. In this context, when Mohammad Morsi won the presidential election in June 2012, On 3 July, 2013, a coalition led by the Egyptian army chief General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi removed the President of Egypt, Mohammad Morsi, from power and suspended the Egyptian constitution, as a conscious response to Egyptian protesters who demanded the end of Morsi's administration and the initiation of early presidential elections. This vicious cycle repeats itself is authoritarian survival of the political regime, which is an intrinsic tendency in Egyptian politics. As Egypt's flawed transition after the Arab Spring requires a comprehensive analysis, this brief aims to discuss the complex nature and practice of authoritarian survival in Egypt and to offer realistic policy alternatives in dealing with this structural problem. Therefore the Egyptian revolution created a situation of transition which is by definition a period of instability and limited prediction. This is a crucial issue because the direction and orientation of a deep societal democratization process are still unclear.

Key words: Egypt, democracy, revolution, authoritarian, Mubarak regime.

INTRODUCTION

Former president Hosni Mubarak has been in power for thirty-years and was removed from office during the Arab Spring. Dissatisfactions over corruption, lack of freedom of speech, economic issues as food price inflation, high unemployment, low wages and the enrichment of the ruling elite were the reasons for the protests. Within the revolution, Egypt's focus was on change in society and politics. In particular, Egypt wanted an end to Mubarak's three decades rule, and wanted to get rid of its current constitution. As the Middle East's "population and intellectual leader," Egypt is in a unique position to

demonstrate successful democratization in the Arab world. On February 11, the Egyptian Armed Forces seized power from President Mubarak in a coup d'état. The coup was staged in response to determined protests over eighteen days by hundreds of thousands of Egyptians demanding the ouster of the autocratic and corrupt Mubarak regime and its replacement with democracy. In the November elections the Muslim Brotherhood, previously illegal, was swept into power with 52 percent of the vote. In June 2012, Mohammad Morsi, a member of the Brotherhood, became the first

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Freely elected President in Egyptian history. Egypt's (seemingly) successful transition to civilian rule drew accolades from the international community. Another victory for democracy, but things were not as rosy as they seemed, and Egypt's problems do not end there.

In general, with the benefit of hindsight, most observers were too optimistic in 2011 when they predicted that the "Arab Spring or Islamic Awakening" would quickly lead to democracy. Specifically, in Egypt when Mohammad Morsi was elected in 2012, many in the Islamic Republic of Iran, including me, were hopeful that he would become a democratic president for all Egyptians. Unfortunately, his presidency quickly became a proxy for the Muslim Brotherhood, and under his leadership the country was driven to the edge of civil war. Millions took to the streets on June 30, 2013, to demand change and greater stability for Egypt. Therefore, on 3 July, 2013, a coalition led by the Egyptian army chief General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi removed the President Morsi from power by military coup d'état and suspended the Egyptian constitution, as a conscious response to Egyptian protesters who demanded the end of Morsi's administration and the initiation of early presidential elections.

In this respect, the Egyptian military coup appears to break the traditional mold of military coups and the positive outlook for the future in the aftermath of the revolution has been replaced with dim prospects. This means that, history repeats itself in Egypt. The academic literature, to date, has analyzed all military coups under an anti-democratic framework and viewed them as an affront to stability and democracy. Based on the above mentioned topics, there are many analyses about promoting reform and democratization in Egypt. Yet, the steps that have been taken so far have been limited, and have resulted in little more than cosmetic changes. It has not helped that most analyses on the prospects for political reform in Egypt are stymied by fears that the only alternative to the post authoritarian regime is an Islamism one. But is it really true that Egypt is inherently caught between authoritarianism and Islamism? In this regard Weber believes that the Egypt's political system and social structures, like many in the Arab world, have widely been described as authoritarian or neo-patrimonial. (Bauer, 2011: 3)

In this regard, the definition of democracy in Egypt is simply "not the current regime." Indeed as according to experts, the Cairo protest was revolutionary because for the first time, the people are taking responsibility of their government and embracing notions of a need to do something about it. Democracy is thought to encompass "individual freedom and identity, diversity, (political and economic) competition, (popular sovereignty), and political accountability". Indeed, Egypt's transition to democracy has been undermined by the legacy of almost 60 years of consecutive rule by men from the military. With attention in Egypt focused on the current political situation, it is critical to look back and understand how the

country arrived where it is today. Crucially, this entails a serious examination of the failures of democracy in Egypt. Therefore, in this paper, the discussion will be about historical dimensions of the failure of Egypt's democratic transition.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Egypt, a proud nation with an ancient history, lies at the heart of the Arab world and is often viewed as a bellwether for broader trends in the region. With a population of around 80 million and its location bridging both Africa to the Middle East and the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, Egypt has long played a pivotal role in the region. And in a region that has seen more than its share of internal political crises – military coups, civil wars, and revolutions – Egypt stands out as having experienced remarkable continuity in its domestic political scene. Nevertheless, three years after uprising, Egypt's capital is crowded, busy, confused, and messy.

The military has taken firm control, elevating its leader, Gen. Abdel Fata al-Sisi, to the presidency. He follows in the footsteps of dictators Jamal Abdel Al-Nasser, Anwar al-Sadat, and Hosni al-Mubarak. Now what is democracy? Thus far, the definition of democracy in Egypt is simply "not the current regime." Indeed as according to experts, the Cairo protest was revolutionary because for the first time, the people are taking responsibility of their government and embracing notions of a need to do something about it. Democracy is thought to encompass "individual freedom and identity, diversity, political and economic competition, popular sovereignty, and political accountability" (Tessler, 2007: 109). Within the revolution, Egypt's focus was on change in society and politics. In particular, Egypt wanted an end to Mubarak's thirty-year rule, and wanted to get rid of its current constitution. As the Middle East's "population and intellectual leader," Egypt is in a unique position to demonstrate successful democratization in the Arab world (Roskin and Coyle, 2008: 292).

Now that Mubarak is overthrown and after a military coup led by General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, we seek to review how Egypt's expectations align with that of their reality, even though Egypt's expectations are more so vaguely defined than they are clearly defined once culture is taken into account. Now as Egypt's military currently governs the country, we seek to examine how the debate behind Egypt's ability to democratize will play out. The country is at a very critical point between despotism and democratization is battling it out. At this critical point, the country can easily slip back into authoritarianism. Moreover regarding Egypt's fragile political state, Egypt's political history can further exacerbate this slip back into authoritarianism, which is not in favor of successful democratization. Egypt's political history poses the greatest impediment to Egypt

pursuing a democratic form of governance on account of its numerous cycles of authoritarian rule.

Democratization may prove a challenging development for Egypt because they have democratic rule to refer to in their history. In the eyes of its political history and current actions taken, military rule is not viewed positively toward shaping democracy given that Egypt has had military dictatorships in the past. This strong predominance of authoritarianism in Egypt's history and culture could explain the misconnection between where Egypt wants to be versus where they currently are now in democratizing. For this reason, Egypt's revolution faded away as the military reconstituted Mubarak's repressive structure.

Historical context at a glance

Egypt, since its independence on February 1922, has struggled for real democracy. The constitution of 1923 established a democratic parliamentary system similar to that of many contemporary European nations. (Youssef, 1983 : 27-34 and Hilal, 1977: 12-65:) It stated that the people were the source of all powers. It also included a number of important democratic principles such as separation of powers, ministerial responsibility, and freedom of the press as well as a wide range of civil and individual liberties. But this democratic experience ended with the advent of the military on July 1952. Unfortunately, the period 1923-1952 was characterized by constant political instability. The Wafd Party, which was the unchallenged majority party during this period, was not able to remain in power for more than eight years. Thus, minority parties ruled over the rest of the period (Murray, 1973: 3-36). All in all, we may argue that the liberal experience failed to solve the socio-economic problems of the country in addition to its failure in obtaining complete independence from Britain.

After the collapse of the monarchy in 1952, the free officers decided not to share power and instead established an authoritarian regime. On January 16, 1953, they promulgated a law banning all political parties. During the period 1962-1976, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was the sole, legitimate political party. The regime monopolized all political activities and suppressed all forms of opposition, secular and religious. Some scholars argued that the crucial factors of the legitimacy and survival of the regime came from Nasser's charismatic appeal. However, Nasserism failed to institutionalize itself as an ideology that could ensure its long-term durability and mobilize the social forces that had benefited from its founder's policies. It was clear that Nasser's regime, by the late 1960s, faced a number of crises, chief among which was a participation crisis (Hassan, 2010: 319-320).

Following Nasser's death in 1970, his successor, President Anwar Sadat tried to legitimize his rule using three slogans: The rule by law; government by institutions; and; political freedom. Sadat himself spearheaded the

critique of the ruling ASU by issuing the October 1974 Manifesto which basically outlined the Sadat regime's plans to liberalize the Egyptian polity, as a major departure from the Nasser regime. So, with the official adoption of a policy of economic and political liberalization, Egypt witnessed the dawning of a new political climate. The issue of democracy became a public concern, which the system could not afford to ignore any longer.

Upon ascending to the presidency after Sadat's assassination in 1981, Mubarak took some steps designed to turn the wheels of governance from authoritarianism to democratization. One major measure was his decision to release political prisoners. Another measure was the call for national reconciliation, especially among Egypt's polarized political factions. Significantly, Mubarak re-inaugurated the process of political liberalization. In doing so, he won a considerable goodwill from all Egyptians. However, Mubarak first test was his handling of the 1984 parliamentary elections (Hilal, 1986). The elections were conducted for the first time in Egyptian history according to the proportional representation electoral system. In early 2005, the Mubarak regime had another opportunity to reverse the tide of authoritarianism and set Egypt on the path to democratization. But this evolution is also not effective.

On April 30, 2006, the Egyptian Parliament voted by a large majority to renew the emergency law. This law grants the president extraordinary powers to detain citizens, prevent public gatherings, and issue decrees with little accountability to Parliament or the people. The vote was a familiar ritual: the Egyptian Parliament has routinely approved the emergency law for most of the past forty years.

A few months prior to the April vote, the Supreme Constitutional Court issued a ruling that substantially limited the scope of the president's authority under the emergency law. The Court's decision prohibited the president from using the emergency law to assert government control over private property in non-emergency situations, and admonished the prime minister for applying it in a manner that disregarded the constitutional rights of Egyptians. Many civil society groups also challenged the law, especially the Muslim Brotherhood. It organized several demonstrations to protest the parliamentary vote and criticized the law extensively in the media. Its parliamentary delegation denounced the measure as contrary to the principles of Islam because it ignored the wishes of the Egyptian people and failed to serve the public interest.

After the Egyptian transition experience from the fall of President Hosni Mubarak in February 2011, in June 2012, Mohamed Morsi won the presidential election with 51.73% of total votes to become the first democratically elected president of Egypt, but on 28 April 2013, "Tamarod" was started as a grassroots movement to collect signatures to remove Morsi by 30 June. (Ahrum

Online, 30 June 2013) They called for peaceful demonstrations across Egypt especially in front of the Presidential Palace in Cairo. The movement was supported by the National Salvation Front, April 6 Youth Movement and Strong Egypt Party. Then a coalition led by the Egyptian army chief General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi removed the President of Egypt, Mohamed Morsi, from power. On this basis, once again, Egypt's transition to democracy has been undermined by the legacy of almost 60 years of consecutive rule by men from the military. These events illustrate a growing contradiction in contemporary Egypt. An observer could easily conclude that the country is a classic example of stable authoritarianism. The regime controls much of the media, dominates political life, and suppresses its opponents with a vast array of legal and extra-legal tools. It also carefully monitors and manipulates civil society groups and political parties. And yet, Egyptian political life includes several features that suggest a different picture.

Egypt's uprising and its vicious cycle

In Egypt, approximately 60 percent of the population is under age the age of 30, many of whom are educated yet unemployed (Alterman, 2012: 9). This clearly aligns with Huntington's observation that "the higher the level of education of the unemployed, alienated, or otherwise dissatisfied person, the more extreme the resulting destabilizing behavior." (Huntington, 2006, 48) Kimenyi agrees with Huntington using sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset who said that "the demand for democracy is a result of broader processes of modernization and development. In the long run, it is very difficult for societies that have attained high living standards to tolerate living under autocratic regimes." (Kimenyi, 2011: 1) Kimenyi also points out that once a significant percentage of the population has access to education, it becomes more difficult for elites "to continue to justify the exclusion of resources and privileges to the general population." (Kimenyi, 2011: 2).

Furthermore, Kimenyi greatly observes that indeed, the Egyptian revolution was led by young college graduates forming the country's middle class "that are no longer willing to live under semi-feudal autocrats." However, the high rate of unemployment makes reading "emerging middle class" rather difficult; and yet it is plausible that this unemployment could also be because the significantly inequitable income distribution that is present in Egypt. In Egypt, approximately 40.5 percent of the population is poor (Nawar, 2007: 33). Also, these recent college graduates or "emerging middle class" have access to technology and digital information, whereas the mass does not. Currently in the Middle East, including Egypt, there are only the elite and then there are the masses, neither of whom would suggest a revolution.

Egyptian selected January 25, 2011 as the official

protesting day because that day in Egypt is Police Day, and that day followed briefly after Tunisia overthrew their president. The people's demands during the protests were as follows: Mubarak must immediately resign. The national assembly and senate must be dissolved. A "national salvation group" must be established that includes all public and political personalities, intellectuals, constitutional and legal experts, and representatives of youth groups who called for the demonstrations on Jan. 25 and 28. This group would form a transitional coalition government for a transitional period. The group would also form a transitional presidential council until the next presidential elections. A new constitution must be written to guarantee the principles of freedom and social justice. Those responsible for killing of hundreds of martyrs in Tahrir Square must be prosecuted. Detainees must be released immediately.

Not surprisingly that the Egypt as a Muslim country during the protest, everything stopped for prayer and then the protest resumed. This indicated great respect for culture, even though the organizers themselves were secularists. As Benson and Snow (2000: 621-622) point out, the more relatable the movements' framings are to the daily experiences and cultures of targeted populations, "the greater their salience, and the greater the probability and prospect of mobilization." With that in mind, it is also important to point out that numerous groups, including the Muslim Brotherhood, participated and helped lead the protests at Tahrir Square. Political diversity, an element of democracy that Tessler mentioned, has merged in the fight to overthrow Mubarak.

During the 18 days of protest, Mubarak sent the military to contain protestors. Certainly in accordance to Brinton's (1965), anatomy of a revolution, the military ultimately sided with the people and helped to overthrow Mubarak. Yet in Egypt, the army tends to side with the people – or the people tend to trust and count on the military. Haass (2011) states that Egypt's revolution occurred because of three decades of Mubarak's rule, planned hereditary of presidency, corruptions, and economic reforms not helping the majority of Egyptians. Haass (2011) also notes that while some protestors in Egypt want complete democracy, the majority of Egyptians simply want a less corrupt government, greater ability to participate in politics, and a better economy than that of the overthrown regime.

And on the other hand, when the Egyptians speak of good and bad government, they speak of justice versus injustice as opposed to freedom versus restrictions. Islamic tradition states that a just ruler has rightly obtained power and is required to righteously exercise that power. It appears to be that to justly obtain power, the people may have to concur that the ruler is the rightful one, but Allah (or his Prophet) must approve of this ruler. Islamic tradition also stresses obedience for Muslims should "obey God, obey the Prophet, obey those who

hold authority over you” except “in sin;” then subjects have the responsibility to revolutionize and defy. Some experts believe that it is not possible for Egypt, along with other countries to democratize, because in Islam, Muslims stress that Allah is the ultimate authority.

Generally, in the Arab countries, good versus bad government is more closely aligned with justice and injustice as opposed to liberties or freedom. There were two points made concerning proper conduct of the government in relation to the ruler:

- 1) Consultation, where the ruler adheres to “consultants” such as advisors, cabinet members, and any other sort of governmental body and vice-versa; and
- 2) Consent and contract, where both rulers and subjects are accountable toward each other (Lewis, 2011).

One could think of these two points as a sort of checks and balances, since the “consultants” could very easily get rid of a ruler and subjects can ultimately overthrow a ruler. However, it is thought that modernization would lead to ending Islamic checks and balances because unlike in many Western governments, Islamic societies had many levels in-between restricting the ruler’s powers. Modernization typically gets rid of traditions (Roskin and Coyle, 2008).

Very importantly, Egypt has had millenniums of non-democratic rule. Their ancient era consisted of monarchies, military dictatorships, conqueror rule (including that of the Ottomans) and colonial rule (France and Britain) through various conquerors as well as original settlers until 1952, when Abdul Nasser became the country’s leader (Roskin and Coyle, 2008). Hence, Egypt really does not have its political history to look to as a source for forming their democracy. Even under the rule of Nasser, “there was no democracy; elections were fake” (Roskin and Coyle, 2008: 88). Then came the presidency of Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak after the assassination of Sadat. While, since 1952, presidents came to power by democratic means or processes, their rule and leadership have been authoritarianist. Recently, right before the Egyptian revolution, many members of Muslim Brotherhood claimed to be “independent” to gain seats in Parliament, especially because the Brotherhood in itself is “still technically illegal for advocating Islamic rule.

Nowadays, after the new government, still polling in Egypt is notoriously weak; the Egyptian military used its control of the state media to discourage further revolutionary activity after Mubarak fell; and the current regime has quashed dissent substantially. Indeed, a true revolution never happened in the first place. This is what a crucial bloc of Egyptians wanted: stability, as they defined it, rather than the deep institutional reforms that a true revolution required.

In fact, during all of the major political developments of the past four years, many Egyptians have explained their

actions to achieve “stability.” In this vein, they welcomed the military’s assumption of power after Mubarak fell, trusting the military as a stabilizing force. Many of them similarly supported the Muslim Brotherhood’s overwhelming victory in the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections and Mohamed Morsi’s narrow victory in the June 2012 presidential elections, viewing the Brotherhood as a well-organized political movement that could provide stability – a word the Brotherhood used frequently during its various campaigns. And when Morsi’s November 2012 power grab catalyzed massive discontent and months of political upheaval, a critical mass of Egyptians similarly welcomed the military takeover that ousted him in mid-2013 as a stabilizing force once again. These Egyptians now bristle when others (accurately) call Morsi’s ouster a “coup,” because for them, the primary goal was never procedural democracy.

In this regard, when an Egyptian court dismissed all criminal charges against former dictator Hosni Mubarak in November 29, 2014, many called it the final nail in coffin of the “revolution” that ousted Mubarak from power in February 2011. “Egypt’s revolution is dead, “the January revolution is over; they ended it,” the majority of independent Medias reported. After the July 2013 ouster of Egypt’s first freely elected president and the subsequent rise of another former military general to the presidency, the end of Mubarak’s criminal case looks like the Snake and Ladder on Egypt’s counterrevolutionary game.

Yet this narrative misunderstands what Egypt’s Tahrir Square revolt meant to many Egyptians, particularly those from the country’s political center, which is overwhelmingly rural and traditional, although not necessarily Islamist. Far from desiring the far-reaching – revolutionary – political reform that the “Arab Spring or Islamic awakening” narrative embodied, many of these Egyptians endorsed only the uprising’s two most basic goals: ending Mubarak’s 30-year rule and preventing the succession of his son Jamal. From their perspective, Mubarak had simply ruled for too long, and his apparent attempt to install Jamal as his successor reeked of pharaonism. For these Egyptians, the “revolution,” as they refer to the uprising, didn’t die with Saturday’s trial verdict, because Mubarak still isn’t president. And ever since Mubarak was overthrown, their goal has been to return to normalcy, even if that falls short of democracy.

Of course, the youth activists who catalyzed the Tahrir Square uprising had a very different view: They wanted a real revolution that completely overhauled the previous regime, and they hesitated to leave Tahrir Square even after Mubarak fell. The Mubarak regime, they argued, wasn’t just composed of one man and his family, but encompassed a whole set of repressive state institutions that remained firmly in place. So in the months that followed Mubarak’s ouster, the activists demonstrated repeatedly against the military junta that succeeded him, and staged multiple attacks on the Interior Ministry. But

with each new round of mobilization, the activists found their numbers shrinking, as the Islamists focused on electoral campaigning while the centrists wanted all protest activity to cease immediately.

Yet in those early months after Mubarak's ouster, the activists still had one rallying cry that could draw large numbers to Tahrir Square: "Put Mubarak and his cronies on trial!" Although many Egyptians saw little use in trying Mubarak, an 82-year-old ex-dictator with no prospect of returning to power, they didn't object to it either. So starting in late March 2011, the activists organized demonstrations demanding Mubarak's arrest. Fearing that it could become the target of the next uprising, the military complied and detained Mubarak on April 13. The fact that Mubarak's indictment was political (and it undoubtedly was) contributed to the dropping of charges against him on Saturday, November 29, 2014.

Once Mubarak was on trial, however, the activists were rarely able to mobilize the masses on their own. Meanwhile, sensing the activists' alienation from the broader Egyptian public, the military junta increasingly repressed the ongoing demonstrations with brutal force. Dozens were killed in the year after Mubarak's ouster, and thousands more wounded – with minimal popular outcry beyond the activists' ranks. When the current regime effectively banned massive demonstrations last year, its large "stability"-oriented base naturally hailed the move.

The current regime's support within this segment of the population is likely to evaporate if President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi does not provide political and economic stability. But even then, support for far-reaching institutional change – a real revolution – probably would remain slim within Egypt. The violent chaos that has overtaken other "Arab Spring" revolutions, that many Egyptians prefer to avoid. But even before these civil wars exploded, many Egyptians already were wary of revolution, and content to settle for Mubarak's ouster.

Authoritarianism and uncertainty: the dominant paradigm

Countries frequently face course of action crises and great events that change their future by turning from one way to another. Egypt is not an exception to that rule, as we see by the Egyptian revolution in 1952 and 2011. One week before 23 July, 1952, Egypt was an authoritarian occupied country by Britain, despite the many features of democracy especially in parliamentary elections and party system but it was all formal features, while in reality the British governor kept all powers in his hand. And after him comes the king with his authority. One week before the revolution of 25th January, Egypt was a stable, authoritarian regime, prospects of change were minimal and every expert in the world would have bet on the endurance of its regime. However, on January 25, a great

revolution took place in Egypt.

When General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi deposed and arrested President Mohamed Morsi in July 2013, he delivered the coup de grace to an already ailing democratic process in Egypt. Now the country is most likely bracing for more years of autocratic rule under field marshal and national hero al-Sisi. Why did Egypt miss the chance to build democratic governance? Moreover, what does the astonishing popularity of another military strongman tell us about Egyptian politics? There is sufficient evidence to argue that reckless human action, more than structural constraints or some innate culture (Al-Anani, 2013), caused Egypt's democratic fiasco. Yet the problem seems to go much deeper than the political actors' bad behavior or miscalculations.

The central government in Cairo is unlikely to be in a position anytime soon to certify that Egypt is on the road to democracy and the story now unfolding in Egypt will be a long one and largely beyond people's control. The country's politics do not represent a dichotomy between democracy and autocracy or Islamism and secularism, but rather the interplay between several large forces (an entrenched bureaucracy, a sprawling military, political Islam) to which a new and potent force has been added: the people's expectation of political participation.

Continuing this approach as indicated above, the biggest challenge for democracy in the Egypt is history, for the predominance of authoritarianism would make democratizing a rather difficult, if not lengthy, process. As Tessler (2007: 108) quoted, "democracy is not attained simply by making institutional changes through elite-level maneuvering. Its survival depends also on the values and beliefs of ordinary citizens." According to Brown (2011: 129), "the opposition would like to see a whittling down of the powers of the presidency; firm institutional guarantees of judicial independence, largely in form of a more autonomous and powerful judicial council; judicial monitoring of elections; an end to exceptional courts and Egypt's state of emergency; more robust instruments for protecting rights and freedoms; and a truly pluralist party system." Brown suggests that while Egyptians may not exactly opt for an American-type of "checks and balances," they tend to discuss a more literal "separation of powers."

Generally, thought-of hindrances to establishing a democracy in Egypt as well as the Arab countries as a whole include, but are not limited to deep roots of authoritarianism, lack of a civil society, and lack of Islamic political thought of what "citizenship" is or means (Lewis, 2011). Roskin and Coyle mentioned that "at a certain point during the modernization process, demands for democratization rise." Usually poorer countries (whose GDP per capita is less than \$5,000) failed to democratize, while better off countries (whose GDP per capita is more than \$6,000) successfully democratized (Roskin and Coyle, 2008: 279). The CIA World Factbook estimated GDP per capita for Egypt as of 2010 is \$6,200

(in purchase parity power, or PPP). Attempts at democracy in poor lands tend to fail as populist demagogues or military officers turn themselves into authoritarian leaders (Roskin and Coyle, 2008: 279). Based on income alone, modernization theory suggests that Egypt should successfully democratize, but its current praetorianism combined with the people's typically extraordinary trust in the military could lead this attempt at democratization to fail, or military officers would have "turned themselves into authoritarian leaders."

Currently, el-Sisi is Egypt's eighth president since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1953, the year after a military coup. With the exception of Morsi and two civilians who served in an interim capacity, all of Egypt's presidents have come from the armed forces. But the fate of Egyptian presidents in the last 60 years was not particularly bright: Nasser died of a heart attack, Sadat was assassinated, and the last two presidents, Mubarak and Morsi, are serving time in jail. Since the overthrow of Morsi until the presidential election, el-Sisi was concerned with four key issues: changing the slogan of the ousted president from "Islam is the solution" to "security is the solution"; passing the "anti-protest law," banning the Muslim Brotherhood and designating them as a terrorist organization; and holding a referendum in January 2014 to seek electoral legitimacy for his policies. And the other hand, el-Sisi was responsible for overthrowing the Muslim Brotherhood regime headed by Mohammad Morsi in July 2013. These events have resulted in the death of 2,500 Egyptians, approximately 16,000 members ended up in prison, along with 20,000 or so revolutionaries, opposition leaders, journalists and regime opponents. In addition, TV channels were shut down, satirical shows taken off the air, and private newspapers were banned (Perlov, 2014).

But after four years the revolution: great challenges and empty slogans regarding the economy, terrorism and stability. Workers' strikes, power cuts, energy and gas crises, high unemployment rates, a collapsing lower middle class, students killed on university campuses, soaring food prices, a serious water shortage due to a mismanagement of water resources, a dwindling tourist industry, an untrained workforce and truncated productivity, domestic terrorism and a fight against jihadists in northern Sinai, a polarized society as volatile as a powder keg – all of these are part of the reality the new president must face should he wish to have a different end to his tenure, even before he tackles the demands of the revolution for social justice, freedom and democracy.

Hence, Egypt's democracy debacle was not simply the consequence of bad decision-making by political actors. Rather, it was part of a normative approach to mediating conflicts of power and interests. When in doubt, deferring to an arbitrator seems to be the default position in Egyptian political culture. To argue that political culture is the main cause of Egypt's transition failure does not

mean that the country has no potential for democratization or no democratic culture. On the contrary, millions of Egyptians took great risks in 2011 and again in 2013 precisely to topple authoritarian rule. The month-long, daily mass demonstrations in January 2011 were driven (at least in part) by democratic ideals including the rule of law, the desire to end corruption and nepotism, respect for human rights, free elections, and political representation. Even the acute institutional instability and political battles that followed Mubarak's departure showed that political legitimacy and popular sovereignty now matter.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that, since July 2013, el-Sisi has been a key, if not the key, player in the Egyptian political scene. He banned the Muslim Brotherhood, rounded up its leaders along with the revolutionary youth, undermined the political parties, and allowed the media to create an atmosphere of a personality cult around him. All was done in the name of averting civil war and restoring the state, which in fact no longer functions as a rational, non-partisan and non-ideological entity but rests mainly on coercive institutions, such as the security apparatus and the military, aided by the judiciary and the media. Egypt is increasingly becoming ungovernable and fragile according to the 2014 Fragile States Index where it ranked the country at 31 amongst 177 countries (Fragile State Index, 2014, Fund for Peace Foundation). Such authoritarian tendencies make it difficult for a healthy and competitive polity to emerge. With el-Sisi's polarizing discourse and fear-building repressive measures, it is hard to reach a consensus or achieve stability. His disregard for lawmaking and representative institutions, like the parliament, will further shrink his support base and discourage investors. He might keep himself afloat through the institutions of coercion and through regional support and the international complicity, but this situation might not be sustainable for long.

Conclusion

Nowadays, Egypt is a corrupt military dictatorship with grim prospects. Historically, Egypt has been an authoritarian state. The roots of authoritarianism can be traced to the Pharaonic tradition. Each modern regime - from the monarch to the current one, has maintained the authoritarian core of the Pharaonic tradition. Huntington (2006: 29) stated that invasion of foreign ideas spark revolutions. Especially if those foreign ideas are dramatically different than that domestically, the revolution is sparked only to be left with how to reconcile traditions starkly different than modernity. Such culturally ideological differences lead Egypt's expectations of democratization to optimistically exceed that of reality. Yet, as "the Arab brains are in Cairo," Egypt is key to figuring how to intertwine democracy with Islamic culture.

However, revolutionary and modernization theory suggests that intellectual, educated, middle-income Egypt should be able to successfully democratize, under presumptions that the Muslim Brotherhood would adhere to their sayings that they will embrace diversity more. This is very important if Egypt is to democratize, given that the majority would vote for Muslim Brotherhood, and Egyptians view them as the hopeful way of change. Today, Egypt really is not where they do want to be, and its political history significantly widens this expectation of the democratizing process versus where the democratizing process actually stands. The greatest issue within the revolution to bring democracy to Egypt is the millennia of authoritarianism the country has had. Sustainable development cannot be achieved without inclusive democracy, rule of law, and meaningful reforms. Even if el-Sisi succeeded, his policies might generate growth, but not balanced development. Ignoring poverty and unemployment, alienating youth, overlooking the parliament, and disrespecting the political process will lead to neither market reforms nor democracy.

Finally, the fact that today, the millions of Egyptians who swarmed into Tahrir Square in January 2011 demanding that Mubarak step down, and then again in June 2013 asking for the overthrow of President Mohammed Morsi, have learned how to use "people power." A wall of fear has been broken, and it would be difficult for another autocratic regime to succeed in ruling Egypt for an extended period of time.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Review

The geopolitics and human security of the Afar in the post-cold war period

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This paper draws attention to the new geopolitical dynamics of the Afar-Horn states in the Post Cold War period with respect to its effects on sub regional human insecurity (among the Afar people) in the Afar-Horn. Contrary to hitherto held assumptions about the nature of conflict in the Horn region as central of inter-state relations, the Post Cold War period has brought the Afar people in three political constellations that set the condition for the continuity of old local conflicts and the rise of new ones that in sum caused Human insecurity among the Afar. This underscores the dialectical interpenetrations and complex overlap of local, regional and global actors, issues, interests and contexts that harden the thrust of insecurity on the Afar commons. Accordingly, this study seeks to discern the cultural, structural and direct violence induced human insecurities in the Afar-Horn from the vintage point of the mutual causation of geopolitics and human security. Issues like inter-state war, ports, insurgency, political Islam and terrorism in the Afar Horn states hitherto examined by many academics within the state/national/militaristic security theoretical purview or limited to certain aspects are analyzed within human security paradigm and at comprehensive scope. Therefore, the study provides the nexus between spatial variations of human security and geopolitics of the Afar-Horn. In so doing, the pragmatic collection and analyses of primary and secondary sources is done within the triangulate theoretical construction human security, international relations and peace building. Thus, the claims, self-perpetuation of local and sub-regional violent conflicts in the Afar-Horn are the results of compartmentalized and diachronic orientations of action and reflection that got be addressed in synchronized manner with the bigger picture of the Afar-Horn and its multi-tired contexts.

Key words: Afar, Issa-Afar, Afar-Horn, human security, geopolitics.

INTRODUCTION

The Horn of Africa, in the strictest geographic meaning, constitutes countries in the rhino horn shaped part of

North-east Africa that includes Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea (*here in after referred as the Horn*).

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Geopolitically speaking the Horn covers wider area, including Sudan, Kenya and Uganda (*here in after referred as the region*). This paper addresses the geopolitics of Afar in the Horn- Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea (*here in after referred to as Afar-Horn*). Albeit recent shifts to the Great lakes region, the Afar-Horn has remained one of the most instable and insecure sub region in Africa, characterized by protracted violent conflict, disaster and poverty the Afar-Horn (Medhane, 2004:1-3).

The Afar homeland covers a substantial part of Afar-Horn states located at the nodal point of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, which is of major geopolitical significance (Getachew, 2001). This part of the Horn has long been Ethiopia's especial foreign policy and national security concerns, the Afar people are the center of gravity. The French control of Tajoura, Italian conquest of Red Sea coast by the end of 19th century, and the full incorporation of the Awassa Afar into Ethiopian Empire in the Post-Second World War period set the Afar in the Horn in different political structures and dispensations (Harbenson, 1978:481). This has led to the further division of the Afar in to in post-colonial Djibouti and Post-cold war Eritrea. The end of the cold war did not bring them out from the cold instead they remained the most underdeveloped minority, marginalized and vulnerable to disaster and violent conflicts in all the states they formed part. The post-cold war brief period of detent achieved in the Horn atrophied the Afar resistance and geopolitical significance of the Afar-Horn, only to renew world attention with the upsurge of Terrorism, Somalia crisis and Eritrea-Ethiopia war (Shehim and Searing , 1980: 217-9; Abbink, 2003: 407-11). The intensifications of old local, interstate and international conflicts, marginal power coefficient in national politics framed the Afar on the debt side of livelihoods and human security (Tadesse and Yonas, 2002:1-2).

Thus, this article upholds the argument that, therefore, it is in the purpose of this article is to describe the position of the Afar people in the political configuration of Afar-Horn states and link it with their livelihood and in turn show its effect on the security dilemma and political stability of the Afar-Horn states and the Afar people; finally it analyzes the impacts of the ports, Issa-Afar conflict, inter-state relations, insurgency, the comeback and renewed geopolitical interests of big powers, and the threat of political Islam on the livelihood security of the Afar people and geopolitics of the Afar-Horn.

Demographic and geographic overview of the Afar-Horn

The people of Afar are dominantly transhumant Muslims

pastoralists of the Southern Cushitic family that has a distinct identity, own vernacular language, contingent territory commonly known as the Afar-Triangle (located in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea) and are one of the ancient settlers of the Horn. The Afar-Triangle covers in the North from the Boori peninsula to the foot of Tigray and Amhara highlands in to the West. From East Djibouti city in the south along the railway line through Erer to Awash station; in the west the two joints make the vertex at Namal Fan 75km NE of Addis Ababa (Yasin, 2008: 39-40, 39-43, and 53-6).

The Afar believes in shared ancestor who first settled the Earth, belief in unity and indivisibility of the Afar people. The Afar people are the third biggest livestock producers. Social organization of the Afar is based on decent and affinal ties that a person through patrilineal decent system belongs to a particular clan (*mela*). In addition, loyalty of various clans in settlements to a major clan provides efficient and expedient modality to galvanize support in times of crisis (Yaynshet and Kelemework, 2004: 16). The Afar has some form of clan confederacies. Clan and family lineage with a paternal system of filiations and the practice of cross-cousin marriage (*Absuma*) determine social relations. The formation of hierarchical political system of sultanate over clan based social organization put together through the practice of *Absuma* marriage of social integration are elements of Afar social reality. Power and influence are accordingly dispersed along clan and sub-clan lines that divide some clans to the ruling (*Assaimara*) and others to the ruled (*Qaddoimara*). Some have social and juridical roles and influences *Makabon* (*traditional judges*), *Makabantu* (elders), *Keddoabba* (clan leaders), *Fiqqimaabba* (age-set bond) and the *Shakhist*-category of the *Qadi*, *Sharia* judges.

The clan constitutes almost everything in Afar social and political reality, even *Doroqqu -Muruuso* (crime and punishment) have clan referent. The clan system is believed to have maintained solidarity and social balance; to have contained disaster and enabled rapid resilience from natural and artificial shocks, reduced internal vulnerability and resistance against external threats. At the center of the social system stands a viable system conflict transformation codified into unwritten (until very recently) law the *Mada'a* and the the *Mablo* (Alula and Getachew (eds.) , 2008:4; Mu'uz, 2013:5-6). Their transhumant movement follows regular patters which are also rule governed-*the Hirta*-enforceable by the *Fiqqimaabba*. The Afar view of environment and human relationship is amazingly dialogical as to give legal provisions that lists name of trees and the corresponding punishment over cutting alive tree. Their concept of Environmental protection *par excels* modern theory of sustainable development (Yaynshet and Kelemework,

2004: 5-6 and 15).

The Afar people are located in the most arid but vital geopolitical part of the region. Before the Advent of colonial powers and the expansion of the Ethiopian Empire the Afar had reigned over five Sultanates from the Sultanate of Gobad in Middle Awash valley to Rahayata and Tio' in Eritrea and, Awussa in Lower Awash valley and Sultanate of Tadjoura in Djibouti (Yasin, 2008: 43). The Afar homeland constituted strategic geopolitical foci and resources endowments of Afar-Horn states; like the most utilized river Awash in Ethiopia runs 700km in the Afar homeland, road and rail life lines to the coast, and multi-million dollar project in Kessem-Tendaho and Tendaho Sugar plantation (Ibid), the biggest game reserves in Ethiopia, undeveloped land, water and geothermal potentials in Ethiopia; the vital ports of Assab in Eritrea and the transshipment regional hub at Djibouti are located in the Afar homeland.

Yet, they have typical pastoralist egalitarianism at all levels of social relations and social roles. Transhumance Pastoral production is the dominant mode of livelihood of the Afar. Although very limited in number the Afar have diversified livelihood, costal trade, fishery in Eritrea, agro pastoralists production and salt trade along the fertile banks of Awash River and in the North Afar of Ethiopia at Aba'ala, and petty commerce in Djibouti.

Currently the Afar people are the most underdeveloped Afar-Horn states, in all human development indexes the lowest, living in fragile and disaster prone environment with deteriorating livelihood, snared in the web of local, regional and international conflicts (Yasin, 2008: 43). Their communality notwithstanding, they exhibit spatial variations across states.

The Afar in Ethiopia

Ethiopian Afar constitutes north and south eastern arid and semi-arid land in the Ethiopian vertex of the Afar triangle facing the state of Eritrea and the republic of Djibouti. Internally they are bordered with regional states of Tigray in the north, Oromia in the south, Amhara in the west, Somali in the South and Djibouti republic in the east. Temperature ranges from 28-48 degree centigrade and rainfall is one of the lowest in Ethiopia. According to the 2008 national census the population of Ethiopian Afar is estimated to 1.4 million (ECSA, 2008). The Afar National regional State is organized under 5 zone, 32 wereda, 365 kebele administrative units over 100, 8670 sq.km of mainly arid land. Less than 9% of the population lives in towns and not more than 6% of the population use modern court services (ANRS, 2008:6). They have boundary contentions with all ethnic groups they share boundary with; in Middle Awash valley the Oromo

(Karrayu and Ittu), Afar, Issa and Hawiya Somali clans, and Argoba are locked in triangular conflict interface: control and access to scarce resources is one element (Getachew, 2001).

The Afar in Eritrea

The Afar in Eritrea are located in two semi-autonomous zones the Southern and Northern Red Sea Zones with 7% of the total population of Eritrea; the Southern known as Dankalia is arid and desert ecological region. The Northern Red Sea Zone has a large population of people of many different ethnic groups. About 800 km of the 2,234 km Red Sea Coastline of the State of Eritrea is in Afar region which is 4% of Eritrea's total area (AfarCommunity, 2007). According to recent reports, the Red Sea Afar has very marginal representation in the strong unitary state of Eritrea (QFARMAROO, 2009: 2-3). Their dominant livelihood is Pastoralist livestock production, fishery, salt production and trade; besides they work as laborers in the port of Assab and Massawa. Annual Rainfall ranges from 150-200mm, temperature ranges from 38-54degree Celsius. The Assaimera--Damohoita clan family in and around Assab and Baulul are engaged in trade, fishing and urban employment, the Dunna clan in the hills of Dino are engaged in agricultural practice (Dinuucci and Zeremariam, 2003: 11). Tradition had it that only the Assaimera can own grazing land and have a say on matters of access to grazing land and water resources; the Addoimera have the use right.

The Afar in Djibouti

According to official statistics the Afar constitutes 20% of the total population and they represent 30% at the National Assembly. Three decades ago the Afar constituted about 60% and was political majority in the country. They live in both the Northern and Western regions, which make up about 87% of the country total area in three administrative districts known as Tadjourah (Hassoba clan), Dekhil (Adarassoul and Debne clans) and Obock (Adail and Badoita Mela clans) and in Arhiba quarter of Djibouti city (Schrader, 1993:204-206). Livelihood of the Afar in Djibouti is of extremely marginal contribution to the GDP; livestock production by the vast majority of extremely poor pastoralists contributes 3-5% to GNP and 10% of the national food requirement; and yet, it is the only livelihood for 33.3-50% of the country's population and 90% of the rural population which constitute 20% of total population size. The Afar dominantly live in rural area engaged in traditional subsistence pastoralists animal production located in the

most arid and semi arid part of Djibouti vulnerable to drought and famine (Brass, 2007: 1-2).

Anatomy of Conflicts in the Afar-Horn

Conflict in the Afar-Horn is characterized by linkages among local, regional and international conflicts imbedded in historical and structural fault lines. One such a conflict is the long standing Issa-Afar conflict that keeps channelling itself along ethnic fault lines and pulling state and non state actors into the local-regional spiral of violence. The existence of networks of trade routes that transverse through uncontrolled clan territories serves as the trajectory of conflict. Besides insurgencies roaming around buffer zone and illicit trade networks serve as supply lines of the arms. Competition to control those trade routes intensifies Issa-Afar confrontations. Moreover, interstate border conflicts and the dire need to secure access to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean ports invites heavy hand state intervention that scale up possibility of interstate war and hence regional instability. Furthermore, threat of international terrorist networks and radical Islamists as well as criminal networks (*Somalia Piracy*) visa-a-vise big power involvement in the Horn overlaps local, regional and global conflict dynamics. However, the underlying factor remains to be the ever worsening deterioration of livelihood engendered by structural marginalization and political oppression of the people of the Horn: pastoralists are the most affected. This pertains to Post-Cold War changes imparted on the nature of the region, the state and external involvement (Leaderach, 2006: 135). In this respect the Afar-Horn states have undergone tremendous changes since the end of the cold war that defined the changing face of conflicts.

The Horn of Regional Security Complex

Conflicts in the Horn have become more of intra-state in post cold war period, and at the same time, except for a brief period of detents that lasted from 1991-1995, interstate conflicts have not any less been inhibited (Griggs, 1995:5)¹. The super power rivalry in the region that had suppressed local contradictions gone with the end of the Cold War, it sporadically set them free. Against the backdrop of regime changes, state (re)formation and destation

¹In this year governments of Eritrea vs. Islamic militants (Government vs. Insurgencies), Ethiopia vs. OLF, Sudan vs. SPLA, Somaliland vs. Issaq (State vs. Nation), Djibouti vs. FRUD, struggle for power among 13 Somalia clan in Stateless Somalia (Government vs. Ethnic insurgencies) represented the inward shift of nature of conflict that also had external referents expressed in interstate conflict.

and the prevalence of arms resulted in prevalence of conflict; add to it, the prevalence of multitude of armed and grieved groups contributed to the militarization of daily life. Subsequent massive refugee influx and insipient humanitarian crisis resulted in amplification of community grievance and violence (Griggs, 1995:8; Woodward, 2002:1). Despite remarkable intervention by foreign forces/actors, security interdependence of Horn states and the less mutability of conflict and security to external influences characterize the region the peculiarity of a regional security complex. According to Medhane Tadesse (2008), 'the Horn of Africa represents . . . a reverse theory of hegemonic stability, in which superpower hegemony deepens rather than lessens political stability.' (Medhane, 2004:1; Healy, 2008:138) this used to be true to the extent that, there was no major military and economic hegemonic actor until the recent ascent of Ethiopia as regional power, that there still is web of insecurity factors and no acceptable and viable sub/regional modality of conflict resolution recognized by all states (Healy, 2008:6-7;Lunn, 2008:69; Berouk, 2011:1-4). The Afar-Horn situated at the heart of such security and conflict structure, therefore, constitutes the Horn of regional security complex. Nonetheless, those new developments and accompanying changes in the constituency, nature of actors and relationships were not *sin qua non* though necessary conditions to the prevalence of violent conflict in the Horn. The nature and multiplicity of immediate conflict presenting issues embedded in the context-pattern of relationships and structures rooted in history were determinant in defining conflict dynamics and contemporary geopolitical landscape of the Afar-Horn (Berouk, 2011:1-4).

The States, Governments and Politics

The Horn states are characterized by multiple anomalies partly owing to the colonial legacy, the process of state formation, the nature of political systems and objective geopolitical realities that in turn defined the continuities and discontinuities of major features discussed in sections to come.

Marginalization, State Fragility and Poverty

The post colonial states in the Afar Horn almost in all of them, including Ethiopia have been languishing under absolutist monarchs, military dictators and semi-parliamentary unity-fanatic political systems. Long history of political oppression, economic marginalization and socio-cultural alienation, given the absence of any viable democratic modality of doing politics, had inevitably led to the prevalence of armed resistance with a range of

objectives from fair representation to quest for state of one's own. A case in point is the various Afar ethno-nationalist groups and the EPLF. History of war, drought, declining resource base and slack in institutional capacity to respond to unfolding hazards left the state fragile. Up until the recent phenomenal rising of Ethiopia and its positive effects on Djibouti, the Afar-Horn remained sad news of the world media. Factors debilitating state-society disarticulation has imparted the biggest blow on pastoralist communities' livelihood; and hence scarcity and drought translated through competition to secure basic security needs into violence that often express itself under ethno-territorial banner (Medhane, 2004:5-6; (Prendergart, 2006:161-164). The worst hits always never missed the Afar and the Issa. Nothing proves more than the lowest scores the Afar-Horn is known for all human development indexes dealt at length in the forthcoming sections. Subjective as might so be, the lived experience of the author among the Afar of Ethiopia and proximate to the Afar-Horn underpinned the same.

Borders: resourcing and disgracing

Borders of the post-colonial state as much arbitrary and porous as contested has the spell of rising the zombie of irredentist and ethno-nationalist wars in Afar-Horn states that more often than not has correlates of local conflicts. In addition to factors associated with the arbitrary nature of colonial borders, the ethno-regional anomalies and consequent irredentism, the prevalence of armed groups near contested frontiers creates fertile condition to the development of mutual-intervention utilizing aggrieved local communities in the ungoverned state peripheries like the Afar and the Issa (Abbink, 2003:200-212;Cliff, 1999: 90). Moreover, competing efforts of resourcing borders and borderlands unfolds local conflicts and gives them a regional character. Resourcing and conflict follow few correlates including demographic size and cross border settlement, relatively bigger population size settling along a contiguous territory allows resourcing with less friction. The Issa in the Somali-speaking Horn is an ideal case: owing to its greater appeal to Ethiopian, dominant power in Djibouti, and representation in Somali land and Somalia it traverses four national borders with ease. The Issa, availing itself of Ethiopian governments preferential attraction to the economic return of informal network resourcing borders and boundaries against the Afar believe of non-violability Afar homeland, trespasses the Afar regional 'boundary' in Ethiopia by superior arms power to secure lucrative returns from illicit trade (Dereje and Hoennd, 2008:107).²

²The hot spots of Issa-Afar violent clash at border inlet and outlets, along the illicit trade routes, and in and around the contraband centres is further

The hyperbolic imagery of Issa (*whose name shall not be mentioned in the dark otherwise than in masculine reference*) in Afar folk's ordinary dialogue is an attestation of Issa superior manoeuvre *par excellence*,³ add to it, contrary to the *lessees faire* Issa cognition of territory⁴, the Afar conception of *Qaffar baxxo-the Afar-homeland* highly romanticized attachment to their land and its correlate in Afar code of honor; hence Issa asymmetrical dominance and all time all invincibility means constant aggression, penetration, progressive dispossession and humiliation with long lasting estrangement with and alienation from *Qaffar baxxo* and all that *Afar-ness* is and is about. This frame work bears cruel implications on Ethiopian state conceptualization of sovereignty, human security, national security, rational choice and good neighbourliness- *sic utere tuo*-as well as the value relativism it imposes on the reason for border and its correlates. The government of Ethiopia has tacitly consented Issa trespassing Afar territories to settle and dispense its contraband commodities in the track stop towns. The tragic part of the story is that the Afar, if at all they dare to stop at Issa centres to buy contraband commodity from the Issa while *detouring* to Semera (*watch out! not Awash or Addis, to where the Issa fetch it*) *Federal gendarmerie* on duty is empowered to confiscate. Though the gain to the Ethiopia is debatable, except access to the Issa controlled Djibouti port, Issa border resourcing and government leniency is catalyst of Afar Issa conflict.

Moreover, fragility of national borders is rendering interstate conflicts common to the region (Dereje and Hoennd, 2008:107). This pertains mainly to the management of borders and borderlands and not their nature *per se*. The continuity of the plight of the Afar people in the post 1998 period, therefore, is an outcome of disorientation of foreign policy and national security animated by a landlocked country's spell of the sea.

Ethnification of politics and politicization of ethnicity

attestation of the role of resourcing borders and border lands in mediating communal hatred in to protracted violent clashes.

³The author's careful observation for years among the Afar has established that, the Issa has very exaggerated persona and enemy imagery: invisible, meticulous, malicious evil and the sleepless *other* that works to the utter destruction of Afar aspiration. The reference to the Issa in masculine language is vivid avowal of the all dimensional superior manoeuvre of the Issa in the mind of the enemy.

⁴In the Issa world view every yard the Issa and its cattle set feet on belongs to the Issa that often seasonal migration in search of grazing and water points leaves new Issa permanent establishments which in time turns in to contraband trade destinations and finally Issa self administrative units. The track stop contraband centres at Qunduffo, Adaytu and Gedamaytu along the Awash-Djibouti tarmac road, used to be the hot spots of Issa-Afar violence currently under Issa control, were created by the same dynamics of resourcing borders.

The history of ethno-national oppression by homogenizing and parochial regimes imposing destitution with inequity, vertical and horizontal asymmetry, and politically engineered communal mistrust that results in polarization of identity is common to the Afar-Horn (Gebru, 2009:5). The transformation of ethno-cultural structures of identity in to political identity in the post-cold war period has resulted in the dual process of politicization of identity and ethnification of politics (Kaldor, 2005). The Afar carries the scare of these phenomena in Afar-Horn states.

The post-independence Eritrean nationalism radicalized the identity divide between the *Tegaru* of Eritrea and Ethiopia to mold brand new Eritrean identity; the provocative gesture with all its neighbours (except KSA) and its jingoistic foreign policy has contributed to the War with Ethiopia. The outward pointed end of violence meant to forge internal solidarity did not miss its targets at home, the Eritrean people; more so among the lowlanders. The ethnic policy of homogenization of lowland and Muslim eight ethnic groups is in favour of highland Christian Akologzagn and Hamasen *Tigrigna* speaking population of Eritrea. The Red Sea Afar belongs to those most affected groups, especially after the Ethiopia-Eritrean war (Clapham, 2000:3).

State restructuring in post-1991 Ethiopia enshrined constitutional right for unconditional self determination up to an including secession with alleged reconciliatory intentions and establishing on will based unity of the state (FDRE, 1993). However, the separation of Eritrea brought the separation of the Red Sea Afar from Ethiopia that begot the much protested further dismemberment of the Afar in to three states (Awol, 2008);⁵ even some armed ethnic insurgents like Ugugumo (means revolution in Afar language) emerged under the banner of reunification of the Afar in the Horn. Another important issue lingering up to now is the anomalous demarcation of regional administrative boundary; the Afar of Ethiopia, until the declaration of NDR that gave autonomy to the Assab Red Sea Afar, were divided in to five provincial administrations (of Tigray, Wollo, Shoa, Hararge and Eritrea) during the Derge period had many contentious claims to make under the new state system; of which the most critical was the Issa-Somali occupied territory (Yasin, 2008:48).

⁵During the referendum the Afar of Assab were forced to show their support for secession. In the public demonstration called for show of support, however, the Afar were singing in protest '*Ayana maca!? Ayana maca!? Ayana tenim hina!*' which means '*What do they mean...!? What do they mean...!? We know not at all! We will never and ever know! For they mean nothing!*'. *Ethiopian review*, 1995, . . . The protest against the dismemberment of the Assab Afar was amplified before hand by the Sultan of Ethiopian Afar, Ali Mirah Mohammed Hanfere in his popular saying '*Even our camels do know the Ethiopian Flag!*'

The Federalization of the Ethiopian state and devolution of power to the regional states including the right to organize their own institutions, handle conflicts and lead their internal affairs on their own accord set the legal condition for transformation of post-war Ethiopian society (Assefa, 2007: 12). However it has also opened doors for elite manipulation of ethno-cultural divides for political ends: border conflicts sprouted everywhere. The demarcation of regional boundaries was made based on effective control and boundary disputes were left to bilateral negotiated settlements with no recourse to historical claims; few cases were determined on referendum. Cases like the Issa-Afar contested territory which has been the longest conflict in Ethiopia was handed over to the mutual resolution of the Afar National Regional State (ANRS) and Somali National Regional State (SNRS) (Yasin, 2008:48). However, neither bilateral dealing nor federal government mediation or arbitration made non-ephemeral settlement; mean while EEBW erupted changing the already lope sided power equation in favour of the Issa that further polarized the interplay of ethnicity and politics between parties. Furthermore, it made the conflict more intractable than ever and perpetuated violent clashes.⁶

In Djibouti the phenomenon has its roots into the colonial period. The French instilled ethnicity into Djibouti politics to postpone independence on grounds of ethno-national conflicts and social disarticulation. The exclusionary ethnic politics began to determine social and political relations since colonial period to date. Inter-Ethnic and inter-clan conflicts between Issa and Afar, Issa and Gadaburssi, and Issa and Issaq are the major ones that have political and economic correlates both at domestic power struggle as well as external referents in neighboring states. The trajectory of ethnic domino effect of Issa-Afar conflict in Djibouti is reflected in ethnic conflicts in the region: Issa and Afar in Ethiopia, Gadaburssi and Issaq in Somalia and Somali land respectively (Schrader, 1993:208-209).

The degree of polarization of identity in Issa-Afar conflict is so immense so, that shared identity markers, social institutions, way of life, beliefs and values are rendered fragile in the face of violent confrontation. A case in point is the Wardick the third Issa clan family in Djibouti; this clan is the direct outcome of historically evolved ethnic fusion of the Afar and Issa; the *Ugas* the supreme traditional authority of the Issa in the planet is by tradition elected from the Wardick clan family which is source of honor and influence to its members (Schrader,

⁶ANRS, Administration, Security and Justice Affairs bureau Archrivals 23-51, 1998-2011. Survey of the peacemaking efforts and violence incident reports for the period 1998-2011 showed annual average of five negotiations, three failed settlements, seven violent clashes with 79 death and 110 wounded.

1993:205-206).⁷ However, such shared structures of identification, the belief in Islam and similarity in pastoralist livelihood are kept hostage of animosity and violence. The social dimension of Issa-Afar conflict in Djibouti politics has got longstanding animosity. At the same time it has politico-economic referents represented by Issa monopoly of political power and ethno-regional dimension that integrate Afar-Horn states and community groups in to what Schrader described as 'the heart of the cauldron'(Ibid, 213). As though writing of Issa-Afar conflict both Jean Paul Lederach and Amart Ya Sane separately pointed out social conflicts having political and economic correlates are easily mediated in to violence that sustain itself feeding on ethnic hatred, social injustice and political grievance (Leaderach, 2006:113; Sane, 2002: 102).

The stability and security of the Afar-Horn in general and the Issa-Afar relations in particular is affected by sub regional and national conflict systems often characterized by protracted civil wars and the politics of insurgency.

Protracted civil wars and the politics of insurgency

At the end of the cold war, Ethiopia and Eritrea came out of long period of civil war, though unfortunately, it did not take much time to get themselves back to the dirty water of interstate war and mutual insurgency that in turn fuel internal communal conflicts. The upsurge of the ONLF and OLF for the self determination of the Ogaden Somalia region and Oromia of Ethiopia, the various Afar insurgents and the Issa-Afar violent conflict unabated for over seventy years in Ethiopia are major cases (Clapham, 2000:5).

Eritrea, due to its parochial ethnic orientation, undemocratic system of governance and war monger external policy, continued to fabricate insurgents. Some of them are from period of armed struggle and others fighting for self determination (Lyons, 2006: 13). Since, EEBW Eritrea has continued to be the African capital of insurgents, not a few areas spear-headed to destabilize the Afar-Horn.

Protracted civil war in Somalia led to protracted State collapse. The state imploded in to unprecedented anarchy and radicalization of differences across clan lines that lead to the emergence of new actors along South Eastern frontiers of Ethiopia, Southern Djibouti and Eastern Kenya posing security threats; the quasi-state of

⁷Despite living in different states the Issa pay their unfaltering allegiance to the one and only supreme authority of the *Ugas* that they are unified by the *Ugas* and obey its ruling more than any sovereign state constellations they formed part. In a region engulfed by crisis of legitimacy sharing common ethnic ties via such a powerful institution should have created non-ephemeral capability for peace between the Issa and the Afar. Yet, the ethnicity-politics nexus rendered it impossible.

Somaliland to the south of Djibouti is outcome of Somali's protracted war (Medhane, , 2008b:113-116) that provide additional bastion to Issa power in the Afar-Horn. Also, the problem of Somalia has continued to beckon the involvement of Eritrean, Ethiopia, big powers and extremist forces like the Al Shabab.

In early 1990s major changes in the region triggered Djibouti's all time all Issa-Afar tension that yielded in to Djibouti Afar led armed resistance FRUD galvanizing all the Afar in the Horn. The post-cold war period, however, did not exacerbate all long standing conflict in the bigger horn region; in some cases it had temporarily contained violence (Kaldor, 2002b:5); a case in point is the long standing conflict between the Government of Sudan and South Sudan Liberation movement (Abbink, 2003: 409). This was due to the brief detente assumed among Sudan, the EPLF government in Asmara and the EPRDF led Ethiopian government postponing the old game of proxy-war and mutual destabilization until the NIF-led government of Sudan awakened cold war zombie by sponsoring and promoting political Islam to its neighbours (Ibid, 410-412). Thus Sudan took religious fault lines to serve its post-cold war policy of attaining regional hegemony that left it much weaker than ever.

The FRUD-led Afar rising was outcome of antecedents of protracted conflict and state coercion. Despite negotiated settlements in 1994 and the 2001 peace and power sharing agreements the government did not manage to achieve more than cooption of the factions of the FRUD. Hence, a successor Afar insurgent group FRUD-*Renaissance* is still in arms struggling for self rule and fair power sharing. Ethnic, social, economic and political asymmetry notwithstanding, the two peace agreements has to a large extent contributed to mitigating violence, however. Thus, Djibouti currently is more stable than its northern and southern neighbours (Abbink, 2003: 410-412). The conciliatory role of Djibouti in Somalia and its pragmatic alliance with Ethiopia, in turn, is reciprocated by the Eritrean government's continued harboring of FRUD-*Renaissance*, a second generation post-war Afar dissidence against Djibouti. Informants from the Ethiopian Afar ex-rebels confirm the same in sharing military camps with FRUD-*Renaissance* at Rahato, *south of Assab*. In sum, the regional instability has become supply line of arms and human trafficking that exacerbates local conflicts in the Afar-Horn.

Ethiopia: vigilance and dependency

In a historical perspective Ethiopia is positioned in its various attempts-ranging from cooperation through cooption to domination-to link the hinterland with the coast. The post-Adwa Victory Ethiopia had brought territorial and political restructuring of the Horn. Imperial

expansion brought vast territory under its influence (Harbenson, 1978); at the same time froze trans-generational divide between Ethiopia and the remaining Africa, especially the fault line that runs between the hinterland and the coastal territory, Christian and Muslim, Agriculturalist and pastoralist. Moreover, Ethiopia epitomized tragic paradox of continued independence and geopolitical dependency on coastal territories and outlets under colonial or unfriendly power dispensations. Clapham pointed out these developments to have “[] defined the current territorial structures of the region and intensified the cultural and political divisions between the coast and the hinterland (Clapham, 2008b:138).

According to the same author, contemporary patterns of relationship in the geopolitical context of the Horn is mainly shaped by the continued independence of Ethiopia in maintaining “[] pre-colonial economic and political relationship far less interrupted []” that gave the region ‘micro-regional’ interdependence (Ibid, 137). The state of peace and security in the Afar-Horn and Issa-Afar relations is rooted in Ethiopia’s quest to ensure access to the sea.

NATIONALISM AND THE NORTHERN ROUTE TO THE SEA

The Federalization had also external implications on neighboring states especially the state of Eritrea on account of party level relationships that dated back to the time of armed struggle against the Derge. Competing Tigray nationalism and Eritrean Ultra-Nationalism went from post victory euphoria, through uneasy relations to bloody interstate war; and hence, reactivated the question of Red Sea Afar and Ethiopia’s land locked status in post-1998 period making the Afar homeland the center of contention. FDRE’s federal formula was looked with mixed awe of threat and suspicion that it was designed to create a pole of attraction for Red Sea Afar to rejoin their brethren in Ethiopia there by restoring Ethiopia’s historical outlet to the Red Sea. This thesis adds, prospect of greater democracy and ethnic federalism might have destabilizing effect to the one party state (Abbink, 2003) of Eritrea, as the more democratic parliament in Asmara during the Ethiopia-Eritrea federation was abolished by the emperor on same grounds (Zewide, 1993:47).

Given the unitary and undemocratic system of governance that characterized the Horn states, the new federal state system in Ethiopia had imparted ‘*anxiety of democratic demand*’. Yet the inability of the Ethiopian federal system to address the promises of democratic political pluralism and the frightening ethno-political polarization set the context for Eritrean political elite to

make miscalculations; inter-state war took center stage. As a result, nationalism took best of the Ethiopian leadership which up until then was harping on deconstructivist narratives for ‘particularism’. Ethiopia’s historical quest for access to the sea via the northern route once again discontinued and shifted to the south; outlets on coast of the Afar and Somali Horn states in general and the Afar-Horn in particular came under the lime light of national security concerns; that in turn inflated ethno-nationalist power coefficient of Afar and Somali nationalist in Afar-Horn state. Therefore, state nationalism and ethno-nationalism as complimentary and contradictory forces kept in tandem exacerbating human insecurity in the Afar-Horn. In the new geostrategic shift, Djibouti along with its Issa-Afar story emerged as the vital piece in the geopolitics and human security of the Afar-Horn.

Djibouti: Multiple fault lines and fragile balance

Djibouti, since independence has been facing keeping optimal balance among internal and external divides. It got trapped between, the Issa vs. Afar struggle and the interest of its Western patron(s) (France) and big neighbors. The struggle to maintain Issa dominance has justifications in their leading role for independence and is more populous, though the result of post-independence social reengineering. Immediate outcomes of regime change in the Horn have been observed in mounting communal violence as it happened in Djibouti during the wave of regime changes that hit the Horn hard (Schrader, 1993:204-206). It rekindled Afar-Issa direct violence at war scale. This conflict has got its roots in the history of marginalization and oppression of the Afar people. Despite the nomadic egalitarianism and consensualism that characterized the Somali social system (Markakis, 2003), the inter-clan conflict among Somali clan families accounts to the highly ethnified politics and polarization of identity. One of the Somali clans involved in sub-national and trans-national conflicts with the Afar are the Issa-Somali clan. The continued dominance of the Issa over the Afar since independence of Djibouti and the trans-national character of conflictants groups links local conflicts to regional system of conflict. The consanguinity of ethnic or/and clan territory, consequently, gave internal conflicts and ethno-regional dimension expressed in multiplicity of issues and actors (Schrader, 1993).

The presence of vast uncontrolled territory and clan corridors expedient for rapid movement of people in case of conflict similarly yields to contraband trade and illicit trafficking of arms and infiltration of insurgents that beckons the involvement of states on grounds of security concerns (Clapham, 2008b). Therefore, the Afar of

Djibouti are snared among web of multi-layered conflict dynamics; in all considerations elaborated above the Afar political gauge reads the highest contradiction and paramount distractive impact than any other conflicts in Djibouti that rendered the Afar inferior political role, social and economic deprivation.

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND EXTERNAL ACTORS

The nature of governance and external relations of Djibouti has major part in explaining the unabated political dominance and sustained political violence. Djibouti has maintained a semi-republican republic with shared legislative powers vested on weak parliament and powerful executive that legally formalized one party state through the 1992 constitution (Shehim and Searing , 1980: 209-226).

The economy of the republic is mainly associated with port-service; except small fruit producing state farms in the northern and western plains of Djibouti, no other production activity contributes to the national economy. Especially, nomadic Pastoralism is dominant. According to WFP report the republic is rated as one of the most food insecure states characterized by intermittent drought, famine and epidemic disease (WFP, 2008; ICRC, 11 December 2008). Similarly, 2004 and 2008 reports have rated Djibouti's status an extreme food insecurity and health crisis-that required UN intervention and national response to drought, and nutrition crisis (Lawrence and Hadija, 2004; UNICEF- Djibouti and Republic of Djibouti, 2008).

Another major source of revenue is foreign aid and growing sources of revenues from port services associated with (developments at global and regional level) its geopolitical and military strategic position. France the patron state has been Djibouti's military guardian and economic benefactor. The Ethiopia-Eritrea war rendered Ethiopia dependent on Djibouti port that brought fortunes. Since 2000 Djibouti has leased the French military base for a US-France joint military operation, allowing US war ship to dock in Gulf of Tajoura, as part of the US led 'war-on-terror' and operation 'enduring freedom' that attached Djibouti's economy with the USD. The emergence of new benefactor and creation of symbiotic relationships, in addition to old ones, has introduced as much economic and military benefits as multiple foreign policy dilemmas and bridging fault lines that require careful equilibrium among actors and issues. This includes the US presence in the region projecting polarized power configurations; its Middle East strong ally Israel has an interest in Djibouti arid land for depositing nuclear wastes (Yasin, 2008) vis-à-vis oil rich gulf state KSA, Somalia Islamist radicals, Eritrea and its new guest Iran (Reporter, 2009; Medhane,

2008): the latter mortal enemy of the West in global discourses.

The Horn states have multiple memberships to multi-tiered constellations that, in case of non-cooperative orientation and objectives, contribute to tensions in inter-state relations in the region; this partly explain the absence of durable peace in the region (Medhane, 2004). Djibouti is member of a group of constellations that have at best non-cooperative at the worst adversarial relations; this includes Arab League, OIC, CENASD on the one hand and AU, IGAD, EASB, COMESA (Lunn, 2008: 42)⁸, CJTF (CJTF, 2008;)⁹, and *La Francophone*.

Djibouti is also caught in the fault lines between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Ethiopia and Radical Somalia Islamists. The same is reflected at domestic and foreign policy orientations and its role in the region; in general Djibouti's role in regional relations is located between passive security consumer state and active agent of peace. In between its role is expressed wide continuum of myopic measures and well articulated stances: at times pro-Ethiopia, Djibouti antagonizes its big neighbor, for instance, it held the founding conference of the Ethiopian Wahabbi radicals movement, imposed unfair Port service charges on Ethiopia, even back in the 1991 war with FRUD it declared Ethiopia and Eritrea *faite complice* (Clapham, 2008).

In domestic politics failure to strike lasting balance between Afar and Issa, Issa and Gadaburssi, and Issa and Issaq is interlocked in reciprocal causation with afore stated relations Djibouti founds itself. The Afar struggle for substantive and procedural justice is situated in this context that, therefore, shapes and reshapes, and is by determined by more of not its working but other actors' out manoeuvre that have geopolitical undertones.

Eritrea: Belligerence: *fear of not being 'great'*

Eritrea perused a heavy handed state policy under a homogenizing dictum-'*Hade Libi, Hade Hizibi*',-*one nation one heart*-than any other country in sub-Saharan Africa. It shut down any form of democratic modality of expression, association, power sharing or participation other than

⁸According to Lunn, Djibouti joined COMESA-Anglophone dominated organization to France-as response to the dominance of Francophone West African States in *La Francophone* which became source of tension that shows the need to craft stable balance.

⁹Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) is part of US 'war-on terror' in-Horn of Africa comprises Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya and Yemen as its members, and has been expanding its coverage since 2002 to encompass Eritrea; conducts operations and training within the Combined Joint Operations Area (CJOA) to assist Host Nations to combat terrorism in order to establish a secure environment and enable regional stability. According to Lunn (2008: 42) in 2003 it moved along with 2000 military personnel in to camp Lemoneir former French Legion Post owned by Djibouti government and since October 1, 2008 it has formed part in the Africa Command (AFRICOM).

EPLF/latter renamed as PFDJ regime. It perused policy of repression at home and militarism with its neighbors. Consolidation of Eritrean statehood and nationalism guided internal and foreign policy orientation that articulated itself economically grand vision of creating African Singapore, militarily emulated Israel and Eritrean national character identified itself with a historical duty of supreme young state. It defied the continental organization OAU and perused of military jingoistic policy against all its neighbors except Saudi Arabia (Clapham, 2000).

The Red Sea Afar had actively taken part from early stages (within ELF and later EPLF) to the end in the war for liberation. However, the post-independence state of affairs did not give them due recognition. Instead PFDJ from the outset persecuted Afar politicians, traditional leaders and denied them of self administration. The obligatory national military service severely antagonized Afar girls to accomplish their duty against cultural and religious norms of Afar. Still enraging to the Red Sea Afar was the neglect of the region socio-economic development relative to the rest of Eritrea; the Afar fighters who have spent their life in the struggle were not venerated in any way that their opposition was responded with inhuman measures, torture, extrajudicial killing and extortion. The most important economic engagement for Red Sea Afar, fishery, was prohibited by the state leaving them with miserable livelihood conditions (QAFAR-MAROO, 2008).

The war with Ethiopia brought the worst time for Red Sea Afar; their area were the frontal battle fields in the east that exposed them for great hazards of being suspected for spying for Ethiopian government while fighting for their country. After the war ended PFDJ has began massive imprisonment of Red Sea Afar that forced them into forced exile in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Yemen and Sudan (APDA, February 4th, 2007; Medhane, October 2008).

The Afar people are snared by multiple overlapping factors that continued to deteriorate their livelihood and hence their security and stability.

LIVELIHOOD SECURITY AMONG THE AFAR

According to Jean Paul Lederach all conflicts constitute structural, relational, cultural and personal dimensions that are effects of immediate conflict presenting issues, and peculiarity of contexts (*in our case the Horn in general and the marginal political position of the Afar people*) and at the same time that are underlying sources, mediating and triggers of the overall epicenter (*where set of conflict episodes are embedded in*) (Lederach, 2003). The livelihood insecurity of the Afar people is rooted in structural marginalization and

destitution mediated by ethnicity, bad governance and skewed resource distribution, often sustained by environmental fragility, triggered by climatic hazard and multi tiered violent conflicts. Thus, it is argued that livelihood insecurity has overall insecurity and instability correlates.

Security: classical vs. the 'New Security'

The classical conception of security underscores politico-military factors that are often articulated in terms of military threats to national interest and security. This perspective gives almost complete monopoly over matters of security to the state as a viable international actor; hence, the state appears as the sole referent and agent of security by virtue of which it dictates obedience from its citizens.¹⁰ Thus, it rarely in practice encompasses human security.

However, growing humanitarian crisis and violation, the death of millions from drought famine and the spread of HIV/AIDS, from non-political and military factors in post-cold war African brought basic security rethinking. First, the state emerged as the biggest agent of human insecurity in addition to non-military risks it endangers own population too. Second, the unilateral conception of security as states sovereign matter has become anachronistic; wars, conflicts, drought, famine and humanitarian-refugee crisis going cross-national indicated the imperative for common security frontier beyond state limits. Thus, it requires ending prohibitions, deprivations and threats that compromise the enjoyment of freedom and rights as well as comprehensive human safety and security. It also implied reducing vulnerabilities and risks involved in the fulfilment of basic human needs, freedoms and rights; this metaphorically is Koffi Annan's Freedom from fear and Freedom from want that requires addressing classical threats and ensuring peoples' right to sustainable development. Second, state security/regime security concern cannot be attained unless otherwise human security concerns are fully addressed (Anann, 2005).

Therefore, security concerns have shifted from statist to more human security-oriented, from politico-military threats to more of socio-economic, environmental and climatic hazards; in terms of modalities from national to

¹⁰The dictum that 'I protect therefore I exact obedience' that reflects state monopoly of power has got its ideological justification from realist theory of international relations and history of undemocratic rule. However, such statist and threat oriented conception of security in domestic politics and international relations could not sustain the fact that the state has unparalleled record of posing the greatest threat to its own population. The concept of new security which mainly focuses at the human element of security apart from the state-centric view developed in response to this theoretical and practical paradox.

regional and international constellations. Hence, in here, the reference to security is made in the more comprehensive sense of human and state security; the realization of human development needs as human security is dependent on sustainable development¹¹ which in turn presupposes a state of affairs where peace is not an exception to allow livelihood security. Accordingly, aspects of HDI and MDGs are partially noted in assessing livelihood.

Political stability

Democratic governance is prerequisite of human security as much as it means rule of law, answerability, accountability, responsibility and transparency. Moreover, peace and stability require tradition of institutionalization and limitation of power by law, formalization of relations to regulate arbitrariness and spontaneity. Creating Impersonal public service and civil trust to govern the citizenry is of vital importance (Burman, 1999:185).

Accordingly, political stability refers state of affairs where group and individual interests and relationships are governed by impersonal enforcement of popular and institutionalized laws, norms, rules and regulations to govern behaviors, actions and reflections. This implies a bulk of issues concerning good governance and the protection of basic human rights and freedoms as well as freedom of participation, action and reflection, procedural and substantive rights *sine qua non* of equity, equality and justice. Therefore, the existence of democratic plate form for adversarial politics and political pluralism is a indispensable aspect of politically stable society (Bruce Burman, 1999:36-37)¹².

Against this backdrop, livelihood security is one element of human security that is a core aspect of sustainable development in utilization, access and preservation of material and non-material aspect of a community's livelihood. If development is basic freedom

¹¹Sustainable development addresses, in the spirit of the 'New Security', the attainment of material, physical, spiritual, psychological and mental needs of society without compromising the right of future generations to fulfil their basic needs by their own means. In terms of threats, it means the capacity of societies to fulfil their needs, with stand artificial and natural disasters without engendering other harms on natural, human and social constituency or their relationships. Hence, it presupposes a democratic political system wherein equity, justice and fairness are observed and formalized through institutional and legal arrangements. In this line of argument Amart Ya Sen's conceptualization of development as freedom (Development as Freedom, pop/CoP, 1998) and his conceptualization of insecurity as deprivation of entitlement are important developments in peace and security studies. What is the problem??

¹²Anthony Giddens argues that, investing trust invariably involves untying social relations from the bounds of exclusive particularism. John, Dunn takes it further asserting that it should enable a system to "deal with the freedom of others, to predict the behaviour of other free agents in a way that facilitates strategic choice and rational agency."

all human beings are entitled to, livelihood is nothing but the application of such basic freedoms in a particular context (Sen, 1999:61-63; Clayton and Bass, 2002). Therefore, livelihood is an expression of human security/insecurity which reflects the type of governance and comprehensive security and stability. Nonetheless, livelihood by itself constitutes aspects of threats and vulnerability that are central to the new security approach.

DIMENSIONS OF LIVELIHOOD: AFAR PASTORALISTS

Livelihood refers to sum of available means, capabilities, resources, assets and strategies people acquire over time to reduce the risks, vulnerability and hazards in fulfilling immediate needs and sustaining long-term means of living. As strategy livelihood refers to the mode of access to and mobilization of resources to attain present and future goals; this includes not only degree of access to resources and assets of a given household but also capacities to manage risks and reduce vulnerabilities. There is no standard model for integrating livelihood perspectives with security and political stability; however, an attempt is made to relate the two dominant dimensions of livelihood ownership of, access to and control over assets on one hand and the policies, institutions and practices (PIP) (Sue Lautze et al., 2003: 18 and 77-78). Most factors that determine the long-term trend and strategy of livelihood and outcomes are determined by factors exogenous to households/groups' sphere of influence. Hence, the content and form of assets, access to and control over resources are inevitably influenced by PIP which require power over political decision making that directly or indirectly affect livelihood, choice of livelihood activities, response to vulnerability and disaster coping strategies (Ibid). Choice of livelihood activities and responses to hazards relate to insecurity and instability in reciprocal causation.

Assets, vulnerability, human security among the Afar

Assets refer to five types of resources known as capitals: human, physical, natural, financial and social. Human capital shows the quality and quantity of people in a community in terms of contributing to collective well being; level of education, skill and technical knowhow, physical and mental health, energy and nutritional status as well as social network. Physical capital includes availability of means of production, structures, infrastructures and services for use. Financial is money sources generated from major livelihood engagement or any other subsidiary revenue generating schemes,

including salaries, remittance and pension. Natural capital includes the quality and quantity of the natural endowment of resources. The fifth capital is social that relates to relationships, institutions and norms as well as networks of voluntary association and self that project hazard coping strategies. The greater capital in any one of the five capitals relates if not safety, but lesser vulnerability but still the degree of risks involved in a particular context determines the outcome of livelihood strategy (Ibid, 196).

Decline of pastoralist livelihood

Pastoralism involves mainly animal production and stocking based on communal ownership of natural resources; the allocation and management of which involves traditional authority in a clan-based system of social organization. A Pastoralist system of animal production requires two basic elements to sustain. First, it needs a multiplicity of ecosystems to allow diversified animal production, adopt and cope up resource base depletion. Freedom of movement and agility allow natural replenishment of resources (Getachew, 2001). Moreover, social harmony, synergy and the coping strategy are rooted in pastoralist production and reproduction system of freedom of movement and agility of choices. The stability of social, economic and political institutions and relations is predicated to sustainability of pastoralist livelihood. This fact makes conflict among the Afar as much economic and social as political. The decline of pastoralist assets and blocked access to them are major features of livelihood insecurity. Moreover, multi-tiered referents affect it to the degree national economies are influenced by internal and external factors. Continuity of Structural alienation and marginalization is universal of the Afar.

GLOBAL DIMENSION

The dominant discourse on development and civilization that knows not other systems of production, knowledge systems and social organization than market logic has set sharp contradictions between commercializing new economies and the pastoralist system (Melakou, 2007). The asymmetrical and quantum Leap-integration of peripheral states to the global system has worsened off the pastoralist system. Global forces got fertile ground in backward and poor economies of the Horn to grab pastoral resources without a fight: history of national-marginalization and alienation has already done their chore. Yet, Public investments are not advisable in the periphery-in profit parlance. Pastoralists continued to be underserved, vulnerable and incapacitated.

National dimension

The marginalization of pastoralist has got central economic and political features. The Ethiopian state has maintained low opinion of low-land pastoralists since their integration to date: uncivilized, ungovernable elements sleeping over strategic resources of the state (Getachew, 2001). In light of their 'primitive' production system and the marginal place of their ethno-cultural essence and political role, pastoralist are minorities of the minority (Melakou, 2007). Hence, Pastoralism of the Afar could be said a peripheral knowledge and production system of a minority group that has fallen victim of double political marginalization in the sense that they are impoverished and incapacitated to resort to *the right to revolution*¹³.

Pastoralist land alienation in Ethiopia is the result of this process of double oppression. The Afar lost their traditional grazing lands to the state through the Imperial decree on grounds of failure to generate land tax to the empire (Harbenson, 1978:486; Bekele, 2006). The Derge did no better except yielding to ambiguous declarations of pastoralist use right that asymmetrically equalized the Afar pastoralist with any other new comer agriculturalists; the reform brought by the Ethiopian revolution could only be any different from the *ancient regime*, it cautiously approached the issue to win the legitimacy of the Afar (Bekele, 2006). However, neither it won their support, nor left their nomadic self intact or save them from new threats. Issues that kept being threat to viability of Afar Pastoralism like the Issa incursion into Afar traditional grazing lands, growing poverty, famine, destitution and political incapacitations have their underlying causes in land alienation of the Afar people (Markakis, 2003).

The Afar pastoralist livelihood was inflicted with unparalleled damage even by Development schemes (Pantuliano and Wekesa, 2008)¹⁴ that contributed to the national economy. This brings the aspect of marginalization that involves alienation from decision makings that affected their life and issue of substantive justice: distribution of benefits and opportunities.

Marginalization of Afar Pastoralists in Djibouti has different dimensions. It begins from the rationale for the French colonial rule; the French interest in Djibouti has got nothing to do with its natural resources and agricultural potential; instead Djibouti's strategic significance (Schrader, 1993:281). Hence, pastoralists were almost left oblivious to limited changes that

¹³Every democratic constitution has unwritten provision to be invoked where stipulated rights and procedures are not observed or citizenry is incapacitated to avail themselves of, John Lock in *Two Treatise of Government* conceptualized as *the right to revolution* is deemed justified. Double oppression, Amartya Sen argues, renders it impossible (2002).

¹⁴The report states that '... much of the land in the Awash valley in the riverine zone has been turned over to large irrigated farms. Land alienation continues, with 150,000 hectares reserved for irrigation schemes.

underwent in and around Djibouti and Obok cities that continued through post-independence to date. The post-independent Issa dominated (two in twenty two years) governments furthered the marginalization of Afar people, pastoralist commons in general and yet with much grievous impact on Afar pastoralists. At broader divide the Afar share 30% of the total population of which eight out of ten live in rural areas that covers 2/3rd of Djibouti's total area. More than 85% of Djibouti's population resides in the two major urban centers of Djibouti and Obock where social services, basic amenities and infrastructures are exclusively centralized. The Somali ethnic group in general and the Issa in particular constitute 60 and 40% total population of Djibouti, 80 and 90% of urbanite population.¹⁵ In contrast to Afar urbanites, scholars like Scheder contend that Issa over all political dominance that guarantee continued dominance in over all life of the republic has got to do with their sociological majority status in the capital city and major urban centers (1993).

An aspect of dominance is reflected in the preponderance of the Issa in civil services, military, political power, private and public strategic service sectors like the ports; the informal sector both licit and illicit trade, trans border transfer of goods (replacing insurance, bank and transit) the Somali in general and the Issa in their corridor are dominant. Issa pastoralists whose geographic setting and political status in Eritrea and Djibouti is marginal, have viable place and role to play in such group dominated opportunities that provide with alternative mechanism of supporting their livelihood: financial returns from engagements as guides and offering security services for trafficking goods and commodities (Abdi, 2007). Such economic arrangements compliment subsistence Issa pastoralist livelihoods unfortunately the Afar are short of.

Afar livelihood in Djibouti

The Afars of Djibouti are located in the central pastoral lowlands, highlands and the North western pastoral zone near Ethiopia-Djibouti border. These pastoral zones have poor natural resource endowment with almost no sustainable pure water sources and watering spots for their animals. The North Western pastoral zone is the most food insecure and the lowest food purchasing power in the whole of Djibouti. The Central highland and lowland pastoral earn their main sources of income from activities related with urban centers, employment, pension and remittance from urban dweller relatives. In

¹⁵The Afar in Djibouti city are located limited to the city quarters called Ariheba. The Somali-Issa majority are known for their capacity in trade and their strong social networks, even in education they have superior profile than the Afar that guarantee greater quality of human capital vis-à-vis the Afar.

terms of assets in the highlands of Tadjoura pastoralists keep small size of cattle and in the lowlands camel respective to the ecologically favored species of animals. Recent studies have revealed that gifts from relatives' covers almost 10% share of minimum food access which exceeds access to food from milk production both in North West and Central lowland Zones (UNICEF- Djibouti and Republic of Djibouti, 2008).

In the highland pastoral zone food access from gifts constitutes the lowest which is complimented by very insignificant share by far less than the contribution from gift to the three zones. In general, at national level North West pastoral zone is the most vulnerable to drought and other livestock and human hazards. Next to livestock and livestock products, sale of the *Onga* (leaves of doom palm tree) source of finance that has, however, deteriorated due to over exploitation. In terms of physical infrastructures the North western pastoral zone is located far away and detached from district and sub-district centers, market areas and road network to sell their products at good price or to have someone in urban centers that benefit from pension and remittance (Lawrence and Hadija, 2004).¹⁶ Hence the zone is the most frequently affected by food insecurity and vulnerability.

In both lowland and highland Central zone most households are for most of their food supplies and livelihood dependent on pension and remittance followed by sale of fuel wood and charcoal for those communities along the main coast road. Although livestock production is the major livelihood engagement, but their products are of poor quality to derive good market return given the availability of high quality Ethiopian and Somali livestock available at a cheaper price in Djibouti market. This is mainly due to poor fodder availability and poor health condition that relates to the poor resource endowment and availability of physical infrastructures that negatively affected pastoralist livelihood. While dependency on urban employment opportunity is dominant aspect of livelihood in the zone, due to scanty education coverage the Afar pastoralists do not have the required qualification or skill to secure viable employment/ a living. Fire wood as a strategy is further devastating the already scarce natural resource base that exacerbates the productivity and quality of livestock dependent on this very resource

¹⁶According to USAID FEWSNET report, the only available response mechanism they get use of is their proximity to Ethiopian sorghum markets at half price than it is sold in Djibouti market. Moreover, the minimum food requirement of 2100KCal/person for both poor and middle households is derived from direct purchasing, exchange from salt and gifts. Milk production adds to the table less than 5% of minimum food requirement. Unlike other places in the country there is no school feeding (*one meal per child per day*) or any other direct food production like vegetables as in South Eastern Road side districts. Even so the North West pastoral zone seldom qualifies access to minimum food requirement.

and hazards of drought that risks famine. In both pastoral zones discussed above human capital rated in terms of education/skill, health, physical strength (*determined by access to minimum food requirement*) is of the worst profile. The only skill, if any, available is rudimentary salt exploitation at Lake Assal. Self employment capability is restricted to firewood, charcoal and *Onga* extraction that appears not worth of even short term panacea, yet still worse, detrimental to livelihood in long run. According to recent study the Afar pastoralists of the two zones are reported to have been the most affected by disease and critical food shortages accompanied by a major national health and nutrition crisis (UNICEF- Djibouti and Republic of Djibouti, 2008:2).

The absence of Physical assets that include access to market, infrastructures and transport facilities that determine pricing, and hence, pastoralist trade of balance are rudimentary in all Afar pastoral zones with the North West pastoral zone almost deprived of any. In a country where rural livelihood in general and pastoralist livelihood in particular is strongly tied with urban-*monopoly of basic facilities, services and amenities*- linkages like Djibouti, the position of the two pastoral zones is an aspect of livelihood marginalization. To socio-economically tarnished pastoral livelihood this implies the double blow of poverty and destitution: in such ecologically fragile regions it set recipe for disaster. For instance, in rural Djibouti only 49.1% of the population has access to protected water sources out of which 30% are dependent on unsafe sources like unprotected rain water. The appearance of huge Acute Watery Diarrhea (AWD) during the 2008 major food, nutrition and health crisis in the two zones attested the high degree of vulnerability to famine and health risks that account to human, physical and natural capital negative outcome (Ibid,3).

Given the poor and unrealizable financial capital, poor and narrow self employment strategy and the negative pastoral trade of balance, the pastoral dependency for over 80% of house-hold access to minimum food requirement on purchased food items is another dimension of insecurity that include food shortage and far reaching impacts on other livelihood assets too. The global food crisis that caused 60% unemployment in Djibouti has severely undercut food sources and deteriorated, at least tentatively, social solidarity and family support networks most houses holds livelihood in the central zone depended pension and remittance from urban centers. During this major crisis 16.8% of children between the age of 6-59 months were exposed to Global Acute Malnutrition (*GAM WHO defined Critical Threshold is 15%*) and 2.4% of them to Sever Acute Malnutrition (SAM) at national level. In the North West pastoral zone GAM rate of 25% was recorded, which is the worst at national level 10% beyond critical threshold (Ibid, 5).

The acuteness of food, nutrition and health crisis

furthered by the aridity and drought prone nature of the two zones that limit dependency on natural assets; rainfall is limited to 50-300mm annual range which is very insignificant to the average annual rainfall requirement of 300mm to pastoralist livelihood dependent on livestock production. The intermittent nature of drought followed by a brief period of rain that affected Djibouti for the last three decades has robbed Djibouti of its arid and semiarid once ideal climate for pastoral production. Moreover, the absence of fresh water sources and the curtailed movement of pastoralists across state boundaries caused death of livestock and made livelihood unviable. As a result, the average TLHR declined below 3.4% the required standard for a viable pastoral livelihood (Ibid, 5-8)¹⁷.

Social capital in both Afar and Somali Societies is major system of sustaining social safety and solidarity. However, multi-layered destitution and loss of livelihood assets up-on which social relations are embedded in have set it at a test. The greatest impact of the 2004 crisis is reported to have been the decline of social solidarity and familial support that relay on remittance (Lawrence and Hadija, 2004).

In sum, the decline and deteriorating level of livelihood implies greater vulnerability and hazards that risk of health and nutrition of poor and middle households. Under the new security securing such livelihood of chain reaction of vulnerability, hazards and risks in the context of non-existent or weak early warning system pastoralist livestock production which is most ignored as in Djibouti (Brass, 2007)¹⁸ constitutes grievance source of human insecurity. The incapacity of influencing decision making on distribution of resources, opportunities-*political in nature*-on the part of the Afar in Djibouti therefore is often cashed in to humanitarian crisis. In addition, the absence of any viable coping mechanism or livelihood strategy has caused the concentration of greater than 85% of the rural population in urban areas that provides additional tension to the already politically and ethnically charged politics of urban centers making the latter susceptible to political instability and conflict. Moreover, the influx of refugees from neighboring countries exacerbates the pressure on urban centers. Refugee pressure from Eritrea, Somalia and Ogaden region of Ethiopia inflated

¹⁷Livestock assessment made for four years before the crisis showed 40-70% livestock loss that resulted in major famine. The 2007 humanitarian crisis in Tadjoura zone of Central pastoral zone was one of the severely affected areas along with the Southern Dikhil and poor sub-urban areas of Djibouti: 20,000 people, including 22, 000 children under five and about 60, 000 pregnant and lactating women.

¹⁸The author has indicated the centralized nature of the state and its public policy 79% of the urban and 97% rural population lives in relative poverty while the Issa dominated elites monopolize power, wealth and decision making in a context of polarized identity divide could reignite Afar grievance in to violent clash.

The population of the needy in urban centers that unfortunately coincided with the Eritrean-Djibouti border conflict resulting in rise in food prices. Consequently, the incipient food insecurity turned into major health crisis and that in turn engendered the social crisis in Djibouti. Similarly, the World Bank has ranked Djibouti the most food unsecured country and high probability of social unrest next to Haiti (WFP, 2008).

In the Afar Horn great famine and humanitarian crisis are precursors of regime change; this is more often true when there are armed opposition groups rallying around issues of justice and freedom with the support of rival neighboring states. Djibouti stretched from north Eritrea's swing to supporting all armed groups in the region, south volatile conditions in Somalia and skeptical relationships with its quasi-state Somaliland add to it the Afar armed resistance led by FRUD or any possible urban social unrest that could win the support of any one of the above actors in destabilizing Djibouti. Eritrea's dramatic swing in supporting the FRUD, an ex-threat fought against by both Eritrea and Ethiopia, in post-1998 period and its continued links especially in the recent Djibouti-Eritrea border skirmish is a case in point (Medhane, 2008). More over the ethno-regional dimension of Afar armed resistance in Djibouti with state referent in the Afar-Horn has great a propensity of attracting Afar-Horn states and hence big power intervention in to the whirlwind of regional conflict the limit of which is hard to imagine.

Afar livelihood in Ethiopia

Ethiopian Afar pastoralists are transhumant; they follow periodic and regular routes between home base and satellite camps searching for pasture depending on the prevailing climatic condition. Such transhumant movement is governed by customary Afar clan laws and norms (the Afar *Hirta*) noncompliance of which is punishable by slaughtering of camel (the *Daereba fine*) (Yaynshet and Kelemework, 2004:136). Seasonal cereal production is also an aspect of Afar pastoral livelihood in mainly Lower and Middle Awash Valley, in some Afar frontiers facing Highlands of Tigray and Amhara regional states. Ecologically, there is no as such clear cut division among the Ethiopian Hari Afar; and yet, the Awusi zone and the Gebi zone located at Lower and Middle Awash Valley do face peculiar livelihood challenges. This is mainly the result of a prototype ecology-conflict nexus; on the one hand the high level of state mega project interventions since 1950s to date along with the introduction of the wild reserves and parks have decreased the availability of multiple ecosystems; climate change and artificial ecological imbalance exacerbated the shortage of resources; so does competition over

control of and access to scarce resources in turn involving the Afar of these zones in violent conflicts with neighboring ethnic groups. The Afar at the frontiers of Highlands of Tigray and Amhara that includes the Afar of Kilibati (Aba'ala and Berahile in North zone) and Hari (zone five Afar facing Amhara and Oromo of South Wollo and Semen Shoa) are taken in one Kilibati-Hari pastoral zone; the Afar of zone four located between the largely arid area between Awusi and Kilibati zones from South and North, South Tigray and Djibouti from the West and East respectively is Yalo pastoral zone.

The Awusa and Gebi Afar had had profound pastoral livelihood before the advent of development schemes and the Issa. This accounts to the monopoly over the riches of Awash valley-absence of intervention, the abundance of wide ranging natural capital and the sustainable management of natural capital through the enforcement of the *Hirta* that ruled over other constraints of livelihood (Getachew, 2001). The Gebi Afar benefited from the cereal markets of their neighboring Amhara, Oromo and Argoba ethnic groups in the Highlands of West Hararge, East and North Showa. Financial capital and food security is mainly linked to sale of cattle and production of small cereals for own consumption.

The Hari Afar mainly live on small TLSU (of camel and goats) used to trek far greater number of livestock in the lowlands of the Gebi Afar sharing the blessing of Awash. Access to food is similarly achieved through the availability of cereal producing highland (Amhara and Oromo) neighbourhood and vast supply markets at smaller prices. While the Awash is the only fresh water source both in the lower and middle Awash valley, the Hari Afar are endowed with river basins and green watersheds and catchments of rivers from the highland of Showa and South Wollo. The Dessie-Addis Ababa road is also vital physical capital for sale of pastoral products besides its outreaching importance to health services in highland weredas (Kassahun and Tegegne, January 2003:71-72). Yalo has perennial rivers overflowing the highlands of Amhara and vast irrigable land suitable for agro-pastoralist production. During drought and food shortages, affected weredas send their livestock to their neighboring highland in Tigray and Amhara regions. This splitting strategy, however, during rainy season often fails to be effective due to their highlander hosts get engaged in farming activities that leave them no feasible land to graze at; at times live stocks become weak to travel and pastoralists are forced to sale at cheaper price in a nearby markets. Chefarobi in Amhara region Oromia zone is one of drought period destination for Afar of Awusa and Zone four to stay until Karma rain began (Ibid).

The Kilibati zone is located at south of the water shade dividing the lowland from the highland of Tigray and has

fresh water sources and forest reserves that have ample potential for livelihood diversification. The traditionally extracted tablet salt of Berahile provides financial capital and social capital in terms of interlinking the Tigray traders with the Afar.

The development of strategic infrastructures that linked the center with coastal outlets and inlets has superimposed itself on social and historical entities whose marginalized integration maintained conflict among themselves and the center (ሀዘን ወ/ፋርቆስ, 1956: 314; ቤተ-መዛግብት, 1975: 90; (Dereje and Hoennnd, 2008:107).¹⁹ Only in the years between 1956 and 2006 the Afar pastoral livelihood has suffered under ill planned and executed development projects. Not less than 10 000 hectares of grazing land from Golina in Zone four were used as state farm. The amount of land that disappeared from the Afar in to the commercialized economic system as of 1999 had reached 399 000 hectares this does not include parks and wild life reserves (*the greatest in all of pastoralist systems in Ethiopia*) as well as sanctuaries were established leaving Afar pastoralists of the Middle Awash Valley 353 730 hectares poorer than before (Kassahun and Tegegne, 2003). Informants from Lower Awash Valley reiterate the reserves and parks to have deprived them of vital dry season retreat lands and to have contributed to the violent interface with the Issa around the Hilaidegy planes (FGD-Awasharba, 2011; FGD-Amibera, 2011). Denial of accesses to such wide and socially placed (*because it is not used only for production, spatial variability of ecosystems in pastoral communities do bear social, religious and political services*) resource speeded up Afar livelihood down the slop (Beruk, 2006). Soil and environmental degradation is another dimension of loss of more than 10 000hectars of potentially suitable land from a total of 60 000 hectares in the middle Awash valley only. Out of the total 60 000 hectares range lands in Amibera, MelkaWerer and Melka Sedi only 32 000hectars were utilized leaving the remaining 28 000 hectares unutilized and inaccessible otherwise could have averted the death of livestock in Gebi zone (Getachew, 2004; APDA, 2006; Tefera, 2006).

The Absence of proper pastoralist and environmental policy introduced 11 years after the fall of the Derge regime has risked the invasion of more than 20 000 hectares of land by alien species of weeds that reduced human and livestock food access. Owing to the invasive expansion of *prospopis Julifora* (Dubale, 2008; Pantuliano and Wekesa, 2008) in the region in 1999 out of 1,215 255 people 204 115 were exposed to acute food shortage (Beruk, 2006). Moreover, the number of camel,

cattle goat and sheep in an average house hold of six from 1981-up to 2001 reduced by more than 48, 16, 89 and 71.4% respectively; this left the minimum TLU per person-estimated at 4-5 TLU in the Afar-for the year 2002 was 3.98 TLU insufficient to qualify the threshold. The final effect of deterioration of livelihood in terms of food security measured against the annual average of people in need of food aid in a decade from 1993-2002 was nearly 163 500. Inability to access food sources and livestock feed due to local factors like the Issa-Afar conflict that left 75 000 hectares of dry season grazing land-*in the Hilaidegy planes is just tip of the ice berg- a no man's land* (ANRS-AJSAB, 2007; ANRS-AJSAB, 2003-2006) condition is another dimension of livelihood challenges.

Therefore while conflict in the Awash valley triggered by scarcity in the face of shrinking resource base but among the underlying causes of scarcity lies the invasion of Afar and Karrayu lands by neighboring ethnic groups. Thus, conflicts in the areas bordering the Afar are effect of pre-existing memory of violence and contemporary food insecurity at the same time triggering and catalyzing episodes of new conflicts.

Policies, institutions and practices (PIPs)

Policies, institutions and practices are the second broader dimension of assessing livelihood: how for instances PIPs relate to pastoralist livelihood in post-1991 federalization of the Ethiopian state. The separation of the Red Sea Afar and the question of genuine autonomy of the Afar of Ethiopia notwithstanding, the federalization processes have empowered Ethiopian Afar for the long awaited self-rule. In terms of ending the divide and rule over the Afar, the new arrangement has won popular applaud which is indeed is worth of it. However, the redrawing of ethnic and administrative boundaries of the new federal and regional constituents, and the intervention from the center and the management of ethno-territorial conflicts (Assefa, 2007) that continued up to 2003 but did not outlive the party crisis in the TPLF block accompanied by the historical land alienation of the Afar are the major challenges of the Afar society and their livelihood.

While it remains logical to address the historical roots of ethno-territorial claims the cautious approach that excluded them from the bundle of negotiable issues during the transitional period has contributed to the escalation of conflict that circumscribed the Afar along shared boundaries. In effect, affected livelihood issues discussed above. In lieu of politicization of ethno-cultural boundaries (Nicol et al., 2000:11) that catalyzed conflicts, resource based and hence livelihood conflicts has got the impetus of not only intertwining politics with competing

¹⁹Imperial decree was issued in 1963 to arm the Afar-frequent victims of Issa violence-with 500 semi-automatic rifles (M-1) against the Issa. Similarly the Derge used one against the other until all possible permutations offer conditions are exhausted.

claims in Resourcing boundaries but also settling historical scores through redefinition of ethno-territorial identity. This constitutes the aspect of transformation in major conflicts involving the Afar, particularly with the Issa (Mu'uz, 2010: 151-167).

At policy level the Pastoralist Community Development Program (PCDP) that emerged in mid-2002 has established pastoralist standing committee in the federal house of peoples representatives empowered to ensure the representation of pastoralist interests in the formulation of national policies; to oversee activities of eight ministries, commissions and agencies directly and indirectly; to ensure financing pastoral activities through affirmative action and influencing national poverty reduction strategy to benefit pastoralists as well as promoting their participation and empowerment (FDRE, 2002). However, the pastoralist and rural development policy's commitment to sedentarize all pastoralist in 15 years time is an aspect of continuity from the past unfavorable to pastoralists given the low level of work not yet done to prepare pastoralist for sedentary livelihood and other institutional shortcomings (Ministry of Federal Affairs, 2002). According to Mohamed Mussa's observation, the FDRE Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC) lack proper representation of pastoralist interests and vital expertise in the field. He attaches the 'sedentarize' orientation in the policy is much influenced by the inclusion of non-pastoralist and members with insignificant exposure to pastoralist reality. None the less, the realization of acute problems in basic facilities of health (Tefaye and Roy, 2006: 2)²⁰, water supply, natural conservation, range land development and livestock marketing are important departures worth of admiration. Despite the economic deterministic tone that prescribes economic development to resolve conflicts, the recognition of conflict as detrimental to livelihood is positive policy changes that have to be complimented with political and identity considerations, and more compressive frameworks of conflict transformation (Mohamed, 2002).

The Afar region PCDP and the regional bureau are well financed organs established to improve the livelihood of the people of Afar. Various local and international NGOs like Afar People Development Association (APDA) and Farm Africa, Save the Children UK are engaged in this very effort to expand social services and amenities to rural population; for instance, in health and education approaches typical to pastoralist reality (*movable alternative education and movable health service promotion*) are set in place. Moreover, Drought Early Warning System has been developed by external

²⁰This 'encompasses rural base and sector based development strategy, decentralization and capacity building. And yet it capitalizes pastoralist settlement as the only means of securing pastoralist livelihood.'

financial support up to wereda level to enable timely response to hazards. And yet, the existence of rampant corruption and absence of accountability and impunity has opened door for embezzlement of public funds to enrich the interest of few elite. What has practically been done for the poor pastoralist without ways to influence practices done on their behalf to their detriment is insignificant. Lack of competent expertise to solve complex problems of Afar pastoralist continues to witness multidimensional suffering. Where there are better institutional and expertise like the Disaster and Drought Early Warning, hope is lost by the lack of sufficient personnel to carry out tasks that need to go against tide (Philpott et al., 2005).

In effect basic service coverage remained still primordial; the Afar of Afambo still trek twice a year 380 km to Amhara in search of pasture, children and expectant mothers die of malnutrition, absence of prenatal health care and delivery, absence of water supply and animal hearth (Rufsvold, 2007: 3);²¹ the very few are located at remote areas from the pastoral homestead; in sum, annually more than half a million people are needy of food supply otherwise they resort to desperate measures that include eclectic responses. At the center of the Afar response to failing livelihood stands their social capital known for its wide reaching networks of mutual support and kinsmen solidarity maintained and nourished by the believe in indivisibility and oneness of the Afar (Ibid).

Nevertheless, even the time old cherished value of social solidarity among the Afar cannot withstand the devastating impact of drought, outbreak of disease and massive livestock death often followed by humanitarian crisis. Let us look at the scale of the problem by taking herd loss as one variable of pastoral insecurity; the official data from Ministry of Agriculture compares the level of loss among the three major pastoral groups in the Ethiopia.

As clearly put above (Table 1), the Afar are the worst hit during drought season and the second in terms of the average that showed the failure of policies to support pastoral livelihood. The high degree of loss on the part of the Borana and Somali during normal season might be owing to the environmental marginalization induced starvation and disease.

Afar Livelihood in Eritrea

Afar livelihood in Eritrea has a bit diversified form of trade, fishery, salt production and employment in the

²¹Rufsvold's (a medical doctor) observations explains the Afar health condition with no further ado, 'though too intractable, too overwhelming to dispel even a small part of it [] just being present, fully present, may be enough.'

Table 1. Destocking rate among major pastoralist groups of the Ethiopia by season and cause of loss of herd.

	Afar		Borana		Somali	
	Normal year	Drought year	Normal year	Drought year	Normal year	Drought year
Starvation	0%	19.5%	0.7%	13.1%	0%	15.5%
Disease	10.1%	16.7%	12.5%	11.9%	12.6%	7.3%
Sales	6%	6.5%	8.4%	8.5%	7.0%	5.1%
Slaughter	0.6%	0.4%	1.7%	1.8%	4.1%	3.1%
Predation	4.7%	5.1%	6.8%	6.1%	6.1%	4.6%
Others	6.1%	5.3%	7.0%	6.2%	2.9%	1.2%
Total	27.5%	53.5%	37.1%	47.6%	32.7%	39.8%

Source: Adopted from Gerald J. and Dorothy R. Pastoralist Livelihood initiative, Policy Brief, Number 2, November 2007. Freedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy. USAID/Feinstein International Center/Tufts University. Website: <http://fic.tufts.edu> p.1.

ports. Red Sea transport and the coastal economies; due to the interdependence of these livelihood activities are addressed as one livelihood category. Sea-Coast and Transhumant Pastoralist livestock production is the other.

Livestock production

The Afar in Eritrea are located in the *Semen(North)* and *Dehub(South)* Red Sea zonal administrations ecologically at the Coastal Plains Zone (CPZ) in altitude range between 600 m to below sea level with a hot desert climate that receives less than 200 mm of rainfall per year which is around the Bahir (April-March) season. The Afar live in the hottest, especially the South Red Sea, part of Eritrea, the dominant majority of which are transhumant Pastoralism. In the face of harsh environment covered with sub-desert shrubs and grasses constituting kind of vegetation with scarce and unpredictable precipitation, Pastoralism is practiced within a tight corner to scrutinize the physiological and nutritional needs of humans and live stock to the very scarce water and feeder resources. Some area covered with volcanic stones near Djibouti and Ethiopia border is more of an archeological interest than agricultural or pastoral production in the sense one talks of the Middle Awash valley or Aba'ala Afar. The areas proximity to the coast and hence long exposure to ancient caravan trade plus the inhospitable (መከላከያ, 2001;) environment corresponds to dependency on camel subsistence that indeed appears to rectify the Afar Mythogenesis:'. . .and at the beginning there was camel.' In the north Red sea zone, however, some form of crop production is practiced that amounts to tentative leeway to hazards than a livelihood to the degree Pastoralism is. Given the scarcity of resources such structure of hierarchy might appear to constitute inequality on matters of access and control to

resources that determine clan livelihood. Yet, in reality social relation is hierarchical as such; there are other horizontal trajectory like the *Afar Mada'a*, roles and specializations that counterbalance it. Every clan weak or strong, sociological majority or minority has got some powers, social roles and division of labor (*socio-culturally defined specialization*) to put on the table in exchange for a joint alliance on matters of security, trade or social matters like marriage. Also, very tight social solidarity among Afar clans provides wider frame work of security (Chefena et al., 1999:480).

Livestock production is diversified depending on spatio-temporal variations climate and ecosystem: camel, cattle, Goat, Sheep and donkey: the first and the last are basic to support the transhumant movement, especially camel for its multi-functional milk production and drought resistant nature. Near the highlands the Afar trek cattle, donkey and sheep; on the Southern Red Sea zone camel and goats, few cattle are much preferred to other livestock. Although the major outlets of Eritrea Assab is located in the Afar homeland, services basic to successful livestock production like water, veterinary, range land development services are almost non-existent; or they have to trek their livestock a long distance far away from their home stead in which case huge live stock death is imminent; during movement conflict, especially when nearing the highland, with agro-pastoralists and yet, seasonal movement remained to be the major strategic response to major drought as so it is now a regular annual pattern (Dinucci and Zeremariam, 2003:15). Therefore, seasonal migration has been way out with long established patterns and routes almost 3/4th of which used to lead and get refuge in Ethiopia (Ibid, 35).

The need to trek long distance and manage risks in this areas requires regular attendance and care of livestock by capable labor force; both quality and quantity of labor

is a requirement. The quantity of labor refers to the availability, not in a way that requires high population or school dropout but of population undisrupted from livestock production by factors outside of the production system like state or armed group forced recruitment, war or migration. In the Red Sea Afar family labor is the main source except children, women, and the aged and handicapped otherwise there won't be any ideal labor to be left behind; women and children back home take care of milk giving cows, herd goats and sheep. Community/clan/village labor is the next source to ensure production going; at last, hired labor (*the Ben Amir have class of 'professional' herders*) could be put in use (Ibid). Any factor that reduces the quality and/or quantity of labor in the family, the community or the market constitutes a great vulnerability to water and animal feeder that results in risk of livestock death, which is a precursor of food access shortage and famine in short run, and chronic food insecurity owing to the lethargic process of restocking (Abdi, 2007).

Health and education as requirement of quality of human capital, the Afar are the second most illiterate at the national level next to the Hidareb (94%) at 76% and the Tigre at 71% (Ali and Ismail, 1998). In terms of health, veterinary service is a rarity located at far distance travel and the government has planned to institutionalize and promote ethno-veterinary approach of the Afar and Ben-Amir. According to overservers, the policy shift was not genuine appreciation of grass root wisdom, (*had it been so, children would have been allowed to in their own vernacular language*) but an overt recognition of unaffordability of modern Veterinary service and indeed the usual defensive mood of denial 'their side effect is dangerous' (Ibid). Human health is closely linked to nutritional status; according to WFP assessment of 2009 Eritrea is one among Horn states with the highest population with the lowest nutritional threshold which indicated high vulnerability to water-related diseases like AWD. The map of vulnerability has depicted the Afar-Horn area, including the Red Sea Afar in red representing danger. Taking into account the minimum level of pure water supply, the lowest nutritional level in a pastoralist context where early warning systems and infrastructures are non-existence, a minor change in market price of food items could immediately lead to acute food, nutrition and health crisis.²² A study by AMREEF Ethiopia has shown a study in the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Ethiopia Afar town near by military camps and settlements to have greater percentage of exposure to the disease. Most of the South and North Red Sea bordering Ethiopia and Djibouti, and major urban centers have been accommodating same increase in HIV/AIDS pandemic

²² Health and Educn: the language policy, scholarship. . .

although awareness efforts have been underway for the last three years. The fact of malnutrition, illiterate and poor health pastoral Afar children is an indicative of not only the current crisis but also the overshadow hanging on the future fate of the next generation of pastoralists (AMREEF, 2010).

Eritrean government military policy in the Horn and the forced conscription and mandatory national military service is the major factor that deteriorated both the quality and quantity of human capital in a pastoralist context. The forced conscription that does not take into account cultural and religious peculiarities and gender context of the Afar and other Muslim pastoralists has on the one hand caused disgrace to the Afar society by forcefully taking Afar women and girls to military training. People scared by state punitive measures of being caught of evading military obligation and being taken to military barracks in thousands have chosen forced exile to neighboring countries. According to some sources report is being made of the Eritrean government to have availed itself of the crisis in the Afar region of Red Sea to smoothly promote its objective of homogenization policy to mold the 'one nation-one heart' dogma out of nine ethno-cultural groups. A more recent press release by the Afar armed resistance group RSADO has threatened to avenge the eviction of the Red Sea Afar and the alleged transfer of ownership to Northern Tigrigna speaker Agropastoralists. Against the verifiability of such allegations, the migration of tens of thousands of Afar youth is a disaster to the quality and quantity of the human capital of pastoral production system.²³ Among Afar Academics, Yasin Mohammed Yayo have went far to show entrapment of the Afar as, '*the Afar in the newly born Eritrea are trapped in a situation, which is the worst of all tragedies [] either to flee to neighboring [countries] [] or to bear the unfair burden of the new Tigrigna-highlander political as well as socio-economic hegemony.*' (Yasin, 2008:62). Similarly, Abbink argues PFJD's move as an attempt to alienate Red Sea Afar from their kinsmen in Djibouti and Ethiopia (Abbink, 2003:12).

The social capital of the Afar is threatened with unprecedented scale in Eritrea in no other Afar-Horn states. This has got to do with the marginalization and destruction of Afar traditional institutions and their replacement by monolithic alien structures of power and control; also, severe persecution of clan leaders and elders revered for their temporal and spiritual power and influence for real or perceived dissent. This has been going on since independence by way of denudation to the destruction of the economic, social and ethno-cultural bases of traditional institutions, practices and social networks, and the human, value and material element that

²³ This view is widely promoted among the following groups: APDA, APRF, AFAR FORUM and RSADO.

epitomizes peculiarity of the Afar. Pastoral land Tenure and institution of clan leaders and elders, whose power over and influence to command compliance /obedience is vested partly on tradition, values and norms, and partly on command over pastoral or other instruments of production and the social network of relations imbedded in there. Economically the new uniform Land Tenure *Deassae* (John, 1998) introduced after independence has dangerous implications of being overtaken by PFDJ hard core highlanders. In the face of changing names of towns from Affaraff to Tigrigna and the domination of Afar local administration by individuals of the highland origin, traditional power domains are being effectively destroyed (Dinucci and Zeremariam, 2003:15). Plus the alteration of Latin Afar alphabet along with socio-Cultural domination of Afar urban centers by new comers is part of the homogenization agenda in crafting the new Eritrean nationalism that antagonizes transnational, as much as trans boundary, the nature of Afar political, economic and socio-cultural connectedness. The political alienation of the Afar from matters like local governance as at national level is an aspect of inhibition from deciding in any way on policy matters; the policy to accelerated Sedentarization of all Pastoralists in a post war state where there is no even enough service, access to food and basic amenities to serve the center is and an attestation of the incapacitation program (Ibid). On the other hand, sedentarization has political purposes to serves in dismantling the socio-economic bases of traditional Afar institutions; it turns local resistance in to rubbles. Gun is highly valued in Afar society for its cultural, security (of the family, clan and cattle) and economic utilities.²⁴ The forceful disarming of all Afar in Eritrea was devastating economically, morally and on matter of honor; among the Afar forcefully disarmament is as humiliating and disgraceful as rendering a man's worth (*gender correctness excepted*) to a woman, as so is to grab a highlander of his wife for which one does not restore honor unless avenged in death. This appears, making note of the forced mass conscription, to be carefully scrutinized agenda of impoverishing and incapacitation to render the Afar just one nameless key to the political symphony of PFJD (FRD, 2005:9).²⁵ The forced conscription of Afar in Eritrea is considered among the Ethiopian Afar as a stratagem of introducing bloodshed among Afar brothers that widens fault line with more blood until unbridgeable gap and animosity totally set us at each others' throat in which the Eritrean Elite

²⁴Arms are economically useful in Afar in addition to securing cattle safety but also to do contraband as smuggler or an escort that required being armed. The monetary value of losing such highly values asset is economically damaging.

²⁵Eritrea still has the second largest army in Africa. According to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, an estimated 1 million antipersonnel mines remain in Eritrea.

has succeeded in concretizing the Tigray-Hamaseen divide through blood during the Badime War. This corresponds to Dereje and Hoehne observation that "State borders may also be used to consolidate collective identities as the identity politics of Somaliland and Eritrea show" (2008). This is indicative of the effect of war on Djibouti would have severed the second arm of Afar transnational ethnic solidarity.

Moreover, the separation the Afar in Eritrean from their brethren in Ethiopia and Djibouti by the War with the former and the military bullying on the latter that rendered it fatal to cross-borders as usual has on purely livelihood terms in general and livestock live stock production in particular has prohibited the Afar of its traditional transnational network of resource sharing and ethnic solidarity which constitutes one aspect of social capital (Dinucci and Zeremariam, 2003:15).

At personal level tens of thousands of Afar women and elderly people are reported to have been robbed of everything they owe and after a brutal biting were forced to leave Eritrea to take refuge in Djibouti and Ethiopia. Forced eviction of the Afar from Eritrea had damaging effect not only on the displaced but also on the Afar of host country; according to informants from Berahile locality bordering Eritrea, they are affected by the destruction caused by the war and the immense economic pressure of harboring the Red Sea Afar refugees within the scarce arid resource base (Haydra, 2007). The arrival of 10 000 Afar refugees in Kilibati zone of Ethiopia has caused the loss of remaining scanty livelihood assets; refugee aid program came long after the economic damage on the host community was done (Afar-Forum, 2008:3).²⁶

Sea and coastal livelihood

This aspect of Afar livelihood has got a mix of modern and traditional, licit and illicit, national and international dimensions that includes trade across the Red Sea to the Arabian Peninsula as well as cross border trade with Djibouti and Ethiopia. The Tio, Baylul and Rahaita Afar on the North coastal areas of the Red Sea have long history of trade and even during the Derge period used to have own medium size motor boats engaged in trade and some form of illicit business and human trafficking to Arabia. The EPLF confiscated their belongings, put those

²⁶In a press release, Afar Diaspora Forum has condemned Eritrea's act as "Again, the conference condemned the appalling human rights abuse that is driving Afar out of Eritrea asking the government to urgently address the needs of the refugees in the Afar Region." According to John Abbink, this phenomenon of unbounded state lunacy has engendered the fleeing of the productive male that left "Afar settlements (villages) only with aged men, women, and children. We are now found under cruel suppression and our very survival is threatened."

who fall by bad fate on its hands into underground incarceration in the inferno of Danakil and imposed strict prohibition on any private rowing or fishing and practically adhered to shoot to sink on non-compliance. By so doing, it ended the life expectancy of a viable long history of trade and fishery livelihood of the Afar on the Red Sea. Even among the Ethiopian Afar community they bore traces of distinctive visibility and respect for their dignified past (RSADO, 2009).

Refugees from Tio in Aysa'eta indicated that state monopoly on fishing, trade across the Red Sea and Salt production has badly weakened Red Sea Afar livelihood (Bourhan, 2009). Independent reports too showed that, denying access to the Red Sea Afar, the Eritrean government has turned the Sea into an exclusive state and foreign campaigns' gold mine earning millions of foreign currency. The war mutiny in 1995 with Yemen was partly a failed aspect of imposing the same inhibition on an international actor (FRD, 2005:9).

The ports of Massawa and Assab in the Red Sea Afar region are the most complex facilities that only from Ethiopia import and Export service up to the war in 1998 had maintained a return of 200million US Dollars per annum. In terms of employment opportunity the ports, oil refinery which was exclusively leased to Ethiopia oil import demand and the salt production were the not only national but regional medina of laborers. The Afar in the urban centers of the Red Sea and coastal Areas had been benefiting from engagements in and around the two ports; in the middle of 1990s early before the war Ethiopian job hunters had looked forward and secured descent life in Massawa and Assab which many of them retroactively regret the war wishful of going back should peace be restored. From the joyfully reminiscence of almost all deportees of Ethiopian origin from Assab invariable of their period of stay and their wish to go back despite woeful news of hunger and deprivation in both international and local media is much telling what a livelihood the war has coasted the Afar natives of Rahayta, Baylul and Tio' among others. Immediately after the war to date the port of Assab collapsed and did not recoil back to life thereafter (Many Deportees bitterly detest 'what an ill-omen of him-Premier Meles-to wish Assab, a camel water point!') (FRD, 2005:10)²⁷. Currently, only Massawa the second largest port is operating to support the staggering national economy of Eritrea. Salt production has been a good contribution to Eritrea's economy through export mainly to Sudan that also sustained large labor force, though few the Afar too, used to earn descent living. However, the major importer of Red Sea salt threatened by military arms of its salt

²⁷Since the onset of hostilities with Ethiopia 1997 to date the port of Assab, the largest and well-furnished port facility and the oil refinery in Eritrea are left unused.

provider scornfully reoriented its search for reliable provider deteriorating the financial and labor market of Eritrea since 2000. Hence, the financial asset of Afar livelihood in Eritrea which was mainly on these Red Sea and coastal livelihood activities and the diasporas remittance sources growing hatred for the system and the war and insecurity choosing to divert to their families destinations in neighboring countries, the possibility of gifts and social networking with those back home deteriorated. Add to this the impossibility of accruing from the political system like PFDJ, the total livelihood outcome the Afar in Eritrea continues to exhibit extremely negative outcome as discussed above (JRC, 2008:7)²⁸.

In the final analyses, the type of livelihood strategic choices or activities people in such cases of failing livelihood to avert risk and reduce vulnerability contribute in filling the last piece of the jigsaw. Accordingly, the Afar in Eritrea has followed three major directions in response to their entrapment. The dominantly women, children and elderly near the border under military scrutiny and who cannot risk in trying to go across the border are sticking to what is left with the March brief rain restoring hope and the scanty food aid despite WFP' insistence comes after month of painful awaiting (Geba, 2008). Others have chosen joining various armed groups of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti Afar located in the buffer zones of the Afar-Horn. Illicit armed groups provided narrow way out of the entrapment between famine and political violence for few young men; however, growing insurgency intensified state coercion that in effect caused greater human insecurity. People in armed group occupied areas are purposely cut out of humanitarian and aid food in time of acute food and health crisis (Ali, 2009). Governments take armed groups' presence in an area as justification to respond obliviously to peoples' plight; even worse, armed groups provide pretext for and solicit military attacks against innocent civilian by state forces as might themselves yield to. Moreover, actual military confrontation between state forces and armed groups lays the public liable to be implicated for *faïte accomplie* that often worsens off insecurity (Harun, 2009).

The male adults of Eritrea Afar are migrating to refugee camps and relatives in Ethiopia and Djibouti. The Afar refugees in Djibouti have engendered socio-economic tension in its urban centers; for the second quarter of 2009 WFP has appealed international community to supply Djibouti with sufficient refugee food aid. Similarly, refugee influx in Shimelba, Dicho'Otto and Ayisa'eta camps in the Tigray and Afar regions has overstretched

²⁸The report has depicted the worst food insecurity in Red Sea coast and warned against potential health and nutritional crisis. USAID, FEWNET, 2009 has assessed Eritrea in general and Red Sea Afar in particular as the most insecure, acute food and hygiene problem, with threat of drought with high propensity of massive famine and humanitarian crisis.

available resources and facilities (Siyum, 2009; ENA, 2009).

Meanwhile, on the other hand, Eritrea insurgents keep to swear more attacks; Ethiopia State Media hoists subversive TV program *Dehay Eritrea*; crisis in Somalia is simmering; UNSC resolution against Eritrea-spoiler; Secretary of State Clinton warns Eritrean intransigency; opposition in Ethiopia forms coalition (*Ex-FDRE President and TPLF old guard are in*); Assab resurges to be major opposition issue for the next election; (Addis-Neger, 2009; The Reporter, June 2009; Addis-Adimas, September 2009); Issa-Afar relations is no less tense

Afar livelihood is the direct outcome of marginalization, alienation and oppression of the Afar people that are embedded in historically memories, political structures and policies of Afar-Horn states that perpetuate conflict, vulnerability and human insecurity. Therefore, intractable instability and insecurity of the Afar is marginalization, alienation and oppression in reverse process: imparting on those political structures, policies and practices that caused and sustained them; hence, human insecurity is the state of being helpless and defenceless in this reciprocal causation. Thus, the three vertexes of the Afar-Horn stab and link Afar-Horn states with political instability and insecurity, interlocking the local with the regional. However, its entropy and atrophy is also influenced by the spell of other factors. Therefore, correlate of ports, insurgents, foreign intervention and Issa-Afar conflict on the *Ebb and Flow* of (in) stability and (in) security of Afar-Horn is dealt below.

ISSA-AFAR CONFLICT DYNAMICS: PORTS AND INSURGENTS

Ebb and Flow in conflict Transformation underscore the relational features of various issues and conflict, presenting factors in conflict episodes at various levels of analyses relate to each other and in turn interlock with the epicenter (*the historical, structural and attitudinal constructions*) in reciprocal causation (Lederach, 2003).

The issue of ports in the Afar-Horn is rooted partly in the structural socioeconomic and geopolitical fault lines of the hinterland and the coastal, agrarian vs. pastoralist, Christian vs. Muslim, colonial vs. imperial. Engagements to secure as much freedom from fear of (*traditional*) threat and of access to the sea have continued to dominate Ethiopia's domestic and foreign policy orientation (Clapham, 2008). Yet, not up until the secession of Eritrea did Ethiopia got in to decoy of vigilance and dependency; especially, the post-1998 war period and its dependency on Djibouti port disclosed the degree of vulnerability its historical quest culminated in; more so is noting the instability of the region that precluded viable alternative access. Ethiopia's security

dilemma in this respect has socio-economic and politico-security referents at local as much as at (*trans-*) national level. The Assab issue and the Issa 'invasion' of Afar land are bone of contention that engendered resistance against FDRE government, the state of Eritrea, Republic of Djibouti and conflict with Issa pastoralists, and political struggle in Afar regional state. Especially the latter is believed among the Afar to have impeded the restoration of traditional Afar grazing lands. Structural problems of pastoralist land tenure alienation as per the imperial decree partly contributed to Issa request for referendum on grounds of effective control achieved through arms (Markakis, 2003). Issa invasion in turn resulted in conflicts with neighboring groups (Karrayu, Argoba, Hawiya, Ittu and Amhara) and Afar clans.

Assab and Massawa (Eritrea), Djibouti, Berbera (Somaliland) and Bosaso (Punt land) ports are, as though undeserved, in the hand of fragile, unpredictable and instable states and quasi states wriggled by internal strife and external threats. Their significance to regional and national economy is undermined by peacelessness and statelessness (Somaliland and punt land). Even so, they continued to be of premium importance to owners and clients alike (Dima, 2007; Byrne, January 2002);²⁹ Djibouti had been mainly dependent on port services, remittance and foreign aid long before the war brought Ethiopia to its bosoms (Markakis, 2003). The Southern ports of Berbera and Bosaso are located in the troubled region of the quasi state Somaliland and the Northern Somalia, Punt Land; though lack security and proper effective control; they are the main outlets to Ethiopian livestock from Somali region and the only outlet to central Somalia (Abdi, 2007:87).

The position of these ports proximate to the bless and inferno of Middle East, the ample potential of harboring and falling prey to terrorist transit and the growing economic importance, especially Djibouti's aspiration to turn into the regional transshipment hub as well as the growing maritime criminal network in the Indian ocean (Somali piracy) have increased great power interest and presence in the coast (Shinn, 2002).

The ports are connected through net work of trade routes, maintained for several hundreds of years, with pastoralist and contraband markets in Ethiopia and Somalia traversing patch work of clan controlled corridors. The Issa corridor extending from Shinile zone along Dire Dawa-Ayisha-Deweale Triangle to Somali land is controlled by Issa-Somali clan Ethiopia and Djibouti; the Berbera-Corridor through the Harar-Jigjiga-Hargesa-Berbera route is controlled and managed the Issaq dominant in Somaliland, Eastern Frontier of Ethiopia and

²⁹Eritrea used to get 30% of total refined oil from Ethiopia for using the refinery of Assab. According to Hugh Byrne, there were 100 000 Ethiopian Employed in Eritrea most of them in Red Sea port of Assab.

Somaliland. Both routes involve numerous actors from international companies (*Shirkades*), through clan security guards to livestock trekkers; these routes support the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of pastoralist as far greater number of contrabandists (Abdi, 2007).

The social and political structure these routes were constructed and they serve to relay is the junction point where Afar-Horn security concerns of the Afar of Ethiopia and Djibouti interface with that of the Issa of Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somali land. In similar fashion, the extension of the huge level of contraband trade to Eritrea through the formally barred traffic integrates all state and societal actors in these routes to the sea (Clapham, 2008). The absence of similar Social alchemy, of formal and informal commercial and infrastructural networks, has grave security implications at all levels that appear to seamlessly fuse: risk and advantage.

Competition over control of the trade routes and infrastructures connecting the coast to the hinterland has been part of the Issa-Afar conflict. The gradual penetration and eviction of the Afar in the Middle Awash Valley by the Issa that brought the loss of Afar grazing land, the resultant misery and destitution has this competition at its center (Markakis, 2003). The unabated dominance of the Issa in Middle Awash Valley, in traditional strong hold of Afar, has inter-state characters as much local and national expression. This pertains to the differential political power coefficient of the Issa and the Afar, port services and security considerations. Ethiopia's dependence on mainly Issa dominated Djibouti port and in the Berbera port of Somaliland where the Issa has political representation have made the Issa more appealing to the government of Ethiopia. This is attested in the leniency with which Federal government matter-of-factly look at the plight of the Afar in the face of drought, famine and cattle death triggered by the confinement Issa imposed on them inhibiting transhumant pastoralist mode of response (Dereje and Hoenn, 2008: 107). According to the Afar claim, there is Djibouti government military backing the Issa invasion of Afar traditional territory and has established contraband hubs at Gedamaytu, Adaytu and Qundafuqo on Addiss Ababab-Djibouti tarmac road. These towns are set in higher altitude connected with land bridges to the highlands of Amhara beyond Awash River in the middle, for the preservation of which the Afar are at cut-throat struggling, gives the impression of military strategists making than pastoralist commons. This is true in light of the intransigency the Issa stick to these areas, despite the absence of pastoral resources to survive let alone dry even wet season. One would ask why a pastoralist would stick to barren land unless he has resources to protect otherwise. The diligence with which government committed itself to provide water by truck to a contrabandist centres rings louder than a bell. Another possible common dimension is Ethiopian government

common interest in recruiting the non-Ogadeni clans living in Ogaden (Hawiye, Dolbahante, Issaq, Issa, Gurgura, Gaddabursi) have often been anti-ONLF which is completely sponsored by Eritrea (Prunier, 2008). Moreover, Ethiopian government involvement in the FRUD vs. Djibouti war against the former, the Eritrea-Ethiopia joint military measure against same and the signing of the joint security and military agreement as per which Djibouti extradited Afar Muhyadin Muftah, deputy general secretary of ARDUF operating in Djibouti and other seven ONLF supporters even earlier than issue of the port (Tobia, 1996; (Amnesty-International, 1996; Yasin, 2008:36³⁰) opens even wider military-security considerations to make note of.

The Afar are dominant only in Afar region of Ethiopia; even so on matters that matter most, (*the Issa-Afar issue is one*), central government involvement is determinant. The involvement of regional executives and Ugugumo insurgents in the 1996 Issa-Afar major clash culminated in political purge and imprisonment of regional executives (Yasin, 2008). Uncompromising Political stance against the Issa is the strongest trump card as much effective as clan power to secure political office; such individuals though they end up in short lived political career they earn popular public support in the Afar-Horn equally as those insurgents resisting division and aggression.³¹ In short, local conflict of ethno-regional character interlinks to regional political equation: Issa-Afar conflict has come to determine who comes to power and who does not or who plays shadow man's job.

Afar popular perception has it that, the separation of the Red Sea Afar and the dispossession of the ports of Assab and Massawa has asymmetrically changed Issa-Afar power relations to Afar dismay; the Afar self-perception is that of a sacrificial lamb of a state rendered land locked by myopic political orientation (AHRO, 2008). The extreme end of this popular perception, cognizant of the marginalization and destitution of the Afar in the Horn, is that no state power even their mentor EPRDF government, the first to recognize their right for self-rule, wants to see strong and united Afar. The other end of the continuum, even the most optimist person tells literally

³⁰The imprisonment of the ARDUF leader had led to the subsequent negotiation between the *Ugugumo* armed forces and the TPLF and (400 militants) disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and end of the first ARDUF up until succeeded by the Second ARDUF.

³¹Nonetheless, key informants indicated that the continuous cooption and disarmament of various armed groups up on securing political appointment in Federal and regional offices have put the popular assumption of '*protector of the true cause*' under shade of doubt and even slander. Others suspiciously look at the ease with which powerful individuals commence and withdraw from armed resistance as secrete strategy of the regional leaders to keep the *Ugugumo* abreast to do the job they cannot do it otherwise as incumbents. The involvement of *Ugugumo* during the Afar-Karrayu conflict in 2004 inflicted heavy damage on Karrayu and on the Issa similarly supports this line of speculation.

same but with innocent self-glorification: united Afar may redefine the regional state system. This has also implication in the pan-Afar and Federalist insurgency such as the emergence of the RSADO and the *Arab-Ugugumo* (Prendergart, 2006). To wind up, the port among Ethiopia Afar is inseparable from their view of the relative deprivation they are in; hence it is the most popular rallying agenda for all Afar in the Afar-Horn to restore their alleged lost status of honor and security.

Ethiopia-Djibouti strong interdependence spoiled Eritrea and Djibouti relations that deteriorated into violent clash (AHRO, 2008). Given the non-compliance of Ethiopia to the binding and final decision of the arbitration commission and leniency of the international community to get Ethiopia implement it has set Eritrea to frustration: dissented against at home and abroad. Growing better achievement in Djibouti and future prospects of even far greater maritime investment in Djibouti port seems to oppress Eritrea elites with tangible loss over Ethiopia in the present and future imminent loss of maritime opportunities. As usual, Eritrea moved in to supporting FRUD against the Djibouti government. It provided arms and training both to FRUD and ARDUF against Ethiopian and Djibouti (AHRO, 2008). As the result it turned the government security and military forces against the Afar of the Northern Djibouti, where the armed forces of FRUD are assumed to have taken refugee, exacerbating insecurity (Medhane T. , The Djibouti-Eritrea Conflict, October 2008). For the second time Eritrean forces eroded the Northern Ras Damera region of Djibouti on June 2008 that appeared to look like the Badime of Djibouti on birth: Eritrea a mid wife. Despite various explanations and speculations, the confronting Ethiopia in multiple fronts, forestalling Ethiopia's safe way to the sea and compromising the future construction of the highway along the Bab-el Mandeb straight and Djibouti's effort to promote itself in to regional transshipment hub are plausible to this topics consumption. In short no real gains to Eritrea but gains secured on rivals demise (Mesfin, 15 September 2008). Ethiopia's premier must have smelled sent of same malice to make immediate warning against any threat on the safety and security of the lifeline to the sea which Ethiopia takes it up to her legal right to secure (Medhane T. , 2008). Therefore, future Eritrea-Djibouti conflict dynamics can get Ethiopia into regional war and hence is a potent threat of regional destabilization.

The Eritrea-Djibouti border episode has demonstrated how the regional dynamics correlates to local conflicts: the Issa-Afar. Issa-Afar violent conflict erupted in Ethiopia a couple of days after the outbreak of Eritrea-Djibouti border skirmish on 8 June 2008: on the 10th of June 10 at Leedi Kebele near Mille and the 12th of June, 2008 at Adaytu where 30 Afar causality, 26 wounded and

unspecified death of Issa side were reported (AHRO, 2008). The subjective versions of the story of the episode and interpretations thereof by the conflictants atr much telling about the grass roots security dilemma engendered by inter-state conflict, this time Eritrea-Djibouti.

The Afar version, the Issa killed two regional health workers in cold blood who were at Leedi Kebele of Afar on a vaccination campaign and they took their vehicle; same day Issa attacked Adaytu village and inflicted the above mentioned damage on Afar civilians; moreover, the Afar allegedly accuse government army for attacked the Afar who came to collect their dead. The extremely emotional version of the story has it that Ethiopia government army is killing the Afar at home to console the Issa whose kin are under fire by the Eritrean regime which was also undertaking targeted killing of the Afar in Djibouti (AHRO, 2008).

The Issa version gave radical polar opposite of this; the Afar, in the wake of Eritrea attacking Djibouti, wrongly for saw Issa would inevitable recoil its arm to rescue their brethren in Djibouti leaving the Issa occupied hot spots on the highway unguarded; thus, they mobilized in unforeseen manner, fighters including police and security members; they moved in to invade and chase us out of our domicile. Tragically, the Issa conscious of their intention prepared strategic military fortification and they unaware fell victim of their own erroneous art of war and Issa snare. Government involvement is common Afar fabrication (Mohammed, 2008). The Afar capitalized on associating the government army with Eritrea linking with *the killing of the Afar in both countries*; while the Issa (*instead of emphasizing the killing of Issa in both countries*) pictured the Afar as opportunist Eritrean war booty collection. Both conflictants' effort to out maneuver the other in associating the episode with Eritrean government attack on Djibouti are indicative of the extent local actors attempt to manipulate Eritrea connection to score revenge over the other and avert insecurity.

Foreign involvement in the Afar-Horn bears partly due to the prevalence of regional and international sources of insecurity. However, US mission in the Horn in general and its policy on front line states (*Ethiopia and Djibouti, Ethiopia-Eritrea relations*) have fallen victim of its excessive witch-hunt military strategy: sacrificed the political to the military and security that often served the interests of its leading ally Ethiopia best. On the other hand, US has deteriorated the democratic pace of its allies at home and tarnished its image and relations in the region (Shinn D. , 2004).

In post 9/11 period American military assistance to Djibouti has increased forty times more than it received in five years prior. Similarly, the French shared military base camp Lemonier with American joint force and anti-

terrorist force; financial returns and aid from both powers has boosted its financial status (CDI, 2007). Nevertheless, symmetrical to Djibouti's multiple fault lines and its fragility in keeping balance, anti-French, anti-American and Anti-Ethiopian states and non-state actors have posed challenges. KSA and Qatar responded against Djibouti's pro-American move caused great displeasure to its oil rich benefactors. These states kept on importing radical Islam into Djibouti (Schermerhorn, January 2004). The TNG-TFG politics of Somalia plunged Djibouti into the challenge of keeping a cautious balance among adversarial actors in the region. This was seen in many counts; mediating the Somalia peace process, especially for being chosen to set the first US military base in Africa antagonized Eritrean aspiration to win over American support; it made relations harsh; Djibouti befriending Ethiopia a sign of alliance on building to the Eritrea security perception. Eritrea in the 'coalition of the willing' was perceived by some analysts as disadvantage against anchoring the support of moderate Muslims in the region (Lunn, 2008). The indiscriminate elimination orientation against all Muslim opposition on grounds of 'war on terror' constituted a major setback that loomed over and magnified American foreign policy weaknesses on Eritrea: unqualified support as an ally and mere disapproval on its political intolerance (Schermerhorn, January 2004). Keeping balance between France's dominant position in economic aid and military support to Djibouti in addition to the challenge of maintaining French-American equilibrium at home exposed Djibouti to persistent anti-French orientation of Eritrea. Such multiplying dimensions of disconcert contributed to the loss of peace in a region by narrowing areas of communality and widening divergence that often take other pretexts to ignite violence. Given the deteriorating economic and political conditions in Eritrea and the relative healthy advance and bright prospect in Djibouti, the Eritrean-Djibouti border clash in June 2008 could partly be a reaction to the isolated status of the former and effects of foreign actor induced polarization of positions.

Terrorism and radical Islam are aspects of foreign intervention that invite other forms of intervention in the Horn. The resurgence of anti-Ethiopia radical Islamic groups linked to the Al Qaeda East Africa in Somalia has made Ethiopia's frontier against Somali the Frontier of Britain, the US and the EU. Hence, UK support for protecting the Ethiopia's southern border and internal stability made sense to the UK: Britain harbors a large population of radicalized Somalis reported to have been taking trainings in the new center of Al Qaeda. Given the persistent terrorist attacks in Ethiopia in either border areas or in 2005-2008 over 20 – 25 bomb attacks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia happily accepted western involvement in

regional politics and security (Dewar, 2008: 7 and 8). The blurred boundary between Islamic movements and national insurgencies set the ground for justified state use of force in the name of ensuring national security and agenda of 'war on terror'. Eritrea unabatedly engaged to eradicate National Islamist Movements supported by Sudan that gave the former solid ground for supporting rebel groups in Darfur. Moreover, it has endangered gross human rights violations of Muslim citizens, which until then had only been raised by the EIJM and ENA, provided a new basis for the realignment of all PFDJ opponents (Lyob, 2004).

Further more, one major implication in the (*Afar*-) Horn almost in all states that justifies foreign intervention is aid dependency which, according to Alex de Wall, has 'democratic disempowerment' resultants. States are irresponsive to their people in as much strongly tied as to the aprons of paymasters (Prendergast and Thomas-Jensen, 2007). This line of argument corresponds to the various measures governments in the Afar-Horn peruse affecting good governance at home. This in turn affects conflict managements and transformation as well as the dynamics of insurgent politics in the region. 'Justified' resort to violent means of resolving difference and shrinking down democratic adversarial politics gained momentum from complications involving foreign involvement, dissident politics and terrorism (Lunn, 2008).

In the context of growing local grievances, mutual intervention in the Afar-Horn has taken the form of instigating ethnic conflicts in addition to insurgent-state military clash along disputed border lands. The Eritrean Television ER TV hosts offensive propaganda programs of Ethiopian insurgents OLF and EPF in Asmara; reports have shown Eritrea involvement in Ethnic conflict in the Gambela region of Ethiopia; Eritrea's involvement in Somalia supporting groups fighting Ethiopian forces, analysts strongly argued, was with the intention of bogging Ethiopia down in protracted war; still more, sponsoring 'terrorist' attacks on Dire Dawa and financing Nationalist armed groups and Ethnic insurgencies are three major dimensions. Ethiopia reciprocated financing all Eritrea insurgents, including Red Sea Afar groups (Clapham, 2008; Berouk, 2008).

Afar insurgents have certain peculiarities so illusive to make categorical statements about. Most insurgents befriend the Eritrea regime to bring Afar region politicians into the compromise of certain political concessions minor to their program which is often accompanied by factionalism. The first insurgents, the South and North ALFs that resisted the Derge and TPLF respectively had only a brief period of friendship that turned into bitter enmity. Ousted from power leaders of the South ALF molded ALF into ANLF to take refuge in Eritrea for a

brief period and joined PFDJ with an alleged armed resistance against EPRDF government while the remaining body of ALF joined the APDP ruling coalition; yet, their friendship did not last longer than ALF leaders' rejection of PFDJ plans for a common front in arms against Ethiopia during the border war. At this time factionalism hit hard at the core of the leadership sending one segment to Diaspora politics; the Habib Ali Mirah the ousted president segment took it back home to apolitical life. The ARDUF was founded in 1993 forming coalition out of the ARDU and the first Ugugumo. ANLM was the first armed group with popularity around Assab founded by the Son of Sultanate of Bidu latter succeeded by the ARDU in 1991 in Djibouti. The coalition to form ARDUF from the start set the momentum of zygotic division of the *Ugugumo* that continued to date. The factionalism in *Ugugumo* caused the emergence of factions bearing the names of self-appointed leaders prefixed to *Ugugumo*, as is the case with *Arab-Ugugumo* (Yasin, 2008). Thus, lead *Ugugumo* to the shadowy existence it is now in.

However, both successive factions of *Ugugumo* and ARDUF in their political programs underlined the unification of all Afar in to an independent Afar territory; they vehemently oppose the legitimacy of the state of Eritrea encompassing Afar territory within it; only during the kidnapping of Europeans tourists and their accompanying Afar is heard the alleged collaboration of the *Arab-Ugugumo* with Eritrean government. What might the independent Afar territory, they struggle for, constitute, include and exclude is totally ambivalent; so does the connotation 'independent': as to whether it mean sovereign state of Afar triangle or not. Yet, the zygotic factionalism keeps on going; for instance, during the war, founder of ARDUF declared cease fire to join the Ethiopian side against Eritrea and disarmed the second *Ugugumo* to civilian life. Consequently, the *Mohameda-ARDUF* joined the government of Ethiopia to be state minister; *Salih-Ugugumo* succeeded *Mohameda-Ugugumo*; the former dissolved to be succeeded by *Arab-Ugugumo* which took arms for a while and in 2005 made settlement to form legally registered party known as ANRDF (ARDUF, 2005)³²; it was in turn succeeded by the fourth *Arab-Ugugumo* that continued maintaining secessionist agenda from Eritrea and Ethiopia, and recognizes no boundary of the two state. Consequently, it joined an opposition alliance UEDF; the new front warned foreigners against any attempt of entering the Afar to

³²The Mission statement of ANRDF ambivalently indicates a shift from the ARDUF program of United Afar and framed its goal to self determination from the Ethiopian state. While recognizing the Federal system and its constitutional guarantee under article 2(5) of its NDR it made Article 8(1-5) detail description of setting up defence and security forces of the Afar state and Article 10(1 & 2) with strange tone talk of relations with peoples of Ethiopia as international relations which is set as foreign policy section of the program. The NDR gives the impression that ANRDF is turning the spear inside in a democratic fashion.

demarcate Ethio-Eritrea border before the kidnapping of Europeans and their accompanying folks (M.Yasin, 2008; BBC, March 2, 2007).³³ The cooperation of *Arab-Ugugumo* with Asmara did not last any longer for the group was shortly thereafter reported to have joined the Afar Ruling party in Ethiopia, APDP.³⁴ Another aspect of peculiarity of Afar insurgency is that they have very few fighters but of greater capacity when ever so needed. This pertains to having armed supporter from pastoralists where rifle is a matter of honor and livelihood. Afar insurgents are financially dependent on solely their own sources from Diaspora, community support and from small scale banditry against government facilities and traders. However, with financial support from a reliable source they would constitute formidable desert rangers. Moreover, their time tested experience in guerilla warfare from the cold war days and adaptability to the inhospitable desert climate makes them a significant force of destabilization in the region (Prunier, February 2008). Especially the chance of involvement in local conflicts Afar and other ethnic groups as in the 2002 Issa-Afar and 2004 Afar-Karrayu conflict is of immense destabilizing effect that awakens local and transnational ethnic pool. The Afar regional state and Shinile Zone are said to get use of their licit and illicit armed groups and transnational ethnic connections as reserve forces for critical security situations (Markakis, 2003); in this regard the lingering Issa-Afar conflict kept unaddressed and growing Afar resonance can provide the condition for the worst episode involving these forces.

Ethiopian Afar insurgents are also different on their relations with various Ethiopian insurgents, the states and themselves that reflect the anomalies the Afar of Ethiopia. This is expressed in paradoxical partnership of principles for own state-Decentralization, for Ethiopian unity for Federalism, for Ethiopian Red Sea Coast Reunification, for pan Afar, for Pan-Afar Pan Ethiopian-Greater Afar land (Afar-Community, 2007). Eritrea has its Afar insurgents starting from the ELF times; the ELF and EPLF were born among the Red Sea Afar region. Pre-independence Afar-insurgency in Eritrea had managed to inhibit ELF and EPLF presence in the Afar region. This relates to the availability of abundant arms and the war of independence gave the Afar state of *laissez-faire*. In Post-Independence EPLF had preemptively disarmed all Afar. Moreover, the TPLF-EPLF bond has rendered insurgency almost impossible

³³The Arab-Ugugumo fully adopting the vaguely defined secessionist program and denying state borders is full proof to the impossibility of winning the alleged EPDJ-support Ethiopia government media made public.

³⁴The Afar regional TV program of ENA has began to display the Afar flag with Red strip and a triangle added on it. Speculation has it that this could be the twilights of the days of zygotic succession of *Ugugumos*. However, without committing in to a historicity that determines future trend such a prognosis holds no water although the opposite view too cannot be any far better.

modality of resistance (M.Yasin, 2008). The Afar Red Sea Front (ARSF) was Ethiopia's creation meant to reinforce for the eventuality of attacking Assab during the war border war in 1998. When the war ended this group was left alone, but did not get demobilized. ARSF men were tested against all odds to launch an attack over military garrison in Eritrea and proved effective; and won the favor of Ethiopian government. From ARSF raid into the Assab direction, it might be deduced they were promised for Assab. This is most popular view among Ethiopian Afar.

Their program, however, is not declared; some writers even describe them as Ethiopian military legion in Eritrea. Then after, they stayed low profile conducting small scale military operations without financial support from Ethiopia. RSADO found during the war time have gained Ethiopia's favor and received military training, logistics and arms to counter balance Eritrea hostility along the buffer zone (Prunier, 2008). This group have well organized and trained fighters and fight for democracy and self-rule within Eritrea. RSADO have joined hands with the ENA in the making of *Government in Exile* in Addis Ababa. The group has made public its military victory over Eritrean garrison the past three months. It has threatened to scale up its attack up until the Asmara regime quite killing and evacuation of innocent Afar civilians in the Red Sea region (The Reporter, 'RSADO, Eritrean Afar rebels vow to scale up military action' 18, July 2009). This aspect of Ethiopia's involvement in Eritrea through the Red Sea Afar constitutes biggest security threat to Eritrea that exacerbates the misery of Red Sea Afar. It also impedes the possibility of negotiated settlement on border issues and access to the Sea vital to Ethiopia. Although the Eritrean government is doing its level best to plunge Ethiopia in crisis, nevertheless, in light of the vitality of peace between the two states to the regional peace, noting Ethiopia's long diplomatic legacy and as a regional hegemonic role aspiring state, it is in the best interest of Ethiopia to refrain from proxy for concerted diplomacy.

In this respect, the role of big powers and the international community in guiding to such a direction is blinded by monomania of threat mentality and terror anxiety (Shinn, 2004:1-8). On the other hand, such development of insurgency to stand for the Assab and Red Sea might contribute to the decline Ethiopian pan Afar insurgents; RASOD could have a part in the recent change around the last Ugugumo; in terms of tactic disagreements between the like of RASOD and other Ethiopian Afar insurgents cannot be affordable by any measurement. Strategically, undivided Afar power block in Ethiopia could provide stronger leverage for smooth changes to happen in Eritrea.

Since independence up until FRUD armed rebellion in

1992 that nearly toppled the government of Djibouti, insurgency, armed and clandestine resistance have been dominant mode of resistance by the Afar against coercive control. Promises for power sharing and decentralization failing to realize resort have been made to arms. A case in point is FRUD in post-1994 power sharing agreement. Instead the government focused mainly on inducing factionalism and the political calculus of cooption. The Mainline FRUD joined ranks with (*among four*) official known political parties. A new political military organization called FRUD-Renaissance emerged among old-guards of the FRUD (IONL, 1996). The strategy worked out well to get FRUD support for the current incumbent to come to the office. In 2001 it signed an agreement and formed part with the ruling party RUP: set requirements of getting its approval for participation in election precluding unrestricted involvement in politics; as a result the national election of 2005 was boycotted by all political parties, including those from the current incumbent's clan, and President Gale came to office in a one-man race accompanied by land sliding victory (BBC-News, 09). From then on FRUD renascence continued to challenge as an insurgent; but, for all practical purposes, up until the food and health crisis in 2008, it shut itself and hibernated in the most remote North West part of Djibouti. Active military operations of FRUD most often synchronized with internal instability and external dynamics; in 1996 it resumed attacks against military facilities with PFDJ's support which was in showdown with Djibouti over Ras Dumera. Similarly, PFDJ attempted to revitalize it into action before its soldiers eroded the border (Medhane, 2008). FRUD active presence in the area is reported to have exposed Afar elders to abusive treatment by Djibouti military. Other possibilities notwithstanding, if Eritrea action was a display of invincibility to Ethiopia then FRUD in this case has served as an internal threat to Djibouti in a context of major crisis hanging over the region had Ethiopia acted too soon (Prendergast and Thomas-Jensen, 2007). All in all Djibouti Afar insurgency constitutes a minor threat, but with an external element in it might beckon the worst.

Conclusion

Nonetheless, unless factors underlying the continuity of insurgency that inhibited self-determination of the Afar people, Equity and Equality among Ethnic groups in Djibouti, good governance and livelihood in Ethiopia are not improved, regime change in all capitals cannot out date the vernacular of Kalashnikov. At state level decreasing Ethiopia's-*land locked status*-vulnerability has to lead the resolution of Ethio-Eritrea border stalemate; the resolution of Eritrea-Djibouti Ras-Dumera episode

could give the chance to try a different approach that could be adopted to Ethio-Eritrea Epicenter: the nature of the border lying between the Afar provides an opportunity non-existent in the former case where radicalized nationalism divides the TPLF Tigray and EPLF-Eritrea. The significance of Ethiopia and Djibouti in the 'war on terror' has the potential to overshadow on proper positions these states need to uphold for sustainable regional peace. Moreover, towards greater human safety and larger freedom domestic reforms and promoting good governance are mandatory. Interventions and aid conditionality in this respect will have a positive outcome if many emphases are made on the grassroots conflict resolution: basic to this is ensuring livelihood security and decreasing the vulnerability of historically marginalized groups. Should this require structural changes like land tenure and livelihood transformation the need for empowerment should define the contours of decision making.

Although Ethiopian Afar are by far better off than their Brethrens elsewhere, and yet, lack of good governance and government reluctance on Issa-Afar ever deepening conflict has the potential of alienating the most loyal periphery Afar away from the center. Similarly, the livelihood challenges of both Afar and Issa in Ethiopia, and state macroeconomic necessities unless carefully scrutinized, at least to benefit the pastoralist commons, current development efforts in the middle and lower Awash Valley could risk repeating previous tragedies. Imbedded in the fore stated local, national and regional fragile relations, the tragedy of the pastoral commons in Afar-Horn is impregnated to pose state security threat. Thus, efforts towards ensuring comprehensive security (of the state and humans) requires quick response to real human needs and averting immediate challenges through resolution of conflict episodes and transformation of structures and relations of asymmetry, inequity and inequality.

Conflict of Interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Review

In search of a framework for social discourse: The case of the state and labour formations in a post-colonial emergent Botswana

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The search for credible and stable democratic systems in post-colonial African countries takes different forms. It would appear however that whatever the modalities may be, the results invariably are not holistically beneficent to the major segments of these societies. Efforts demonstrated appear not only to lead to deferred hopes but also delayed reprioritization of priorities once political liberation has been supposedly attained. The study sets out to explore and attempt to answer the question as to whether the attainment of political dominance and sustainability are a *sine qua non* for development of or a short term goal in itself. Secondly, whether this quest for dominance is strategic or a relic of the historical connectivity wherein the post – colonial regime assumes some of the trappings of the colonial overlord such as legislative authority. Impliedly, this could also suggest a situation wherein once having achieved political independence, a reappraisal is called for during which opposing ideological *modus vivendi et operandi* are jettisoned (Onoma, 2009). Often, one of the major casualties would appear to be labour formations despite their significant contributions during the struggles for political independence. The study suggests that the answers are embedded somewhere.

Key words: Post-colonial, democratic systems, socialization, labour law.

INTRODUCTION

The philosophical premise

The study encompasses an essentially socio-legal inductive examination of a society in transition. It is premised on certain observations and facts and assumptions. The first is that Botswana is a state-centrist society created mostly by legislation, a throw-back from pre-colonial times. Secondly, although Botswana appears to be an economic success story relative to most other

African countries in terms of their growth and development, the realities do not lend credence to these perceptions. Thirdly, the seeming success is the visible pockets of affluence and consumerism of the mainly urban middle class. Fourthly, this veneer of prosperity may be a conscious creation by the state or the result of structural processes within the society. It may thus be a means to self-sustenance by the political state. However, it would appear to have no significant positive impact on

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the lives of the majority of the rural poor.

The structure and scope of the study

The paper is structured as follows; the first section deals with the introduction which covers the type of legal regime that sustained the colonial state and the juristic birth of Botswana. The second section deals with issues regarding the environment of labour law in which social interactions are expected to occur with state as both a social construct and reality alongside its institutional support structures. This is essential as a premise for the contextual analysis of a state in action. The third section deals with the consolidation and institutionalization of the state through various forms of legislation and policy formulation. In the fourth section, which is closely linked with the third, a brief survey of some aspects of the effects of the socialization processes are identified for assessment relative to the state super-structure. The last section attempts to weave together the various strands of the discussion in order to arrive at a conclusion.

Overview

The landscape of post –independence Africa is littered with the scars of internecine battles for popularity and legitimacy¹. In instances where the political machinery of the state assumed institutional dominance, the possibilities for open social partnership and discourse become elusive. This situation may have been exacerbated where and when the state also assumed legislative authority *in tandem* with its politico – social primacy². The law then becomes an instrument of social engineering, societal control and regulation. In the process, social formations such as labour bear the brunt of statist onslaught. It is important then not to see law as what is made or changed in a pristine but as the shape given to social

¹ a) In Tanzania, Nyerere had initially referred to unions as the right hand of the state. By 1964, the Federation of labour had been dissolved— *Ujamaa Freedom and Unity* p 169.

b) Before the declaration of one-party state in 1964 in Ghana, Nkrumah had described unions as the branch of a great tree. When the politicization of unions was resisted, there was serious vilification and persecution.

c) Senghor admonished unionist, who as the best educated ,must “transcend their own group interests”-*Negritude* 1961 p124

d) The latter emergence of the likes of Sekou Toure, Sam Nujoma and later, Chiluba point to the initial collaboration between labour formations and the political leadership and their subsequent neutralization once political power was attained.

² Anstey, Mark ‘*Labour Disputes*’ According to Anstey, South Africa’s trade unions escalated strike actions and hang tough on participation with the apartheid government until such time that meaningful political negotiations had been achieved. Once having achieved this objective, the labour alliance, COSATU then sought to carve its identity to indicate its own power base. Reportedly, President Mbeki suggested the SACP should register as an independent political party while COSATU wanted all its leaders demobilized back into its fold so that it can openly criticize the government. <http://wwics.si.edu/subsites/ccpdc/pubs/zart/ch13.htm> 10/10/2005

forces locked in a struggle which is thus the content which the law shapes³. This is why inevitably, the law expresses the will of the state.⁴ It is thus not surprising that in his first address to Parliament in 1968, the first President assured the house that forthcoming Bills on Labour matters would “provide for the control and regulation of trade unions, lay down procedures for settling labour disputes and the regulation of wages”

The state, in its quest for dominance, may thus create conditions in which the preoccupation with stability of the *status quo* and sustainability become confused with a subjective definition of a desired framework and environment for growth and development. To the dispassionate observer, this may signify an unconscious trajectory towards an over-administered society by a regulatory state while the state as the focal point of authority considers itself as the custodian of public welfare.

This paper observes Botswana as it evolves from its colonial regulatory situation into a post- colonial state that might yet be duplicating those tendencies that characterized the colonial state with regard to law, order and compliance or conformity. It identifies certain institutional mechanisms that have come to be identified with the drive towards statism or state-centrism. The paper hopes that the motive forces behind the utilization of juridification as a tool of governance would not see its progressive and currently localised efforts transformed into generalizations regarding social stratification and structured differentiation that might become an African signature. The paper notes that these corollaries, in and of themselves are antithetical to democratic governance, socio-economic growth and development.

The legal origins of the Botswana State

Botswana is a landlocked country that shares borders with Zimbabwe, South Africa, Zambia and Namibia. In the North – East, the Limpopo river descends into a confluence with the Shashe River which effectively bifurcates the country. It boasts of the mighty Okavango delta, the biggest wet land in the world. Botswana is also home to the Kalahari desert, diamonds and a rich wild life.

Before 1885, the traditional authorities began to send out feelers as to the possibility of becoming a British Protectorate. According to Tlou the subsequent functional web of collaboration between a reluctant colonial master and an eager protectorate was conceived by the traditional elite who would come to form the traditional component of the latter modern political state. The original plan of the Chiefs was to enter into an alliance that could protect them from the marauding bands of Boer farmers who were enslaving whole families for farm labour. Additionally, they thought such an alliance could

³ Shivji, *Law and The Working Class In Tanzania* 1986 p242

⁴ *Ibid* p 3

check the greed of Cecil Rhodes and the belligerence of Von Caprivi in German South West Africa (Tlou and Campbell, 1984). Ultimately, the tribal sovereignties were subjugated and neutralized through legislation and coercion.

With the Foreign Jurisdiction Act (1890), a formal rudimentary administration was established from Mafikeng (North West Province of South Africa). Under the Bechuanaland Protectorate Order in Council (1891), the High Commissioner (HC) of the Cape Colony was given representative jurisdiction over the territory. Thus began the legal evolution that would shape the political, ideological and class differentiations in Botswana.

By 1878, the Governor of the Cape Colony, who had then become the High Commissioner (HC), had assumed responsibility first for Basutoland, then Bechuanaland and later Swaziland in 1935. This responsibility also included the settling and adjustment of the affairs of territories in Southern Africa that were adjacent or contiguous to the eastern and north-eastern frontiers of the colony (Aguda, 1973).

Legislation for the HCTs was thus externally done and mainly through either the adaptation or adoption *in toto* of Cape Colony laws. Such laws were trans-located as Proclamations which in most cases were not even gazetted as required to validate them even if most were spatio-temporarily irrelevant. The physical proximity resulted in government by propinquity and very close identification of the HCTs with all facets of South African life, initially by default but later by design.

In 1891, Sir Henry Brougham Lock (HC) promulgated the General Administration Proclamation section 2 of which provided for the powers of the HC while section 4 empowered him to legislate by proclamation⁵. The effects that followed signified the creation of the political state by legislation. The judicial powers of a magistrate were vested in administration officers known as Justices of the Peace (JP). Appeals could only be heard by the designated High Court and then the Privy Council of England as the highest appellate court.

All powers of the Supreme Court of South Africa were subsequently vested in the said High Court of the Protectorate. The offices of Resident Commissioner, District Officer and Assistants were created in addition to the positions of Assessors. The jurisdiction of the senior courts such as there were excluded the trying of any matters related to native affairs and also civil action involving a certain amount. In effect, Africans could fend for themselves as long as they were docile and law-abiding.

On the other hand, the Subordinate Courts Proclamation Order⁶ conferred extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction on the magistrates courts that resulted in rulings that—had little in common with actual legality,

justice and equity. Though the Customary Courts Proclamation⁷ provided for appeals against Native Authority decisions, the customary law was essentially fragmented, non-codified, and barely recognized by the colonial authorities as serious basis for judicial decisions. Thus Africans were left to their own devices where rights and duties were concerned.

In essence, the General Law Proclamation⁸ enabled the realization formally and legally of the socio-political calculations of both the British colonial administration and the burgeoning South African capitalist interests. This proclamation incorporated and accepted as legal all received laws in force in Bechuanaland on 22 December 1909. This was in addition to the provisions of any Order in Council or any Proclamations or regulations in force as the laws of the Cape Colony on 10 June 1891. Such laws were, *mutatis mutandis*, to apply in the Protectorate. These legislative developments resulted in the following outcomes.

On September 14 1959, an Order in Council⁹ conferred sole administrative powers on the Resident Commissioner (RC) who was appointed by the HC in Pretoria. In 1960, the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Constitution) Order in Council established the Legislative and Executive Councils. On January 20 1965, an Order in Council established the office of Prime Minister and Cabinet portfolios as a prelude to the promulgation of the Constitution of 1965. On 30 September 1966, after eight decades, the Bechuanaland Protectorate finally became the Republic of Botswana (Aguda, 1973).

Understanding the emerging labour law and relations environment

Labour relation and its inherent dynamics are best appreciated within the frame work of labour law both conceptually and practically. Firstly, a defining characteristic of labour law is its “attention to conflicts and cooperation between, among and within different economic and social interests” (Arthurs, 1996). Secondly, modern labour law is an admixture of terms, principles, rules of common law and statute such as apply to labour dispute resolution and by extension, the protection of employees from the dominant economic power of the employer.

Though legal rules may not directly re-define the employment relationship, they rationally change the legal content and effect of the relationship. In addition, the context of work determines the nature of the work relations that legal rules regulate. Legal rules within labour law could thus oversee but not necessarily permeate the realities of the workplace. Such realities ought to be determined by a perceived need to allow market forces to

⁵ Ibid

⁶ 4 (No. 51 of 1938)

⁷ No. 1 of 1919/No. 75 of 1934

⁸ General Law Proclamation 1909 Vide Aguda supra p55

⁹ S.1 No 1620

determine the nature of the relationship between employer and employee rather than state intervention.

Thirdly, labour law may also be defined more in terms of its localized, domestic nature rather than traditionally accepted commonalities such as “individual” and “collective” labour law. This then underscores the need to closely examine local contextual practices and rules as a reflection of local dynamics or comparatively as inter-territorial differentiation. Conceptually, functionally and also therefore contextually, labour dispute resolution is part of the broad field of labour law.

Trends in labour law conceptualization and implications for the evolving state

Within the past two or more decades, there has been growing a revisionist school of thought that suggests the dysfunctional qualities of traditional labour law as defined. The group, including the likes of Hepple (1995), Ewing (1988), Mitchell (1995a), and Creighton and Andrew (2000) advocate for a labour law paradigm that responds more empathically to the realities of the workplace. Teubner (1998) and Watson (1974) postulate that opening up domestic juristic regimes to external influences through transplantation could rejuvenate the traditional labour law framework. Orucu (2000) among others argues that comparativism or internationalization of (labour) law, whether similar or dissimilar, is now due in view of globalization. The ILO considers its principles as the incontrovertible normative tenets for international labour law (Eddy 1997; Sappia, 2000).¹⁰

A major failure in the initial conceptualization of labour law is considered to be, like in the case of ‘society’, the inability to formulate a comprehensive framework, within a socio-legal context, of a construct rather than superimpose structural constraints. In other words, labour law should begin with the concept of labour and its division; the concept and the reality located within a given society. In this regard, Durkheim saw division of labour as the result of increases in social volume and density with more people getting involved in the race for survival.

There would thus appear to be a paradigmatic shift in how labour law has hitherto been conceptualized. Apart from a re-visit of the terrain of labour, there is the suggestion that a redefinition must also be premised on a clearer understanding of ‘society’. This is because if the focus of law is society, then the relevance of socio-legal studies in any society must imply defining and regulating relations at work within that social set-up (D’Souza, 2012).

With regard to the philosophical premise of the division of labour inherent in labour law therefore, the references to Durkheim, Marx and Engels become timeless truths as

their postulations, though time-worn, have become facts attested to by the daily unfolding dynamics of the world of work. Marx and Engels had stated as follows:

‘The distribution and indeed the unequal distribution both quantitative and qualitative, of labour and its product, hence property, the nucleus, that first form of which lies in the family where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first form of property, but even at this stage, it corresponds perfectly to the modern definition of economists, who call it the power of disposing of the labour power of others. Division of labour and private property are, after all identical expressions, in one, the same thing is affirmed, with reference to the activity as is affirmed in the other with reference to the product of the activity’¹¹

‘Society’ then is first a theoretical construct rather than an empirical fact. Without the concept, liberal philosophy tends to produce empirical expositions which then make theoretical assumptions about society, arrogating structures, functions and relational phenomena. As a result, society becomes subsumed in structural constraints but not as the locale of labour. According to D’Souza an understanding of society at a general level would lead to the comprehension of the roots of society which are then ontologically aware, structurally astute and empirically sensitive and to which labour law can then become applicable.

Labour law is also considered as flawed due to certain observable shortcomings. First, there is the external dimension that labour law impedes efficiency, flexibility and development. Further, it reduces employment and is partial to the ‘labour aristocracy’ while leaving the informal sector and other categories of workers unprotected from predatory labour contractors and unscrupulous employers¹². Internally, traditional labour law has enabled labour law practitioners to question the coherence of the discipline, its relevance to new empirical realities in the world of work and its normative resilience in the current world order.

It is also observed that there is a decline in and transformation of the founding paradigms of labour law particularly in the developed countries. From a socio-legal perspective, this shift is principally due to the impact of trans-nationalization on productive processes and the attendant employment relations which dictate a rethinking about labour law’s purpose and context (Moreau, 2013). As a result, to comprehend labour law better as a functional tool, it is postulated that legal institutions can be characterized as being distinct legal systems that

¹⁰ Committee On Freedom Of Association Report 326, 2001 and ILO 1998 Declaration Of Fundamental Principles and Rights.

¹¹ Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology (1845-46)* trans. Lough in Marx and End Engels *Collected Works* Vol. 5 (NY) International Publishers 1976 at 46 in Colvin, Eric ‘*The Division Of Labour*’ Osgood Hall Law Journal York University Vol.17 No.3 1979.

¹² Guy, Davidov, Langville, Brian, *The Idea Of Labour Law* OUP 2011

regulate certain forms of social behaviour such as within the labour relations environment.

In Botswana, the operative framework of labour law does not exist in absolute terms. Constitutional provisions underpin fundamental rights and obligations. Codes of Practice seek to humanize and fill the gaps arising from statutory provisions. Legislation explicitly regulates the nature of the employment contract, basic floor of rights, registration and recognition of unions and collective agreements, dispute resolution mechanisms and administrative oversight by the state. However, there is, currently, active state intervention in labour relations as indicated by the practicalities of the regulatory framework above.

From the foregoing, the prospects for effective industrial relations, peace and stability under current labour law, rules and practices need careful examination. While the International Labour Organisation (ILO) is assisting in the revision of labour legislation and practice in Botswana as per current international normative standards. These on-going interventions may form a critical part of the future development of labour law and the subsequent domestication of international minimum labour standards. How long these international conventions can act as a buffer against current international trends remains to be tested. Most importantly, how willing the political state is to operate on a common deliberative platform with the other social actors in finding solutions to developmental problems rather than assuming a prescriptive dominance will ultimately determine the timbre of intra-societal discourse.

The foregoing notwithstanding, both labour peace and stability are now subject to the intersection between the old school of labour law and emerging developments and how that affects labour disputes. This is because, circumscribed as the institutionalized individualization of contract and the employer's powers currently are, they still constitute some of the potent causes of labour disputes. This being so, the following sub-section lays the basis for a closer examination of the contentious and vexatious problem of persistent labour agitation and resultant disputes.

Labour disputes in perspective

Work relations are partially reflective of social dynamics. As such, in examining issues relating to disputes within the field of labour law, an exploration of a combination of factors becomes necessary. These include the statutory framework, principles of contract, property relations, obligations and the political trajectory of the state (Mitchell, 1995b). This assumption is explained below.

Worker aspirations have, in the past, been defined rightly or not in terms of the polarization of relations between capital and labour. This is what Kahn-Freund referred to as "relations of power" (Kahn-Freund, 1972).

Modern trade unions were, at that time, seen as the vibrant successors to the trade guilds and early combinations. Their roles included winning concessions and making gains from the employer but in a regulated manner.

Labour legislation has since then moved from the notion of conferring rights on workers to one of regulating the business environment through balancing management autonomy and worker protection (Davis, 1995). The regulatory mechanism leaves a scope for common law principles and judicial decisions, none of which is adequate. Regulation can therefore be described as state intervention in private spheres of activity to realize public purposes. As a result, there is the public perception that the state acts in the public interest when it establishes specific legal framework for actualizing specific regulatory objectives such as those enacted within labour legislation regimes.

A management state *vis-vis* the employee is where forms of permitted decentralization enable staff to organize the exercise of labour power by workers within laid down boundaries in capacities similar to supervision but not deregulation. In effect, as shall be demonstrated, legislative intervention, common law principles and judicial rulings have neither assuaged the anxieties nor lessened the aspirations of workers. This is because workplace arrangements cannot always be justified as grounded in consent (Grint, 1994). As such, insecurity is often engendered by the individualization of the contract of employment and the unilateral rights of termination earlier referred to.

This study argues that the function of law is to acknowledge the need to strike a balance between determination from outside through regulatory controls and the level of intervention required to open up a wider range of choice for the employee through forms of resistance to perceived bad practices by employers. As such, ascertaining the objectives of legislation demands an assessment of the ethos of the state and the political construction of the extant political economy.

From the foregoing, the regulation of labour disputes can be assumed as an indicator of the potential to destabilize the industrial environment. Taken to its logical conclusion, labour disputes have the capacity to destabilize the state and social structures. Procedurally and substantively, the role of labour law therefore is not to deal with labour disputes perfunctorily. Rather, it should also generate mediatory policies aimed at ensuring that socio-economic activity is not held hostage by mass industrial action.

Therefore, in the context of an emergent state, it could be productive to accept that, deductively, de-regulation as in neo-liberalism could be the removal of formal controls and allowing common law controls to operate, thus freeing labour law as captive of social forces and active state intervention within the labour market. This study intends to suggest that the inherent, even if not

necessarily desirable place of disputes should be recognized. This could provide a better attitude and approach towards dispute resolution. Legislation and policy may impose order and instrumental compliance but they do not necessarily generate legitimacy.

The evolution and transformation of the state: Conceptualization and institutionalization process

The institutionalization process

The institutionalisation process becomes key to the general paradigmatic conceptualisation of labour law. Crouch says an institution is constituted as;

'patterns of human action and relationships that persist and reproduce themselves over time, independently of the identity of the biological individuals performing within them. Sociologists have long understood such a concept, but much of this earlier history has been ignored by recent political scientists and others who have come autonomously to the idea of the institution n as they sought to convey the idea of behaviour being shaped and routinized, fitting into patterns, which are not necessarily those that would be freely chosen by a rational actor needing to decide what to do.'

However, all institutions do undergo change. Institutional change is defined as change in an entire class or organizations. Institutional change, at its deepest level, refers to changes in the ideas that govern institutions and as these ideas change, rules and practices shift as well. Institutional change on the shop floor may suggest that this clear-cut division is replaced by a fragmented landscape of labour relations. In terms of institutional change, the analysis reveals a specific form of incremental transformative change, namely a shift in the meaning of formally stable legal-political institutions.

Even in the allegedly stable core areas, the institutions of labour relations are gradually transformed from market-constituting institutions to market-dependent variables. Vertical disintegration plays an important role in this process of institutional commodification. It not only moves the core-periphery boundary; it is also deployed to subjugate collective bargaining, workplace co-determination and the utilization of labour law to firm-level economic calculations.

Institutions do not only disintegrate, they also become passive and ineffective with time or as a result of concerted onslaught. Institutional atrophy with regard to practical labour law results from the effects of flexibility in the labour law regulatory framework. An example is the ineffectiveness of institutionalized labour standards. Labour market flexibility which is essentially an approach to public policy that places almost exclusive reliance on the competitive and simulated market mechanisms, has,

in its own way, reconfigured the dynamics of labour law and relations. In effect, legal concept such as labour market, as conceptualized and formulated, creates its own institutions such as the formal contract of service between employer and employee.

The Evolution of the State

Institutionalisation of the state in this context implies the creation of support structures with defined roles aimed at shoring up the centrality of the state through strategic policy and legislation that would ensure the sustenance of the political leadership and its coalition. This in turn provides a reward avenue for those who not only make it happen but also ensure that it remains intact. Within this tapestry is interwoven the clannish rule-making of the bureaucratic adjunct of administrators whose primary motive is to enhance their proximity to the largesse of the state through its functional reliance on them.

In the context of Botswana, one may define the state as the political leadership comprising the President, the Speaker, the deputy, members of parliament, ministers, assistant ministers, councillors, and members of the *ntlo ya dikgosi* (House of Chiefs). The House has recently been increased to 35 members who are all salaried public officers as per the Chieftainship Act and subject to the political authority of the Minister of Local Government. In a sense, this is the continuation of the colonial strategy of dependence. Included in this group would be the remote but active members of the business community such as the owners of ranches, farms, tourist, hotel, hospitality and other service enterprises. Added to these would be the coterie of co-opted academics, those with access to political power and patronage and then the higher echelons of the public bureaucracy.

Statism as a process-oriented concept examines the importance of the state, its institutional mechanisms, actions and failures. The state is seen as the prime mover behind socio-economic events and how its apparatus and modus operandi affect its relations with other social groups such as paid workers, destitutes and the unemployed youth. In effect, the question is whether, for example, in Botswana, the quest for the centrality of the state has overshadowed the need for measures designed for the social good rather than that of the state. Statism also concerns the structures of dominance, instruments of legal and administrative rule making, implementation and enforcement. The concept helps to analyse the mediatory, interventionist role of the state such as in labour matters. Such intervention must be understood as an admixture of self-preservation and maintenance of order and stability under the status quo. Recently, a new Ministry of Justice, Defence and Security was created to oversee the security needs of Botswana. it is one of the recent additions to the growing state bureaucratic machinery.

The political philosophy of the state becomes equally important as a signal of the accommodation of pluralistic aspirations. For example, assuming the form of democracy is elitist, then in the Botswana environment, the forms of articulation of power, mainly juridical and judicial become crucial. This is because they help in shaping jurisprudential and civic libertarian cultures. They also impact on how such a socio-political system internalizes and actualizes functional collaboration among local formations including trade unions.

By way of illustration, membership of tripartite bodies is admittedly more symbolic than real meaningful participation. For example, the National Employment, Manpower and Incomes Council (NEMIC) is one of the most powerful policy structures. However, it is dominated by 7 Permanent Secretaries, the Governor of the Bank of Botswana, the Vice Chancellor of the University, 3 members from private industry and only 4 members of the trade unions and public sector workers. This Council is further serviced by the Employment Policy Unit. The council was charged with deliberations and decisions on all matters which pertain to employment, incomes, manpower and training. This role has not changed.

Other control-oriented bodies included the Economic Committee of Cabinet (ECC), the National Industry Training and Technical Education Council (NITTEC) and the Regulations Review Committee in the office of the President. At the moment, there are also the High Level Consultative Council (HLCC), the Government Policy and Implementation Co-ordination Unit (GPICU) and the Business Economic Advisory Council (BEAC) among others.

Given the lessons of history, the mentality of the Botswana state constitutes a pivotal determinant of the degree of accessibility to the modes of internal collective change that might obtain in the country. A key indicator here is the fact that though the state functions within the context of liberal democracy, in reality it functions as a de facto one-party state with extreme fusion of powers between the Executive and the Legislature. This is the culmination both of the fragmented opposition over the years and an effective political strategy of accommodation and reward. Both the political and juridical structures are thus used to entrench that state paraphernalia. For example, it was observed as far back as 1995 that public administration in Botswana has been characterised by "highly xenophobic, control-oriented and regulatory attitudes"¹³.

The politics of regulation and juridification

The state arrogates to itself certain roles including that of creating structures for bargaining agreements, regulating

working conditions, which has had a huge impact on the behaviour of managers, trade unions and employees. The objective of the state in employment relations in broad terms, is often reasoned to be that of intervening in employment relations to achieve economic and social goals for the nation as a whole. One of the prime tasks of government is to manage the economy so that it is prosperous, and this means it has to try to achieve four broad economic policy objectives, each one of which can easily conflict with the others.

These are to maintain high levels of employment, to ensure price stability, to maintain a balance of payment surplus, to protect the exchange rate. While the actual government of the day is, by definition, a transient body, the above objectives are operationalized as per the ideological orientations of the state and the most appropriate ways of achieving these aims within a framework of economic and social objectives and the pragmatics of its political ideology.

The functional state appropriates to itself other functions. It proceeds to typically hold and exercise sovereign legislative power as well as a virtual monopoly of the means of violence. Thus it controls both the power of the sword as well as the power of the purse, the power to tax as well as the power to spend. The characteristic feature of the state, in theory and in practice, is its claim to legislative sovereignty. The state distinguishes itself from other systems of rule by its claim to be above the law in the very specific sense of being the supreme or only source of law itself and not just of its administration and enforcement a premise of *quod principi placet, legis habet vigorem* (Dundon and Rollinson, 2011) that ought to be subjected to democratic evaluation.

This is a far more radical 'principle' than the traditional rule that the king or ruler is not bound by his own commands, an assumption of the notion of *princeps legibus solutus* (Dun, 1995). The latter maxim means that the king's laws cannot be invoked against the king himself, and perhaps also that he enjoys immunity with respect to the sanctions for transgressing the law. It does not say anything about his having a lawful right to bind anyone by his mere commands, when these are not founded on justice but designed to maintain or restore adherence to law (Dundon and Rollinson, 2011).

Juridification presupposes that the essence of the state within society is to primarily impose a form of structured regulation whose ultimate objective is to sustain the political status quo. The state sets the limits on private conduct within the ethical parameters of the political and ideological choices it makes. Formal institutional structures act as agents for the forms and nature of various social formations.

Regime theory analysts premise regulations as political acts at macro level and as the value level basis for the features of state organization of public life. The factors responsible include the degree of formal concentration of decision-making authority in specific interests such as in

¹³ Quill, Herman- Former Governor. Bank Of Botswana, BOCCIM Seminar, Business gazette, 11 Oct. 1995p.10.

a state-centrist system or the degree of governmental control as compared to private organization in specific spheres like the labour market¹⁴.

The state operates as an employer in its own right and as an incomes regulator and economic manager, ensures the de-commodification and consequent valorisation of labour. The state also acts as provider and protector of social citizenship rights¹⁵. However, it is in the areas of corporatism, rule-making and legislation or juridification that the full impact of the state is felt.

Juridification is a term increasingly occurring in the widest range of contexts. Its use is, however, probably nowhere more justified than where the structure and the objectives of labour regulations are being discussed. It could be said that, labour law constitutes the classic paradigm for juridification. In terms of both the background and the evolution of the juridification process, the context of the origin and the development of labour law provides a practically suitable environment which can be best appreciated¹⁶. This captures the phenomenon of path dependency where the past exerts sway over the present indirectly¹⁷.

This is because, having created the structures within which exchanges are enacted, the state then proceeds to create rules that condition behaviour, regulate and stabilise the environment of transactions. Usually, where the state institution is unable to control and regulate those without any affiliations who tend to be personal and individualistic, a third party with coercive authority is required to oversee, supervise and regulate transactional conduct, norms and practices. The performance of such tasks may be undertaken by the coercive apparatus of the state such as the police, paramilitary and military formations in the given society.

The role of juridification in matters of national security help to explain the first the time- tested reliance on the coercive apparatus of the state for is revisited for the entrenchment of the state .Note is taken of the fact that at Botswana's independence, the first indication of a regulatory state was the Public Order Act. This Act was intended to regulate and control public meetings and processions. It also empowered the declaration of 'controlled areas' by the Minister and gave power to certain categories of police officers to restrict the mode of public processions. Permits for public gatherings by civic groups such as workers were thus introduced.

In 1966, the Public Safety Act of 1907 was re-enacted. Its purpose was to ensure the maintenance of peace and good order within Botswana. It gave the President authority to cause to be deported anyone considered a

danger to the peace. The movement of such people may also be curtailed. The Emergency Powers Act enabled the President to declare a state of Emergency whose effect was to legalise the detention, search, arrest and deportation of non-citizens. A state of emergency would also operate to amend or suspend any existing law and shall not be deemed as inconsistent with any enactments in operation. It did make provision for compensation any way.

The National Security Act of 1986 was conceived as an Act to make provision for National Security and other activities prejudicial to the interests of the nation . In essence, the purpose of the Act was to secure the state while securing the nation because, much as allusions are made to national security, the instruments of such are embedded within the form and structure of the state. In reality, there is little, if any, distinction between the nation, the political state and its power apparatuses.

In furtherance of the security of the state, the Intelligence and Security Bill was enacted into law and gazetted in 2007 The Act seeks to establish a Directorate of Intelligence and Security, a Central Intelligence Committee, an Intelligence and Security Council and a Central Intelligence Community. It defines 'threat to national security' to include inter alia, any activity directed at undermining, or directed at or intended to bring about the destruction or overthrow of, the constitutionally established system of the Government of Botswana by unlawful means.

Furthermore, the Act also covers any threat or act of violence or unlawful harm that is directed at or intended to achieve, bring about or promote any constitutional, political change. While it also alludes to disruptive social protest, it refers more directly to the safety of persons in political authority. Contextually, the maintenance of the status quo would appear to be the paramount aim. Secondly, the objective assessment of these events gives way to an institutionally subjective determination that may be security rather than nation oriented.

These regulatory mechanisms are not being assessed in terms of abuse or effect. Rather, the point is that by providing the state with such authority, power and discretion, preventive and pre-emptive legislation has, as of old, consolidated the dominance of the state. The constitution itself defers to the authority of the state with regard to fundamental rights and freedoms. To implements these laws, the state would then have the justification to create more bureaucratic and coercive structures. In effect, the state can decide when to invoke any or all of these laws if its hegemony is perceived as under threat.

The state becomes increasingly active in its interventionist role in labour relations, since the role of government is now limited only as a mediator based on the request of disputing parties. It also promotes the individualisation of labour relations by granting access for any individual workers to bring any cases they may have

¹⁴ Menocal., Rocha, Aina "And If There were No State?;Critical reflections on Bates, Polanyi and Evans on The Role Of The State In Promoting Development" Third World Quarterly Vol. 25 No.4 pp.765-777,2004

¹⁵ Francis ,J *Politics of Regulation* op. cit.

¹⁶ Spiros, Semitis ""The Juridification of Labour relations"" Winter 1986 CLL& Policy Journal 7 Comp. Lab. 93

¹⁷ Dundon et al op.cit

to the court without having to be represented by a trade union. This situation may undermine the unions' ability to defend the collective interest of workers just as they were starting to develop their institutional capacity.

It would appear that Botswana has already acquired a keen appreciation of the instrumentality of juridification. Such a situation has vested the state with unchallenged authority and clothed its bureaucratic adjunct with unfettered administrative discretionary authority. The most graphic illustration of the state's relentless use of juridification and its armada of coercive force is captured in the evolution of labour legislation and relations in South Africa.

On one hand, it succeeded in the fragmentation, emasculation and subsequent strangulation of labour formations. On the other, it nurtured a subculture of instrumental and strategic compliance as a veneer for latent anger and rebellion. Tandem with the regulatory framework of labour movements by the state signals the collapse of functional pluralism as the successor of the voluntarism of the past. Factually and legally, the Botswana state has fashioned the route to union recognition, imposes and defines pre-conditions for strikes and essential services. Through labour legislation and the way it manages the public sector, the state has sought to vindicate its preferred modes of labour relations. Non-compliance may invite a withdrawal by the state or a complicit employer from institutions such as collective bargaining structures constructed or guaranteed by the state.

It is understood therefore that in comparative terms, the active state such as in Botswana, does control unique capacities to generate space for its agents within the public bureaucracy to determine new shapes and forms for labour relations, construct and embed them within the fabric of the wider political system. Furthermore, the modern state has been engaged in 'regulatory', 'constitutive' and 'facilitative' roles that re-emphasise its centrality, even as some analysts claim, the state may be increasingly irrelevant in the face of globalisation. In reality however, the state is also partially a captive of the coalition of business and other social actors capable of garnering political power.

The essence of these structural creations is not inadvisable per se. The question however is the manpower resources so deployed, their emoluments and the pockets of bureaucratic power being spawned in the process. In addition to the sub-culture of the public bureaucracy, these structures are not open to communal access. It is natural therefore to say that they go to buttress the political and economic controls already at the disposal of the state.

Within such an environment of state-centrist dominance, it becomes necessary to locate critical organs such as the office of the Commissioner of Labour and the Industrial Court within the legal framework. One can then examine how they impact on constitutional validity of laws in relation to basic rights such as freedom

of expression and the right to associate and collectively organise. Civic groups or social partners such as trade unions would, normally, then be observable as being in a better position to function both as pressure and interest groups advocating their contribution to the social and national agenda.

In Botswana, there is constitutionally guaranteed freedom of association such as relates to the formation and joining of trade unions. However, the same constitution allows legislation to exclude some sections of the society from full enjoyment of such rights.¹⁸ For example, the Trade Unions and Employers Organisations Act excludes the following from the definition of; 'employee' for the purposes of formation and joining of trade unions. These are the Botswana Defence Force, the Botswana Police Service, the Local (Tribal Administration) Police and the Prisons Service.¹⁹ In addition, members of management as defined are not allowed to be represented by any negotiating body apart from their own. A cursory examination of this group as defined includes supervisory staff literally of all levels within an enterprise.²⁰

Employers, in this instance represented by the Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower (BOCCIM), being affiliates of the state, could, in response, welcome such developments. They, in their turn would advocate for new forms of regulation or mechanisms ensuring that their prerogatives are not unduly diluted. The state then mediates between employers and employees using legislation and structures thus created. This mediation could then assume a conscious, selective accommodation of exogenous influences such as international labour standards. However, for these standards to take root successfully certain social preconditions must exist that are allowed or tolerated by the state.

The institutional coalition of the state

The clearest convergence of interests among the elites is private capital accumulation manifested in cattle farming. This choice is the result of both the nature of the terrain and a deliberate colonial policy of nurturing a specific form of capital accumulation based on a distinct "class of cattle accumulators" including the "new intelligentsia".²¹ In his analysis, Tsie traced the functional collaboration of the elites and Civil Servants in the mutual need to control the resources related to cattle accumulation and the erection of stable structures that would ensure access to the labour power of the dominated segments of the

¹⁸ s 13 (2) Constitution of Botswana

¹⁹ s 2 (1) (a) Trade Unions and Employers Organizations Act [Cap 48:01]

²⁰ Ibid s 48 (2) (3)

²¹ Tsie B, *The Political Context of Botswana's Economic Performance*

Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Botswana p

society.²²

Take as an example, the collaborative, symbiotic role of the institution of the traditional elite. This could be because of superficial historical generalisations about socio-economic processes which distort the historical linkages between groups in hierarchically structured societies where chiefly authority is cultural rather than political. Pragmatically, they have been able to forge mutually beneficial collaboration with the capitalist, bureaucratised political state. This in part derives from the commonality of claims within the political economy. In sum, there is an invisible but direct, definitive, functional relationship between the traditional elite and the state which facilitates their co-optation through the instrumentality of legislation.

Within this process therefore, the political leadership have been able to indulge in the creation of a generally powerful bureaucracy capable of formulating and effecting development policy. As Tsie acknowledged, the net result was and has always been a state engineered and centrally dominated administrative process that ascertains firm control of the allocation of developmental resources,²³ and normalizes a stable, cohesive stratification of society. The consequent trade-offs such as overlapping directorships, subsidies and even accommodation of bureaucratic excesses as earlier mentioned have operated to confirm the indispensability of the bureaucracy in tandem with the proliferation of its organic interests. Given the current climate of maladministration, the public bureaucracy might yet justify observations in the past that it suffers from 'gross mismanagement and dishonesty'.

The state's non-neutrality is often contrived or an unintended outcome, but not always so. Officials constantly formulate new administrative policies and introduce new regulations with proud declarations of their intention to enforce particular 'moral choices', to treat one thing as a 'merit good' and another as an evil²⁴. This phenomenon of delegated legislation carries its own normative implications particularly in an over-regulated and administered labour relations environment²⁵.

These bureaucrats 'also justify intrusive policies with blatantly paternalistic arguments—remember their promise, or was it threat, to take care of us "from the cradle to the grave"—, with self-congratulatory references to an unspecified 'responsibility of the government'²⁶. There is no more direct negation of the role of private morality than the claim that one discharges one's own responsibility by depriving others of the opportunity to

²² Ibid p4

²³ Ibid pages 3,16

²⁴ Von Wangenheim, Georg "Production of Legal Rules by Agencies and Bureaucracies" 9300 University of Hamburg (publisher JEL Classification: D73,H11,K23.29 (date ,publisher, unconfirmed)

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid

exercise theirs. As far as protection against onerous interference is concerned, the presumption of innocence—which is the linchpin of the rule of law—counts for very little. One delinquent person or business entity is often enough to let loose the regulatory juggernaut on everybody in the same group or category. In short, the question, whether the welfare state is neutral to personal morality, is largely rhetorical and academic.²⁷

Path-dependency and the regressive state

Path dependence could be said to feature as an important player in the corporatist development of ownership and governance structures in these post-colonial societies. It helps to explain the connectivity of the present to the past. The sources of path dependence can also explain why though powerful global forces appear to press toward convergence in an increasingly competitive and global marketplace, the advanced economies still replicate important divergent ways in their patterns of corporate ownership and governance. The identified path dependence indicates then that some important differences do persist. Thus, though countries of study may exhibit similar historical origins there may be structured divergences along their developmental path (Bebchuck et al., 1999).

There are two main sources of path dependence. One uses the state ideologically in terms of a state-centrist world view, manipulated by key socio-political and legal actors in uncertain conditions. To do this, change choices are rationalised by removing the problem of alternatives and selection which plurality of opinion regarding choice would have offered. Ideologies driven by self-preservation become institutionalised. The result is the consolidation of the rules that govern a society, the ties that define social relationships and shape political, legal, social and economic exchanges. In simple terms, identification with the ruling political party and its paraphernalia of power becomes a *sine qua non* within a given institutionalized framework²⁸. Structures are then created, both formal and legal, to assist in defining individual choices, thereby reducing uncertainty and minimising the cost of consensual transactions.

The structures so created form the apparatus, legal, political or otherwise through which groups are expected to articulate and pursue their aims. Working within the state institution, these structures, hitherto referred to as the public bureaucracy, through informed feedback, are able to assist the institution of state along a certain trajectory. In other words, the political machinery of state, through its bureaucratic organs is able to oversee the attainment of a given trajectory of political, industrial,

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid

social or economic objective or change in Botswana²⁹.

There is no reference to war or external attacks on the sovereign integrity of Botswana as a justification for these legislative interventions. In these minefields of juristic engineering and confusing legal interpretation the ordinary citizen is disengaged from social discourse outside the mundane issues of subsistence and survival. Once again, securing the sanctity of the state by legislation would appear to be the overriding concern whenever legal rules are fashioned. It must be noted that prior to independence, there had been put in place a plethora of emasculatory legislation³⁰. As a result, it became necessary to caution that 'no useful purpose' would be served by these laws and assuming there were read, would not have been understood (recast).³¹ Nevertheless, in the post-independence euphoria, this practice was actively continued albeit without any clear justification except as a form of exercise in continuity as asserted during the tabling of the Trade Union Bill in 1969.³²

Other dimensions to the regulatory regime that help to accentuate state centrality with regard to labour matters include the Minimum Wages Advisory Board (MWAB) which was established by order published in the Gazette as per the Third Schedule of the Employment Act. The Labour Advisory Board (LAB) may not be directly involved in wage fixing but its role in legislation and the formulation of rules and regulations regarding labour matters makes it important.

In 1992, a decision was taken to convert the industrial class category of public sector employees from 'industrial' class to permanent and pensionable status. This category of workers has since then been declared 'employee' for the purposes of the Employment Act (as amended).³³ The Trade Disputes Act as amended, essentially, is to re-visit, restructure and re-configure the rabbit warren of procedures for dispute resolution, bringing in as many alternate and informal channels as functionally possible between the administrative role of the Commissioner of Labour and the judicial functions of the Industrial Court.³⁴

At times, political institutions that determine values and ideology are mistaken as the state rather than its mechanisms. The state exists to harness, guide and stabilise the contradictions in society as the political

leader of that coalition of peak groups. It decides who gets what, when and how. Through legislation and policy, the state has evolved into a centrist creature, capable of determining, via mobilisation, acculturation, conditioning and other means, the socio-economic direction of the country. Precisely because of its roots, it also becomes reluctant to change and respond, in a deliberative manner, to social demands.

As history has shown, institutionalised states often also become path-dependent. Path-dependent systems are those that are unable to shake off the effects of some past events (Mattei and Heiner, 1999). Such episodes along the historical continuum, such as labour agitation and strikes though occurring randomly, have shaped the arrival at choice specifics that ensure stability and continuity. Trapped in this historically determined value system, it becomes difficult or impossible to make contemporary efficiency predictions at the expense of the *status quo*.³⁵

To operate within the framework of the *status quo* and be able to yield incrementally to societal pressures, a social system of a network or web of relations and interrelationships is used to provide a number of positive feedback mechanisms. In reality, each actor, supplicant or providing agent within this crafted web of functional interrelationships engages in a game of self-serving and calculated or instrumental loyalty and allegiance. This is done by not disagreeing overtly with a decided legal rule or policy direction. As earlier observed, such support itself derives from instrumentalist calculations regarding incentives and cost held together mostly through patronage.³⁶

Society, once accustomed to compliance and non-engagement in combative social discourse, makes choice transactions cheaper, even if repetitive. This forges a condition where the critical mass of public opinion is ultimately inured to change. Change as in access to institutions, facilities and resources for equitable socio-economic growth and development is then held hostage by prescriptive and selective allocation of resources.

In such a path dependent mode the state uses ideological models in terms of a state-centrist world view, manipulated by key socio-political and legal actors in uncertain conditions. To do this, change choices are rationalised by removing the problem of alternatives and selection which plurality of opinion regarding choice would have offered. Ideologies driven by self-preservation become institutionalised. The result is the rules that govern a society, the ties that define social relationships and shape political, legal, social and economic exchanges. In simple terms, identification with the ruling political party and its paraphernalia of power becomes a *sine qua non*. Structures are then created, both formal and legal, to assist in defining individual

²⁹ Part 1S 2(c)

³⁰ Confidential Savingram From Commonwealth Relations office to the High Commission Territories (1/8/53- Pretoria to Mafikeng) S115/12 National Archives, Gaborone

³¹ Despatch No.1565/6 X (ES)from Mafikeng 31/12/52 SII5.National Archives, Gaborone

³² Hon Peter Nwako M.P.K (MP- Tswapong North), then Minister of State.

BNB 1737 National Archives, Gaborone p.29 12 May

³³ Stat. Inst.. I-50 [Cap 47:01]

³⁴ Part I Section 2 Cap 48:01 (1969)

Section 61 (12) (C) Cap 48:01 (1969)

Sections (41), (43), (44) of Cap 48:01 (1969)

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

choices, thereby reducing uncertainty and minimising the cost of consensual transactions.³⁷

The structures so created form the apparatus, legal, political or otherwise through which groups are expected to articulate and pursue their aims. Working within the state institution, these structures, hitherto referred to as the public bureaucracy, through informed feedback, are able to assist the institution along a certain trajectory (Fernard, 1977). In other words, the political machinery of state, through its bureaucratic organs is able to regulate and administer society in a particular manner using selective allocation of resources as part of its strategy of sanction and reward. Having created the structures within which exchanges are enacted, the state then proceeds to create rules that condition behaviour, regulate and stabilise the environment of transactions. Usually, where the state institution is unable to control and regulate those without any affiliations who tend to be personal and individualistic, a third party with coercive authority is required to oversee, supervise and regulate transactional conduct, norms and practices.

Lessons from state dominance

Whatever economic successes there may have been, such developments must be read in conjunction with the salary disparities, and the existing socio-economic inequalities in household income distribution coupled with a widening gap between conspicuous consumption and abject poverty.³⁸ Unemployment may, in retrospect, be a structural phenomenon in Botswana.

Though the Botswana state currently presides over a free market economy, one inevitable corollary of this has been the rural dependency on wage labour from the urban centres. As such, wage labour is a critical element in the socio-economic life of the majority. This, paradoxically but factually and perhaps also unintentionally, it serves to enhance the power of Government as the largest employer. This has also precipitated the interventionist role of the state in labour relations and sensitivity to agitation particularly in the diamond-mining sector which is the principal economic activity. This sensitivity is therefore the result of the fact that labour agitation is wage-driven due to the dependency on paid work.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid See also:

- a) Good, K. "Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana", *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 30,1 (1993)
- b) Hope, K., Wedge, R., "Growth With Uneven Development: Urban-Rural Socio-Economic Disparities in Botswana", Geoforum, Elsevier Science Ltd, Britain
- c) Good, K. "Corruption and Mismanagement in Botswana: A Best Case Example?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* (1994)
- d) Tsie, B, "The Political Context of Botswana's Development Performance", unpublished paper, Dept. of Political and Administrative Science, University of Botswana, p.4

Labour legislation, policy formulation and market regulation have thus been informed by conscious calculations, containment and continuity. It should be noted however that this regulatory regime could not stop the strikes of 1974-1991. Neither have they been able to stem the tide of trade disputes in the workplace.³⁹ It would seem therefore that over the years, social commentaries have not had much reformatory effect on the trajectory of the state, given ground realities.

As has been observed, the years 2011 to 2013 saw a state approaching a siege mentality and thus reacting accordingly.

'Battles with trade unions at the Bargaining Council outside parliament were later fought in parliament through amendments of some Acts to suit the government of the day. For example, following the prolonged public sector strike in 2011, the government amended legislation classifying essential service workers to include teachers in an effort to prevent more civil servants from striking'⁴⁰.

In one stroke, veterinary services, teaching services, diamond sorting, cutting and selling services, and all supporting services related to them became "essential" The list was so embracing that the ILO intercedes but to no avail⁴¹ It is needless to debate the arguments advanced by the state but one issue became glaring, which was the impunity with which the executive amended a statute circumscribing parliamentary oversight as stipulated by the constitution with regard to the composition of essential services⁴². Another dimension is that when these issue ended up for judicial determination, all the interdict handed down by the Industrial Court which were reversed by the High Court were promptly reconfirmed in favour of the state by the Court of Appeal as the highest court of the land.⁴³

Conclusion

The key objective of this study has been to demonstrate

³⁹ 21st Annual Report, Department of Labour and Social Security op.cit p 28

⁴⁰ Botswana Guardian, August 22 2014 p8 www.botswanaguardian.co.bw

⁴¹ ILO CEACR Report 2011(Committee of Experts on Application of Conventions and Recommendations

⁴² With regard to amendments to the Essential Services Schedule in Section 49(TDA Cap 48:02) per SI 49/57 see Section 9 of the Statutory Instruments Act(Cap 01:05

⁴³ a) *Botswana Public Employees Union and Others v Minister of Labour & Home Affairs and Others* (MAHLB-000674/09/082012) HC

b) *Botswana Land Boards & Local Authorities Worker's Union and Others v The Director Of Public Service Management and The Attorney General* (CA - Civil Appeal No.CACLB-043-11 /IC Case No. IC UR 13-11)

c) *The Attorney General v Botswana Land Boards & Local Authorities Workers Union and Others*

Court Of Appeal-Civil Appeal No.CACGB-053-12/HC Civil Case No. .MAHLB -000631-11

that within an emergent post-colonial state, there could develop an incipient certain degree of pre-occupation with prescriptive legislation and its accompanying bureaucratic and coercive machinery. The purpose is largely to fortify the political state and its coalition's dominance of such a society. The study further argues that, in a sense, this should not be surprising if one examines the colonial state and its penchant for rules and regulation. It observes that, since the state is intrinsically linked with the political economy, there must essentially be the dominant and dominated groups, where such dominance is also expressible in social, political and economic terms. This necessitates certain conclusions as below.

Historically, the state needed to create the structural conditions for the emergence of a labouring class.⁴⁴ The question therefore remains whether the motive forces of the colonial state were assimilated by the independent state in Botswana such as can provide a historically determined role of the state. To a large extent, the period after independence suggests that, indeed, the Botswana state was quite apprehensive of and therefore reactive to what organized labour could do. This apprehension was inherited from the colonial state and the way it sought to put in place legislative and administrative measures against such future events. Though the events unfolded later, precisely because of this, the post-colonial state instinctively saw processes of juridification, accompanied by the use of the coercive apparatus of state as the best way to contain labour agitation and ensure the *status quo*.

However, in a developmental state, certain pre-conditions rather than a maze of legislation is expected. The first is the generation of social consensus which derives from overt and robust social dialogue between the partners as it presupposes a desire to achieve common ground. The next is social need determination which is a deductive process from the socialisation of the partners.

In effect, it is only actual industrial pluralism that can enable a concise identification of the particular social problems labour wants to see addressed.⁴⁵ In the theoretical scheme of things legislation can energise the process of participatory economic empowerment if it is accepted and legitimised as an instrument for pluralistic social engineering that does not necessarily underscore the pre-eminence of the political state. It can also then become an embodiment of the objective direction of social development and a provider of security for comprehensive and constructive social interaction. This *desideratum* is premised on the degree and forms of statism in practice (Fung, 2003).

In an ideal situation, the state would facilitate open debate about the socio-political and economic context of labour relations and workplace norms and practices. In effect, facilitating substantive consensus around acceptable conduct would have acknowledged public power, ownership and accountability for those standards. The state would have then evolved from the class-conscious coalition into a desirable engine of social responsibility, accountability, justice, welfare and therefore of social relevance.⁴⁶

In Botswana, the centrality of the state in the establishment, maintenance and reconstruction of industrial relations institutions is evident. It can be said, therefore, that the construction of effective industrial relations institutions is a major role for the modern state. It is understandable therefore if the Botswana state were to be ideologically averse to aggressive and voluble trade unionism. This may also explain why it seeks to re-define the role of unions through comprehensive legislative intervention coupled with administrative authority. The state also appears to be concerned with the implied over-democratisation of the workplace and the politicisation of workplace issues which could be assumed if one were to domesticate international labour conventions in their totality.

Furthermore, the attitude of the state to worker formations and labour relations appears still essentially suspicious and paternalistic. It appears to still ascribe a potential for social disequilibrium to worker formations. This results in the tendency to legislate and to regulate only to fall back on coercive social order when it fails. Over the years, it would seem that the Botswana state continuously perceives the need to adopt a strategy of structured and organised neutralisation of organised interest groups such as worker formations through legislation and close administrative supervision.

It also perceives a need to maintain order and subordination of all other interests to its authority. The need for stability has often been used to justify a strong demand for law and order. The rationale has always been that "companies who invest here must obtain a reasonable return on their investment and (SIC) skilled expatriates feel their lives and property are safe"⁴⁷. There is no doubt that there has been growth with development in Botswana over the years. However, in its quest for security and stability, the state would appear to be prescriptive rather than co-regulatory particularly with regard to labour affairs. The state is unquestionably entrenched. This entrenchment would have come at a price even in economic terms. It also raises the question of whether, in emphasizing the primacy of the state, the process has been of significant beneficence to society at large particularly workers.

However, it is comforting to note that the state has not

⁴⁴ Richards, G, *Race, Labour and the Colonial State* in St. Kitts-Nevis 1897-1922, <http://www.uwichill.edu.bb/bnccde/skrm/conference/papers/GRichards/html>

p.1

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ Sir Seretse Khama. Hansard 6-9 8/68 Pp141, 146, 147, 151

transformed into a militarized, combative organic structure. Similarly, labour formations are not yet bellicose and radicalized. In effect, as a society in transition, there is still the possibility of identifying a common platform for deliberative and collaborative engagement in the search for a consensual trajectory for mutual growth and development in Botswana.

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